

**Mednarodni dan spomina
na žrtve holokavsta**
ŠOA – SPOMINJAJMO SE 2014

Znanstveno srečanje
VSAKO LETO ENO IME:
**Zora Pičulin, slovenska pravičnica
med narodi**

Univerzitetna knjižnica Maribor
Glazerjeva dvorana, 24. januar 2014

**International Holocaust
Remembrance Day**
SHOAH – LET US REMEMBER, 2014

Scientific meeting
EACH YEAR ONE NAME:
**Zora Pičulin, Slovenian Righteous
Among the Nations**

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»NEBO NAD KREMATORIJEM JE ŽARELO ...«

Prekmurški Judje med holokavstom

»THE SKY ABOVE THE CREMATORIUM WAS AGLOW ...«

Jews from Prekmurje during the Holocaust

BORIS HAJDINJAK

Ko je 26. maja 1964 izšel članek Jožeta Janeža (1920, Babno Polje – 1989, Murska Sobota) z istim naslovom kot moj prispevek, je pravkar minilo dvajset let od usmrnitve največje skupine prekmurških Judov v taborišču Auschwitz in s tem od največjega posameznega zločina nad slovenskimi Judi ter od uničenja največje judovske skupnosti v Sloveniji. Kljub relativni kratkosti članka je v njem zapisal ključne podatke o poteku holokavsta nad prekmurškimi Judi. Svoje takrat začete raziskave je nadaljeval do leta 1968, ko je bil v knjigi Umirali so v boju za svobodo objavljen seznam 387 v holokavstu umrlih prekmurških Judov, od katerih jih je 345 ali 89 odstotkov vseh žrtev umrlo v Auschwitzu. Janeževe ugotovitve do zdaj ni nihče bistveno dopolnil. To torej pomeni, da so vsi, ki so v naslednjih desetletjih pisali o prekmurških Judih med holokavstom, povzemali Janeževe ugotovitve. Le obžalujemo lahko, da se gradivo, ki je bilo nedvomno osnova zanje, ni ohranilo. Namreč, v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko je Janež zbiral podatke, je bilo živih veliko več preživelih holokavst kot danes, tudi njihovi spomini so bili zaradi časovne bližine dogodkov natančnejši. Šele v zadnjem desetletju se je poznavanje holokavsta nad prekmurškimi Judi začelo dopolnjevati z novimi raziskavami. S svojim prispevkom želim ob prihajajoči sedemdeseti obletnici uničenja prekmurških Judov s pritegnitvijo Janežu neznanih ali nedostopnih virov dopolniti njegove ugotovitve.

When Jože Janež (1920, Babno Polje – 1989, Murska Sobota) published his article on 26 May 1964, under the same title as my presented contribution, the 20th anniversary of exterminating the largest group of Jews from Prekmurje within the Auschwitz concentration camp had just passed. It was the anniversary of both the worst crime against the Jews in Slovenia and of the extermination of the largest Jewish community in Slovenia. Despite the relative brevity of the article, he managed to collate key information on the history of the Holocaust against the Prekmurje Jews. After that his already started research was continued. In 1968 his book »They Died in the Fight for Freedom« was published exposing a list of 387 Prekmurje Jews murdered in the Holocaust, from whom 345 persons or 89 percent of all victims from this community were executed in Auschwitz. Up to the present time no-one has managed to essentially supplement his findings. In other words, everyone who has written about the Prekmurje Jews during the post-Holocaust decades has used the findings by Janež. One can only deplore the fact that the material, upon which his findings were undoubtedly based, was never retained. Namely, in the sixties of the 20th century when Janež collected his information, many more Holocaust survivors were alive than today. Due to the proximity of time their memories were fresher as well. It is only over the last decade that more in-depth

knowledge about the Holocaust against the Prekmurje Jews has emerged through new research. Honouring the upcoming seventieth anniversary of the extermination of Prekmurje Jews, herewith I would like to supplement the findings of Jože Janež by adding some sources, which were unknown or inaccessible to him.

JUDJE V DELOVNIH ENOTAH MADŽARSKE VOJSKE **JEWS FORCED INTO WORK UNITS OF THE HUNGARIAN ARMY**

KLEMEN BRVAR

V članku je predstavljen sistem prisilnega dela, ki so ga med drugo svetovno vojno uvedle madžarske oblasti. V njegovo kolesje je bilo vpetih okoli 130.000 Judov, od katerih jih vojne ni preživela več kot četrtnina. Med vpoklicanimi in žrtvami so bili tudi prekmurski Judje, ki so sodelovali v madžarski misiji v Sovjetski zvezi 1942/1943 in na prisilnem delu v srbskem rudniku Bor 1943/1944. Po nemški okupaciji Madžarske marca 1944 in množičnih deportacijah v Auschwitz so bile delovne enote nekaj časa zatočišče za tisoče judovskih moških. V zadnjih mesecih vojne jih je madžarski marionetni režim večino predal Nemcem.

Letos mineva sedem desetletij od deportacij, ki so zapečatile usodo prekmurskih Judov. Največja judovska skupnost na Slovenskem (po podatkih popisa iz 1937 je imela 417 pripadnikov) je šele spomladi 1944 padla v kolesje holokavsta. Prva vojna leta so jo, podobno kot veliko številčnejšo madžarsko judovsko skupnost, pred najhujšim ščitile madžarske oblasti. Kljub patronatu pa se tudi prekmurski Judje niso izognili protijudovskim ukrepom, ki jih je pod zunanji pritiski in v skladu z interesi radikalnih političnih skupin uvajala in izvajala madžarska država. Mednje so sodile tudi delovne enote madžarske vojske oz. *munkaszolgálat*.

To je bil najboljširnejši in najbolj kompleksen sistem prisilnega dela med nemškimi zaveznicami in edini, ki je bil podrejen vojski. V njegovo kolesje je padlo več kot 130.000 madžarskih (in prekmurskih) Judov. Čeprav je bilo prisilno delo prvotno namenjeno vsem družbeno nezanesljivim elementom, tj. komunistom in drugim levičarjem, Jehovovim pričam, sobotarjem, Srbom, Hrvatom, Slovencem, Romunom, Ukrajincem in Slovakom, pa je med vojno postalo predvsem sredstvo rasne segregacije. Madžarske oblasti so Jude s prisilnim delom izolirale in odtrgale od družbeno-gospodarskega in kulturnega življenja ter jih uporabile za najbolj izčrpavajoče in nevarne delovne etape. Delovne enote so sprva skrbele za gradnjo in vzdrževanje cest in železniških prog ter za krčenje gozdov in regulacijo rek. Z razmahom vojne pa so jih začeli pošiljati v rudnike in na fronto v Sovjetsko zvezo: tam so opravljali vojaška utrjevalna dela, vzdrževali prometno omrežje, odstranjevali sneg, vojaške enote oskrbovali s strelivom in čistili minska polja.

Sistem, ki je do določene mere zgladil notranjepolitična trenja okoli judovskega vprašanja, so vzpostavili julija 1939. Sprva je zajel vse za vojsko trajno nesposobne oz. neprimerne Jude, ki so v koledarskem letu dopolnili 24 let. Prvotno delovno obvezo treh mesecev

so nato sredi avgusta 1941 podaljšali na dve leti, hkrati pa je vpoklic zajel vse starostno primerne pripadnike skupnosti. Spomladi 1942 je sledila nova zaostritev: judovski delavci so na rokavih morali nositi rumene oz. bele trakove. V sistemu, ki je poleti 1943 vključeval že 800.000 prisilnih delavcev, so bili prav Judje največje žrtve: konca vojne jih ni dočakalo med 30.000 in 40.000.

Pripadnike prekmurske judovske skupnosti je vpoklic v delovne enote zajel jeseni 1942 ter januarja in avgusta 1943. Sodelovali so v dveh najbolj krvavih poglavjih prisilnega dela. Prvo je bila vojaška misija druge madžarske armade v Sovjetski zvezi, ki je po preboju Rdeče armade januarja 1943 pri Voronežu ob Donu doživela popoln poraz. Od 50.000 pretežno judovskih pripadnikov delavskih enot jih je umik na Madžarsko preživel le 12 do 14 odstotkov (med žrtvami so bili npr. Lendavčana Alfred Teichman in Karoly Jenő Schön ter László Herz iz Šalovcev in Lipót Press iz Gornjih Petrovcev). Drugo poglavje pa je bilo prisilno delo v kompleksu taborišč na območju rudnika Bor v vzhodni Srbiji. Od julija 1943 do septembra 1944 je tam delalo 6200 judovskih *munkašev*, kakor so prisilne delavce imenovali v Srbiji in na Hrvaškem. Če je bilo delo v rudniku in njegovi okolici na meji znosnosti, pa je krvavo sled pustila evakuacija prisilnih delavcev zaradi bližanja Rdeče armade v začetku jeseni 1944. Od celotnega judovskega delovnega kontingenta je evakuacijo in vojno preživel le 2600 ljudi. Med žrtvami znanega pokola pri Crvenki oktobra 1944 je bil tudi Geza Bauer iz Črenšovcev.

Večina pripadnikov delovnih enot po vrnitvi na Madžarsko ni bila demobilizirana. Po nemški okupaciji Madžarske marca 1944 in njej sledečih množičnih deportacijah madžarskih Judov v Auschwitz so bile delovne enote, nad katerimi je bdelo madžarsko obrambno ministrstvo, nekaj časa pribežališče za tisoče judovskih moških. Njihovo usodo je nato v veliki meri zapečatil Szalásijev režim. T. i. *njilaši* so jeseni 1944 Nemcem predali okoli 90.000 pripadnikov madžarske judovske skupnosti, od katerih je bilo približno 55.000 prisiljenih med novembrom 1944 in marcem 1945 pomagati graditi obrambni sistem na madžarsko-avstrijski meji. Po prodoru Rdeče armade so Nemci preživele poslali v taborišča globlje v rajh, od koder se jih večina ni vrnila. Tam je, najverjetneje v Buchenwaldu, preminil tudi znani prekmurski komunist Aladar Ali Kardoš iz Murske Sobote, ki je preživel prisilno delo v rudniku Bor in evakuacijo.

This article presents a forced labour system performed by the Hungarian authorities during WW2. About 130,000 Jews were forced into its wheelwork, of whom no more than a quarter survived the war. Amongst these victims were Jews from Prekmurje. They also participated in the 1942/1943 Hungarian Mission in the Soviet Union and were used as forced labour in the Serbian Bor mine during 1943/1944. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 and mass deportations to Auschwitz, the forced work units were often seen as refuges for thousands of Jewish men. During the last months of the war most of them were handed over to the Germans by the Hungarian puppet regime.

This year marks seven decades since the deportations that sealed the fates of the Prekmurje Jews. That largest Jewish community in Slovenia (having 417 members according to the 1937 census data) became victims of the Holocaust infamy no earlier than in the spring of 1944. Like much bigger Hungarian Jewish communities, the Hungarian authorities protected them from the worst destinies during the earlier years of the war. Despite this patronage the Prekmurje Jews could not avoid the anti-Jewish measures introduced and implemented by the Hungarian government under pressure from abroad and in compliance with the interests of radical political groups. *Munkaszolgálat* – the Hungarian Forced Labour System was part of it.

It was the most extensive and complex system of forced labour amongst the German Allies and the only one subordinated to the army. Over 130,000 Hungarian (and Prekmurje) Jews were forced into its wheelwork operations. Initially forced labour was meant for all socially unreliable elements like Communists and other left-organisations in addition to Jehovah's Witnesses, Sabbatarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Romanians, Ukrainians and Slovaks. However, as the war progressed it primarily became a means of racial segregation. Using forced labour, the Hungarian authorities isolated the Jews and detached them from socio-economic and cultural life, using them for the most debilitating and dangerous work. At the beginning they were constructing and maintaining roads and railway lines, and performing deforestation and the maintaining of rivers. As the war progressed, they were sent to the mines and on the front in the Soviet Union. There they were doing hard military work: they maintained transport networks, cleared snow, supplied troops with ammunition, and cleared minefields.

This system, which helped any internal political tensions around the Jewish question to be smoothened over to some extent, was established in July 1939. Initially this work for the army was carried out by permanently incapable and inappropriate Jews, who reached the age of 24 during that calendar year. In the middle of August 1941 the original obligation to work for three months was extended to two years, deploying all age-eligible members of the community. A new aggravation followed in the spring of 1942: Jewish workers were forced to wear yellow or white armbands on their sleeves. Within this system incorporating 800,000 forced labourers in the summer of 1943, the Jews were the biggest victims – about 30,000 to 40,000 of them did not survive the war.

Members of the Prekmurje Jewish community were forced into work units in the autumn of 1942, as well as in January and August 1943. They were involved in two of the bloodiest chapters of forced labour. The first was the military mission of the Hungarian Second Army in the Soviet Union, which was completely defeated after the Red Army broke through at Voronezh on the Don River in January 1943. When retreating back to Hungary only 12 to 14 percent of 50,000 predominantly Jewish labour members survived (amongst the victims were, for example, Alfred Teichman and Karoly Jenő Schön from Lendava, László Herz from Šalovci and Lipót Press from Gornji Petrovci). The other chapter was

the forced labour in the camp complex of the Bor mine area in eastern Serbia employing 6,200 Jewish forced labourers (in Serbia and Croatia called *munkaši*) from July 1943 until September 1944. The working conditions in the mine and its surroundings were at the limits of tolerability and the evacuation of workers due to the approaching Red Army in early autumn 1944 left blood trails. From the entire Jewish forced labourers quota only 2,600 of them survived the evacuation and the war. Amongst the victims of the well-known massacre near Crvenka in October 1944 was also Geza Bauer from Črenšovci.

After their return to Hungary most members of the work units were not demobilised. When Germany occupied Hungary in March 1944, they subsequently became the subjects of mass deportations of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz. For some time the work units under the surveillance of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence became kinds of refuges for thousands of Jewish men. Their fates were then sealed by the Szálasi regime. In the autumn of 1944 the so-called *njilaši* (members of the anti-Semitic pro-Nazi party in Hungary) handed over to the Germans about 90,000 members of the Hungarian Jewish community. Among them there were about 55,000 forced labourers, who had helped to build the defence system on the Hungarian-Austrian border between November 1944 and March 1945. After the Red Army breakthrough, the Germans sent the survivors to concentration camps deeper into the Reich, from where most of them did not return. There, most likely in Buchenwald, Aladar Ali Kardoš from Murska Sobota also died. He had survived forced-labour in the Bor mine, and evacuation.

PO POTI POZABLJENE PODJETNOSTI **Judje v Ajdovščini** **ALONG THE PATH OF FORGOTTEN ENTREPRENEURSHIP** **Jews in Ajdovščina**

RENATO PODBERSIČ

Prispevek pregledno obravnava 150 let delovanja judovskih podjetnikov iz goriške judovske skupnosti, ki so svoj poslovni uspeh iskali v Ajdovščini. V tem naselju ob deželni mejni reki Hubelj na vzhodu Goriške dežele je leta 1761 Jacob Valmarin začel tekstilno dejavnost. Deželne oblasti so mu kljub tradicionalnim predsodkom do Judov dovolile prosto delovanje, kar sta nadaljevali judovski družini Pincherle in Bolaffio iz Gorice. Zlasti slednja je pustila pomemben pečat v Ajdovščini, kjer so živeli do odhoda v Gorico leta 1911.

Naselitev in delovanje Judov v Ajdovščini sta bila tesno povezana z judovsko skupnostjo v Gorici. V tedanji habsburški deželi Goriško-Gradiščanski so obstajale ob koncu 18. stoletja večje judovske naselbine v Gorici, Gradiški (Gradisca d'Isonzo), Krminu (Cormons) in Tržiču (Monfalcone).

V tistem času je bila Ajdovščina majhno naselje s približno tisoč prebivalci na skrajni vzhodni meji Goriško-Gradiščanske dežele. Reka Hubelj jo je namreč ločevala od vasi Šturje (danes vzhodni del Ajdovščine), ki je že sodila k deželi Kranjski. Ajdovščina je vse do 19. stoletja ohranila status in značaj vaške naselbine ob grajski stavbi, ki je bila sedež gospodstva. Slovenci so predstavljali večino prebivalstva, le nekaj malega je bilo nemško govorečih družin.

Na Goriškem je tedaj cvetelo svilogojstvo za potrebe tekstilne industrije, kjer so pomembno vlogo imeli goriški Judje. Pripadnik te skupnosti, Jacob Valmarin, se je odločil razširiti omenjeno dejavnost tudi v Ajdovščino. Goriške deželne oblasti so mu 18. aprila 1761 dovolile postaviti štiri statve za polsvilene izdelke in dvanajst statev za svilene trakove in niti. Dovoljenje za prebivanje v Ajdovščini naj bi veljalo le zanj osebno in toliko časa, kolikor je potrebno, da bi postavil predilni obrat, pod pogojem, da se tam ne bi ustalil noben drug Jud, vključno z njegovimi sorodniki. Po dveh mesecih so oblasti nameravale poslati komisijo, ki naj bi preverila, ali je Valmarin upošteval vsa omenjena določila. Če se to ne bi uresničilo, bi mu bila odvzeta licenca in za vedno bi mu prepovedali postaviti prej omenjene obrate. Prepovedano mu je bilo tudi tam zaposlovati druge Jude. Ob morebitnem prenehanju delovanja obrata bi se moral o tem posvetovati z deželnimi oblastmi za nadaljnja navodila.

Okrožno glavarstvo v Gorici je 15. maja 1779 zapovedalo Jacobu Valmarinu, naj se v treh tednih preseli iz Ajdovščine v goriški geto. Dne 5. junija je to glavarstvo poizvedovalo pri voditeljih goriške judovske skupnosti, ali se v Ajdovščini še zadržuje neki Emanuel Valmarin. Morda je šlo za sina prej omenjenega Jacoba. Tam naj bi bival s še enim Judom, nista pa imela dovoljenja za prebivanje. Družina Valmarin se je obrnila po pomoč na ajdovske gospode iz plemiške družine Edling.

Na priprošnjo grofice Edling so 17. julija 1779 Judu Valmarinu, njegovim ženi in enemu slugi dovolili bivanje v Ajdovščini za nadaljnjih osem mesecev, rok je sicer začel teči z dnem 1. junija. To so storili z namenom, da bi Jacob Valmarin lahko dokončal svoje posle. Dne 8. julija 1780 so ta rok podaljšali še za štiri mesece.

Delovanje družine Valmarin v Ajdovščini je na začetku 19. stoletja nadaljeval Jacob d'Arone Pincherle (1785–1854), prav tako pripadnik judovske skupnosti iz Gorice. Ta se je decembra 1834 poročil z Anno Bolaffio. Ker so posli cveteli, je pritegnil še svaka Giuseppeja/Jožefa Bolaffia. Družina Bolaffio je v Ajdovščini ostala kot edina judovska družina vse do leta 1911. Njihova hiša je stala v središču naselja, na hišni številki 65, in je imela lastno molilnico s hebrejskim napisom nad vrati. Večje judovske verske praznike je družina praznovala v Gorici. Giuseppejeva žena Clementina Vivante, po rodu Benečanka, je domačemu župniku pomagala z oskrbo ubogih. Giuseppe je imel pet otrok, dva fanta (Graziadio in Giacomo) in tri dekleta (Giustina, Enrichetta in Marianna). Vsi so bili rojeni v Ajdovščini in so tam obiskovali šolo. Hčerke so se po poroki izselile iz Ajdovščine. Giacomo/Jacob Bolaffio (1858–1939) se je leta 1892 poročil v Trstu z Evelino Diamante Viterbo iz Ancone. Živel sta v Ajdovščini, saj je Jacob večkrat omenjen kot aktiven član ajdovskega javnega življenja. Med drugim je deloval tudi v vodstvu ajdovske hranilnice in posojilnice, ustanovljene leta 1894.

Leta 1854 je umrl Karel Edling, zadnji moški potomec te rodbine, in naslednje leto je njegova sestra, poročena Locatelli, prodala posest z dvorcem v Ajdovščini judovski družini Bolaffio. Ti so ga dali v najem državi, saj so v dvorcu nastanili takrat ustanovljeni okrajni urad in po njegovi odpravi leta 1868 okrajno sodišče z zapori.

Družina Bolaffio se je aktivno vključevala v življenje tedanje Ajdovščine, kar nam kaže več primerov. Sodelovali so s pravnikom Karlom Lavričem (1818–1876), pomembnim slovenskim narodnim buditeljem na Primorskem, ki je med 1864 in 1869 deloval v Ajdovščini. Giuseppeja/Jožefa Bolaffia najdemo med tistimi 19 ljudmi, ki so 26. decembra 1863 glasovali za preoblikovanje krajevnega Lesevereina v čitalnico. Pozneje je bil tudi med odborniki društva Edinost, ustanovljenega leta 1875 v Ajdovščini. Za društvo je skupaj s še štirimi člani sestavil društveni pravilnik, ki ga je odbor društva 23. januarja 1876 soglasno sprejel. Goriški časopis Soča ga je aprila 1876 navajal kot enega izmed darovalcev za Lavričev spomenik, saj je v ta namen prispeval pet goldinarjev. Leta 1881 je bil za ajdovskega župana zopet izvoljen Daniel Godina, kot eden od dveh podžupanov pa

je bil izbran Giuseppe/Jožef Bolaffio. Družina se je konec leta 1911 preselila v Gorico, da bi otroci lahko odrasčali v italijanskem okolju. Njihovi posmrtni ostanki danes počivajo na judovskem pokopališču v Rožni Dolini pri Novi Gorici.

Jacob Bolaffio je očitno ostal dobro zapisan med goriškimi Slovenci. Tudi njegovo delovanje med Ajdovci najdemo v zanimivem nekrologu, ki ga je septembra 1940 objavil Slovenski list, glasilo primorskih izseljencev v Buenos Airesu. Tam med drugim piše: »Na svoje ajdovsko poreklo je bil stari Bolaffio zelo ponosen. Večkrat je poredno rekel: »Mi Ajdovci smo fejest fantje, samo lump, kdor nas hvali!« Rad in šaljivo je pripovedoval, kako je z Ajdovci igral kvarte, z njimi prepeval podoknice in se ženil itd. Ajdovski župnik bi pa znal povedati, koliko je Bolaffio daroval njemu za najbolj potrebne v fari. Bil je Italijan stari Bolaffio, a Slovincem zelo pravičen. Ni odobral raznih ukrepov proti nam in je z zanimanjem sledil našemu gospodarskemu in kulturnemu gibanju.«

This paper outlines a 150 years long tradition of Jewish entrepreneurs from the Gorizia Jewish community, who sought their business successes in Ajdovščina. It was within this settlement on the banks of the provincial border River Hubelj in the east of Gorizia County, that in 1761 Jacob Valmarin started his textile business. In spite of the traditional prejudices against Jews the provincial authorities allowed him to operate freely. This was continued by the Jewish families Pincherle and Bolaffio from Gorizia. In particular the latter left an indelible mark on Ajdovščina, where they had lived until their departure to Gorizia in 1911.

The lifestyles and activities of Jews in Ajdovščina were closely associated with their counterparts in Gorizia. At the end of the 18th century within the then Habsburg county of Gorizia and Gradisca, there were large Jewish settlements in Gorizia, Gradisca d'Isonzo, Cormons, and Monfalcone.

At that time Ajdovščina was a small village situated on the eastern border of the Gorizia and Gradisca County, having about a thousand residents. The River Hubelj separated it from the village of Šturje (today the eastern part of Ajdovščina), which belonged to Carniola. Up to the 19th century, Ajdovščina retained the status and character of a village developed alongside the castle, which was the seat of the lords. The majority of the population were Slovenians and only a few families were German-speaking.

At that time a sericulture was flourishing in Gorizia for the needs of the textile industry, within which Jews from Gorizia were playing an important role. A member of this community, Jacob Valmarin, decided to extend this activity to Ajdovščina. On 18 April 1761 the provincial authorities in Gorizia allowed him to procure four looms for products made of silk with cotton and twelve looms for silk ribbons and threads. He was granted temporary residency of Ajdovščina, but only for him personally and for a limited period of time needed for the spinning plant to be set up, provided that no other Jew would settle down there, including his relatives. After two months, the authorities intended to send

a commission that would examine whether all the aforementioned provisions had been fulfilled. If Valmarin had ignored them, he would be deprived of his licence and would never be allowed to erect the plant. He was also prohibited from employing other Jews there. In case of termination regarding the plant's operation, he should discuss it with the provincial authorities and receive further instructions.

On 15 May 1779 the district governorship in Gorizia ordered Jacob Valmarin to move from Ajdovščina to the Gorizia ghetto within three weeks. On 5 June the same governorship made enquiries of the Jewish community leaders in Gorizia as to whether a certain Emanuel Valmarin was still resident in Ajdovščina. Perhaps he was a son of the aforementioned Jacob. He was supposed to be living there with another Jew, although they did not have a residence permit. The Valmarin family asked the lords of Ajdovščina from the noble family Edling for help.

After an intercession by the Countess Edling on 17 July 1779, the Jew Valmarin, his wife and one of his servants were allowed to stay in Ajdovščina for another eight months, starting from the first of June. This was done in order to enable Jacob Valmarin to finish his work. On 8 July 1780 this period was extended for another four months.

The operations of the Valmarin family in Ajdovščina at the beginning of the 19th century were continued by Jacob d'Aron Pincherle (1785–1854), who was also a member of the Jewish community in Gorizia. In December 1834 he married Anna Bolaffio. As the business flourished, it also attracted the brother-in-law, Giuseppe/Joseph Bolaffio. The Bolaffio family was the only Jewish family remaining in Ajdovščina until 1911. Their house stood in the centre of the village, at house number 65, and had its own chapel with a Hebrew inscription above the door. The family celebrated major Jewish religious holidays in Gorizia. Giuseppe's wife Clementina Vivante, a native Venetian, helped the resident priest with the care of the poor. Giuseppe had five children, two boys (Graziadio and Giacomo) and three girls (Giustina, Enrichetta, and Marianna). They were all born in Ajdovščina where they attended school. After their wedding the daughters moved out of Ajdovščina. In 1892 Giacomo/Jacob Bolaffio (1858–1939) got married in Trieste to Evelina Diamante Viterbo from Ancona. They lived in Ajdovščina, where Jacob is mentioned several times as being an active member of the Ajdovščina public life. Amongst other things, he was an active leader of the Ajdovščina savings and loan association, established in 1894.

Charles Edling, the last male descendant of this family, died in 1854. The following year his sister, married Locatelli, sold the property with the mansion in Ajdovščina to the Jewish family Bolaffio. They leased it to the state and the mansion housed a newly established district office. After its reprieve in 1868, it was changed into district court prisons.

There are several examples showing that the Bolaffio family was actively involved in the former life of Ajdovščina. They cooperated with a lawyer Karl Lavrič (1818–1876), who

was awakening the sense of Slovenian national identity in the Littoral. He worked there between 1864 and 1869. Giuseppe/Joseph Bolaffio was amongst those 19 people who, on 26 December 1863 voted to transform the local »Leseverein« (German for reading room) into a »čitalnica« (Slovenian expression). Later on, he was also one of the Committee Members of the »Edinost« society, established in 1875 in Ajdovščina. Along with four other members of the society, he drew up the society's rules that were unanimously adopted by the Committee of the Society on 23 January 1876. The »Soča« newspaper of Gorizia mentioned him in April 1876 as one of the donors towards the Lavrič monument – he contributed five florins. In 1881, Daniel Godina was again elected mayor of Ajdovščina and Giuseppe/Joseph Bolaffio was selected to be one of two deputy mayors. At the end of 1911 the family moved to Gorizia to enable their children to grow up within an Italian environment. Their mortal remains now rest at the Jewish cemetery in Rožna dolina (Rose Valley) close to Nova Gorica.

Jacob Bolaffio apparently remained well-respected among Slovenians in Gorizia. His cooperation with the inhabitants of Ajdovščina can be found in an interesting obituary, published in September 1940 in the Slovenian Journal, a newsletter of the Littoral expatriates in Buenos Aires. There, amongst other things, it is written: »The old Bolaffio was very proud of his Ajdovščina origin. He once mischievously said: "We Ajdovci, we are nice guys, even to the scamps who praise us!" He liked joking and telling how he played cards with Ajdovci, sang serenades with them, chased after the women, etc. The priest could tell you how much Bolaffio donated for the neediest in the parish. He was an Italian, the old Bolaffio, but very fair with Slovenians. He did not approve of various actions against us and followed with interest our economic and cultural movement.«

PODOBE ROMOV V IZSLEDKIH RAZISKOVANJ O ROMSKEM GENOCIDU IMAGES OF ROMA IN THE RESEARCH AND SURVEYS ON THE ROMA GENOCIDE

VERA KLOPČIČ

Avtorica izhaja iz predpostavke, da so bile stereotipne predstave o Romih sestavni del propagande zoper Cigane/Rome v času nacizma in istočasno orodje pregona, ki se je v drugi svetovni vojni stopnjeval do načrtov o uničenju romskega naroda. Večstoletno sistematično izključevanje Romov iz družbe in negativne podobe iz življenja Ciganov/Romov so bili glavni vzroki za prevladujoč indiferenten odnos pripadnikov drugih narodov do trpljenja romskih žrtev in do nacističnih zločinov zoper Cigane/Rome v drugi svetovni vojni.

S podobami Romov kot asocialnih posameznikov, kriminalcev in družbenih parazitov, katerih negativne lastnosti so genetsko povzročene, trdovratne in nespremenljive, so oblasti spretno manipulirale in jih skozi zgodovino ves čas izkoriščale za izključevanje in segregacijo Romov. Izključno povezovanje Romov z nomadskim načinom življenja je med prebivalstvom ustvarjalo podobo Romov kot večnih tujcev, ki so že zaradi svojega načina življenja nevarni za družbo. V drugi svetovni vojni so zlasti v državah z nacističnimi in fašističnimi režimi in v tistih, ki so sodelovale z njimi, ponovno zaživel pred sodki do Romov in okrepile so se obtožbe, da so nevarni prenašalci nalezljivih bolezni, da so grožnja zdravju naroda, da so brezdelneži in tatovi. Sprejeti so bili zakoni o Ciganih/Romih kot o grožnji rasni čistosti naroda in določeni so bili ukrepi za popis, odstranitev in uničenje Ciganov/Romov. Sledile so deportacije v delovna in koncentracijska taborišča, kjer so bili umorjeni številni Cigani/Romi. Strokovni viri ocenjujejo, da je bilo v drugi svetovni vojni najmanj 1,5 milijona žrtev romskega genocida.

V različnih okoljih so oblasti načrtno izkoristile negativne stereotipe o Ciganih/Romih in dodatno spodbujale nezaupanje večinskega prebivalstva do Romov z negovanjem predstave o Romih kot skupini s prirojeno nagnjenostjo h kriminalu ter tako opravičevale ukrepe pregona in oslabile odzivnost prebivalcev na trpljenje romskih žrtev. To so bili glavni vzroki za prevladujoč indiferenten odnos pripadnikov drugih narodov do nacističnih zločinov, storjenih zoper Cigane/Rome v drugi svetovni vojni v Evropi.

V prispevku navajam strokovne vire in dokumente, ki nam omogočajo prepoznati nekatere splošne značilnosti in pričajo o tem, da so bile v posameznih državah pregonu najprej izpostavljene nomadske skupine Romov, ki so navzven najbolj ustrezale stereotipnim predstavam in negativni podobi Ciganov/Romov. Praviloma so bili stalno naseljeni Romi z urejenim načinom življenja začasno izvzeti iz ukrepov pregona, čeprav so rasni

zakoni določali, da se »kot Cigani štejejo vse osebe, ki imajo tri ciganske prednike«. Poudarjanje razlik med nomadskimi in drugimi skupinami Romov je imelo večplastne učinke in v konkretnih okoljih je prišlo do razslojevanja znotraj romskih skupnosti glede identifikacije z vsiljenimi posplošenimi podobami Ciganov/Romov. V strokovni literaturi o Romih v Beogradu so citirani dokumenti, v katerih so se nekatere skupine tradicionalno naseljenih »domorodnih« Romov v Beogradu poistovetile s podobo »poštenih srbskih državljanov« z urejenim načinom življenja in se odločno distancirale od skupine Romov »prišlekov«, ki so »berači, tatovi, klošarji« in torej ustrezajo stereotipnim predstavam in negativni podobi Ciganov/Romov. Domorodni Romi iz Beograda so v posebnem dopisu oblastem med drugim zagotovili, da s temi skupinami prišlekov nimajo nič skupnega, in so celo zaprosili oblasti, da jih izženejo iz mesta. V zvezi z dokazovanjem domorodnega statusa je Uredba o Ciganih v Srbiji iz julija 1941 predvidevala dokazovanje stalne naseljenosti romskih prednikov vsaj od leta 1850. Vsi, ki so to dokazali, so bili »začasno izvzeti« iz izvajanja ukrepov uredbe.

Negativne podobe Ciganov/Romov, ki so prisotne v zgodovinskih dokumentih in pričevanjih iz posameznih držav, lahko opredelimo kot vsebinsko podlago družbenega fenomena anticiganizma in protiromskega razpoloženja v Evropi v drugi svetovni vojni. Paradoks je v tem, da se zgodovinsko uporabljena terminologija za poniževanje pripadnikov romske skupnosti v času nacizma v skoraj identični obliki izraža tudi v sodobnem času, ki ga označujemo kot obdobje demokracije in človekovih pravic. Poznavanje zgodovinskih dejstev in procesov je zato pomembno za dopolnitev izsledkov akademskega raziskovanja o romskem genocidu in tudi za temeljitejše in odločnejše ukrepanje za odpravo predsodkov, nestrpnosti in sovraštva, s katerim se še vedno soočajo Romi v Evropi.

The author assumes that the stereotypes about Roma were a substantial part of the Nazi propaganda against Gypsies/Roma, used at the same time as an enforcement tool for their prosecution, which escalated during World War II with the plans of the total destruction of the Roma people. Centuries of marginalisation and systematic exclusion of Roma from mainstream society and the negative images of the lifestyles of Gypsies/Roma were the main causes for the prevailing indifferent attitudes of the members of other nations towards the suffering of Roma victims under the Nazi regime during World War II in Europe.

Historically, the authorities constantly exploited the negative images of Roma as asocial individuals, thieves and social parasites whose characteristics are genetically determined and persistent, and used it for the exclusion and segregation of the Gypsies/Roma. Exclusive focus on the Roma nomadic lifestyle created the image of Roma as eternal strangers and strengthened the feeling amongst the rest of the population that Roma were a danger to society.

During World War II, especially within Nazi and Fascist regimes, and in those countries that have cooperated with them, prejudices against Roma were reinforced based on the allegations that Gypsies/Roma were dangerous carriers of infectious diseases and as such posed a threat to the nation's health, or that they were loafers, criminals and thieves. The adopted race legislation quoted Gypsies/Roma as a threat to the racial purity of the nation and measures were introduced to collect data on Gypsies/Roma and to remove and destroy them. This was followed by deportations to labour and concentration camps where many Gypsies/Roma were murdered. Expert sources estimate that during World War II there were at least 1.5 million victims of the Roma genocide.

In many places the authorities systematically manipulated negative stereotypes about Gypsies/Roma and promoted distrust amongst the majority population towards the Roma, nurturing images of Roma as a group with inherited predispositions towards crime, and thus justifying enforced action, thus weakening the empathy of mainstream society to the suffering of the Roma victims. These were the main causes for the indifferent attitudes of other nations to the Nazi crimes committed against Gypsies/Roma during the World War II in Europe.

In this paper we elaborate on the findings in expert literature and documents that enable us to identify some general features and demonstrate this by using examples from different countries. The persecution initially started with actions against the nomadic Roma groups who *prima facie* fit within stereotypical and negative images of Gypsies/Roma. The sedentary Roma with regulated lifestyles were temporarily exempted from enforcement measures, although the racial laws had defined that »all persons who have three Gypsy ancestors shall be considered Gypsies«. Pointing to the differences between sedentary and other groups of Roma had multiple effects on social environments and led to stratification within Roma communities regarding identification with the generalised images of Gypsies/Roma.

Historical sources regarding the situations of Roma in Belgrade show that some groups of traditionally-settled Roma in Belgrade identified themselves with the image of the indigenous Roma as »honest Serbian citizens« and firmly distanced themselves from the groups of Roma »newcomers« who are »beggars, thieves, and bums«, thus explaining that only these newcomers and nomadic groups of Roma met the stereotypical negative images of Gypsies/Roma. Indigenous Roma in Belgrade sent a letter to the authorities where they *inter alia* confirmed that these groups of newcomers had nothing in common with them and even asked the authorities to expel them from their areas of the city. Regarding recognition of the domicile status, the Regulation on Gypsies in Serbia from July 1941 required proof of the continuing settlement of their Roma ancestors at least since 1850. All those who were able to prove these facts were temporarily excluded from the implementation of the measures of prosecution.

Negative images of Gypsies/Roma included in historical documents and testimonies from individual countries can be classified as substantive elements of social phenomena and anti-Gypsy or anti-Roma sentiment in Europe during World War II. The paradox lies in the fact that historically the terminology used to humiliate members of the Roma community in the Nazi era is in almost identical form also reflected in modern times, which is referred to as the period of democracy and human rights. Knowledge of historical facts and processes is therefore important for academic research on the Roma genocide, as well as for the stronger action to eliminate the prejudice, rejection and hatred that the Roma are still facing throughout Europe.

PODOBE GROZE
Literarna govorica najmlajših
žrtev holokavsta
IMAGES OF HORROR
Literary language used by the
youngest Holocaust victims

OTO LUTHAR

V svojem prispevku želi avtor predstaviti dvoje: v prvi vrsti želi izpostaviti pomen literature in drugih umetniških izrazov za ohranitev spomina na preteklo dogajanje nasploh in spomina na holokavst še posebej. Pri tem se naslanja na klasična literarna dela in tudi na stripovske upodobitve. Znotraj tega je izbral dela (Dnevnik Ane Frank, Maus, Berlin ...), ki posredno in neposredno tematizirajo spomin najmlajših judovskih žrtev fašizma in nacizma. V drugem delu, ki se osredotoča na konkreten primer, pa skuša na podlagi zgodovinarskega branja mladinske pripovedi Miriam Steiner Vojak z zlatimi gumbi iz avtoričine pripovedi izluščiti tiste vsebine, ki se naslanjajo na resnične dogodke in izkušnje pripovednice.

»Je en moment, ne vem, če to treba zdaj povedat, ampak je mala razlika med, kar je v knjigi, in tistim, kar se je res zgodilo. Ker v knjigi sem bila mal, kako bi rekla, sem mela mal svobode, literarne svobode, in na nekih mestih je to tudi malo simbolizirano, in nisem govorila samo o sebi, govorila sem o otrocih holokavsta in kaj je holokavst za otroke. Tud sem bila zelo pod vplivom tistega, kar so otroci, takoj po vojni sem bila v enem letovališču za holokavst survivor children. In tam so bili otroci, stari kot jaz, in vsak je pripovedoval, kaj je doživel. In te njihove zgodbe z mojo zgodbo sem pravzaprav komperirala v eno zgodbo. V angleškem uvodu sem to tud raztolmačila. Ampak kar se je men zgodil, mogoče ne v Trebnjem, mogoče v Karlovcu, saj ne vem točno kje, kar je tud važno, da namenoma nisem dala geografsko opredelitev, kje se kaj dogaja. Ker kar je meni blo zelo važno, to je dat akcent na ta emotivni trenutek, kaj je holokavst za otroka od pet in pol let. Ampak so tuki tud nekakšni mejhni, mogoče samo slike, slike mejhne, ki so se res dogodile ...«

Z zgornjimi besedami je Miriam Steiner Aviezer v enem zadnjih pogovorov začela pripoved o prvih letih svojega življenja. Življenja, ki je bilo ogroženo, še preden se je kot petletna deklica sploh zavedala, kaj »ogroženo« pomeni. Pri svojih letih preprosto ni mogla, ali vsaj ne v celoti, razumeti besed, kot je beseda »ogroženo«, kot ni mogla dojeti še vrste drugih pojmov, med katerimi so se mnogi rodili skupaj z njo. Pojmov, kot so »deportacija«, »koncentracijsko taborišče«, »ciklon B«, »plinske celice« ..., pred tem niso poznali niti odrasli, še najmanj tisti iz okolja, kjer je preživela prva leta svojega življenja. Slednje je še posebno pomembno, če želimo razumeti prvi stavek njenega nedavno (znova) posnetega pričevanja, s katerim skuša avtor pričujočega prispevka, na podlagi literarnih

tematizacij holokavsta, odgovoriti na večno vprašanje o prepletenosti literature in zgodovinopisja.

V besedilu, ki bo prvič predstavljeno na januarskem simpoziju *Šoa – spominjajmo se*, ga namreč še zlasti zanima literatura tistih, ki so bili v času poskusa uničenja evropskega judovstva mlajši od petnajst let in zato veljajo za posebno vrsto pričevalcev. Miriam Steiner, ki je bila ob izgonu med najmlajšimi, je za raziskovanje holokavsta na ozemlju današnje Slovenije še posebno dragocena, saj se je omenjene prepletenosti zavedala tudi sama. Še več, o meji med fikcijo in resničnostjo je spregovorila že v uvodnem stavku zadnjega intervjuja in s tem ponudila več kot primerno izhodišče za načrtovano tematizacijo.

Glede na to, da pri tem v svetovnem merilu ni osamljena, želi avtor v prvem delu svojega prispevka njeno delo po eni strani umestiti v širšo historiografsko razpravo o (ne)povezanosti literature in zgodovinopisja, po drugi pa ga primerja z literarnimi in drugimi umetniškimi izrazi otrok, sodobnikov holokavsta. V okviru prvega se naslanja na sklepni del dva tisoč let stare razprave o tem, ali gre pri interpretaciji preteklosti zgolj za politično programatorsko poročilo ali za pripoved, ki slika ljudi, s katerimi se bralec lahko identificira. Če bi sodili po Thomasu Babingtonu Macaulayju, Thomasu Carlylu ali Georgeu Macaulayju Trevelyanu, torej če bi sodili po izrazitih zagovornikih pripovednega zgodovinopisja 19. stoletja, gre brez dvoma za to drugo. Po Carlylovem mnenju bi morali zgodovinarji pripovedovati o ljudeh »z rdečico na obrazu in strastjo v želodcu«, kar z drugimi besedami pomeni, da bi »popoln zgodovinar ... moral imeti dovolj močno domišljijo, da bi lahko svojo pripoved naredil kar se da prikupno in barvito«. Da bi, kot nadaljuje Macaulay, iz preteklega življenja naredil pripoved, ki, »tako kot v starih časih ..., sodi med najodličnejše umetnosti«. Ali če končamo s Trevelyanom, zgodovinar bi moral pretekla dejstva predstaviti »v vsej njihovi čustvenosti in intelektualni vrednosti« in se pri tem nasloniti na »težavno umetnost literature«. V drugi polovici 20. stoletja se je romantičnim pogledom Carlyla in starejšega Macaulayja pridružil premislek že omenjenega Treveljana, Johana Huizinge, Lawrencea Stona, stoletje ideologij in uničenja pa se je izteklo v razpravo, ki so jo (znova) povzeli literati. Ljudje, kot je Slavenka Drakulić, ki je za svoj opis posiljevanja bosanskih žena kot del srbskih zločinov v Bosni in Hercegovini izbrala literaturo. Pravilno se je namreč zavedala, da bo njen roman *S* dosegel več ljudi, kot bi jih dosegla še tako doživeta reportaža v enem od uveljavljenih dnevnikov ali tednikov.

Podobno razmišljanje in podobne dileme srečamo tudi pri tematizaciji holokavsta, pa naj bo ta osredotočena na odrasle, starce ali otroke. O tem ne nazadnje najlepše priča grafični roman *Maus*, s katerim avtor uvaja drugi del svojega besedila. Del, v katerem želi izpostaviti pomen literature in drugih umetniških izrazov za ohranitev spomina na preteklo dogajanje nasploh in spomina na holokavst še posebej. Pri tem se naslanja na klasična literarna dela (*Noč*, *Violina iz Auschwitza*, *Skrivnost*) in tudi na stripovske

upodobitve (*Dnevnik Ane Frank, Maus, Berlin ...*). Znotraj tega je izbral dela, ki posredno in neposredno tematizirajo spomin najmlajših judovskih žrtev fašizma in nacizma.

V zadnjem delu, ki se osredotoča na konkreten primer, pa skuša na podlagi zgodovinarskega branja mladinske pripovedi Miriam Steiner *Vojak z zlatimi gumbi* iz avtoričine pripovedi izluščiti tiste vsebine, ki se naslanjajo na resnične dogodke in izkušnje pripovednice. Z očmi zgodovinarja skuša izluščiti zgodovinski pomen posameznih prizorov, kot je prizor na železniški postaji, ki ga Steinerjeva predstavi kot eno od slik v slikanici deportacije in uničenja.

»In ena od teh slik je, da so sred noči pršli po nas, da so me oddvojil od mame, da sem bila v enem kamionu, obkrožena z vojaki z velikimi škornji in bajoneti, in to je vse, kar sem vidla. In ko smo prišli, ne vem kam, verjetno na železniško postajo, in so me pustil dol, sem začela teč in sem tekla, tekla in sem slišala, v daljini sem slišala glas moje mame »ne oddvajajte me od mojega otroka, dajte mi mojo hčerko«. In sem šla v smeri tega glasa, ki je bil zelo zelo delec, in se mi zdi, da sem vidla mamo, kako jo rinejo v en vagon in ona vrešči, dajte mi mojega otroka, in jaz sem klicala mama. Ne vem, če je slišala, ampak se je obrnila, in jaz sem vidla njo in ona je vidla mene, ampak je bilo zelo zelo daleč, in v tem trenutku so prišli vojaki in so me vzel, so me vzdignil in me vrgli v en vagon.«

To, kar je za avtorico slika, je za zgodovinarja sestavni del resničnega dogajanja. Dogajanja, ki je razumljivo zgolj na podlagi ponavljajočih se opisov prizorov, ki so se sredi preteklega stoletja dogajali po vsej Evropi. In po vsej Evropi so najbolj prizadeli prav najmlajše in zato najbolj nemočne. Otroke, ki zaradi siceršnjega doživetja sveta kot mešanice fantazijskih zgledov iz pripovedk in utrinkov iz resničnega življenja tega, kar se jim je dogajalo, niso mogli v celoti razumeti in zato kot odrasli tega, kar se jim je v resnici zgodilo, ne morejo podoživeti drugače kot otroci ... in kot taki samo skozi zmes fikcije in resničnosti.

*The author of this paper first discusses the significance of literature and other artistic expressions for preserving the memories of past events in general, especially in relation to the Holocaust. To do so, he draws on classical literary works and graphic representations. Within this framework, he investigates the works (*The Diary of Anne Frank, Maus, Berlin, etc.*) that directly or indirectly thematise the memories of the youngest Jewish victims of Fascism and Nazism. Secondly, he focuses on a concrete example of a teenage narrative written by Miriam Steiner, »*Vojak z zlatimi gumbi*« (*The Soldier with the Golden Buttons*). In this part he aims to extract and analyse, through a historical reading of the novel, the ways the author intertwines the story and the contents based on true events with the narrator's experience, into a compelling narrative of suffering and loss.*

»There is something, I don't know if I should mention this now or not but there are slight differences between what is in the book and what really happened. In the book I had,

how to say, a tiny bit of freedom, literary freedom, and in a few places it was also symbolic and I not only talked about myself, I also talked about the children of the Holocaust and what the Holocaust meant for them. I was very influenced by who the children were. Immediately after the war I was in one of the summer resorts for the Holocaust survivor children. There were children as old as I was, and each of them recounted what he/she experienced. I actually compared their stories with my story and amalgamated them into one story. In the introduction to the English edition I explained everything that happened to me, maybe not in Trebnje maybe in Karlovac, I actually don't know exactly where it was, and it is important that I deliberately didn't determine a geographical location of where it happened. This was because what was of greater importance for me was to put accentuate this emotional moment of what was the Holocaust for a child of five and a half years. There are however also some small, maybe just images, small insights of what really happened ...«

In one of her last interviews, Miriam Steiner Aviezer started her narrative about the early years of her life with the words above; a life which was threatened before she, a then five-year-old girl, was unaware of what »threatened« meant. At her age she simply could not understand words like »threat«, at least not to the fullest extent. Likewise, she could not grasp plenty of other concepts, many of which emerged at the same time as she was born. Concepts such as »deportation«, »concentration camp«, »Cyclone B«, »gas chambers« ... were unfamiliar even to the adults, at least not to those from the environment within which she spent the first years of her life. This is particularly important if we want to understand the first sentence of her recent (re)recorded testimony with which, on the basis of literary thematisations of the Holocaust, the author of the presented contribution tries to answer the eternal questions regarding the complexities of literature and historiography.

The text, to be premiered at the January *Shoah – Let Us Remember* symposium, deals particularly with literature of those who were at the time of the experiment to destroy the European Jewry less than fifteen years old. Therefore, they are applicable as specific types of witnesses. Miriam Steiner, who was amongst the youngest at the time of the expulsion, is particularly valuable for exploring the Holocaust in regard to the territory of Slovenia, as she was aware of this intertwining period. What is more, in her introductory sentence at the last interview she discussed the border between fiction and reality, thus offering a more than appropriate starting point for the planned thematisation.

Regarding the fact that she was not alone within that world's criterion, in the first part of his contribution the author, on the one hand, wants to classify her work within a broader historiographical debate on the (dis)connection of literature and historiography; whilst on the other hand comparing it with literary and other artistic expressions of children, contemporaries of the Holocaust. When classifying the work, he leaned towards the final part of the two thousand year old discussion on whether the past should be interpreted

only as a politically programmed report or a narrative of images for people with whom the reader can identify himself/herself. Anyway, it is about the latter when judged against Thomas Babington Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle or George Macaulay Trevelyan, the prominent defenders of narrative historiography of the 19th century. As from Carlyle, historians should talk about people »with redness on their faces and passion in their stomachs« which in other words means that the »perfect historian ... should have a strong enough imagination to be able to do his story as attractive and colourful as possible«; and continued by Macaulay as one should make a story out of his/her past life that, »just like in the old days ..., belongs to the finest arts«. And finally, ending up with Trevelyan, a historian should present historical facts »in all their emotional and intellectual values«, leaning against »the difficult art of literature«. In the second half of the 20th century, considerations of the already-mentioned Trevelyan, Johan Huizinga, and Lawrence Stone joined the romantic view of Carlyle and the older Macaulay; a century of ideologies and destruction ended in a discussion which was (re)summarised by writers. People like Slavenka Drakulić, who chose literature for the descriptions of raped Bosnian wives as a part of Serbian crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She was correctly aware of the fact that her book *S* was going to reach more people than any deeply felt report in one of the established dailies or weeklies.

Similar thinking and dilemmas can be encountered in regard to Holocaust thematisation, regardless of whether it is focused on adults, old people or children. This was ultimately witnessed in the most beautiful graphic novel *Maus*, within which the author introduces the second part of his text, i.e. the part in which he aims to highlight the importance of literature and other artistic expressions for preserving the memories of past events in general, and in particular of the Holocaust. In doing so, he leaned towards classic literature (*Night*, *The Violin of Auschwitz*, *The Secret*) and also towards comic depictions (*The Diary of Anne Frank*, *Maus*, *Berlin ...*). Within them he selected works that directly and indirectly thematise the memories of the youngest Jewish victims of Fascism and Nazism.

Within the last section, focused on the specific case, based on the historian's reading of the narrative for young readers *The Soldier with the Golden Buttons* by Miriam Steiner, he tries to figure out those contents from the author's narrative that refer to her real events and experiences. With the eyes of a historian he seeks to discern the historical significances of individual scenes, such as the scene at the train station, as presented as one of the pictures in a picture book of deportation and destruction.

»And one of these pictures is that they came in the middle of the night after us. I was separated from my mother, I was surrounded by soldiers with big boots and bayonets, and that's all I saw. And when we arrived, I do not know where, probably at the railway station, they let me down. I started running and I ran, ran and from far away I heard the voice of my mother: "Don't separate me from my baby, give me my daughter." And I went

in the direction of the voice that was far, far away. It seemed to me that I saw my mother and how she was pushed into a wagon. She was screaming, “give me my baby”, and I called out to my mother. I do not know if she could hear me but she turned around and I saw her and she saw me, but it was from very, very far away. At that moment the soldiers came, they grabbed me, lifted me up and threw me into one of the wagons.«

What is for the author an image, is for a historian an integral part of a real event. An event, one can understand only on the basis of repeated descriptions of scenes, which took place in the middle of the last century throughout Europe. The most affected were the youngest and therefore the most helpless. Children were unable to understand what was happening to them due to their perceptions of the surrounding world as a mixture of fantasy stories and examples from their real lives. As adults they can only recapture it as when children ... and as such only through a mixture of fiction and reality.

IZ RUŠEVIN PRETEKLOSTI V NOVO SOŽITJE
Odkrivanje otroške internacije v
italijanskih koncentracijskih taboriščih
FROM THE RUINS OF THE PAST TO THE NEW
CO-EXISTENCE
Unveiling internation of children in
Italian concentration camps

BORIS M. GOMBAČ

V prispevku predstavljam zanimivo zgodovinsko raziskovanje, s pomočjo nekakšnega detektivskega dela, iskanje dveh deklic s stare fotografije. Ena je bila Judinja, druga Slovenka, obe pa sta bili nameščeni v vili Lanciano, enem izmed italijanskih koncentracijskih taborišč med drugo svetovno vojno. Med raziskovanjem so se spletla številna sodelovanja med slovenskimi in italijanskimi raziskovalci, predvsem o temah, kot so italijanska koncentracijska taborišča, odnos do »drugih«, npr. Judov, Slovencev, Hrvatov, vprašanje suverenosti, uporaba nasilja ... O tem so bile izdane številne publikacije, organizirane razstave, okrogle mize, delavnice in posnete televizijske oddaje, hkrati pa raziskovalci še naprej načrtujejo skupna sodelovanja in raziskovanja. To je primer zgodovinskega raziskovanja, ki ga lahko poimenujemo tudi »od zadaj naprej« in s katerim izzivamo »uradno« zgodovino, ki jo promovira država. Zgodba deklic s stare fotografije je zgodba s srečnim koncem. Daisy in Katja sta se po sedemdesetih letih ponovno srečali na spominski slovesnosti v Lancianu. Tovrstne pozitivne izkušnje kar kličejo k nadaljnjim lokalnim in regionalnim zgodovinskim raziskavam, ki hkrati podirajo številne ovire in bogatijo naše razumevanje nemalokrat težavne evropske zgodovine.

Čeprav sekvenčnost dogodkov ni povsem točna, je verodostojnost naštetih dejstev povsem eksaktna. Začelo se je, ko so naju kolegi na simpoziju o italijanskih taboriščih, ki se je odvijal v rimskem Judovskem centru Il Pittigliani aprila 2013, prosili, naj z odkritjem ljubljanske deklice Katjuše končava zgodbo o dveh anonimnih deklicah, Judinje in Slovenke, ki sta se rodili leta 1942 v taborišču v kraju Lanciano (Abruzzo). Ti simbolni rojstvi naj bi povsem legitimno postavili Lanciano na zemljevid italijanskih taborišč, ki se že vrsto let izpopolnjuje prav po zaslugi lokalnih raziskovalcev, ki skušajo z odkrivanjem preteklosti svojega kraja vključiti ta kraj v neko širšo zgodbo. Ker se je za deklicama kasneje zgubila vsaka sled, sva z Metko pomislila, da te naloge ne bova zmogla. Bilo je sicer nekaj materialnih indicev: dva rojstna lista iz matičnega urada, zaznamki v policijskih zapisnikih in nekaj prič, ki so se spominjale otrok v Vili Sorge, kjer je bilo taborišče. Vse drugo je bilo popolna skrivnost. Tamkajšnji pobudnik, Gianni Orecchioni, se je najprej obrnil na judovsko občino v Rimu, kjer so identiteto judovske deklice dokaj hitro odkrili, saj je bil njen mož Enrico Modigliani, ki v Italiji vodi projekt ohranjanja judovskega spomina CDEC. Z

odkritjem Daisy Dente je bil storjen prvi veliki korak pri iskanju obeh identitet. Gospa Daisy Dente je hranila kup slik in dokumentov iz obdobja internacije, ki bi lahko trasirali pot pri iskanju njene slovenske vrstnice. Daisy Dente in več ljudi, veččih iskanja »razseljenih«, se je lotilo iskanja Katjuše. Šli so tudi v Ljubljano, kjer pa niso prišli do zelenega rezultata. Metka in Boris Gombač sta bila verjetno pravšnja za iskanje izgubljene Katjuše. Metka Gombač je namreč v Arhivu Republike Slovenije po letu 1991 sestavila izjemno bazo podatkov o internirancih v Italiji, Nemčiji in na Madžarskem. Podatki in praksa iskanja so ji bili domači tudi zaradi sodelovanja s Centrom v Bad Arolsensu, z ženevskim centrom za razseljene in z drugimi institucijami, npr. z NARA v Washingtonu in z italijanskimi arhivi. Boris Gombač pa je gojil strokovne odnose z vrsto italijanskih raziskovalcev tega obdobja, Carlom Spartacom Capogrecom, Andreo Giuseppinijem in Radiodocom, Romanom Herzogom in drugimi, kar je omogočalo boljše delo in večje sodelovanje. Vse te navezave so izhajale iz vidnosti in odmevnosti razstave *Quando morì mio padre – Ko je umrl moj oče*. Spisi in pričevanja otrok iz italijanskih koncentracijskih taborišč na italijanski vzhodni meji, ki je od leta 2005 ustvarjala razmere za boljše in konkretnije sodelovanje zgodovinarjev na temo interniranja v Italiji. Razstava je imela v Italiji nad 50 ponovitev in bila eden ključnih trenutkov pozitivnega sodelovanja, iz katerega se je rodilo veliko publikacij, filmov, stripov, konferenc. Vabila na simpozije, kjer se je interniranje Slovencev obravnavalo na povsem isti ravni kot judovsko interniranje, so se množila. Krog ljudi, ki so se posvečali temi interniranja, se je širil in oplemenitil tudi slovensko znanje o tem. Na neki način smo razumeli, da vsi orjemo ledino, saj so bili recidivi pri omogočanju tovrstnih raziskav zelo močni. Tu in tam je kakšen evropski projekt omogočil, da so raziskave zadihale s polnimi pljuči, drugače pa se je vsak znašel, kot je vedel in znal, največkrat kar z denarjem iz lastnega žepa. Slovenci smo razumeli, da so interniranci ena izmed tem, ki zanimajo Evropo in svet. Da smo tu tudi Slovenci lahko inovativni in da imamo možnost nekaj razložiti o svoji zgodovini. Potem so se začele razvijati podteme, kot sta zgodovina otrok v internaciji, prekletstvo žensk, ki so bile prizadete iz dveh smeri, kot matere in kot subjekti. Na splet smo naložili na tisoče dokumentov, kar je bogatilo splošno znanje o tej tabuizirani temi. Interes se je širil še na koncentracijska taborišča v Afriki, na relacijo med delovanjem nemških in italijanskih taborišč, govorili smo o ideologiji »novega človeka« in posledicah rasizma. K delu smo pritegnili znana imena, Anno Pizzuti, Toni Rovatti, Mattea Stefanorija, Luca Bravija, Amedea Ostija Guerrazzija, Filippa Focardija, Martina Baumeistra, Lutzka Klinkhammerja, Karolo Fings, Wernerja Renza in Corda Pagenstecherja. Zastavljen je bil tim, ki se je začel srečevati v Evropi z obravnavo vedno novih tem o internaciji in koncentracijskih taboriščih.

Razplet zgodbe o dveh deklicah je bil pozitiven. Z dokumenti iz Arhiva Republike Slovenije in s pomočjo informatorjev sva z Metko odkrila, da se je za Ljubljankanko Katjušo skrivala Katarina Bebler, rojena Jelačin, ki se je s porumenelih fotografij smehljala v družbi prijateljice in sotrpinke Daisy Dente. Po 70 letih sta se znova srečali v Lancianu in priznati je treba, da je, kljub strokovni rigoroznosti, takrat po licih vseh, ki smo bili priča temu dogodku, spolzela kaka solza. Pozitivne prakse našega in tujega znanja so dale rezultat.

This article basically presents interesting historical research through a kind of »detective« work in order to find the two small girls from an old photo. One Jewish and the other Slovenian, they shared the same premises in a villa in Lanciano, where one of the Italian concentration camps was located during the Second World War. During this investigation there were several areas of cooperation between Slovenian and Italian researchers with regard to Italian concentration camps, attitudes towards »the Others« like Jews, Slovenians, Croats, questions about sovereignty, use of violence, etc. Several publications, exhibitions, round tables, workshops, TV shows were organised and further cooperation is taking place. It is a kind of historical research »from the bottom up«, challenging the so-called »official« history, promoted by the national state. The story about the girls ended happily. Daisy and Katja met after 70 years at the memorial event in Lanciano. Such a positive practice calls for further local/regional historical research, that would break various barriers and enrich our understanding of often troubled European history.

Although the sequence of events may be slightly inaccurate, the credibility of the following facts is certainly exact. It began in April 2013, at a symposium on the Italian concentration camps, which took place in the Jewish Community Centre 'Il Pittigliani' in Rome. Our colleagues there asked us to trace a girl named Katjuša from Ljubljana and from her finish the story of two anonymous girls, one Jewish and one Slovenian, who were born in 1942 in the concentration camp at Lanciano (Abruzzo). These symbolic births would quite legitimately put Lanciano on the map of Italian concentration camps that has been completed after many years thanks to local researchers who have tried to discover the history of the place they live in and embrace it within a wider context. Metka and I thought this mission was impossible as the girls seemed to be lost without trace. There was very little material evidence: two birth certificates from the registry office, some notes in the police reports, and a few witnesses who remember the children being at the Villa Sorge where the camp was located. Everything else was a complete mystery. The local initiator, Gianni Orecchioni, first applied to the Jewish municipality in Rome, where the identity of the Jewish girl was discovered fairly quickly. Namely, her husband, Enrico Modigliani, turned out to be the project manager of the CDEC Jewish memorials' maintenance in Italy. Discovering Daisy Dente was the first big step in the search for the two identities. Mrs. Daisy Dente had a lot of pictures and documents from the period of internment, which could be of help to find her Slovenian contemporary. Daisy Dente and some more people skilled in searching for »displaced persons« started searching for Katjuša. They went to Ljubljana, where they did not achieve the desired result. Metka and Boris Gombač seemed to be perfect for finding the lost Katjuša. After 1991, Metka Gombač managed to compile an extraordinary data base about internees in Italy, Germany and Hungary from the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia. She was very familiar with the data and information search due to her cooperation with the Centre in Bad Arolsen, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre in Geneva and other institutions, for example NARA in Washington and the Italian archives. Boris Gombač cultivated professional relationships with a range of Italian researchers of that period: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco,

Andrea Giuseppini and Radiodoco, Roman Herzog, and others. That enabled him better work and a higher level of cooperation. All these relationships originated from the vision and echoing of the exhibition *Quando morì mio padre – When my father died*. Since 2005 the writings and testimonies of children from the Italian concentration camps on the eastern Italian border have created conditions for better and more concrete cooperation of historians regarding Italian deportations. In Italy the exhibition was repeated over 50 times and was one of the key moments of positive cooperation, from which many publications, films, comic books, conferences were spawned. Invitations to symposiums multiplied and the internment of Slovenians was considered on exactly the same level as the Jewish internment. The circle of people who were delving into these deportations expanded and also enriched Slovenian knowledge about it. In a sense we understood that we were all breaking new ground, as the relapses when facilitating such research were very strong. Here and there a European project would enable the research to breathe new life otherwise everyone had to proceed as best they could, mostly by using money from their own pockets. We Slovenians understood that the internees were one of the subjects that attracted Europeans and the rest of the world. Consequently we Slovenians should be innovative, and seize the opportunity to explain something about our history. Afterwards sub-themes began to develop such as the history of children in internment, the curse of those women who were affected from two angles, as mothers and as subjects. Thousands of documents were uploaded on the web, which thus enriched the general knowledge on this taboo theme. The interest was expanded to include concentration camps in Africa, to the relationships between German and Italian camps; and we spoke about the ideology of the »new man« and the consequences of racism. Famous names like Anna Pizzuti, Toni Rovatti, Matteo Stefanori, Luca Bravi, Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, Filippo Focardi, Martin Baumeister, Lutz Klinkhammer, Karola Fings, Werner Renzo, and Cord Pagenstecher were attracted into working with us. A team was put together that began to meet in Europe to constantly open new topics on internment and concentration camps.

The story about the two girls ended happily. Thanks to the documents from the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and the help of informers, Metka and I discovered that Katjuša from Ljubljana, who was smiling from the fading photos in the company of a friend and fellow sufferer Daisy Dente, was actually Katarina Bebler, born Jelačin. After 70 years they met again in Lanciano. It has to be admitted that, despite the professional demeanours of those who witnessed this event, no-one left without shedding some tears. The positive practices of our own and foreign knowledge provided the result.

EDUKACIJA O HOLOKAVSTU THE HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

FRANC KUZMIČ

V prispevku želim prikazati nekaj ugotovitev in stanje o edukaciji o holokavstu v Sloveniji. Konec druge svetovne vojne je pokazal bilanco, kruto število največjega genocida nad Judi v zgodovini, okrog šest milijonov žrtev, kar danes imenujemo holokavst. V Sloveniji se v zadnjem času vse več posvečamo edukaciji o holokavstu, posebno mladih. Zakaj je to potrebno? V Sloveniji namreč na žalost glede tega še vedno ni stopnje zavesti, kakršna bi morala biti. Še vedno se pojavlja namerna pozaba in še vedno je do neke mere prisoten prikrit antisemitizem. Objektivno prikazovanje krutih dogodkov, ki bi morali ostati kot spomin in opomin, je zelo pomembno. Trezno prikazovanje vseh teh dejstev vodi prav tako k temu, da se tudi starejši ljudje začnejo poglobljati v preteklost in naši generaciji, s tem pa tudi bodočim, odkrivajo tako imenovane pravičnike. V prispevku poskušam vsaj delno pokazati edukativno dejavnost v Sloveniji na področju filma, razstavne dejavnosti, publicistike (knjige, razprave, publikacije), znanstvenih srečanj in simpozijev o holokavstu v šolah, na okroglih mizah, spominskih večerih in tiskovnih konferencah, ob memorialnih dogodkih kakor tudi vsakoletnem Evropskem dnevu judovske kulture v septembru. »Spomin na holokavst in na tragedijo genocida pa ne sme biti le spomin na žrtve, pač pa tudi na tiste, ki so to največjo tragedijo iz prve polovice 20. stoletja preživel. Dolžnost zdajšnjih generacij in tudi naloga zgodovinopisja je, da 66 let po koncu holokavsta in zaradi odhajajočih generacij preživelih preprečimo izgubo spomina na eno najtemnejših plati zgodovine minulega stoletja« (dr. Marjan Toš: Zvezdna proga: Maribor, 2011: 8).

In this paper I want to present some of my findings regarding the Holocaust and its application within the education system in Slovenia. The end of WW2 revealed the facts about the cruel and largest genocide of the Jews in history, the around six million victims of what is now called the Holocaust. In Slovenia we have recently been increasingly devoting ourselves to educating about the Holocaust, especially young people. Why is this necessary? In regard to this topic there is unfortunately still not the expected level of consciousness in Slovenia. Intentional forgetting still appears, and underlying anti-Semitism is still present to some extent. Objective displaying of cruel events, which should remain as a reminder and warning, is very important. Sober depiction of all these facts also leads to the fact that elderly people start recalling deeper facts about the past, thus enlightening our generation, and future generation as well, about the so-called »Righteous«. Herewith I will try to present, at least partially, the educational activities in Slovenia within the fields of film, exhibitions, media (books, debates, and publications), scientific meetings and symposia about the Holocaust in schools, round tables, memorial evenings, and press conferences, the memorial events, along with the annual European Day of Jewish Culture in September. »The memory

of the Holocaust and the tragedy of genocide should not be only for the victims but also for those who survived the greatest tragedy in the first half of the 20th century. Sixty-six years after the Holocaust, due to the declining generations of survivors, it is the duty of present generations and also the task of historians to prevent any diminishing memory loss regarding the darkest sides of the history of the twentieth century« (Marjan Toš, PhD: Zvezdna proga: Maribor, 2011: 8).

ZORA PIČULIN - SLOVENSKA PRAVIČNICA, KI JE REŠILA JUDOVskega DEČKA V MAKEDONIJI **ZORA PIČULIN - A RIGHTEOUS SLOVENIAN, SAVING A JEWISH BOY IN MACEDONIA**

MARJAN TOŠ

Zora Pičulin, rojena 1. 1. 1911 v Solkanu, je dočkala drugo svetovno vojno kot babica in poklicna varuška v Ljubljani. Veljala je za zelo prijazno in urejeno, dobrega srca in prijaznega značaja. Med drugo svetovno vojno je bivala v Makedoniji, kamor jo je povabila družina Gatenjo iz Skopja. Potem ko so bolgarske okupacijske oblasti spomladi 1943 izvedle množične deportacije makedonskih Judov v koncentracijsko taborišče Treblinka, je Pičulinovi uspelo rešiti malega Šaula Gatenja iz Skopja, rojenega leta 1941. Mali Šaul je pred aretacijami in deportacijami zbolel in je bil premeščen v bolnišnico, kjer je zanj skrbela varuška Zora Pičulin. Po spletu okoliščin ga je rešila iz bolnišnice in je kot edini član družine Gatenjo preživel vojno. Zora Pičulin je bila za pravičnico med narodi razglašena leta 1975, ko je v spominskem kompleksu Yad Vashema zasadila drevo. Po vojni je živela v Ljubljani, kjer je 2. 6. 1998 umrla. Pokopana je na ljubljanskem pokopališču Žale.

Zora Pičulin, poklicna varuška iz Ljubljane, je dobila povabilo za delo na domu družine Gatenjo iz Skopja kot varuška njihovega edinca Šaula. Ko je izbruhnila vojna, je bila Makedonija priključena Bolgariji. 11. marca 1943 so zbrali vse Jude v taborišču Monopol, od koder so jih Nemci poslali v Treblinko. Od 7762 makedonskih Judov, kolikor jih je pred aprilskim napadom sil osi na Kraljevino Jugoslavijo živelo na območju Makedonije, je bilo v Treblinko poslanih 7144 Judov. Velika večina naravnost v plinske celice in krematorije. Konec vojne je od Judov, odpeljanih v Treblinko, preživel samo 166 ljudi. Z marčevskimi deportacijami leta 1943 je bila docela uničena in izbrisana starodavna in kulturno zelo bogata sefardska makedonska judovska skupnost. Vojno je preživel le 10 odstotkov predvojnih makedonskih Judov.

Med njimi je bil tudi dveinpolletni Šaul (Shaul) Gatenjo, ki je pred deportacijami zbolel za resno infekcijo ušesa. Njegova mati je dobila posebno dovoljenje, da ga lahko odpelje v bolnišnico. Pičulinova se je takrat ponudila, da prevzame skrb za Šaula. Sredi noči je Pičulinova odpeljala Šaula iz bolnišnice in odšla z njim v skrivališče v samostan v Skopje. To je bil čas, ko so vsakega Juda, ki so ga našli v mestu, deportirali, in bolgarski fašisti so neutrudno iskali Jude, ki so poskušali pobegniti. Zaradi tega so se nune, skrivajoče judovskega ubežnika, bale za lastna življenja, zato so prosile Pičulinovo, naj s Šaulom odideta. Sredi teh grozovitih razmer se je Pičulinova s Šaulom znašla brez strehe nad glavo, tavajoča po Makedoniji, v iskanju mesta, kjer bi se lahko skrila.

Po nekaj dneh se je Pičulinova s Šaulom namestila v gozdu, kjer je hranila otroka z jagodami in gobami. Ko sta ubežnika prispela v mali samostan Letnice, je Pičulinova zaprosila za namestitev zase in za otroka, v zameno pa je ponudila, da bo čistila in kuhala. Nune so sprejele njeno ponudbo, in kljub težkim razmeram, v katerih je Pičulinova živela in delala, sta s Šaulom ostala v samostanu, ki je bil na samem, oddaljen od najbližjega mesta dve uri.

Po vojni se je Pičulinova s Šaulom vrnila v Skopje, kjer je odkrila, da je bila večina makedonskih Judov pobitih, med njimi so bili tudi Šaulovi starši. Ko je zaprosila judovske oblasti za dovoljenje, da bi posvojila Šaula, sta se pojavila sestra Šaulove babice, Ester Biti in njen mož Hananya. Šaula, ki je takrat imel pet let in je Pičulinovo imenoval mama, sta vzela. Ločitev od nje je bila za Šaula zelo težka, da bi situacijo nekoliko olajšali, sta Bitijeva povabila Pičulinovo, da pride živeti k njim.

Leta 1948 so Bitijevi s Šaulom emigrirali v Izrael, Zora Pičulin pa se je vrnila v Ljubljano. Vsa leta je Šaul ostal z njo v stiku in jo še naprej naslavljala »mama«. Vse do njene smrti 2. junija 1998 jo je tudi redno obiskoval. Pokopali so jo na ljubljanskem pokopališču Žale. Pred smrtjo je živela v znamenitem »Kozolcu« v Ljubljani in je veljala za zelo razgledano in prijazno meščanko, dobre in plemenitega srca. Tudi po vojni je rada pomagala pomoči potrebnim.

15. julija 1975 je Yad Vashem spoznal Zoro Pičulin za pravičnico med narodi. Takrat je tudi obiskala Izrael in se znova srečala z »malim« Šaulom, ki je bil ob njej ponosen udeleženec svečane razglasitve za pravičnico med narodi. Po svečani razglasitvi je Zora Pičulin v spominskem kompleksu Yad Vashem posadila drevo, ob katerem je tudi spominska plošča z napisom Zora Pičulin, Slovenija.

Zora Pičulin was born on 1 January 1911 in Solkan. When WW2 broke out she was a midwife and professional nanny in Ljubljana who was considered to be very friendly, tidy, kind hearted, and of a pleasant disposition. During WW2 she lived in Macedonia, where she was working for the Gatenjo family from Skopje as a nanny. In the spring of 1943, when the Bulgarian occupation authorities were carrying out mass deportations of Macedonian Jews to the Treblinka concentration camp, Pičulin managed to save small Shaul Gatenjo, born in 1941, from deportation. Prior to the arrests and deportations Shaul had fallen ill and had been brought to a hospital, where his nanny Zora Pičulin was taking care of him. Following the course of events she managed to rescue him from the hospital. He became the only member of the Gatenjo family to survive the war. In 1975, when she planted a tree in the Yad Vashem memorial complex, Zora Pičulin was proclaimed as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. After the war she lived in Ljubljana, where she died on 6 June 1998. She is buried at the Žale cemetery in Ljubljana.

Zora Pičulin, a professional nanny from Ljubljana, was invited to the home of the Gatenjo family from Skopje to be the nanny of their only son Shaul. When the war broke out, Macedonia was annexed to Bulgaria. On 11 March 1943 all Jews were rounded up and taken to the Monopol Camp, from where they were sent to Treblinka by the Germans. From a total

of 7,762 Macedonian Jews who had lived in Macedonia prior to the Axis Power's attack on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in April 1941, 7,144 were sent to Treblinka. The vast majority went straight to the gas chambers and crematoria. Only 166 of the Jews deported to Treblinka survived to witness the end of the war. The March 1943 deportations completely destroyed and extinguished the ancient and culturally very rich Sephardic Jewish Community of Macedonia. Only 10 per cent of pre-war Macedonian Jews survived the war.

Amongst them was two-and-a-half-year old Shaul (Šaul) Gatlenjo who had sustained an acute ear infection before the deportations took place. His mother was granted a special permit for him to be transported to a hospital where Pičulin offered to take care of him. In the middle of the night she took Shaul out of the hospital and went with him to a hiding place in a convent in Skopje. At that time every Jew who was found in the city was deported, and Bulgarian fascists were tirelessly searching for Jews who were trying to escape. As a result, nuns hiding a Jewish fugitive were scared of losing their own lives, so they begged Pičulin to take Shaul and go. In the middle of those dreadful conditions Pičulin and the baby found themselves homeless, wandering across Macedonia searching for a place where they could hide.

After a few days, Pičulin found a place for them in the woods, where she fed the child with strawberries and mushrooms. Eventually the fugitives arrived at a small monastery Letnice. Pičulin requested accommodation for herself and the child. In turn she offered to clean and cook. The nuns accepted her offer and, despite the difficult conditions Pičulin lived and worked in, she stayed with Shaul in the convent located in a secluded spot, two hours away from the nearest town.

When the war was over Pičulin returned with Shaul to Skopje where she discovered that the majority of Macedonian Jews had been killed, including Shaul's parents. When she asked the Jewish authorities for permission to adopt Shaul, Shaul's grandmother's sister, Ester Biti and her husband Hananya turned up and took Shaul. At that time he was five years old and called Pičulin »mother«. The separation was very difficult for him. In order to ease the situation, the Bitis invited Pičulin to come and live with them.

In 1948 the Bitis emigrated to Israel together with Shaul and Zora Pičulin returned to Ljubljana. All the years thereafter Shaul stayed in touch with her and continued to address her as »mother«. Until her death on 2 June 1998 he also visited her regularly. She was buried at the Žale cemetery in Ljubljana. Before her death she lived in the famous »Kozolec« in Ljubljana and was considered to be a very broadminded and friendly citizen, good- and noble-hearted. Even after the war, she wanted to help people in need.

On 15 July 1975 Yad Vashem recognized Zora Pičulin as one of the Righteous Among the Nations. At that time she visited Israel and met again the »small« Shaul, who proudly attended the ceremony. After the solemn proclamation Zora Pičulin planted a tree in the Yad Vashem memorial complex. Next to the tree there is a memorial plaque with the inscription Zora Pičulin, Slovenia.

KOLOFON COLOPHON

VSAKO LETO ENO IME: ZORA PIČULIN, SLOVENSKA PRAVIČNICA MED NARODI
EACH YEAR ONE NAME: ZORA PIČULIN, SLOVENIAN RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS

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