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1948-1998.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTY YEARS
OF THE JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM IN BELGRADE
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VOJISLAVA RADOVANOVIĆ
MILICA MIHAILOVIĆ

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UVOD

Teško je ustanoviti kada je usmeno duhovno stvaralaštvo jevrejskog naroda preraslo u pisana dela, ali se pretpostavlja da je od VI veka pre n.e. otpočelo odabiranje već zapisanih i razmatranje nadolazećih misli, ideja i shvatanja, čija će se viševekovna integracija konačno pojaviti u I veku n.e. kao – *STARI ZAVET*, kod hrišćana, odnosno, *TANAH* kod Jevreja.¹

TANAH obuhvata Pet knjiga Mojsijevih (Petoknjižje ili *Torn* – Nauk), osam knjiga Proroka (*Neviim*) i jedanaest knjiga Svetih spisa (*Ketuvim*).² Pod okriljem *Tanaha*, a vođeni Torom, Jevreji će prevaliti put dug dve hiljade godina kroz istorijske migracije, lomove i socijalne reformacije, odolevajući uplivu stranih elemenata u srž svoje kulture.

Sa razvojem jevrejskog društva i prevazilaženjem nomadsko – stočarskog nivoa privređivanja, početkom nove ere, javlja se potreba za sve kompleksnijim sistemom običajno – pravnih normi. Iako su knjige *Tanaha*, osim historiografskih i književnih zapisa, sadržale čitave zbirke pravnih, zatim higijensko – sanitarnih propisa i moralističkih odredaba, viši oblici proizvodnih odnosa i uslova života su, u mnogim sferama, bili van domašaja postojećih propisa koji imaju zakonsku snagu (*halahot*, množ. hebr.). Širenje sistema običajnog prava je bilo postepeno i, može se reći, mukotrпно. Svaki novi propis – *halaha* – morao je imati osnovu u tekstovima *Tanaha*. Priključeni običajnom pravu, propisi su se održavali usmenim prenošenjem sve do II–III veka, kada je sastavljen zbornik zakona, propisa običajnog prava, poznat pod nazivom – *Mišna* (učenje, hebr.).³

Pojava *Mišne*, kao dopune biblijskih kanona, predstavljala je korak dalje u sociološko – istorijskoj konsolidaciji jevrejskog etnosa. *Mišna* je razrađivana, dopunjavana i komen"SAVEZ JEVREJSKIH OPŠTINA JUGOSLAVIJE" tarisana, sve do stvaranja njene „šire verzije”, *Gemare* (učiti, primiti predanje, hebr.). *Mišna* i *Gemara* zajedno, čine jedan od najvećih pisanih spomenika ljudske civilizacije – *Talmud* – zbornik jevrejskog zakono-





davstva koji već vekovima, naročito u *galutu* (dijaspori, hebr.), predstavlja šemu jevrejskog načina života, održavajući neobično jedinstven verski i etnički karakter svuda raseljenih jevrejskih grupacija. *Talmud* je gigantska „baza podataka” koja sadrži sve zakonske, pravne i etičke norme, religijske propise, kao i zbirke traktata iz oblasti medicine, higijene, poljoprivrede i drugih nauka, naravno, na nivou tadašnjih dostignuća i shvatanja unutar jevrejskog kulturnog sistema. Način postupanja prilikom svake ljudske aktivnosti, fizičke ili intelektualne, razmotren je u *Talmudu*, na čiji opus kratko i jasno ukazuje stari metaforični naziv – *Jam atalmud* (More Talmuda, hebr.).⁴

Za izlaganje i tumačenje *Tanaha*, korišćena je posebna tehnika zvana *Midraš*, koja se služila primerima, pričama i bajkama, da bi otkrila suštinske poruke njegovih tekstova.⁵ Međutim, upotreba ovakvih simbola nije bila moguća u tumačenju, opet, veoma komplikovano pisanih talmudskih knjiga, čija je svrha bila, u stvari, sasvim praktična – zakonodavna. Navedene *halahot* kodekse trebalo je konkretno objasniti i učiniti lakim za razumevanje, kako bi bili pravilno primenjivani u širokim narodnim masama. U tom cilju, usledili su pokušaji čuvenih jevrejskih mislilaca srednjeg veka, (Majmonidesa, Jakova Ben A sera), da prezentuju i sistematizuju brojne zbirke *halahot* u jedan priručni zbornik propisa. Nastala su dva sjajna, veoma celovita priručnika, ali ni jedan nije bio dovoljno prilagođen potrebama običnog čoveka. Konačno, u tim nastojanjima je uspeo Josef Karo, španski Jevrejin, sastavivši zbornik *Šulhan aruh*, koji je štampan 1551. godine u Veneciji. Od tada, *Šulhan aruh* je opšteprihvaćen zbornik, koji sadrži određene *halahot* iz ličnog, pravnog i verskog života. Međutim, zbog porekla autora, *Šulhan aruh* nije obuhvatio postupke aškenaskog obreda, pa se principijelno može reći da je ovaj značajan posao kompletiran tek 1578. godine, pojavom dopunjenog izdanja autora Mošea Iserlesa Ramoa, iz Krakova.⁶

Knjige *Tanaha*, zatim *Talmuda*, pisane su vekovima i sačinjavaju osnovu jevrejskog načina života, celokupnog sistema vrednovanja i poimanja stvari i odnosa.

Sudbina jevrejskog naroda obeležena je i, u svakom pogledu, uslovljena beskrajnom dijasporom. Vremenom, formirane su dve velike, demografske celine – Sefardi, Jevreji Pirinejskog poluostrva i Aškenazi, u slobodnom prevodu nemački Jevreji, inače naseljeni u zemljama centralne i istočne Evrope. Život u različitim geografskim, odnosno istorijskim i kulturnim okruženjima, neminovno je uticao na pojave obrednih specifičnosti, kao i na znatne jezičke razlike između ove dve grupacije. To je, zapravo, bila najizrazitija posledica života u različitim sredinama: Sefardi su govorili *ladino* (dudezmo, dudeo-espanjol), a Aškenazi *jidiš* jezikom. Ova dva kompletno strukturirana jezika,





predstavljala su amalgame raznorodnih jezičkih elemenata i narečja „iz susjedstva”, stvarane na španskoj, odnosno nemačkoj govornoj osnovi.

(Ovi jezici nisu zaboravljeni, mada je njihova upotreba znatno smanjena. Kao govorni jezik, *jidiš* očuvan u znatno većoj meri).

Teritorije Jugoslavije i drugih današnjih južnoslovenskih zemalja, naseljavane su Sefardima i Aškenazima u više imigracionih talasa, tokom dužeg vremenskog razdoblja i, shodno tome, pod različitim istorijskim okolnostima. Kako su se srednjoevropski Aškenazi povlačili na Balkan pred razjarenim hrišćanstvom srednjeg veka, tako su i Sefardi prognani iz Španije i Portugalije, nalazili (u to vreme islamsko) utočište u osvit novog veka. A ni novi vek nije umirio duhove ...

Međutim, i pored neminovno nastalih distinkcija između sefardskog i aškenaskog etno – imidža u sferama materijalnog i, delom, kulturnog izražaja, veza sa izvornom kulturom i religijom ostala je netaknuta. Prisutne razlike u opštoj spoljnoj pojavi, kao i oscilacije u obrednim postupcima, ne zađiru u dublje slojeve jevrejskih običajnih sistema, bilo životnog ciklusa, bilo verskog i nacionalnog praznovanja. Suština je ista, ma gde i ma kako živeli...

Šalom.

¹Eugen Verber, Milica Mihailović i Hedviga Bošković: Jezik, pismo i knjiga Jevreja u Jugoslaviji, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd 1979, str. 13.

²Ibid, str. 14.

³Ibid, str. 16.

⁴Ibid, str. 17. i Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996. str. 160.

⁵Eugen Verber, Milica Mihailović i Hedviga Bošković: Jezik, pismo i knjiga Jevreja u Jugoslaviji, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd 1979, str. 16.

⁶Ibid, str. 18.



ROĐENJE DETETA – JEVREJSKA PORODICA I ODNOS PREMA POTOMSTVU

Shvatanja o porodici, kao neprevaziđenoj socijalnoj osnovi života, stara su koliko i jevrejsko društvo, počev od Prve knjige Mojsijeve (Postanje), pa do savremenog doba. Čuvanje jevrejskog integriteta, duha i tradicije u nizu vekova i na svim geografskim širinama, odigravalo se upravo u porodici, pa se može reći da je njen štiti od asimilacije blistaviji čak i od onog koji je pružala sinagoga. Inicijalna svest o spoljnom svetu, kao i modeli ponašanja i vrednovanja, formiraju se u porodici čija je uloga, zbog toga, predmet mnogih mudračkih razmišljanja i rasprava, zabeleženih u brojnim verskim knjigama jevrejskog naroda.

Jevrejska porodica je patrijarhalna.⁷ Međutim, u tom patrijarhalnom uređenju odnosa, naziru se tragovi matrijarhata. Analogno ranijim fazama opšteg razvoja ljudskih društava, odnosno postojanju matrijarhalnog sistema kao preovlađujućeg na nižim, primitivnim kulturnim stupnjevima, može se pretpostaviti da se radi o preostacima odnosa koji se, u jevrejskoj porodici, prvenstveno ogledaju u matrilinearnom računanju srodstva i jasno izraženom shvatanju da muškarac – kao „glava porodice” – treba da bude nesebičan i pažljiv prema svojoj ženi i deci, i da se prema njima odnosi s ljubavlju, brigom i uvažavanjem. Dozvolimo i mogućnost da ova matrijarhatska nit, koja se uporno provlači do današnjih dana, nije preostala iz ranije kulturne faze društvenog razvoja već je, kao svrsishodan oblik odnosa, prihvaćena uz Toru. Bez obzira na to da li su u datom slučaju neki tipovi društvenih odnosa imali kontinuitet od nižih ka višim kulturnim nivoima, stoji činjenica da je regulisanje porodičnih odnosa kod Jevreja podrazumevalo određenu kombinaciju običaja, kako u funkciji očuvanja porodice kao osnovne socijalne grupe, tako i duhovnog usklađivanja sa širom društvenom zajednicom. Sistem vaspitanja i verskog obrazovanja, koji je do određenog doba starosti pružala porodica, bio je takav da su problemi adaptacije na sredinu i otuđivanje bili





relativno retki, kao što su bile retke i drastičnije pojave kršenja običajnih normi, koje je onda okolina sankcionisala na propisan način (na primer: sklapanje braka sa pripadnikom druge vere povlačilo je osudu sredine i potpunu ekskomunikaciju, za nanošenje fizičke povrede plaćala se odšteta, itd.).

Porodica je, osim šire društvene, imala u svojoj osnovi i elementarnu ulogu u produžetku života. (Uostalom, ovu ulogu ima i danas, mada su uslovi za „produžetak” znatno slobodniji.) Prema jevrejskom verskom i tradicionalnom shvatanju, deca su blagoslovena nagrada i krajnja svrha svake legalizovane zajednice muškarca i žene. Brak bez dece, smatran je nesrećnim.

Za razliku od Biblije, u kojoj se ne govori o procesima začeća i trudnoće, u *Talmudu* je ova tema detaljno razmotrena sa biološkog, naučnog i teološkog stanovišta, naravno, na nivou tadašnjih znanja i predstava o nastanku ljudskog života. U tom smislu, *Talmud* sadrži mešavinu iracionalnih, religijskih stavova i realnih objašnjenja procesa kroz koje prolaze žena i njen plod.⁸

Judaizam vidi čoveka kao spoj tri entiteta – oca, majke i Boga. Od oca nastaju takozvane „bele” supstance, pri čemu se misli na kosti, nokte, beonjače i mozak, a od majke „crvene” supstance – krv, meso, koža i zenice. Izvan ove fizičke osnove, čovek dobija od Boga duhovnost i onaj deo fizičkih moći koji je vise u domenu estetike i intelekta – duh, dah, lepotu oblika, vid, sluh, mogućnost govora, hodanja, razumevanja i razboritost. Po čovekovoju smrti, Bog uzima „svoj deo” natrag, ostavljajući očev i majčin materijal.

Talmudski tekstovi nisu pridali naročitu pažnju samom porođaju, u smislu fiziološkog i fizičkog događaja, već je taj čin posmatran u kontekstu simbolične povezanosti čoveka i Boga, odnosno poređenja čovekovih i božjih moći (iz zemlje koju je čovek posejao, nići će određene vrste biljaka; isto tako, božjom voljom, od dva različita semena – muškog i ženskog, nastaće jedna vrsta, čovek). Dakle, fetus se začinje spajanjem muškog i ženskog semena, ali je njegov pol uslovljen momentom ejakulacije. Ako je žena bila prva u postizanju orgazma, dete, začeto tom prilikom, biće muškog pola, i obrnuto.⁹

U *Talmudu* postoji opis fetusa, njegovog položaja i načina hranjenja u materici. Smatralo se da trudnoća prolazi kroz tri vremenski jednake faze kojima su, usled fizičkih promena žene i embriona, uslovljene i seksualne aktivnosti. Sa očiglednom mišlju da je intimna bliskost supružnika veoma važna za opšti sklad, te da je ne treba zanemariti, *Talmud* opisuje položaj fetusa u svakoj od tri pomenute faze i savetuje periode apstinencije (pre bi se reklo, pojačane opreznosti), odnosno aktivnosti.

Realistički prikaz stanja fetusa, obojen je religijskim shvatanjem da fetus, sve vreme svoga razvoja, ima božanski datu svest o *Tori* i njenim sadr-





žajima, koju će mu oduzeti anđeo, prilikom rođenja. Dolaskom na ovaj svet, novorođeno dete je tabula rasa, ali prema jevrejskom narodnom verovanju, udubljenje na ljudskom licu između nozdrva i gornje usne, upravo je znak anđeoskog dodira, i zaborava.¹⁰

Uporedo sa religijskim i naučnim objašnjenjima talmudskih mudraca, trudnoću, porođaj, kao i postporođajni period, pratili su narodni običaji, uglavnom svedeni na seriju ritualnih postupaka magijskog karaktera, što ukazuje na njihovo daleko pagansko poreklo. Ovaj krug običaja je spadao u folklor, bez zvanične verske kodifikacije, ali podržan narodni m verovanjima da može doprineti zaštiti majke i deteta od bolesti i zlih duhova.

Sujeverju i magijskim radnjama podlegla su sva ljudska društva i civilizacije, uključujući i našu (još uvek kucamo u drvo „da ne čuje zlo“...). Pogotovo je svrsishodnost magije bila izražena u ranijim periodima ljudske nemoći pred prirodom i pred bolešću kada je, između ostalog, smrtnost žena i novorođenčadi bila veoma visoka. S obzirom na to da je budućnost porodice (čoveka) zavisila od sopstvenih odbrambenih mehanizama, sasvim je razumljivo uporno pribegavanje nekim magijskim radnjama koje su, ako ništa drugo, pružale subjektivno osećanje kakve-takve sigurnosti. Nemoć je razdvojiti obrede magijskog porekla među susednim narodima na sličnim kulturnim stupnjevima razvoja. Bez obzira na sva druga etnička i verska obeležja po kojima se oni razlikuju, većina takvih obreda je nespecifična, nastala pod međusobnim uticajima. Na primer, jedan od starih obreda za zaštitu porodilje od zlih duhova, bio je povlačenje magijskog kruga po podu, kredom ili ugljenom, oko njenog kreveta, a da bi se obezbedio brz i lak porođaj, odvezivane su sve vrpce (mašne, čvorovi) na ženinoj odeći. U slučaju teškog i po život opasnog porođaja, pristupalo se obredima u tipičnijem, jevrejskom kontekstu: ženi je u ruku stavljan svežanj ključeva lokalne sinagoge i opasivana je pojasom kojim se obavijaju svici *Tore*, dok su izgovarane molitve pored grobova pobožnih predaka; pored ostalog, vršene su i obredne procesije oko zidova lokalnog groblja, pri kojima su pevani Psalmi i pokajničke molitve. U mediteranskim i bliskoistočnim zemljama, za koje je karakterističan sefardski živalj, za zaštitu žene najradije su korišćeni amuleti različitog oblika (u vidu šake, sedmokrakog svećnjaka – minore, i si.), a primenjivane su i razne magijske radnje: držanje otvorenih vrata na kući i otklopljenih lonaca za vreme trajanja trudnoće, da ne bi došlo do spontanog pobačaja, stavljanje slatkiša ispod porodiljinog kreveta u cilju „podmićivanja“ zlih duhova ... Najveću opasnost, posle porođaja, predstavljala je Lilit, ženski zao demon, koji je napadao majku i dete iz ljubomore. Lilit je naročito atakovala na mušku novorođenčad. Za bitku protiv užasne Lilit, korišćeni su razni talismani i amajlije, predmeti i proizvodi koji su, u stvari, bili prirodno





vezani za određena geografska područja – na primer slonovača, korali, neke vrste metala i, naravno, neprevaziđeni beli luk. Aškenazi istočne Evrope su uobičavali i vezivanje crvene pantljike oko dečjeg zgloba. Međutim, većina jevrejskih zajednica je najviše verovala u moć čelika, pa je ispod porodiljnog kreveta ili u bebinu kolevku stavljan nož. Najdelotvorniji je bio nož za obrezivanje. Opasnost od Lilit trajala je upravo do obrezivanja, posle čega je muško dete uspostavljalo vezu sa Bogom.¹¹

Postupak oko davanja imena detetu nije bio ujednačen, već prema lokalnim razlikama: muška deca su dobijala ime, uglavnom, pri obredu obrezivanja; ženskoj deci su davana imena prilikom očevog izlaska da čita *Torn* u sinagogi, ili prilikom prve majčine posete sinagogi, posle porođaja. U zapadnoj Evropi, davanje imena se odvijalo u atmosferi kućne svečanosti, na primer subotom ujutro, i si.

Rođenje deteta – naročito muškog – bio je veliki i srećan događaj. Davašniji, mada još uvek aktuelan običaj je dobrodošlica muškom detetu – *šolem zohor* (hebr.)¹² Uz izvesna lokalna odstupanja u samom postupku, suština ovog običaja je svečano i radosno okupljanje rođaka i prijatelja, u kući bračnog para koji je dobio sina. Pošto se izrecituju određeni izvodi iz Biblije i Psalama, gosti se služe pićem, kolačima i voćem. Običaj sadrži tri osnovna simbola iskazana kroz posluživanje gostiju: obavezno se služi naut ili sočivo (čiji oblici asociraju na kruženje života), zatim, ponegde je hrana postavljena na „žalobnom” stolu (što treba da podseti na prolaznost života). Na kraju, glavna svrha samog posluživanja je simbolična uteha što je dete, u momentu rođenja, zaboravilo svoja znanja o *Tori*.

Međutim, poštovanje *šolem zohor* običaja nije imalo za cilj da podstakne različit emocionalni odnos prema muškoj i ženskoj deci. *Talmud* strogo zabranjuje neuravnoteženo pokazivanje osećanja i pažnje prema sinovima i kćerkama, ili bilo kakvo favorizovanje jednog deteta u odnosu na drugo. Roditeljska ljubav i briga za decu, morala je biti ujednačeno iskazana. U ranom detinjstvu, majka je imala direktniji kontakt sa decom i time značajniju ulogu u njihovom vaspitanju. Kasnije, otac je preuzimao veće obaveze i odgovornost, naročito u vaspitavanju muške dece, dok se kćerkama i dalje (sve do udaje), više bavila majka. S druge strane, *Talmudom* je propisan i odnos dece prema roditeljima. Deca su imala moralnu i ljudsku obavezu da bezrezervno poštuju svoje roditelje, odnosno da se pokoravaju njihovoj volji. U skladu sa običajnim normama, roditelji su mogli nad decom ostvarivati svoje pravo, kao što je udavanje kćerke putem otkupa ili, čak, prodavanje ženskog deteta u roblje – mada je ovo pravo bilo ograničeno.¹³ Ovi veoma stari običaji, nastali u uslovima surovog načina života i ekonomske borbe za opstanak, nisu podrazumevali prostituciju. Ona je bila strogo zabranjena bez obzira na





uslove i okolnosti. Običajna regulacija odnosa roditelji – deca (kćerke) kao da se, u izvesnom smislu, rukovodila čudnom kontrastnom spregom zarobljen – Slobodan. Dok je roditeljima omogućeno da utiču na lični život i budućnost svoje dece, u pomenutim slučajevima sa pravom na vrlo drastične zahteve, dotle je kćerkama omogućeno da se, na primer posle razvoda, vrate u kuću svoga oca.

Interesantan je položaj muške dece, i to u kontekstu pojma – brat. Uloga brata (braće) je veoma istaknuta u jevrejskoj porodici. Jedan od ideala naglašanih u Bibliji jeste upravo solidarnost i harmonija u odnosima među braćom, pa postoje izvesne indicije da je antičko jevrejsko društvo imalo razvijen sistem bratstava, organizovanih u plemena. Starešine takvih društvenih formacija su bila braća, a ne očevi. Situacija je analogna određenim fazama društvenog razvoja, a i kompatibilna sa talmudskim shvatanjem uloge oca u porodici (jer, i brat je nekome otac), pa se može smatrati vrlo verovatnom. Takođe, upotreba termina „brat” je bila široka, prelazila je okvire prostog označavanja stepena srodstva. Ipak, sve ostaje na nivou pretpostavke, jer se biblijski ideali i načini oslovljavanja ne mogu uzeti kao dokaz.

Poseban tretman u obrednom i ekonomskom smislu, imalo je prvorođeno dete.¹⁴ Ovaj deo jevrejskih tradicionalnih odnosa u porodici, ne treba mešati sa prethodno pomenutim kodeksom principijelnog ponašanja prema deci, koja su ravnopravna u uživanju roditeljske nege i ljubavi. Međutim, rođenje prvog deteta se očekuje sa najvećom pažnjom i, zapravo, nadom da će to biti sin, kojim će se osigurati kontinuitet porodičnog imena i ekonomskih vrednosti. Po Bibliji, prvorođeni sin ima poseban status u religijskim regulativama i, shodno tome, u pravu nasleđivanja imovine: on nasleđuje dva dela očeve imovine, a ostali sinovi po jedan. U religijskom smislu, status prvorođenog proističe iz proste činjenice da je on prvi sin svoje majke. Međutim, ako je muškarac imao više žena, sva njihova prvorođena muška deca imala su takav verski status, ali je samo jedan – njegov prvorođeni sin imao pomenute nasledničke privilegije. S druge strane, ako je žena imala više muževa, kulturni status je imao njen prvi sin, ali su svi ostali sinovi imali nasledničke privilegije u odnosu na svoje očeve, pod uslovom da su, za njih, bili prvorođeni. Bitna mera u regulisanju nasledničke privilegije bila je očeva potvrda sinu da je prvorođeni. Ako bi se dogodilo da otac umre ili pogine pre rođenja svog prvog sina, pravo prvorođenog na dva dela očeve imovine ostaje nepotvrđeno i izjednačava se sa pravom drugih sinova. Pošto je bio uzet u obzir i raznolik kvalitet međusobnih odnosa, tj. moguća pojava nekog drugog „tatinog ljubimca”, otac nije mogao da utiče na privilegovan naslednički položaj prvorođenog, ponajmanje da ga osporava.





Prvorodena ženska deca nisu imala poseban status u nasleđivanju imovine, čak ni u porodicama u kojima nije bilo sinova. Među kćerkama, oče-va imovina je deljena na jednake delove.

Biblija nalaže ocu da „otkupi” svog prvorodenog sina tako što će samo-inicijativno odabranom svešteniku – *koen-u* (*Kohen*, jedno od izraelskih ple-mena čiji su pripadnici, samim svojim poreklom, bili obavezani na izvesne sveštenečke dužnosti) dati pet srebrnih šekela. U protivnom, bio je nadležan rabinski sud *Bet din*. Otkup prvorodenog sina – *pidjon ha-ben* (hebr.) je stari simbolični obred koji se vršio trideset prvog dana po rođenju deteta: *koen* je preuzimao dete od oca uz pitanje da li će ga otac otkupiti ili će ga njemu ostaviti; otac je, naravno, otkupljivao dete, izgovarajući dva blagoslova – je-dan povodom ispunjenja ove zapovesti, a drugi u smislu zahvalnice. *Koen* je, zatim, tri puta ponavljao da je dete „otkupljeno” i vraćao ga ocu, uz poseban blagoslov nad peharom vina. Obred se odlagao samo u slučaju da pada u dane svetkovanja *Šabata* ili drugih praznika, kada nije dozvoljena upotreba novca. Međutim, ukoliko nije bilo sigurno da li je dete prvorodeno – na pri-mer, u slučaju napuštene dece ili siročadi – otkup se nije vršio. Nekada je po-stojao običaj da siročće poznatog porekla nosi medaljon sa zapisom da je bilo prvorodeno, sve dok ne odraste i ne bude u mogućnosti da otkupi samo sebe. Vremenom je taj običaj preinačen, tako što je otkup deteta vršio rabinski sud ili neki rođak, ako ga je dete imalo. U celini, ovaj obred se manifestuje samo kao religijski simbol, bez ikakvih drugih konotacija. Odbijanjem otkupa, otac je narušavao pravila ponašanja, ali bez posledica po dete.

Uz drugačiji ekonomski status prvorodene dece, postojala je i jedna iz-razito religijska specifičnost: sinovi, a ponegde i prvorodene kćerke, imali su obavezu da poste uoči *Pesaha*. Ako je dete bilo suviše malo za post, umesto njega postio je otac, ukoliko nije i sam bio prvoroden. Ako jeste, onda ga je zamenjivala majka.

Decu treba imati u onom broju u kojem to omogućava zdravlje žene. Ma koliko da je bila naglašena potreba za porodom, život žene je imao pri-oritet. Život se živi i shvata iz mnogih uglova, pa je u skladu sa tom „komplika-cijom” rešavano i pitanje abortusa u judaizmu.¹⁵ To se može posmatrati i kao jedan zanimljiv primer usklađivanja običajnog prava i religijskih shvatanja sa praktičnom humanošću i razumevanjem žene čija je uloga u prošlosti, pre svega, merena potomstvom, pa onda svim ostalim. U talmudskom kodek-su, abortus nije mogao biti slobodno prihvaćen kao čin suprotan jednom od glavnih postulata jevrejske vere o čuvanju potomstva, ali je bio princi-pijelno odobran, kao nužnost u nekim situacijama. Ukoliko je održavanje trudnoće ugrožavalo zdravlje i život žene, abortus je, po jevrejskim propi-sima, bio apsolutno dozvoljen. Abortiranje embriona, inače, nije smatrano





ubistvom niti kažnjivom radnjom (pogotovo u pomenutim uslovima), sve dok se ne dosegne stadijum potpunog formiranja, odnosno rađanja deteta. Od trenutka kada se dete ispoljilo kao živa jedinka, život majke više nije bio prioritetan, bez obzira na tok porođaja. Drugim rečima, pravo na život se izjednačavalo. Za razliku od ove relativno jasne situacije, koja je podrazumevala manifestne fizičke smetnje kod žene i time pojednostavljivala odluku o abortusu, nerešiv problem je nastajao u slučaju osnovanih sumnji da bi dete moglo da ima nekih fizičkih ili mentalnih oštećenja (na primer, naslednih ili kao posledica neke bolesti koju je trudnica preležala). Naravno, sumnje su mogle biti jedino na nivou pretpostavke, jer procena stanja u kojem je plod nije bila moguća, pa time ni zauzimanje određenog stava. Na kraju je u takvim slučajevima, ipak, data mogućnost da se pribegne abortusu, s tim što je dozvola za to prevashodno zavisila od stupnja trudnoće.

U širem kontekstu društvenih veza, jevrejskim misliocima se nametnulo pitanje – da li abortus treba dozvoliti i onda kada je trudnoća sasvim normalna ... U raspravama na tu temu, mišljenja su bila podeljena, ali je vremenom većina je zauzela stav da abortus treba dozvoliti, ako je važan za opštu dobrobit žene i njen dalji opstanak. U precizno razrađenom sistemu jevrejske kulture i religije, ovaj stav je delovao prilično fleksibilno, ali ga ne treba shvatiti bukvalno. Smisao je bio u eventualnoj široj zaštiti žene, u specifičnim okolnostima – recimo, ratnim – ali ne u davanju lične slobode izbora. Na primer, u slučaju preljube, po mišljenju nekih autoriteta, abortus treba dozvoliti samo udatoj ženi, a neudatoj ne, jer se u njenom slučaju ne remeti raspored nasledstva.

Kada je već reč o povoljnim i nepovoljnim okolnostima za potomstvo, zanimljivo je osvrnuti se i na običajnu regulaciju adopcije. I pored nekih insinucija, nema dokaza da je u biblijsko vreme postojao običaj adopcije, niti je *Talmud* uzeo u obzir i definisao ovu vrstu odnosa. Po *Talmudu*, sva prava i obaveze u odnosima između roditelja i dece, utvrđena su isključivo u kontekstu biološke povezanosti.¹⁶ Dakle, nije bilo institucije adopcije. Međutim, usvajanje dece je bilo ne samo moguće, nego je smatrano jednom od najvećih *cedaka* (milosrđa, pravednosti, hebr.), a važno je i za nejevrejsku decu.¹⁷ Zapravo, radi se o posebnom postupku, utvrđenom običajnim pravom, koji po formi podseća na današnju adopciju, ali se razlikuje po načinu regulisanja odnosa. Odlukom nadležnog rabinskog suda, briga oko ugroženog deteta ili siročeta, poveravana je zainteresovanoj i odgovarajućoj osobi. Čovek koji je preuzeo odgovornost za fizičko i duhovno zdravlje tuđeg deteta, kao i za njegovu ekonomsku poziciju i budućnost u datoj porodici, smatran je starateljem, ne ocem. Odnos između deteta i njegovog staratelja nije podrazumevao uspostavljanje emocionalnih i ekonomskih odnosa, kakvi prirodno postoje





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između roditelja i njihovog biološkog potomstva. Dete uopšte nije moralo biti siročić da bi dobilo staratelja; bili su važni uslovi u kojima je dete živelo, odnosno njegova opšta dobrobit. (Sud je mogao oduzeti dete od roditelja koji se neadekvatno ponašaju.) Shodno tome, dete je moglo dobiti i nekoliko staratelja, a pri tom su njegovi biološki roditelji imali obavezu da pružaju materijalnu pomoć, koliko mogu. Naravno, u takvim slučajevima, dete je znalo svoje prave roditelje i kontaktiralo je sa njima. Ovakvom adopcijom nisu bili poništavani odnosi između deteta i bioloških roditelja. Takva deca su nasleđivala imovinu bioloških očeva. Međutim, deca nepoznatih roditelja su, po prirodi stvari, imala tretman sličniji današnjem obliku adopcije, jer su testamentom nasleđivala onaj deo imovine staratelja koji bi im pripao, da su njegova.

⁷Hayyim Schneid: Family, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 10.

⁸Ibid, str. 33.

⁹Ibid, str. 37-38.

¹⁰Ibid, str. 35.

¹¹Ibid, str. 38-41.

¹²Ibid, str. 41.

¹³Ibid, str. 22.

¹⁴Posebna varijanta običajno-ekonomske mere, koja se inače sreće i u drugim patrijarhalnim kulturama, Ibid, str. 65.

¹⁵Ibid, str. 46-51.

¹⁶Ibid, str. 77.

¹⁷Ibid, str. 72-83.



B'RIT MILA – OBREZIVANJE MUŠKOG DETETA

Obrezivanje muškog deteta – *B'rit mila* (hebr.) – bio je, i jeste, jedan od najznačajnijih obreda i suštinskih simbola jevrejske kulture, kojim se čuva zavet Bogu. Kako Biblija kaže, obrezivanje je i otpočelo po Božjoj zapovesti.¹⁸

B'rit mila je običaj ritualnog i verskog karaktera i, prema nekim pretpostavkama, njegova starost seže čak do vremena nomadsko – stočarskog načina života i privređivanja. Tokom helenske dominacije nad Judejom, od IV do II veka pre n.e., uvedene su žestoke zabrane svih jevrejskih simbola i rituala u cilju asimilacije i potiskivanja judaizma, čiji je monoteistički pristup bio u dubokoj suprotnosti sa religijom antičkih osvajača.¹⁹ Međutim, kontinuitet ritualnog obrezivanja nije prekinut, ni tada – ni kasnije. To je deo jevrejskog kodeksa ponašanja koji ima svoje društveno i duhovno značenje velike *micve* (bogougodnog dela, hebr.), u vidu „puštanja zavetne krvi”, u stvari, medicinskog zahvata.²⁰ (Prema nekim savremenim istraživanjima, obrezivanje je dobra preventiva u zaštiti muškarca od određene vrste infekcije, pa čak i kanceroznog oboljenja. Nije isključeno da su stari Jevreji došli do istog zaključka iskustvenom metodom jer, opšte uzev, mnogi ritualni postupci skrivaju u svojoj osnovi sasvim realne zaštitne mere i prosto se nameće misao da nisu, prvobitno, nastali iz duhovnih pobuda. Ali, neka to ostane samo kao pretpostavka, pošto je obrezivanje izraz poštovanja volje Božje; njime se zaslužuje naklonost i zaštita Boga, tako da obred treba posmatrati samo u religijskom kontekstu.)

Mada je otac bio obavezan da upriliči *B'rit mila* za svako svoje muško dete, ovaj obred nije imao obeležje jevrejske ekskluzivnosti, odnosno sakramenta. Dete koje je rodila Jevrejka automatski pripada jevrejskom etnosu, bez obzira na to da li je obrezano ili ne. Obrezivanje može da izvrši svaki Jevrejin, pa čak i žena (Jevrejka) u nedostatku dovoljno veštog muškarca. Međutim, u većini slučajeva obred je vršio posebno određen, vrlo pobožan muškarac – *mo el* (hebr.) – koji je, naravno, bio dobar poznavalac takvih za-





hvata. U talmudskim vremenima, *moel* je bio neka vrsta zanatlije, profesionalca. Kasnije, u modernijim zajednicama, ovaj obred su počela da obavljaju obučena lica sa dozvolom lokalnog rabina. (Danas se obrezivanje, uglavnom, vrši u bolnicama.)

Prema pravilima, obredu se pristupalo osmog dana po rođenju deteta, izjutra, ali pod uslovom da je zdravstveno stanje novorođenčeta zadovoljavajuće. Ukoliko je dete bilo prerano rođeno, fizički slabo ili bolešljivo, obrezivanje se odlagalo sve do njegovog potpunog oporavka. U slučaju da je dete, iz nekog razloga, bilo obrezano pre osmog dana starosti (ili prirodnog nedostatka tog dela kože na polnom organu), obred je izvršavan simboličnim ubodom ili malim zasecanjem kože, tek toliko da se „pusti kap zavetne krvi”. Ispunjenje *B'rit mila* zapovesti je imalo izvesnu prednost nad neprikosnovenim *Šabat*om i drugim praznicima; jedino su pripreme (donošenje obrednog pribora, i si.) morale biti završene pre nego što praznik počne.

Izuzimajući duhovni smisao celokupnog običaja, obrezivanje je bilo, u stvari, jednostavan čin koncentrisan na relativno laku, ritualno vođenu hiruršku intervenciju.²⁴ Pre nego što bi počeo obred, cela zajednica je blagosiljala dete; za tu priliku Sefardi su imali prigodnu pesmu. Na vratima sobe koja je bila određena za obred, kum – *sandak* (onaj koji drži, hebr.) – preuzimao je dete od majke i predavao ga *moelu*. U sobi je obavezno bila postavljena jedna posebno ukrašena stolica, namenjena proroku Eliji, (Iliji), koji je bio anđeo-čuvar dece i duhovno prisustvovao obredima *B'rit mila*. *Moel* je spuštao dete na tu stolicu, blagosiljajući sećanje na proroka Eliju. *Sandak* je, sedeći odmah „pored” Elije, imao u krilu jastuk na koji je prihvatao dete i čvrsto mu držao nožice. Opasnost od infekcije bila je svedena na minimum jer je, pre samog zahvata, *moel* temeljno prao ruke i potapao ih u dezinfekcioni rastvor. Levom rukom je hvatao kožicu na detetovom polnom organu i, određivši obim koji treba ukloniti, naticao je neku vrstu štitnika u vidu stilizovane štipaljke. Štitnik je imao svrhu barijere između vrha organa i kože koju treba odseći, onemogućavajući povredu. Nož za obrezivanje, čije su oštre ivice često pravljene obostrano, *moel* je uzimao u desnu ruku i, izgovorivši određeni blagoslov, odsecao kožu. Odsecanje je moralo biti izvršeno u jednom mahu, duž štitnika. Opnu (sluzokožu), koja je ovim zahvatom otkrivena, *moel* je hvatao palcem i kažiprstom i leve i desne ruke, rascepivši je u potrebnoj meri (zahvat *perija*, hebr.). Ponekad je *perija* vršena makazama, ali je krvarenje tada bilo veće, pa se taj način izbegavao. U završnoj etapi, bilo je bitno da se rana što bolje očisti od krvi (*mecica*, hebr.). U novije vreme, taj proces je olakšan korišćenjem posebne staklene tube, odobrene od rabinskog suda.

Pošto je operacija završena, otac deteta je izgovarao blagoslov, uz pratnju gostiju, pozvanih da prisustvuju ovom značajnom obredu. Ima izvesnih





odstupanja u tome kakav će se blagoslov izgovoriti. Za razliku od Izraela, u većini jevrejskih zajednica u dijaspori nije običaj da se izgovara radostan blagoslov, jer je dete upravo pretrpelo bol.

Uvek se sa posebnom pažnjom (i strepnjom) pratilo krvarenje, odnosno zarastanje rane posle obrezivanja. Neki naučni izvori tvrde da se za hemofiliju – bolest koja pogađa muškarce, ali se prenosi po ženskoj liniji – znalo još u talmudskoj epohi. Na to ukazuje sledeći propis: ako prva dva muška deteta od iste majke umru od posledica obrezivanja, sledeće sinove ne treba podvrgnuti ovom obredu. Takođe, ako dve sestre izgube po jedno muško dete, pod istim okolnostima, sinovi iz te porodice (po ženskoj liniji) se ne obrezuju. U takvim slučajevima, pribegavalo se kratkom obredu koji simbolizuje obrezivanje: atmosfera i situacija je bila ista, ali je *moel*, umesto operacije, držao pehar vina i izgovarao dva blagoslova, jedan nad vinom, drugi za zavetovanje Bogu, a zatim, posebnu molitvu za dobrobit deteta. Na kraju, *moel* je davao detetu da popije nekoliko kapi vina.²²

Raširen običaj da se detetu da ime upravo prilikom obrezivanja, sproveden je bez obzira na to da li je obred izvršen u potpunosti ili simbolično.

Obred obrezivanja je, uglavnom, vezan za kuću, mada je tokom srednjeg veka češće vršen u lokalnim sinagogama. Kod jugoslovenskih Sefarda, mesto je birano po ličnom nahođenju, tako da je zahvat vršen kako po kućama, tako i u sinagogi sefardskog obreda. Operaciju je, obično, izvodio rabin, jer je tek poneka sefardska opština imala *moela*. Aškenazi u Jugoslaviji su već bili nešto striktniji – u većini slučajeva, obred se odigravao u porodičnoj kući, a vršio ga je *moel*. (Podaci se odnose na period do Drugog svetskog rata.)²³

Bilo je nekih pokušaja, sredinom XIX veka, da se način obrezivanja usavrši korišćenjem većeg broja instrumenata, te učini naprednijim i sigurnijim za bebu. Međutim, prethodno opisana tradicionalna tehnika, nije time bila prevaziđena. Štaviše, bila je bolja i upražnjavana je sve do pojave sasvim modernog hirurškog zahvata.

¹⁸Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova izjudaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 164.

¹⁹Simon Dubnov: Kratka istorija jevrejskog naroda, SJOJ, Beograd 1961, str. 64-65.

²⁰Hayyim Schneid: Family, Keter books, Jemsalim 1973, str. 56-61.

²¹Ibid, str. 57-59.

²²Ibid, str. 61-62.

²³Prema podacima iz ankete Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, 1984.



BAR MICVA I BAT MICVA

Bar micva/Bat micva (hebr.) – *sin/kći zapovesti*, obred kojim se obeležava da je osoba (dečak ili devojčica) zrela, da je od tada pod obavezom, da je odgovorna i da se podrazumeva da je verski i fizički zrela. Dečaci tu obavezu preuzimaju kada napune 13 godina i jedan dan, a devojčice kada napune 12 godina i jedan dan. Smatra se da oni tada mogu da kontrolišu svoje želje. Kako se navodi u *Enciclopedia Judaica* neki učenjaci, kao Raši²⁴ na primer, smatrali su da je *Bar micva* status obaveze, biblijskog zakona. U midraškoj literaturi se često pominje trinaesta godina kao prekretnica u životu mlade osobe. Do trinaeste godine sin prima zasluge svoga oca ali je i odgovoran za njegove grehe. Posle tog perioda, svako odgovara sam za ono što čini. To je i vreme kada se prelazi iz osnovne škole u više razrede. Pretpostavlja se da je to uzrast kada su deca već sposobna da obave post.

U *Talmudu* se više puta pominje ovaj običaj dok se u Bibliji retko pominje trinaesta godina kao prekretnica. Zapravo, citat iz Izreka otaca (Pirke avot) je jedino mesto gde se to navodi: *On bi rekao: Dječak od pet godina valja da uči Toru, sa deset godina Mišnu, sa trinaest godina treba da vrši zakon, sa petnaest da uči Talmud, s osamnaest da se ženi, sa dvadeset da se brine za prehranu, sa trideset je postigao visinu snage, sa četrdeset razboritost, sa pedeset može da savjetuje, sa šezdeset je star, sa sedamdeset mator, sa osamdeset je postigao vrhunac godina, sa devedeset je pognut, sa sto kao da je već umro i da ga više nema na ovome svijetu* (Frajberger, Molitvenik, Izreke Otaca, 5:24).

Obred *Bar micva* se veoma svečano obeležava u sinagogi i u kući dečaka. U sinagogi je jedan od glavnih simbola ove svečanosti: pozivanje dečaka da čita *Toru*. Ovaj čin je simbol postizanja zrelosti. On se poziva u prvoj prilici kada se čita *Tora* posle njegovog trinaestog rođendana, po jevrejskom kalendaru. To je prva javna demonstracija njegove nove uloge kao punopravnog člana zajednice, i u modernim vremenima, to je prilika na koju se zapravo odnosi termin *Bar micva*. Kada se dečakov otac poziva da čita *Toru*, on iz-





govara blagoslov „Neka je blagosloven On koji me je sada oslobodio ove odgovornosti”. Među religioznijim Jevrejima istočne Evrope, dečak bi obično bio pozvan na *Toru* u ponedjeljak ili četvrtak posle njegovog rođendana. U zapadnoj Evropi ovaj obred se obavlja na mnogo svečaniji način, i običaj je da *Bar micva* dečak bude pozvan na *Toru* da čita *maftir* (završni odeljak) i *haftara* (odeljak iz proroka) u prvu subotu (*Šabat*) posle njegovog rođendana. Za taj zadatak on se prethodno priprema. Prema jednom starom običaju iz Litvanije, dečak čita *maftir* na *Šabat* koji prethodi njegovom trinaestom rođendanu, a neposredno posle toga prima uobičajenu *alija* (poziv na čitanje *Tore*). U XVII i XVIII veku u Vormsu je bio običaj da dečaci koji imaju lep glas i ako su sposobni za to, vode deo, ili čitavu službu na taj dan. U nekim opštinama običaj je da dečak pročita ceo odeljak za tu nedelju. Na *Šabat* kada se slavi *Bar micva*, jutarnja služba u sinagogi je svečanija. Članovi dečakove porodice se takođe pozivaju da čitaju *Toru*, a rabin obično održi posebnu besedu u kojoj se naglašava dečakova nova odgovornost i privilegija.

U mnogim modernim sinagogama, dečak dobija poklon od svoje zajednice.

Posle službe ili sledećeg dana, dečakova porodica priređuje svečani obed za članove verske zajednice. Neki autoriteti tvrde da zakuska (posluženje) koju roditelji priređuju povodom *Bar micva* svoga sina, mora da bude isto tako svečana kao što je to bila povodom njihovog venčanja.

O izgledu i doživljaju *Bar micva*, navodim jedan opis dobijen u anketi muzeja:

„*Bar micva* sam zapamtio do detalja, pa ću potanko sve izneti iako mislim, da sve što ću napisati nije od značaja.

Moj otac je bio pobožan i hteo je da *bar micva* njegovog sina bude u svemu izuzetna i po njegovoj zamisli. Pošto sam rođen u mesecu avgustu želja mog oca bila je da čitam *piraša* „*Šofetim*” za koju je rekao da spada među najlepše.

Trinaest godina navršio sam 1937. godine Otac je angažovao našeg rabina Jakova Papu da me pripremi za taj čin. Pripreme su trajale 12 meseca. Otac je zahtevao da čitam cela *piraša*, pa je zato i učenje bilo tako dugo. Prvo sam učio iz knjige, a deset dana pre *Bar micva*, kada sam već dobro naučio čitanje, naglašavanje i pevanje – iz *Sefer Tora*.

Za moju *Bar micva* hram je bio svečano uređen kao za najveće praznike. Bilo je prisutno i nejevreja prijatelja moga oca.

U našoj opštini *micvot* u hramu su se licitirale i pripale bi onome ko bi najviše ponudio. Te subote moj otac je otkupio sve *micvot* i on ih je ustupao uglednim članovima opštine.





Kada je nastupio momenat čitanja *Tore* rabin me je pozvao da dođem za *tiva*. Rabin je stajao s leve strane, a pozvani za čitanje *Tore* sa desne strane. Prvo je pozvan naš uvaženi Koen, a potom Levi. Kao treći nastupio sam ja, a potom braća mog oca i na kraju poslednji – bio je moj otac koji je čitao *Aftara*. Svi su bogato darivali hram. opštinu i rabina uz uvažavanje mog oca i *gabaja*. Moj otac je posle *Aftara* molio *Kadiš*. – Rabin je bio vrlo zadovoljan kako sam čitao *Toru* a i moj otac, a kada su oni bili zadovoljni bio sam i ja. Kada je *Tefila* završena primili smo čestitke rabin, moj otac i ja. Otac je pozvao sve prisutne da dodu na subotnji doručak u našu kuću i mnogi su se tom pozivu odazvali. – U hramu se nije ništa služilo. U našoj opštini se smatralo nedoličnim da se u hramu jede i pije.

Povodom moje *Bar micva* u našoj kući se je slavilo tri dana. Počelo se sa subotnjim doručkom na kome se služila rakija, kuhana jaja (*inhaminadus*), *burikitas* i *zilena* i na kraju kafa. Posle doručka mnogi su se zadržali u dužem razgovoru.

Posle podne u subotu i u nedelju dolazili su prijatelji mojih roditelja na čestitanje, a u ponedeljak prijateljice moje majke. Bilo je pojedinačnih poseta i čestitanja cele nedelje.

Ja sam dobio mnoge poklone. Od oca: divan *talet* sa širitom od srebra i *tifdin* n somotskoj torbici; od brace mog oca: zlatan prsten sa monogramom i datumom (koji sam u partizanima izgubio) i ručni sat; od rabina: molitvenik i puno drugih poklona (Josip Pesah, Derventa).²⁵

Glavna ritualna inovacija i obaveza za dečaka koji je dostigao *Bar micva* je da se od njega od sada zahteva da stavlja *tefilin* – obredne kaiševe za jutarnju molitvu. Dečak se obično poučava o tome kako ih treba staviti neposredno pred *Bar micva* svečanost i to se izvodi u obliku rituala. Sefardi i neki hasidi, interpretirajući doslovno kabalu insistiraju na tome da se *tejilin* ne sme stavljati ni dan pre *Bar micva*.

Kod *Sefarda* je običaj da se stavljanje *tejilin* obavlja kao deo svečane ceremonije. Obično neko od starijih ili učenijih ljudi ima čast da pomogne mladiću da stavi *tejilin*.

Ovaj ritual je zasnovan na stihovima iz Biblije: „*Neka ti bude kao znak na tvojoj ruci i kao opomena na tvome čelu: da Božiji zakon bude uvijek na tvojim ustima. Jer te rukom jakom Gospod izbavio iz Egipta. Ovaj propis vršite svake godine u određeno vrijeme*” (Izlazak, 13:9). A takođe i na stihovima koji slede; „*Neka ti to bude kao znak na tvojoj ruci i kao znamenje posred čela da nas je rukom jakom Gospod izbavio iz Egipta*” (Izlazak, 13:16).

Tefilin se sastoji iz dva dela: *tefilin* za ruku, koji se obavlja oko šake i mišice i *tefilin* za glavu. Svaki od ova dva obredna kaiša na sredini ima malu





kutiju u kojoj se nalaze minijaturni svici na kojima su ispisani odlomci iz *Tore*. Kada se *tefilin* vezuje na mišicu, kutija mora biti na vrhu mišića tako da kada se ruka spusti niz telo, kutija bude na istoj strani i u visini srca. Vezuje se desnom rukom na levu golu ruku, bez rukava. Obredni kaiš se obmotava oko ruke prema šaci i završava se obavijanjem oko srednjeg prsta. Drugi *tefilin* se stavlja na glavu tako da kutija dode na vrh glave u sredini „između očiju“, tako da zadnji deo kutije bude na delu glave gde počinje kosa. Vezuje se pozadi, u predelu vrata, a kaiševi se puštaju da vise pored brade. Običaj vezivanja obrednih kaiševa zasniva se i na drugim stihovima iz Biblije: „*Priveži ih na svoju ruku i neka ti budu kao zapis među očima*“ (Ponovljeni zakon, 6:8). Kao i na stihovima: „*Utisnite ove moje riječi u svoje srce i u svoju dušu; kao znak ih privežite na svoju ruku; neka vam budu kao zapis među očima*“ (Pnz 11:18).

Svečani i ritualni deo obreda je i izgovaranje blagoslova pre vezivanja *tefilin*. Ovi blagoslovi su na srpskohrvatski prevedeni samo u Molitveniku dr Šaloma Frajbergera:

„Prije vezanja tefilin o ruku: Da si blagosloven, Ti vječni Bože naš, Kralju svijeta, što si nas posvetio Svojim zakonima i naložio nam, da vežemo tejin! Prije stavljanja tefilin na glavu: Blagosloveno bilo ime Njegova Veličanstva na vjeka vjekove! Prije omatanja remena na prst: Vjerim te sebi zauvijek, vjerim te pravdom i pravicom, ljubavlju i milosrđem, vjerim te vjerom pa da spoznaš Vječnoga. „

Povodom velike *Bar micva* svečanosti za dečaka, bio je običaj da se tada prvi put ogrće *talit*, molitveni šal. Obaveza da se pri molitvi stavlja molitveni šal, vezuje se za stihove iz Biblije: „*Reče Gospod Mojsiju: „Govori Izraelcima i reci im: Neka od naraštaja do naraštaja prave rese na skutovima svojih haljina, a za resu svakog skuta neka privezuju ljubičastu vrpcu. Imat ćete rese zato da vas pogled na njih sjeća svih Božijih zapovjedi. Vršite ih, a ne zanosite se svojim srcem i svojim očima što vas tako lako zavode na nevjeru. Tako ćete se sjećati svih mojih zapovjedi, vršit ćete ih, i bit ćete posvećeni svome Bogu. Ja sam Gospod, Bog vaš, koji sam vas izveo iz zemlje egipatske da vam budem bogom. Ja, Gospod, vaš Bog”* (Brojevi, 15:37). A takođe i za stihove „*Blagosiljaj Gospoda, dušo moja, Gospode, Bože moj, silno si velik! Odjeven veličanstvom i ljepotom. svjetlošću ogrnut kao plaštem! Nebo si razapeo kao šator*“ (Psalm, 104:1-2).

Pre ogrtanja *talita* izgovara se blagoslov: „*Z) a si blagosloven, Ti vječni Bože naš, Kralju svijeta, što si nas posvetio svojim zakonima i naložio nam, da se zaogrnmemo resama!*“

Uz svečanost koja se odvijala u sinagogi, razvio se od srednjeg veka među Aškenazima i običaj da dečak održi svečanu „talmudsku raspravu“ –





deraša, tokom kućne svečanosti. Sadržaj rasprave je obično u vezi sa samim obredom. Rasprava često služi dečaku za to da zahvali roditeljima za njihovu pažnju i brigu i zato što su učestvovali u njegovoj svečanosti. Ovaj običaj se održava i danas. U tradicionalnim porodicama sinovi održavaju talmudske rasprave, a i druge govore opštijeg sadržaja. U konzervativnim, reformnim i nekim ortodoksnim sinagogama dečak umesto da održi *deraša* kod kuće, održi molitvu pred zavetnim ormanom u sinagogi.

U većini jevrejskih škola postoje posebni časovi na kojima se pripremaju *bar/bat micva* učenici. U nekim kongregacijama (U Velikoj Britaniji, na primer) dečaku nije bilo dozvoljeno da slavi *Bar micva* sve dok ne položi ispit iz hebrejskog i osnove jevrejske vere.

Reformne sinagoge su uvele svečanost konfirmacije. U Nemačkoj u XIX veku to je bila neka vrsta zamene za *Bar micva* svečanost. Ceremonija se obavljala sa navršenih 16-17 godina zato što se smatralo da pre toga mlade osobe ne mogu da shvate implikacije ovog rituala. U moderna vremena, posebno u Americi, konfirmacija je prihvaćena kao ceremonija dodatna onoj za *Bar micva* koja je slavljena na mnogo tradicionalnij način.

Posebna svečanost za devojčice, *Bat micva* se ne pominje pre XIX veka.

Formalno „promovisanje“ da je dečak *bar micva* je čin koji se pojavljuje tek od XVI veka. Ipak, izvori pominju da je takva obaveza za dečake od 13 godina bila ispunjavana i u ranija vremena. Glas dečaka koji je bio *bar micva*, smatrao se legalnim u glasanju, mogao je da bude član *Bet dina*, bio računat u *minjan* i mogao je da se bavi prometom vlasništva (mada ima i slučajeva da se svedočenje 13-godišnjeg dečaka ne uzima u obzir zbog njegovog neiskustva oko kupoprodajnih poslova.)

Na pitanje u anketi Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, o tome kako je na ovim prostorima izgledalo proslavljanje *Bar micva*, dobili smo odgovore, da je u Bačkom Petrovcu, na primer, bio običaj: „Kupovane su prve duge pantalone“

Nisim Navonović se seća običaja iz Prištine: „Vezivanje kaiševa oko ruke i glave u sinagogi i čitanje molitve pred ondašnjim rabinom. Posle sinagoge priređivan je zajednički ručak sa drugovima u kući i odlazak sa drugovima u turski amam“.

„U sinagogi je mladić pozivan da čita *Toru*, prvi put. Kod nas u Zagrebu se čitalo bez psalmodiranja, tako sam i ja čitao. Običaj je bio da tom prilikom otac daje dobrovolje priloge za dobrotvorne svrhe (*Hevra kadiša* i dr.) To se glasno objavljivalo i moj otac je također dao takve priloge. Prilikom mog *Bar micva* priređen je velik prijem za mnogobrojne goste u našoj kući, a došao je i nadržabin zagrebački dr Gavro Švarc“ (Andreja Preger u anketi Muzeja).





„Svečaniji ručak i poklon, ručni sat” (Emil Klajn u anketi Muzeja).

Evo i sećanja Dragana Wollnera: „Poslije navršene trinaeste godine, nakon što sam proslavio svoju *Bar micvu* i u hramu čitao *Maftir*, postao sam, prema našim zakonima i vjerskim propisima, punoljetan i odgovoran za svoje postupke te sam poslije toga bio redovito pozivan k *Tori* i sam bih je čitao” (*Obitelj*, str. 95).

Ima i sačuvanih sećanja na to kako se na ovim prostorima obeležavala *Bat micva*. Ovo je vezano uglavnom za aškenaske opštine. Prema podacima iz upitnika o praznicima, vidi se da je ova svečanost vezivana za praznik *Šavuot*.

„Kao vrlo mlada djevojka bila sam u prvoj generaciji koja je u Koprivnici imala *bat micvu*. Za svečanost nas je pripremao rabin dr. Hirschberger koji nam je bio i profesor na gimnaziji. Kod njega smo godinu dana učile ivrit, a dodatan povod za to je bila vrlo jaka i aktivna cionistička organizacija u Koprivnici, odakle su mnogi namjeravali otići u tadašnju Palestinu.

Za *Bat micvu* sve su djevojke dobile bijele haljinice i bijele cipele. Bilo je jako lijepo kad smo pozivane k *Tori* svaka od nas morala je nešto reći. Upravo tim povodom u Koprivnici je održana velika parada o kojoj se poslije dugo pričalo” (*Obitelj*, sećanje Lizzy Kollmann-Nick, str. 124).

„U Subotici 1941. godine moja sestra Ruža imala je *Bat micva*, osim nje još četrnaestoro, to je bila najzadnja. Došo je rat. Ja nisam nikad imala.

Svih petnaestoro bili su u beloj haljini, u beloj rukavici i svaka je držala u ruci jednu belu ružu. Troje su govorile. Prva napamet na jevrejskom jeziku, druga na srpskom a treća na mađarskom. Nosile su dva ogromna venca, puno ruža i cveća koje su položile pred tora. Dobile su na završetku blagoslova po jedan molitvenik za uspomenu.

Posle podne u četiri sata pozvane su kod rabi na užinu.

Moja sestra Ruža onaj molitvenik je ponela sa sobom na prisilan rad i uspela je doneti kući. Ja se nadam da i danas ga ima, trebam je zapitati, ona živi u Subotici, ja u Izraelu U Subotici se *Bat micva* obavljala za praznik *Šavuot*” (Edita Dori /Deri/ iz Subotice u anketi Muzeja).

„Nešto iz „Ankete” ne znam, ne sećam se. Znam samo da u junu mesecu bila je svetkovina u sinagogi. Naime, devojčice od 14 godina išle smo vrlo svečano obučene (u novim haljinama) sa korpicom punom cveća koje smo posipale kod ulaza u sinagogu. Išli smo u parovima (dva po dva) onda se razdvojili u po jedno po jedno i ušle smo tako gore kod *Tore* gde je bio Rabin koji je tada bio Geršon. Tu je održana molitva, sinagoga je bila prepuna jer je to bila jako velika svečanost. A posle podne bili smo pozvani kod rabina na zakusku, na koji ja nisam bila (na žalost) jer jedna moja drugarica strašno me





je uvredila, tako da sam ja pala u nesvest. I o ovom nemilom slučaju pisala je i dnevna štampa. Njene reči me još i danas bole i danas isto plačem kao i onda i kad god na to pomislim. – Rano detinjstvo mi je bilo veoma bolno. Kasnije je naišao period smirenja. Volela bih nekome svoj životni put ispričati jer me već potiskuje” (Jelisaveta Dinić iz Subotice u anketi Muzeja).

²⁴Solomon Ben Isaak Raši (1040-1105), najveći jevrejski komentator Biblije i Talmuda

²⁵U ovom navodu zadržani su lokalizmi koji su bili u upotrebi u Derventi



MUŠKARAC I ŽENA – JUDAIZAM I BRAK

Seksualni nagon je u funkciji života ... Bez rezerve, judaizam je uvažio ovaj nagon kao sastavni deo ljudskog života i jednu od elementarnih potreba čije je ispoljavanje, svakako, bilo običajno regulisano, ali ne i tabuisano. Prava i dužnosti u intimnom (u toj sferi i ravnopravnom) odnosu između žene i muškarca, opisani su u *Talmudu*. Seksualni moral jevrejskog društva nije bio obeležen frustrirajućim potcenjivanjem značaja polnog života, okruženog „tišinom”, već je usmeravan određenim religijskim, odnosno, običajnim propisima – u čijim okvirima je seksualni čin bio ne samo prihvatljiv, već viđen kao *micva* (bogougodno delo, hebr.). Pozitivno sagledavanje seksualnih odnosa kao fizički i emocionalno opravdanih ljudskih aktivnosti, počivalo je na religijskim shvatanjima da sve – što je dato od Boga – ima posvećen karakter. Međutim, ono što je neku radnju činilo svetom (kao i nedozvoljenom), bile su okolnosti pod kojima je ta radnja vršena. U tom smislu, postoji suštinska razlika u hrišćanskom i jevrejskom duhovnom poimanju ljudske seksualnosti, a s njom u vezi i poročnosti. U klasičnom hrišćanstvu, ljudska seksualnost proističe iz prvobitnog greha i, kao takva, ima pečat poroka. U tom kontekstu, seksualni akt je nespojiv sa posvećenim pojedincima – božjim licima, kaluderima – a dozvoljen u profanom životu, kao ustupak večnoj ljudskoj slabosti. Sasvim suprotno, u judaizmu je seksualni akt *micva*, sve dok je u skladu sa običajnim normama.²⁶ On postaje porok samo u običajno i društveno neprihvatljivoj vezi.

Sveta komponenta u čovekovom seksualnom ponašanju je podrazumevala samokontrolu, odnosno pravilno usmeravanje i izražavanje sopstvenog libida ... A pravi način da se to postigne – bio je brak.

Funkcija fizičkog kontakta muškarca i žene koji su sklopili brak, nije čak ni formalno, a kamoli suštinski, bila svedena samo na potomstvo. Nezavisno od svete svrhe rađanja dece (jer je brak bez dece, jednostavno, smatran nesrećnim), seksualni život dvoje ljudi smatran je jednim od temelja





njihovog zajedničkog života, na kojem se učvršćuju i razvijaju međusobna bliskost i emocije. Ispunjavanje „bračnih dužnosti” je imalo status obaveze, ništa manje značajne od ostalih. Radi kontinuiteta intimne veze među bračnim partnerima, a imajući u vidu slučajeve u kojima je fizičko stanje žene upućivalo na moguću zdravstvenu opasnost od nove trudnoće ili porođaja, judaizam je dozvoljavao neku vrstu kontraceptivnih sredstava, namenjenih samo ženi. Sudeći po *Talmudu*, izgleda da je još antička jevrejska kultura poznavala i mehaničku (u vidu „tampona”), i oralnu zaštitu (u vidu nekog biljnog napitka), ali se ne zna sastav ni način izrade tih sredstava.²⁷ (Doduše, ni stepen delotvornosti.) Načini zaštite koje je mogao da obezbedi muškarac, bilo prekidanjem seksualnog odnosa (ejakulacijom izvan tela žene), bilo polnom apstinencijom – smatrani su neprirodnim i verski neprihvatljivim. (Oba načina su u direktnoj suprotnosti sa Prvom Božjom zapovesti: „*Budite plodni i množite se*” (Postanje 1:28); osim toga, Bog je kaznio Onana smrću što je „*prosuo svoje seme po zemlji*” da bi sprečio začće deteta iz leviratskog braka sa Tamarom, ženom njegovog pokojnog brata, (Postanje 38: 9-10).²⁸

Zapravo, po *halahi* (propisu, hebr.), u seksualnim aktivnostima nije bilo dozvoljeno nikakvo odstupanje od načina koji je, principijelno, najprirodniji. To je, ujedno i suština jevrejskog tradicionalnog shvatanja polne komunikacije, sa statusom običajne norme koja se naslućuje u Bibliji, a uobličava i praktično razrađuje u *Talmudu*. Na tim osnovama, ne samo da je svaka vrsta devijantnog ponašanja (homoseksualizam, i dr.), bila strogo zabranjena još od starozavetne epohe, nego su se ovakve zabrane protezale i na određene postupke koji ne spadaju u seksualnu nastranost, ali narušavaju prirodan tok u izražavanju i zadovoljavanju intimnih potreba. Takvi postupci su se upravo odnosili na pomenuti vid muške kontracepcije, računajući i apstinenciju. Pošto nije bilo „seksualnih sloboda”, sasvim logično da je i celibat, ukoliko je bio svojevuljan (ne kao posledica mentalnog ili fizičkog oboljenja), bio apsolutno neprihvatljiv kao psihofizički neprimeren način života.²⁹

Najprirodnija, najnormalnija životna situacija i za muškarca i za ženu, bio je život udvoje – brak, koji je u jevrejskom običajnom sistemu imao obeležje svete obaveze.³⁰ Značaj uspostavljanja bračnog života bio je toliko veliki, da je siromašan muškarce mogao, bez ikakve društvene osude, da proda *Toru* (!) ne bi li poboljšao svoje materijalno stanje i oženio se. Međutim, brak je bio običajno regulisana institucija, uklopljena u važeća shvatanja o očuvanju šireg socijalnog sistema. Shodno tome, u određenim slučajevima, postojale su oštre, verski propisane zabrane braka.³¹ Prema zakonitostima datim još u *Tori*, bračne veze su bile zabranjene između krvnih srodnika (sa majkom, ćerkom, sestrom, unukom, tetkom), u okviru šire rodbine (sa snajom, maćehom, ujom, bratovljevom ženom), zatim sa ženom koja nije razvedena





prema jevrejskim verskim propisima (nema *get* – otpusno pismo, hebr.), kao i sa ženinom sestrom sve dok je žena živa, čak iako je razvedena. Logično, zabrane važe i u obrnutom pravcu. Brak sa pripadnikom druge vere, takođe nije dolazio u obzir. Kao i kod svih zabrana, i ovde je svrha bila u zaštiti društva, kako od patoloških pojava (incesta), tako i od narušavanja moralnih kodeksa, verske i, u krajnjoj liniji, etničke strukture.

Karakterističan oblik braka kod Jevreja je monogaman. Sekundarni oblik je bio levirat (kada muškarac uzme za ženu udovicu svoga brata) što je, inače, bila obaveza u datim okolnostima, o čemu će kasnije biti reči. Zanimljivo je pomenuti da je u antičkom periodu bila dozvoljena i poligamna zajednica koja je podrazumevala zvaničnu bračnu vezu sa dve žene, ili samo sa jednom, dok je druga žena imala status konkubine. Time nije bio remećen položaj žena, pogotovo ne u odnosu na nasledna prava njihove dece. Međutim, slučajevi poligamije su bili relativno retki, te se ne mogu uzeti kao jedan od karakterističnih oblika socijalne kulture jevrejskog etnosa.

Smatralo se da je najbolje stupiti u brak u mladim godinama, sa osamnaest ili dvadeset godina, mada se ta granica pomerala kod muškaraca koji su se intenzivno školovali i proučavali *Torn*. Ipak, talmudski mudraci su i u takvim slučajevima davali izvesnu prednost braku, uz pretpostavku da će čovek biti staloženiji i bolje učiti, ako je oženjen.

Da bi se izbeglo negativno osećanje straha od neizvesne budućnosti, nesigurnost, ili pojava bilo kakvih nejasnoća u odnosima, jevrejski zakon je definisao sva prava i dužnosti oba supružnika. Čin venčanja je, s toga, bio kombinacija religijskog obreda i pravnog ugovora.

Venčanje, kao jedan od tri najznačajnija momenta u životu čoveka, okružuje čitav kompleks običaja u čijoj se spoljnoj formi ogledaju izvesne lokalne razlike, kao posledica viševjekovne dijaspore. Na starost nekih od običaja ukazuju prepoznatljivi magijski elementi, čija je svrha bila da zaštite mladence od uroka ili da im obezbede srećan život i zdravo potomstvo. U talmudskim vremenima, ceremonija venčanja se sastojala od dva zasebna obreda: veridbe (*erusin* ili *kidušin*, hebr.) kojom su se muškarac i žena smatrali venčanim, ali u narednom periodu nisu otpočinjali zajednički život, sve dok se ne obavi obred samog venčanja (*nisuin*, hebr.), koji je podrazumevao odvođenje neveste u mladoženjinu kuću. Međutim, tokom srednjeg veka, ova dva obreda su počela da se spajaju u jedan, odnosno odvijaju sukcesivno, kao kompletan ceremonijal. Ovo praktično vezivanje je izvršeno da bi se izbegao period razdvojenosti, a time i mogućnost neke komplikacije u sklopljenom, mada fizički neostvarenom braku.

Izboru bračnog partnera, pristupalo se veoma ozbiljno. Prema opštevažećim standardima tradicionalnog jevrejskog društva, najveću pažnju su,





teoretski, privlačile devojke za udaju iz uglednih i dobrostojećih porodica, blage naravi, odgovarajućih godina, vredne, skromne i sposobne da vode domaćinstvo. Naravno, u životu stvari izgledaju malo drugačije, pa nije bilo uobičajeno, niti preporučljivo, da se muškarac veri sa ženom koju nije prethodno upoznao, bez obzira na njene kvalitete. I obrnuto. Poštovanje verskih i običajnih normi pri izboru partnera i sklapanju braka, bilo je obavezno, odnosno presudno za stvaranje jedne društveno priznate veze, ali ni lična osećanja nisu bila zanemarljiv faktor. Na stupanje u brak iz ekonomskih pobuda ili kakvog sličnog interesa, gledalo se kao na nemoralan i nesrećan potez. Uostalom, prema jevrejskim shvatanjima, brak je bio idealan ako je u skladu sa propisima – i ako je sklopljen iz ljubavi.

Delikatnim izborom bračnog partnera, bavili su se svi – roditelji, rođaci, prijatelji, sami mladić ili devojka ... A, vremenom se razvila i postala cenjena, profesionalna pomoć provodadžije,³² U Bibliji nije opisano kako se nalazio bračni partner, ali se pretpostavlja, na osnovu nekih komentara, da je to moglo biti kako ličnim angažovanjem, tako i posredstvom trećeg lica, mada bez obeležja provodadžije. U talmudskim vremenima, bračne veze su ugovarali očevi porodica. Termin provodadžija (*šadhan*, hebr.) u pravom značenju te reči, javlja se tek u XIII veku u rabinskim knjigama. Provodadžisanje se smatralo veoma odgovornim poslom koji, osim intuicije, zahteva dobro poznavanje psihologije čoveka i sposobnost procene. Tako viđena, ova delatnost je, u stvari, vise odgovarala obrazovanim ljudima, pa su se u srednjem veku njome bavili čak rabini i učenjaci. Odabiranje odgovarajućeg bračnog partnera po ličnom nahodanju je, takođe, bilo moguće u izvesnoj meri. Iako je otac, kao glava porodice, imao formalno odlučujuću ulogu, mladić ili devojka su mogli imati uticaja na izbor svog partnera. Naravno, ukoliko se njihove želje nisu kosile sa običajnim normama. Prema nekim zapisima iz *Mišne*, u antičkim jevrejskim zajednicama je postojao organizovan način slobodnog upoznavanja: bila su određena dva dana u godini, Dan pokajanja *Yom kipur* (septembar-oktobar) i petnaesti dan meseca Ava po jevrejskom kalendaru (jul-avgust), kada su mlade žene stasale za brak, obučene u belu odeću, izlazile na poljanu, gde su se, iz istih razloga, okupljali i neoženjeni muškarci.³³ Ako se ne bi baš tada pojavio onaj „pravi” (ili „prava”), tokom godine su upražnjavani pomenuti metodi traženja i biranja partnera.

Još od davnina je bio običaj da se zvanično ustanove uslovi (*tenaim*, hebr.), pod kojima će biti sklopljen budući brak.³⁴ To je bio poseban, formalan ceremonijal (*siduhin*, hebr.) u domenu bračnog prava, kojim se nametala moralna i praktična obaveza poštovanja dogovora oko braka. U nekim zajednicama, uslovi su se navodili i u pisanoj formi. Sadržaj takvog sporazuma, ili dokumenta, odnosio se na datum i mesto sklapanja braka, kao i na





finansijske obaveze obeju strana. Običaj je podrazumevao donošenje miraza, čija je veličina varirala u zavisnosti od dogovora i mogućnosti. U talmudskim vremenima, propisana minimalna vrednost miraza je iznosila 180 grama srebra. Ta vrednost je ostala važeći minimum, mada je, ako mogućnosti iole dozvoljavaju, uvek postojala težnja da se obezbedi vise od toga za devojčin miraz. Pogotovo, ako se ima u vidu prilično raširen običaj da se pripremljeni miraz javno pokaže pred članovima zajednice, odnosno pred zvanicama i gostima, što je praktikovano, donekle, i kod jugoslovenskih Sefarda i Aškenaza.³⁵ Iako je miraz bio obavezan, nije predstavljao naročitu prepreku udaji siromašnih devojaka. Devojci iz objektivno veoma siromašne porodice, miraz je obezbeđivala zajednica u kojoj je živela, i to iz fondova koji su blagovremeno sakupljeni, baš u te svrhe. Suma za miraz je bila ubeležena u bračni ugovor. Kod Aškenaza, davanje miraza je utvrđeno kao običajna norma, kojom je potpuno isključen veoma stari običaj – *mohar* – otkup neveste (hebr.).³⁶ Međutim, *mohar* je zadržan kod nekih sefardskih zajednica, prvenstveno u orijentalnim zemljama, u vidu šire, može se reći, galantnije razmene dobara. Zapravo, mladoženja je davao nevestinom ocu određenu sumu novca za nju, a darivao je i samu nevestu. Za uzvrat, nevesta je u njegovu kuću donosila odgovarajuća materijalna dobra – u stvari, miraz. Otkup žene je prastari običaj biblijskih vremena, nastao na nivou plemenskog života i nomadsko-stočarskog načina privređivanja. U izvornom obliku, otkup se mogao vršiti ne samo novcem, nego i radom u kući budućeg tasta. U svakom slučaju, muškarac je pružao neku vrstu materijalne nadoknade koja je, u osnovi, imala simbol jamčevine (*eravon*, hebr.) da će brak biti realizovan. Simbolika jamčevine je, u posttalmudskom periodu, dobila konkretan oblik – prsten – koji se daje izabranici prilikom veridbe. Ovaj davni simbol se zadržao do danas, što je opštepoznato.

Postupak sa mirazom u slučaju smrti žene, koja nije imala potomstvo u braku, u talmudskim vremenima nije bio sporan. Muž je nasleđivao ceo miraz. Ipak, to nije smatrano optimalnim rešenjem pa je, vremenom, došlo do izvesnih promena u zakonskim odredbama po pitanju miraza. Žalosna, ali realna pomisao na takvu tragičnu situaciju (što je dalja prošlost, to je smrtnost ljudi bila veća), mogla je da utiče na očevu odluku o veličini kćerkinog miraza, pa je od XII veka počela redukcija muževljevog prava na miraz pokojnice sa kojom nije imao decu. Na kraju, prema rabinskim propisima iz XVIII veka, muž je nasleđivao ceo miraz, samo ako mu je žena umrla posle navršenih pet godina braka.

Tenaim – uslovi za brak, predviđali su i novčanu kaznu za onog ko raskine dogovorenu veridbu, a da za to nema objektivnih razloga. Osim kazne, dotična osoba je morala da nadoknadi drugoj strani sve troškove koji su,





u međuvremenu, usledili u pripremama za venčanje, kao i da vrati darove. Pošto je ovakvo predomišljanje moglo da izazove prilične (finansijske) komplikacije i sukobe, dešavalo se da rabini predlože sklapanje braka prema donetim uslovima, pa makar odmah potom odobrili razvod (*get*, hebr.).

Od trenutka kada je ugovoren brak, pa do poslednje nedelje pred ceremonijal venčanja, vršile su se pripreme za slavlje. U postupcima prema budućem bračnom paru u okviru zajednice, ogledaju se lokalne folklorne karakteristike, u kombinaciji religijskih i magijskih elemenata. Kod Aškenaza se ukazuje izvesna počast mladoženji, tako što je za Šabat, koji prethodi venčanju, pozivan da čita *Toru* u hramu. Tom prilikom su ga ostali članovi zajednice posipali pirinčem ili slatkišima u cilju pospešivanja zdravlja, sreće i plodnosti budućeg para. U sefardskim i aškenaskim zajednicama, bio je običaj da se budući muž i žena međusobno daruju (*šivlonot*, pokloni – hebr.) a, takođe, upražnjavalo se i veselje, opštepoznato i u drugim kulturama kao „momačko” ili „devojačko” večer. Orijentalni Sefardi su imali zanimljiv običaj u sklopu devojačkih večeri: nevesti su ruke mazane kanom, koja je simbol nevinosti i, istovremeno, moćna zaštita od uroka. Međutim, ono što je bilo zajedničko svim jevrejskim zajednicama, jeste obaveza žene da, uoči svog venčanja, ode u ritualno kupatilo – *mikve*³⁷ To je bilo prvo ženino kupanje u *mikvama* (ukoliko joj je to bila prva udaja), u svrhu ritualnog očišćenja radi stupanja u brak, odnosno u seksualne odnose sa mužem. Pri prvom odlasku, buduća nevesta je išla u pratnji starije rođake. U skladu sa verskim propisima, obred ritualnog očišćenja žene odlaskom u *mikve*, vezan je za menstrualni ciklus i obavezno bi trebalo da se ponavlja jednom mesečno.

Dan venčanja se bira vrlo pažljivo, jer se ne sme poklopiti sa danima važnih praznika (kao što je, na primer, Šabat), niti sa danima nacionalne žalosti. U slučaju dramatičnih obrta, kao što je smrt oca ili majke jednog od mladenaca, ili smrt čoveka koji pripada lokalnoj zajednici, u *Talmudu* su navedena pravila ponašanja: ako je umro jedan od roditelja (na dan venčanja), pogrebu se pristupalo pošto se kompletan svadbeni obred izvrši, a korota je počinjala kada prode sedam dana od obreda. Obrnuto, ako je na dan određen za venčanje umro član iz šire zajednice, pogreb se obavljao odmah, a venčanje se odlagalo za sedam dana, tj. posle obavezne korote. Međutim, vremenom su ovi postupci izjednačeni tako što se svadbeni obred, svakako, odlagao u slučaju smrti člana zajednice, počev od prvostepenog srodstva u odnosu na mladence, pa do šire društvene okoline.³⁸

Nisu postojala čvrsta pravila kako mlada i mladoženja treba da budu obučeni za venčanje. Običaj da mlada bude u belom i sa glavom pokrivenom nekom vrstom kape, razvio se vremenom. Nošenje vela je, već, znatno starijeg porekla i, kao propis, pominje se u *Mišni*. Ovakav imidž odnosio se samo





na ženu koja se prvi put udaje, odnosno devicu, Veo je zastupljen u svim sefardskim i aškenaskim (a pogotovo ortodoksnim) zajednicama, u celom svetu – uključujući i jugoslovenske jevrejske žene, venčane prema verskom obredu. Veo je bio sastavni deo mladine odeće koji joj je pokrivaio lice, pri samom činu venčanja. Odevni stil, kao i način i obim ukrašavanja neveste, bili su pod uticajem materijalne kulture šire sredine u kojoj je dotična jevrejska zajednica locirana. U tom smislu, spoljni izgled neveste je varirao od umerene srednjoevropske građanske nošnje čvrstih linija, preko bogatije vezenih, „veselijih” haljina mediteranskog ukusa, do orijentalnih kolorita i „gomila” nakita, dukata, i drugih ukrasa. Uklapanje u lokalni stil oblačenja važilo je i za muškarce, izuzev nekih ortodoksnih zajednica u kojima je mladoženja nosio belu odeždu – *kit el* – koja se, inače, nosi na *Jom kipur* (Dan praštanja i pokajanja) te, u ovom slučaju, ima simboličnu ulogu. Varijacija u upotrebi ovog istog simbola u oblačenju mladoženje, podrazumeva nošenje *kitela* ispod uobičajenog crnog odela ortodoksnih jevrejskih muškaraca. Tokom obreda, mladoženja je ogrtao molitveni šal, takozvani *talit* (ladino termin) ili *tales* (jidiš).³⁹

Obred venčanja je mogao da se odigra na bilo kojem mestu.⁴⁰ Bilo je bitno poštovati propise i ispuniti uslove, koje je naložilo jevrejsko versko zakonodavstvo u vezi sa sklapanjem braka – a propisi su se mogli poštovati kako u sinagogi, tako i pod vedrim nebom. U nekim jevrejskim zajednicama je, čak, bio običaj da se obred izvrši napolju, mada je u većini sefardskih i aškenaskih opština obavljan u hramu, odnosno u zatvorenom prostoru. U svakom slučaju, mesto obreda nije bilo ograničeno običajnom normom, pre se može reći da je bilo više ili manje uobičajvano u određenom ambijentu. Prisustvo rabina, takođe, nije bilo od suštinskog značaja, ukoliko je ceo ceremonijal mogao da bude propisno sproveden. Pri tom, jedno od nezaobilaznih pravila pri obredu, odnosilo se na okupljanje deset verski punoletnih muškaraca – *minjan* (hebr.) – bez čijeg prisustva sklopljeni brak nije bio priznat. Međutim, u praksi, pored svih ispunjenih uslova, bio je običaj da venčanja obavlja kompetentno lice – rabin, da se ne bi potkrala neka greška ili nepravilnost, koja bi ugrozila legitimnost bračne veze.

Običaj da obred venčanja počne pisanjem bračnog ugovora seže daleko u prošlost. Još od I veka pre n.e. bračni ugovor – *ketuba* (hebr.), predstavlja obavezan postupak, običajno – pravni čin u korelaciji sa kompleksnim religijskim ritualom sklapanja braka⁴¹ Pre nego što se u srednjem veku počelo sa spajanjem obreda veridbe i venčanja u jedan ceremonijal, bračni ugovor je pripreman i potpisivan za veridbu. Zbog toga je obred veridbe imao obeležje formalnog stupanja u bračnu vezu, a venčanje koje je sledilo po isteku određenog roka, njenim suštinskim ostvarivanjem. Taj vremenski razmak





između veridbe, odnosno trenutka kada je potpisana *ketuba*, i venčanja, kojim otpočinje zajednički život, davali su osećaj izvesne kolizije u običajnom postupku, jer – postojala je zabrana seksualnih odnosa pre nego što muškarac potpiše bračni ugovor ali, isto tako, i pre nego što se obavi venčanje. Drugim rečima, muškarac je potpisao *ketubu* i time formalno započeo bračni život, ali se sa svojom nevestom još nije venčao. Sve to jeste bilo izvodljivo, mada uz nepotrebna čekanja i zabrane u odnosima mladih ljudi, a moglo se računati i na eventualne komplikacije. U ovakvom kontekstu običajnog bračnog prava, spajanje veridbe i venčanja je bilo logičnija i jednostavnija varijanta, a sasvim u skladu sa važećim shvatanjima i verskim regulativama. Pre nego što će se pristupiti ovako kompletiranom ceremonijalu, *ketuba* – bračni ugovor, mora biti spreman.

Potpisivanje bračnog ugovora praćeno je određenom ritualnom radnjom, kojom je mladoženja pokazivao da preuzima na sebe sve obaveze, navedene u ugovoru. Simbol rituala je bilo „davanje”, „darivanje”, odnosno mladoženja je uzimao od rabina neku sitnicu – maramicu, komad odeće i slično, koju bi poravnao, zategao i, odmah zatim, vratio. Posle tog kratkog simboličnog gesta, *ketubu* su potpisivala dva svedoka, a u većini zajednica, i sam mladoženja. Po formi, ritual oko potpisivanja *ketube* je, glavnom, svuda isti, ali postoje odstupanja u redosledu postupaka. Dok se u nekim zajednicama prvo pristupa potpisivanju uz opisanu simboličnu radnju, u drugim se sve to izvodi tokom ceremonijalnog čitanja *ketube*, koje se vrši između dva obreda, veridbe i venčanja. Ovaj običaj je specifičniji kod ortodoksnih Jevreja, u tom smislu što se *ketuba* ispisuje u okviru ceremonijala, i to dok mladoženja drži neko učeno predavanje, koje je prethodno pripremio za tu priliku. Mladoženjin govor je, pri tom, prekidan šalama i pesmom prisutnih, sve radi stvaranja opuštene i vesele atmosfere...

Mladoženja je u pratnji prilazio nevesti i spuštao joj veo preko lica. Tom prilikom, rabin je izgovarao blagoslov. Ovaj postupak, označen kao „pokrivanje mlade” (*bedeken di-kale*, hebr.), bio je karakterističan za Aškenaze,⁴² a Sefardi ga nisu praktikovali. Sledio je tradicionalan ritual paljenja sveća, čak baklji, koje su nosili mladini i mladoženjini roditelji. Nije sasvim razjašnjeno značenje ovog rituala, ali moguća su dva izvora – iz drevnih magijskih radnji teranja zlih duhova, ili asocijacija na večnu povezanost jevrejskog naroda sa Bogom i Torom, odnosno na trenutak „prosvetljenja” na Sinajskoj gori. Po tom su se očevi mladog para izdvajali iz svadbene povorke i, uz slavlje i muziku, pratili mladoženju do konstrukcije poznate pod nazivom *hupa* („baldahin”, hebr.), koja se sastojala od četiri posebno izrađena drvena stuba, na čijim vrhovima je bila razapeta, obično, veoma lepo ukrašena, vezena tkanina. Hupa je simbol neba, svoda koji je iznad, na šta i sam naziv ukazuje.





(U slučaju da očevi nisu živi, ili da su mlada i mladoženja siročad, mladoženju bi do *hupe* pratila dva rođaka ili prijatelja.) U zajednicama u dijaspori, mladoženja je pod *hupom* stajao tako da bude licem okrenut prema zemlji Izraela, a ukoliko se obred odvijao u Izraelu, onda prema Jerusalimu. U Jerusalimu, stajao je okrenut prema Hramu. Dok je rabin izgovarao određene blagoslove, prilazila je nevesta u pratnji svoje i mladoženjine majke. Dolazak neveste pod *hupu*, dakle njeno priključivanje budućem mužu, bilo je praćeno lokalno različitim magijskim radnjama, u cilju zaštite od zlih sila. Kod Aške-naza je bio običaj da nevesta, pod *hupom*, obiđe sedam krugova oko mladoženje i da stane s njegove desne strane. Ovom radnjom pretpostavljeno je uspostavljanje zaštitne moći kruga i broja, često korišćenih magijskih elemenata i u raznim drugim kulturnim sistemima. Orijentalni Sefardi su običavali da „štite” svoje mladence tako što su rođaci mladog para seckali makazama neku tkaninu ili papir. U interesantnoj kombinaciji pravnih i ritualnih (racionalnih i iracionalnih) postupaka, pristupalo se prvom obredu svadbenog ceremonijala – veridbi (*erusin* ili *kidušin* – hebr.).

Nad čašom ili peharom vina, rabin je izgovarao blagoslov za bračnu vezu koja se sklapa. Odmah potom, mladencima je dato da popiju po malo vina. U izvornom obredu, blagoslov je trebao da izgovara lično mladoženja, napamet, ali iz praktičnih razloga ovaj postupak je poveren zvaničnom licu. Pošto su otpili po malo vina iz iste čaše, mladoženja je stavljao prsten na nevestin kažiprst desne ruke, izgovarajući određenu bračnu formulu, odnosno ponavljajući odgovarajuće reči za rabinom. Ovom činu morala su da prisustvuju dva svedoka, koja nisu ni u kakvom srodstvu sa mladencima, niti međusobno. Tako odabrani svedoci su jedini koji se priznaju, i bez njihovog prisustva, obred nije smatran važećim. Stavljanje prstena na nevestin desni kažiprst je izvorna varijanta od koje se, vremenom, počelo odstupati. U savremenijim, na primer reformističkim, mada i u drugim kongregacijama, prsten je mogao da se stavi na drugi (domali) prst a, isto tako, uveden je i običaj međusobnog davanja prstenja.⁴³ Prsten je mogao biti od raznih vrsta metala, ali njegova vrednost nije smela biti manja od minimuma propisanog u *Talmudu*.

Obred veridbe je odvojen od obreda samog venčanja čitanjem *ketube* – bračnog ugovora⁴⁴(o potpisivanju ugovora je već bilo reči). Bračni ugovor je glasno čitao rabin ili neki drugi muškarac, gost na svadbenoj ceremoniji, kojem su mladenci želeli da ukažu posebnu čast. Po pravilu, *ketuba* je pisana i, shodno tome, čitana na aramejskom jeziku, bez obzira gde se ceremonija odvijala. Zatim je bio čitan sažet izvod iz *ketube*, u Izraelu na hebrejskom, a u dijaspori, na lokalnim jezicima. I u tom kontekstu su bila moguća izvesna odstupanja. Međutim, kad je u pitanju postupak sa *ketubom*, ukoliko je supro-





tan opisanom, ne može se govoriti o pojavi lokalnih varijacija jednog te istog običaja, čija spoljna forma podleže eventualnim, delimičnim izmenama, dok njegov izvorni oblik ostaje isti. Odstupanje od izvornog pisma propisanog za pisanje i zvanično čitanje teksta jevrejskog bračnog ugovora – odnosno korišćenje lokalnog pisma i jezika u tu svrhu, izlazi iz domena običajnih varijacija. Uplivom stranog kulturnog elementa (jezika i pisma), gubi se jedno od suštinskih obeležja *ketube* i narušava se verski propisan način njene izrade i tretmana. To već ukazuje na blizinu asimilacionih procesa, makar u ograničenim razmerama. Jedan od primera takvog odstupanja, bila je *ketuba* kompletno napisana na nemačkom jeziku, još 1862. godine u Zemunu. (Bio je to bračni ugovor između Davida A. Suzina i Rebeke – Ruvkule, ćerke Mozesa Abrahama Ozera. Ugovor je danas vlasništvo Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu, inv. br. 538) Ovakvi primeri su retki, pa utoliko interesantniji, pogotovo ako se zna da su jevrejske zajednice u dijaspori, uključujući i jugoslovensku, zadržavajuće dugo uspevale da globalno očuvaju svoju tradiciju, nacionalni i verski identitet. Ipak, veći ili manji prodor stranog kulturnog elementa kod mnogih bio je neminovan, bilo da se radi o *ketubi* ili nečem drugom.

Ketuba se, po čitanju, predaje nevesti na čuvanje. U slučaju da žena izgubi svoju *ketubu*, nastupala je zabrana seksualnih odnosa između nje i njenog muža sve dotle dok se novi, isti takav dokumenat, ne napiše.

Drugi obred – venčanje (*nisuin*, hebr.) – sledilo je kao glavna svečanost kojom se, definitivno, stupa u brak i ostvaruje svrha celog ceremonijala. *Hupa* je ostala neraskidivo vezana za obred venčanja kao simbol, iako je počela da se zamenjuje u mnogim zajednicama tokom srednjeg veka, a još vise u novom veku, molitvenim šalom, *talitom*, koji je mladoženja jednostavno širio iznad svoje i nevestine glave. (Kod jugoslovenskih Jevreja, prilikom sklapanja verskog braka, *hupa* je i danas u upotrebi, čak možda vise nego *talit*.) Korišćena u originalnom obliku ili ne, *hupa* je kao pojam, s obzirom na izvorno značenje, obuhvaćena mišlju o venčanju. Zapravo, antički Jevreji su *hupom* nazivali definisan fizički prostor – mladoženjin šator, kolibu, i si. – u kojem počinju bračni odnosi. Pošto je istekao određeni veridbeni period, svečana povorka je pratila nevestu u mladoženjinu *hupu* što je, ujedno, značilo venčanje dotičnog para i time početak njihovog zajedničkog i intimnog života.⁴⁵ Dakle, na tom nivou, *hupa* je mesto na kojem počinje brak i na osnovu kojeg će se razviti terminološki, misaoni, pa i materijalni simbol – za brak. U tom smislu, *hupa* se vremenom modifikovala, odnosno reducirala u simboličnu konstrukciju, iz početka pravljenju od drveta u celini a, zatim, u kombinaciji drvenih stubova i ukrašavanih tkanina, kako je prethodno opisano. *Hupa* je, naravno, mobilna, a mogla se postavljati kako u sinagogi, tako i u dvorištu ispred hrama.





Brak je ustanovljen kada se izgovori sedam blagoslova (*ševa berahot*, hebr.), nad drugom čašom, ili peharom, vina.⁴⁶ Rabin je mogao da izgovori svih sedam blagoslova, ali nije bilo obavezno. On je obično izgovarao prvi blagoslov, dok je ostalih šest bilo povereno jednom ili nekolicini odabranih, i time posebno počastvovanih gostiju. Ovaj ritual se završavao tako što su mlada i mladoženja ispijali blagosloveno vino. Sledio je ritual razbijanja čase, i to tako što je mladoženja nogom lomio praznu čašu. Ritual se vrši kako u Izraelu tako i u dijaspori, uz izvesna odstupanja na lokalnom nivou. Na primer: lomljenje čase pune vina kako bi se magijski obezbedilo (“prizvalo”) materijalno blagostanje, ili njeno razbijanje o zid. U svakom slučaju, očigledno je da se radi o jednom te istom ritualu čiji je cilj suptilna asocijacija na promenljivost života, neočekivane obrte na koje treba biti spreman i u najlepšim trenucima, možda i na istorijsku tragediju rušenja Jerusalimskog hrama, kojom počinje beskrajna dijaspora,...

Pošto se obred venčanja završio, sledio je takozvani *jihud* – običaj karakterističan za Aškenaze, a upravo vodi poreklo iz talmudskih vremena, kada je početak bračnog života bio označen dolaskom neveste u mladoženjinu *hupu*.⁴¹ *Jihud* je, u tom kontekstu, bio običajni postupak kojim se simulirao izvorni način venčavanja: odmah pošto je brak sklopljen, mlada i mladoženja su se povlačili u zasebnu sobu. Nije bilo propisano, odnosno ograničeno vreme koje mogu da provedu sami u sobi, ali postupak je bio simboličan i obično je trajao svega nekoliko minuta, posle čega su se pridruživali svadbenom veselju.

Svadbeno veselje je bilo kao i svako veselje ovog tipa – uz svečani obed i obaveznu muziku. Muzika je bila nezaobilazna još u antičko doba a, prema nekim izvorima, i ples. Vremenom, usledio je razvoj kako muzičkih formi i instrumenata, tako i načina plesanja.⁴⁸ Poznata vrsta plesa je grupni, takozvani *micva ples* – u kojem istovremeno igra grupa muškaraca u kojoj je i mladoženja i grupa žena u kojoj je nevesta, ali bez međusobnog mešanja. *Micva* plesovi su bili zastupljeni i kod Sefarda i kod Aškenaza. U nešto kasnijem, slobodnijem načinu *micva* plesanja, muškarci i žene su mogli da plešu zajedno, odnosno muškim zvanicama je bilo dozvoljeno da plešu i sa nevestom, ali tako što bi muškarac prethodno obmotao neku tkaninu oko ruke radi izbegavanja direktnog dodira. Početkom XIX veka, muške i ženske plesače je razdvajala maramica, za čije krajeve su se držali. Ova, može se reći, simbolična separacija imala je za cilj da spreči ili bar umanjí provociranje seksualne želje, koja bi mogla da se javi usled fizičkog dodirivanja. Tokom svadbenog veselja, nevesti je poklanjana velika pažnja. Bio je običaj da nevesta sedi okružena odabranim gostima, a da *badhan* (profesionalni zabavljač na svadbama – hebr.) uz pevanje i šalu, proziva goste da plešu sa njom. Prvenstvo su imali roditelji i mladoženja, a onda ostali gosti, koji su prozivani





prema ugledu koji uživaju u zajednici. Međutim, naročito lepe i specifične plesove razvili su Aškenazi istočnoevropskih zemalja. Neki od tih plesova su bili, na primer, „Redl”, „Karahod” ili „Hopke” – energični muški plesovi, zatim ženski grupni „Kojlih” ples, „Flaša” ples (sa flašom na glavi), itd.

Svadba se završavala postupkom *birkat amazon* – izrazima zahvalnosti i ponavljanjem onih sedam blagoslova nad peharom vina (hebr.).

Dolazak neveste u muževljevu kuću je bio praćen određenim ritualnim postupkom. Prisutne su lokalne razlike u ritualu dočeka žene u novi dom: bacanje pirinča, novčića i sličnih sitnica pred mladine noge dok ulazi u kuću, lomljenje posebno napravljenog kolača (*ruska*, hebr.), nad glavama mladenaca, ⁴⁹itd. Bez obzira na formu, ovi rituali su bili izrazitog magijskog karaktera sa uobičajenom svrhom – da odbiju uticaj zlih sila, da obezbede plodnost, zdravlje i blagostanje u braku ...

Jevrejska tradicija nalaže da svečanu i veselu svadbarsku atmosferu treba zadržati još neko vreme pošto je venčanje obavljeno. Ako je muškarcu i ženi to bio prvi brak, cela naredna godina je proticala sa snažnim obeležjem izvršenog venčanog obreda – mladi bračni par se i dalje nazivao „mlada” i „mladoženja”, mladoženji se poklanjala posebna pažnja, a bio je pošteđen i vojne obaveze, osim u slučaju odbrambenog rata. Posebno je bilo naglašeno prvih sedam dana posle obreda (izuzimajući Sabat!), kada je u kući mladenaca trajalo slavlje. U toj prvoj sedmici, muškarac je bio oslobođen svih poslova i dužnosti, a ručkovima u kući je svakog dana prisustvovalo još bar deset gostiju, pri čemu je trebalo da jedan uvek bude novi gost. Za svaki obed, izgovaralo se sedam blagoslova. Ukoliko je bilo u pitanju drugo sklapanje braka, onda je pomenuta slavljenička atmosfera važila samo za prvi dan posle venčanja.

U jevrejskom običajnom pravu, postojala je obaveza leviratskog braka.⁵⁰ Termin levirat zasnovan je na terminu *levir* – dever (hebr.) i označava bračnu vezu između žene kojoj je umro muž i njegovog rođenog brata, tj. njenog devera. Levirat, inače, spada u kategoriju vrlo starih običaja, rasprostranjenih među mnogim plemenskim zajednicama, u okviru različitih kulturnih sistema i načina privređivanja. Kod Jevreja, ovaj specifičan vid uslovljenog braka, važio je samo u slučaju kada pokojnik nije imao dece. Obaveza levirata odnosila se isključivo na pokojnikovu braću po ocu, i to rođenu pre njegove smrti, odnosno na najstarijeg brata među njima. Međutim, ukoliko je „najstariji” brat bio još dečak mnogo mlađi od pokojnika, ili čak dete, udovica je morala da sačeka njegovo versko punoletstvo (misli se na običaj *Bar micva*, hebr.), posle kojeg je sklapan leviratski brak, ili...

Uporedo sa postojanjem leviratskog braka, jevrejsko bračno pravo je razvilo specifičan pandan tome – obred poznat kao *halica* (oslobađanje žene, razrešenje, hebr.).⁵¹ U periodu istovremenog, ravnopravnog postojanja oba





običaja, žena koja je bila u situaciji da čeka na leviratski brak, ili na *halicu*, mogla je da sklopi neku vrstu privremenog braka sa drugim muškarcem. On je bio obavezan da joj da razvod, kada dode vreme za ovaj ili onaj običajni postupak. Iako je brak bio privremen, deca rođena u međuvremenu, nisu smatrana za vanbračnu (*mamzerim*, hebr. množ.). Međutim, pošto je monogamni brak sasvim preovladao u jevrejskom društvu, *halica* je potisla levirat, kao suprotan oblik koji je izazivao poligamiju, bar u određenom broju slučajeva. Dakle, leviratski brak je nestao sa „običajne scene” ali se, tim povodom, može postaviti pitanje – zašto je, onda, bila potrebna *halica*? Iako definitivno odbačen u praksi, pojam levirata se, očigledno, zadržao na nekom formalnom nivou tradicionalne misli, jer je *halica* nastavila da se upražnjava, i to sa statusom vrlo zvaničnog i značajnog obreda. Ovim obredom su rukovodila tri redovna, naimenovana rabina i dva dodatna člana. Obred je vršen ujutro, na mestu koje su prethodno utvrdila njih petorica. Žena je imala obavezu da posti izvesno vreme, do *halice*. Ona i njen dever su dobijali instrukcije, kakve izjave treba da daju prilikom obreda. (Izjave su morale biti izgovorene na hebrejskom jeziku, bez obzira na lokaciju dotične jevrejske zajednice.) Takođe, da bi obred bio punovažan, žena i *levir* su morali da odgovore na neka pitanja, kojima se utvrđivalo – da li su oboje punoletni, mentalno zdravi i da li je prošao devedeset jedan dan od smrti njenog muža (zbog eventualne trudnoće). Mada levirata više nije bilo, predsedavajući rabin je postavljao formalno pitanje *leviru* – da li želi da se oženi udovicom, ili je oslobada. Naravno, dever ju je oslobađao obaveze i, odmah zatim, sledio je ritual sa takozvanom *halica cipelom*: žena je skidala posebno napravljenu kožnu cipelu (u vidu mokasine, bez ikakvih metalnih dodataka) sa deverovog stopala. To je, ujedno, bio suštinski simbol celokupnog obreda, posle kojeg je žena bila slobodna da nastavi svoj život, odnosno da stupi u brak sa drugim muškarcem. Kožnu mokasinu, dever je dobijao na poklon.

Sve do savremenog doba, istočnoevropski Aškenazi su, prilikom *halice*, imali jedan dodatni simbol u obrednom postupku: *levir* je morao da, gornjim delom tela, polegne po stolu koji je, inače, služio za kupanje mrtvaca. Simbolika ovog prilično morbidnog rituala, predstavljala je deverov status u okviru bračnog, običajnog prava, koji je stečen smrću njegovog brata. U Engleskoj i Nemačkoj bila je prisutna sasvim druga vrsta običajnog postupka: *levir* je svojim potpisom, datim na dan bratovljevog venčanja, garantovao *halicu* bratovljevoj ženi, u slučaju potrebe. Ovaj „grubi” običaj imao je isključivo praktičnu svrhu definisanja odnosa na samom početku i, u tom smislu, delovao je vrlo moderno. Ipak, razumljivo je što nije bio naročito popularan.

Jevrejsko bračno pravo je dozvoljavalo jednu neobičnu mogućnost – venčanje preko posrednika, pri čemu je treće lice bukvalno imalo ulogu „za-





menika” mlade ili mladoženje, već u zavisnosti ko je od njih dvoje bio odsutan. Osim davanja ovlašćenja za zamenu na venčanju, odsutna osoba je bila obavezna da precizno navede svoje želje i zahteve, po kojima će se treće lice ponašati. Da bi obred venčanja bio punovažan, zamenik je morao da se ponaša u skladu sa primljenom obavezom, bez ikakvih improvizacija i odstupanja. Glavni kuriozitet se sastojao u tome da dotični „zamenik” nije morao biti istog pola kao „original”. (Naravno, nije se radilo o prevelikim slobodama, niti o groteski – već o praktičnim razlozima.)

Brak, u principu, nije bio dozvoljen psihički bolesnim ljudima.⁵² Sklapanje braka je bio čin kojem se pristupa svesno i pod punom odgovornošću, a život u braku je ispunjen ne samo emocijama, već i dužnostima. Venčanje sa psihički bolesnom osobom, naročito imajući u vidu nasledni faktor, nije bilo prihvatljivo zbog stepena uračunljivosti dotične osobe, kao i zbog eventualnih posledica za potomstvo i život u braku. Međutim, objektivno utvrditi postojanje i intenzitet psihičkog poremećaja nije tako jednostavno ni danas, a kamoli u prošlosti. Čitav spektar manifestacija kod različitih tipova bolesti, kombinovanih sa lucidnim periodima, mogli su da daju iluziju da je stanje bolje nego što jeste (ili obrnuto), tako da je postojala mogućnost sklapanja braka i u takvim okolnostima. Pogotovo, ako je bolesna osoba na dan venčanja bila sasvim uračunljiva, odnosno svesna svojih postupaka i odgovornosti. Takav brak je smatran važećim i – rizičnim ... Sto se tiče hendikepiranih lica, po Bibliji nije bilo dozvoljeno da gluvoneme osobe stupaju u brak. Vremenom, običajno pravo je zanemarilo ovu zabranu, s obzirom da takva vrsta hendikepa nije uslovljena psiho-fizičkim zdravljem (mada može biti nasledna). U takvim slučajevima, obredi veridbe i venčanja sprovedeni su uobičajeno, samo je bilo neophodno prisustvo čoveka koji zna „govor znakova”.

Sveta obaveza života u braku, nije podrazumevala preteća shvatanja o „zapečaćenoj sudbini”. Ukoliko je bračna veza dvoje ljudi bila loša, na razne načine problematična i bez realne nade da se stanje popravi, razvod je mogao da se dobije na inicijativu kako muškarca, tako i žene. Razvod braka vršio je rabinski sud (*Bet din*, hebr.) po strogo utvrđenoj proceduri, u skladu sa verskim propisom (*halahom*, hebr.).⁵³ Pri tom, nezadovoljni supružnici nisu morali da imaju eksplicitno izražene ili drastične razloge za prekid braka. Po jevrejskim propisima, obostrana želja za razvodom je, sama po sebi, bila dovoljna. Odnosno, dovoljno je bilo biti lično nezadovoljan, nesrećan u svom braku – „krivica” se nije tražila, niti dokazivala. Muškarac je mogao da se razvede od žene s kojom nije imao dece u desetogodišnjem braku, kao što je žena mogla da dobije razvod jer ju je muž zapostavljao, zbog poslova ili iz drugih razloga, učinivši njihov zajednički život praznim i nemogućim. Isto tako, ženi je odobran razvod u slučaju muževljevih seksualnih problema,





njegovog neverstva, teškog zaraznog oboljenja i, u krajnjoj liniji, nasilnog ponašanja. Teoretski, verski propisi formulišu razvod kao promenu koju „daje” muž, a žena je „prima”. U skladu sa tim, muškarac je bio taj koji „traži” razvod, a žena ga „dobija”. Međutim, u praksi je postupak koji vodi ka razvodu bio ravnopravno postavljen među polovima.

Razvod je označen terminom *get* (otpusno ili razvodno pismo, hebr.).⁵⁴ U stvari, reč je o dokumentu, pisanom i za muža i za ženu, ponaosob, u kojem su sadržani samo njihovi lični podaci, datum i mesto izdavanja *get*-a, bez navođenja bilo kakvih razloga za ovakav postupak. *Get*, prema propisima, ne sme biti štampan, jer svaka životna situacija ima svojih specifičnosti. Cinu razvoda, osim rabinskog suda, treba da prisustvuje pisar (*sofer*) i dva svedoka. Pisar i svedoci moraju da budu vernici, a da međusobno ne budu ni u kakvom srodstvu, niti u srodstvu sa nekim od supružnika. Ako sticajem okolnosti nisu pronađeni odgovarajući svedoci, članovi suda su preuzimali tu funkciju. Pre nego što će se pristupiti pisanju *get* - a, sud je morao da se uveri da je razvod pokrenut slobodnom voljom bračnih partnera. Takođe, imao je obavezu da pokuša da ih ujedini i pomiri, mada nije bio dužan da razmatra konkretne motive za raskid, niti finansijska pitanja. Formalan prekid bračne veze, najlakše se odvijao u prisustvu oba supružnika. Ako, ipak, neko od njih dvoje nije bio tu, razvod se vršio pomoću posrednika koji je, u ime odsutnog, primao *get*. Ulogu posrednika, mogao je preuzeti i neko od zvaničnih lica (član *Bet dina* ili pisar). Pošto dobije *get*, žena je mogla da sklopi novi brak, ali ne pre devedeset drugog dana od razvoda, (zbog eventualne trudnoće, odnosno dvoumljenja oko očinstva). Međutim, u jevrejskom bračnom pravu, bila je data mogućnost „drugog pokušaja” : žena je mogla ponovo da se uda za svog bivšeg muža, ali pod uslovom da, u međuvremenu, nije imala novi i, opet, razveden brak. Da bi bio punovažan, u judaizmu je razvod morao biti sproveden prema verskim i običajnim normama, kao što je takav morao biti i ceremonijal venčanja.

Prema jevrejskim verskim propisima, venčanje izvršeno na građanski način, kao i razvod dobijen od istih, građanskih vlasti, nisu bili priznati. Interesantno je napomenuti da je poštovanje *halahot* izraženo i u današnjem Izraelu. U dijaspori, punovažnost braka kao i razvoda, već zavisi od aktuelnih državnih zakona. U nekadašnjoj Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, odnosno do Drugog svetskog rata, verska venčanja su, u principu, imala status zvaničnog i formalnog stupanja u bračnu vezu. Građanska venčanja nisu bila neophodna za legitimitet veze, mada su ponekad vršena i kod Sefarda i kod Aškenaza, naročito pred rat.⁵⁵ U daljoj prošlosti, u vekovima koji prethode, verska venčanja su jedino i bila društveno priznata (ne samo kod Jevreja). Međutim, od 1945. situacija je izmenjena jugoslovenskim državnim zakonima, prema kojima je





brak formalno važeći ako je, pre svega, sklopljen pred građanskim vlastima. Da li će se, zatim, izvršiti i versko venčanje, bila je stvar ličnog izbora.

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- ²⁶Hayyim Schneid: Marriage, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 1-2.
²⁷Ibid, str. 2.
²⁸Ibid, str. 2.
²⁹Ibid, str. 3-4. i Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 168-169.
³⁰Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 168.
³¹Ibid, str. 171.
³²Hayyim Schneid: Marriage, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 10-11.
³³Ibid, str. 10-11.
³⁴Ibid, str. 13.
³⁵Podaci iz ankete Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, 1984.
³⁶Chayyim Schneid: Marriage, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 15.
³⁷Ibid, str. 16-17.
³⁸Ibid, str. 21.
³⁹Ibid, str. 21.
⁴⁰Ibid, str. 24.
⁴¹Ibid, str. 24-27.
⁴²Ibid, str. 29.
⁴³Ibid, str. 33. i Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 170.
⁴⁴Hayyim Schneid: Marriage, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 36.
⁴⁵Ibid, str. 36-40.
⁴⁶Ibid, str. 40-41.
⁴⁷Ibid, str. 41.
⁴⁸Ibid, str. 42-47.
⁴⁹Stari, manje karakterističan običaj, bio zastupljen u nekim sefardskim zajednicama, Ibid, str. 48.
⁵⁰Eugen Verber: Uvod u jevrejsku veru, Beograd 1993, str. 100.
⁵¹Hayyim Schneid: Marriage, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 51-52.
⁵²Ibid, str. 53.
⁵³Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 171.
⁵⁴Ibid, str. 171-172.
⁵⁵Podaci iz ankete Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja, 1984.



KETUBA

Jevreji na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije su se pridržavali svih običaja, pa i onih koji su bili vezani za venčanje. O tome da su se sklapali brakovi preko posrednika ima pomena u literaturi, ali i u upitnicima iz anketa Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u kojima smo pitali članove jevrejskih opština o tome kako je izgledalo venčanje.

U knjizi *Obitelj*, Zagreb, 1996. godine, objavljena su sećanja hrvatskih Jevreja na porodični život – ovde dajemo nekoliko primera:

„Očev brat poginuo je u Prvom svjetskom ratu, a četiri njegove sestre udavale su se jedna za drugom, ali nijedna iz ljubavi. Sve su to bili brakovi sklopljeni preko posrednika i, kako su nam pričale naše tete, to im je bilo jako neugodno. No, pošto su živjele u malom mjestu, nije bilo druge mogućnosti. A šathen je znao da, recimo, u Kutini ili Dugom selu ima neko pogodan za ženidbu. Zanimljivo je, međutim, da su sve imale vrlo dobre brakove i slogu i mir u kući. Moji roditelji su se jedini u familiji oženili iz ljubavi i jako su se dobro slagali i voljeli” (*Obitelj*, str. 119, sećanje Mime Veber).

„Kad sam se oženio 1945. u zagrebačkom Hramu dobio sam *ketubu*, uvjerenje o vjenčanju po židovskom zakonu, koje potpisuje mladoženja i dvoje svjedoka. Tim vjenčanim ugovorom muž se obavezuje brinuti o ženi, a supruga o mužu” (*Obitelj*, str. 95, sećanje Dragana Wollnera).

„Svoga supruga upoznala sam kao studentica u zagrebačkoj židovskoj menzi, u podrumu zgrade u Palmotićevoj. Vjenčali smo se u prekrasnom koprivničkom templu, a umjesto oca na vjenčanju me je vodio brat. Za tu priliku stigli su iz Sarajeva roditelji moga muža – otac sudac i majka, kći čuvenoga liječnika iz Travnik, koji je tamo dobio počasno građanstvo. Hupa je sa svih strana bila ukrašena cvijećem, a i svi lukovi vjenčanog baldahina bili su od cvijeća. Među gostima bili su gotovo svi moji profesori iz gimnazije, na čelu sa direktorom, a prvi mi je s čestitkama pristupio moj nekadašnji profesor hrvatskog jezika i ljubeći mi ruku rekao: „Milostiva, čestitam!” Bila sam





jako lijepo obučena, jer mi je tetka u Zagrebu sašila prekrasnu bijelu haljinu, a i mladoženja je također bio vrlo elegantan, u žaketu s visokim cilindrom” (*Obitelj*, str. 125, sećanje Lizzy Kollomann-Nick).

Evo i nekoliko sećanja navedenih u odgovorima na pitanja iz upitnika Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja:

„Prilikom zaruka, u kući mlade pozvani su najbliži rođaci mladoženje radi uzajamnog upoznavanja (kumizer) izmjenjivani su obostrano darovi, plesalo se *Oh ke Lekububor*. Od poklona koji su se razmenjivali, mladoženji se darovao zlatan sat s lancem a mladoj nakit” (Flora Atijas, Sarajevo).

„Mene i moju suprugu vjenčao je nadržabin dr Gavro Svarc 30. juna 1941. godine u Zagrebu. Možda je to bio i njegov poslednji obred – Nijemci i ustaše su ga već proganjali” (Dr Isak Levi, Sarajevo).

Sa savremenim venčanja mladencima ostaju fotografije. A, u ranija vremena, sa venčanja je ostajao mnogo vredniji dokument bračni ugovor – *ketuba* (hebrejski), ono što je napisano. Pošto su stare *ketube* danas veoma retki i dragoceni umetnički predmeti, posvetićemo im ovde malo vise mesta da bismo opisali kako su one zapravo izgledale.

O *ketubama* postoji obimna literatura. Jedan od najznačajnijih istraživača u ovoj oblasti je dr Shalom Sabar – meni su bile pristupačne dve njegove studije.⁵⁶

Najstarije poznate *ketube* pronađene su u Judejskoj pustinji. To su zapravo samo fragmenti tekstova iz kojih se može zaključiti da su to bile *ketube*.

Rabini iz perioda *Talmuda* su se trudili da veoma precizno formulišu svaku klauzulu u *ketubi*. Tako, u *Talmudu* postoji čitav traktat pod nazivom *Ketubot*.

U početnom razvoju ovog zanimljivog dokumenta, pod terminom *ketuba*, podrazumevala se obaveza muža da obešteti ženu u slučaju razvoda ili udovištva. U *ketubama* se pominjao iznos od 200 zuz(a) koji bi se morao isplatiti u slučaju da je žena bila devica, ili upola manje za sve druge slučajeve. Smatralo se da je ta suma dovoljno velika da odvrati ljude od nepotrebnog razvoda. Formulacija i zahtevi su se menjali tokom vremena.

Prve *ketube* na kojima ima tragova dekoracije, potiču iz srednjeg veka (X-XI vek) a pronađene su u Kairskoj *genizi*³⁷. Na njima je ukrašen samo uvodni tekst „preambula”, obično geometrijskim i floralnim motivima, mikrografijom ili su sama slova ukrašena.

Tokom srednjeg veka standardizovan je tekst *ketube*. U to vreme, formiraju se i razlike u pristupu *ketubi* između dve grupe Jevreja, Aškenaza i Sefarda.





Aškenazi su se strogo pridržavali rabinskih propisa i svoje bračne ugovore ispisivali su na četvrtastom papiru ili pergamentu, bez ikakvih ukrasa, sa uvek istim kodifikovanim tekstom.

Za razliku od Aškenaza, Sefardi su gledali na bračni ugovor kao na lični dokument. Oni nisu prihvatili zabranu o poligamiji koju je ustanovio rabi Geršon,⁵⁸ a nisu standardizovali ni iznos novca. Dekorativne *ketube* postojale su u Španiji i pre izгона Jevreja, 1492. godine, a kada su se raselili nastavili su tu tradiciju u svakom mestu u kojem su živeli.

Oblik *ketube* i raspored teksta *ketuba* kakve su nastajale na teritoriji Jugoslavije, bio je sličan onima koje su rađene u Holandiji, Italiji, Grčkoj,.

Najranije iluminirane *ketube* potiču iz Venecije sa početka XVII veka. Izvori dekorativnih elemenata koji se pojavljuju na ranim italijanskim *ketubama* su dela primenjene umetnosti, iluminacije u rukopisima i knjigama, arhitektura crkava i zgrada u stilu baroka i rokokoja. Posebno je bio popularan motiv kapije sa stubovima, pozajmljen sa naslovnih stranica prvih štampanih knjiga. Kao dekorativni motiv, pojavljuje se zatim porodični grb kao i razne državne oznake: zastave, simboli, grbovi.

Postoji nekoliko tema koje se uobičajeno pojavljuju kao ilustracije na *ketubama*. To je, pre svega, predstava Jerusalima i Hrama u Jerusalimu. Obično je to minijatura smeštena u luku iznad teksta. Zatim se kao tema iluminacija mogu pojaviti i portreti mlade i mladoženje, opet kao minijature iznad teksta. Najčešći su motivi flore i faune. Oni su obično ukomponovani sa motivom zodijačkih znakova.

O *ketubama* koje su nastale na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije ima malo pomena. Zato koristim ovu priliku da pokušam da napravim pregled do sada poznatih *ketuba* (neke od njih pominjane su u raznim tekstovima, a neke su izlagane na izložbama).

U Časopisu *Omanut* za mart-april, 1940. godine, objavio je sarajevski nadrabini, dr Moric Levi, tekst pod nazivom *Jevrejski rukopisi u sarajevskom muzeju*. U tom tekstu pominju se četiri *ketube* – tri su postojale do Drugog svetskog rata u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu, a četvrta je poklonjena Nahumu Soklovu,⁵⁹ prilikom njegove posete Sarajevu. Za dve *ketube* iz muzeja, dr Moric Levi kaže „da su bez naročite važnosti” a treća je reprodukovana i detaljno opisana. Posebna zanimljivost ove *ketube* je u tome da je isti obrazac korišćen za dva venčanja. U prazan prostor u sredini *ketube* koja ima veoma lepo ornamentisanu borduru, zalepljen je papir sa tekstom *ketube* za prvo venčanje a preko toga još jedan papir za drugo venčanje. Prema podacima koje daje dr Moric Levi, prvi ugovor slopljen je u Sarajevu, 5505. (1744) godine. Mladoženja je bio Jakov, sin Jozefa Papa, a nevesta Rahela, kći Benjamina Cevi iz Beograda. Drugi ugovor sklopljen je takođe u Sarajevu, 5598.





(1837) godine. Mladoženja je bio Menahem, sin Jakoba Papa, a mlada, Estera, kći Cadika Haj-Danona. Na prvom ugovoru sveštenik je bio Jakob Almuli, a na drugom Mojsije Perera.. Dr Moric Levi zaključuje da su ovi ugovori iz iste porodice. Pored toga on navodi da je primere identično ornamentisanih *ketuba* video u *Judisches Lexikonu* – jedna od takvih *ketuba* nalazi se u muzeju *Cluny* u Parizu, a druga u Lenjingradu. Na osnovu toga dr Levi je zaključio da su sarajevske *ketube* u stvari bile ispisane na obrascima koji su se koristili i u drugim jevrejskim opštinama.

Kao što će se *ketuba* iz Sarajeva, koja je poklonjena Nahumu Sokolovu, verovatno pojaviti u nekom muzeju ili kolekciji, tako se u Muzeju *Beth Tzedec* u Torontu, može videti *ketuba* nastala u Beogradu krajem XIX veka, a koju je iluminirao beogradski slikar, Samuilo Elić.

Veoma ugledni istraživač Shalom Sabar, u svojoj velikoj monografiji pod nazivom *Ketubbah*, New York. 1990. dao je pregled *ketuba* koje se čuvaju u tri najveće i najznačajnije kolekcije u Americi. To su *Hebrew Union College*, *Skirball Museum* i *Biblioteka Klau*. U pomenutoj knjizi objavljene su tri *ketube* nastale na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije. *Ketuba* iz Dubrovnika, iz 1762. godine, veoma lepo dekorisana motivom stubova i korpom cveća iznad teksta. Druga *ketuba* je iz Rijeke, iz 1844. godine, bez mnogo ukrasa. Tekst je podeljen u dva stupca i uokviren lučnim bordurama. Treća *ketuba* je iz Zemuna, iz 1845. godine. Za razliku od prethodne dve, koje su radene na pergamentu, ova je radena na papiru. Shabar ovu *ketubu* upoređuje s jednom bečkom *ketubom* iz 1831. godine. Ono što ovoj *ketubi* daje posebnu vrednost je to što se na njoj, kao svedok, potpisao i rabin Jehuda Haj Alkalaj.

U Splitu je 1644. godine urađena jedna *ketuba*, na žalost o njoj svedoči samo sačuvana fotografija. Dekoracija je bila urađena sa željom da se imitiraju italijanski uzori, ali to nije baš vešto urađeno.

U knjizi Duška Kečkemeta, *Židovi u povijesti Splita*, Split, 1971. godine, reprodukovana je jedna *ketuba* iz porodice Morpurgo, urađena u Splitu, ali nije naznačeno vreme. Tekst je napisan u dva stupca i oivičen floralnim motivima.

Na izložbi *Jezik, knjiga i pismo Jevreja Jugoslavije*, koju je Jevrejski istorijski muzej priredio 1979. godine u Beogradu, bile su prikazane još dve *ketube* iz splitske porodice Morpurgo. Obe su *ketube* bile na pergamentu, radene u XIX veku bez dekoracije.

Na izložbi *Židovi na tlu Jugoslavije*, koja je održana u Zagrebu 1988. godine, pored ostalih, bila je prikazana i jedna *ketuba* iz Muzeja Jevreja Bosne i Hercegovine. Nastala je u Sarajevu oko 1900. godine.

U Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju u Beogradu, čuva se zbirka *ketuba*. U njoj je najznačajnija je *ketuba* rađena na pergamentu u Ankoni, 1652. godine.





Sačuvana je u splitskoj porodici Morpurgo. Ova *ketuba* ima bogatu floralnu dekoraciju koja ispunjava veliki lučni prostor iznad teksta. Sam tekst podeľjen je u dva stupca i uokviren predstavama zodijaka. Pored ove izuzetno vredne *ketube*, zanimljiva je i ona radena na papiru u Sarajevu 1746. godine, bez dekoracije, zatim *ketuba* iz Zemuna iz 1842. godine, radena na papiru sa jednostavnom dekoracijom. Iz ove zbirke zanimljive su i *ketube* rađene na štampanom obrascu. To su litografije za koje je nacrt dao Jakov Haj Altarac, a štampano ih je litograf P. Marković, početkom XX veka u Beogradu. Pored ovih beogradskih obrazaca, sačuvane su i *ketube* pisane na obrascima štampanim krajem XIX i početkom XX veka u Beču, Sofiji i u Sarajevu.

Jevrejsko kulturno-prosvetno društvo *La Benevolencija*, objavilo je u Sarajevu 1937. godine knjigu Jorja Tadića, *Jevreji u Dubrovniku*. U toj knjizi dato je nekoliko retkih prevoda bračnih ugovora na srpskohrvatski pa ovde navodimo jedan primer. To je govor koji je Aron Koen dao da se registruje 1641. godine:

„U petak 12 mjeseca teveta godine 5396 od stvorenja svijeta, prema računu kojim računamo ovdje u Dubrovniku, koji leži u blizini mora i koji se hrani izvorskim vodama, a u blizini rijeke Omble, mladi i izvrsni vjerenik časni Josip Franko, sin gospodina Davida Franka, Bog da ga čuva, rekao je djevičanskoj mladoj gospodi Esteri, kćeri hahama gospodina Arena Koena, Bog ga čuao: „Budite mi supruga po zakonu Mojsijevom i Izraelovom, a ja ću Vas Božijom pomoći hraniti, izdržavati, voditi, držati, i odijevati kako se prema propisima jevrejskih kanona istinski izdržavaju i odijevaju njihove supruge, i daću Vam miraz za Vaše djevičanstvo 200 srebrnjaka, koje Vam idu, i izdržavanje, te ću se spojiti s Vama po običaju cijeloga svijeta”. I pristala je gospoda Ester, ova vjerenica, i postade mu žena po zakonima Mojsijevim i Izraelovim, te mu je donijela u gotovini 2.800 mletačkih dukata, u zlatnim vazama 300 dukata, u pokućstvu, posteljini i odelima 1.050 dukata, a on je njoj još dodao 2.050 dukata, tako da je ona u svemu imala 6.200 mletačkih dukata. Svejedoci su im bili Haim Abenun, Danijel Franko, Samuel Maestro, Mojsije Selem Kabiljo i Abram Beatar.”

⁵⁶Shalom Sabar, *Ketubbah*, New York, 1990. i Shalom Sabar, *Mazal tov*, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1993.

⁵⁷Kairska geniza otkrivena godine u sinagogi proroka Ilije u Kairu. U ovom spremištu starih

⁵⁸Rukopisa pronađeni su stari jevrejski rukopisi od izuzetne vrednosti

⁵⁹Geršon Ben Solomon iz Aria, živeo u XIII veku



RITUALNO KUPATILO – MIKVE

Mikve je kupatilo ili prostor ispunjen čistom vodom koja treba da omogućiti da se ritualno nečista osoba, zaronjavanjem u tu čistu vodu, ritualno očisti. Propis o ritualnom kupatilu zasniva se na stihovima iz Treće knjige Mojsijeve (Lev, 11:36): „*A vrelo ili čatrnja koja drži vodu neka se smatraju čistima. Ali tko dirne strvinu životinje, neka je nečist*”.

Smatralo se da čovek nije ritualno čist:

- posle dodira (kontakta) sa mrtvima, što se zasnivalo na stihovima iz Biblije, Broj 19;
- posle dodira bilo kojih prljavih stvari a posebno posle kontakta sa izlučevinama tela (kod muškaraca polnih i drugih) a kod žena posebno u slučaju menstruacije (Lev, 15);
- u slučaju konverzije (prelazak u jevrejstvo);
- pred praznike, posebno pred *Šabat* i pred *Jom kipur*;
- nakon uzimanje sudova od onih koji nisu Jevreji – to se zasnivalo na stihovima iz Biblije (Brojevi, 31: 22-23): „*Zlato, srebro, bakar, gvožđe, mjed i olovo – sve što podnosi vatru – provucite kroz vatru i bit te očišćeno. Ipak neka se očisti i vodom očišćenja. A sve što ne podnosi vatru provucite kroz vodu*”. Rabini iz talmudskog razdoblja naglašavali su daje uronjavanje duhovno očišćenje a ne fizičko.⁶⁰

Danas je ostala upotreba *mikve* uglavnom za žene posle menstruacije (*niddah*) jer su ostali zakoni o nečistoći prestali da važe posle razorenja Drugog hrama .

Svaka količina sakupljene vode, bilo daje to kišnica ili izvorska ili bilo koja druga voda, koja je dovoljna da se u nju ceo čovek zaroni (zagnjuri), može se upotrebljavati kao *mikve*. Rabini su naglašavali da za *mikve* može biti upotrebljavana samo ona voda koja prethodno nije bila ni u kakvom sudu (posudi).





Najmanja zapremina vode koja je potrebna za *mikve* iznosi jedan kubni metar (ipak, treba reći da se o ovome navode različite brojke). Ukoliko *mikve* sadrži manje vode od zapremine koja se označava sa 40 *se'a* (biblijska mera za količinu vode što je 250-1000 litara, zavisno od različitog računanja) u tom slučaju je ritualno kupatilo neispravno i treba dodati još izvučene vode, da bi kupatilo postalo ispravno.

Ovi zakoni su osnova za različite načine konstrukcije *mikve*. O načinima kako treba graditi *mikve* raspravlja se u *Talmudu* i tome je posvećen ceo istoimeni traktat, kao i velika Majmonidesova⁶¹ rasprava.

Bez obzira na to kako je kupatilo (*mikvej* građeno, ono je ispravno ukoliko se omogućava da voda ne bude prefabrikovana, dovučena i tu zastavljena jer u tom slučaju stvara se „posuda” koja vodu čini „izvučenom vodom”, *mayim she'uvim*. *Mikve* može biti izdubljena u steni, izgrađena, ukopana, svaki materijal je dozvoljen. Ona mora biti nepropustljiva jer ako voda ističe, smanjiće se njena količina i *mikve* će postati neispravna. Ona mora sadržavati 40 *se'a* ispravne vode i, iako je originalno bilo tako da visina mora biti 120 cm (što bi omogućilo osobi da stoji i da bude potpuno uronjena ali sa pomalo savijenim kolenima), kasnije je dozvoljeno da je minimalna potrebna količina vode ona koja omogućava da čovek bude zaronjen u vodu, makar i ležeći.

Voda iz svakog prirodnog izvora koji daje čistu vodu koja nije nikakvom primesom promenila boju, podobna je za *mikve*. Što se tiče kišnice koja je idealna za *mikve* i rastopljenog snega i leda (čak i kada je napravljen od izvučene vode) što je takođe podobno, mora se paziti da voda teče slobodno, da nigde ne bude zaustavljana, da ne bi postala nepodobna kao „crpljena voda”. Takođe, voda ne sme da stigne do *mikve* kroz sudove napravljene od metala ili drugih materijala koji mogu biti ritualno nečisti. To se izbegava dodavanjem oluka i drugih dodataka na način koji omogućava da oni ne dobiju status „posuda”. Slično tome, *mikve* se prazni ručno, vakuumom ili električnim pumpama. Pražnjenje *mikve* kroz rupu na dnu je zabranjeno jer taj otvor se može smatrati za „posudu” ili kao mogućnost propuštanja vode.

Jedan od problema bilo je i zagrevanje vode. Za to su se koristili razni sistemi. Beogradski rabin Šlang, naveo je u svojoj knjizi o Jevrejima u Beogradu, jednu raspravu poznatog beogradskog rabina, Jehude Lerme:⁶² „U jednoj raspravi bavi se Lerma pitanjem ritualnog kupatila u Beogradu. Ono se nalazi”, kaže pisac, „od pamtiveka u tome dvorištu. Međutim, neke ugledne žene prigovaraju, da im je nelagodno prolaziti kroz dvorište u kome obično sede muškarci. Mada je u vise mahova razglašeno, da se ovi ne pojavljuju u to doba u dvorištu, nije se postigao uspeh. Dalje, žene prigovaraju, da je voda često i suviše hladna, zbog čega se u njoj ne mogu kupati. Zato predlaže opštini da se tim ženama izađe u susret, te da se pomoću točka i oluka pušta





zagrejana voda u drugo odelenje kupatila, za koje će služiti i drugi, zgodniji ulaz”.

Sarajevski rabin dr Moric Levi, pomenuo je, u svojoj knjizi Sefardi u Bosni,⁶³ kako je izgledalo ritualno kupatilo u Sarajevu: „Jevrejski zakoni čistoće propisuju ženama, da svaki put nakon menstruacije urone u tekuću vodu, inače je prilaženje najstrožije zabranjeno. U tu su svrhu sarajevski Židovi imali u javnoj banji u čaršiji posebno korito, građeno vlastitim troškom po rabinatskom propisu, te su za to plaćali vlasnika kupališta osim pristojbe za kupanje još 10 groša godišnje najamnine. „

Postoji i opširan opis beogradskog amama sa početka XX veka po sećanju Benciona Levija.⁶⁴ Opis ovog amama dao je u svojim pričama i pisac Haim S. Davičo.

Mnogi jugoslovenski Jevreji sećaju se još kako su njihove majke odlazile u *mikve*. Podatke o tome sakupili smo u upitnicima o praznovanju. Na pitanje: „Ko je u Vašoj porodici odlazio u *mikve*?” dobili smo odgovor ispitanika koji je rođen početkom veka u Bežanovcu: „Majka i sestre po potrebama vere”. Ili odgovor jedne ispitanice: „U Iloku sam se venčala 1932. i išla sam u *mikve*”. Odgovor iz Munkačeva: „Mama je išla redovno”, i iz Sarajeva: „moja baka i mama svakog petka”.

Svakako je jedan od najlepših i najupečatljivijih opisa pridržavanja propisa o ritualnom pranju, odnosno o upotrebi *mikve* onaj u romanu *Rob*, Isaka Baševisa Singera:

„Vanda”, reče Jakov, a glas mu je drhtao, „moraš najpre da izadeš i da se okupaš u reči”.

„Ja sam se već umila i očešljala kosu”. „Ne, moraš da zaroniš u vodu”. „Sada?”

„Da, to zahteva božiji zakon”.

⁶⁰Nahum Sokolov (1859-1936), jevrejski pisac i predsednik Svetske cionističke organizacije

⁶¹Moses Ben Maimon – Majmonides, (1135-1204), rođen u Kordobi, najveći jevrejski filozof, poznat kao "Rambam" (akronim)

⁶²Jehuda Lerma, "Peletat bet Jehuda", Venecija, 1647.

⁶³Dr Moric Levi, Sefardi u Bosni, Beograd, 1969. (prevod)

⁶⁴Bencion Levi, Crtice iz života Jevreja u jevrejskoj mali u Beogradu – moje sećanje iz ranog detinjstva, Bilten Jevrejske opštine Beograd, 1976/1977.



POLOŽAJ ŽENE U JEVREJSKOM DRUŠTVU

Patrijarhalni sistemi su obuhvaćeni globalnom definicijom društvenih odnosa, ali su shvatanja o tim odnosima, na nivou samih društava i etničkih grupa, veoma iznijansirana.

Jevrejsko društvo je patrijarhalno. Sve jevrejske zajednice, aškenaske, sefardske, ortodoksne ili ultraortodoksne, na izraelskom izvorištu ili u dijaspori, uređene su prema patrijarhalnim principima biblijskih i talmudskih učenja. Statusne razlike između muškarca i žene u socijalnom, običajno – pravnom i religijskom kontekstu, predstavljaju jednu od detaljno razrađenih tema kako u Bibliji, tako i u *Talmudu*. Mnogi stavovi, formirani po tom pitanju, upućuju na tipičnu patrijarhalnu osnovu izvesne polne diskriminacije u okviru koje prioriternu ulogu, u svakom pogledu, ima muškarac. Pre svega, rođenju muškog deteta pridavana je velika pažnja posebnim ritualnim postupcima (*šolem zohor* i dr.), što, već nije bio slučaj sa ženskom decom. Uostalom, od njega će postati muškarac, nosilac porodičnog imena, naslednik propisanog dela imovine, otac i muž koji će se brinuti za ekonomsku i moralnu dobrobit porodice koju je sam osnovao. On je bio nosilac duhovnog razvoja jer mu je od davnina data obaveza i zadovoljstvo da proučava Toru i da se, u dubljem, misaonom smislu, posvećuje Bogu, kojem je pripao i čiju je zaštitu dobio još prilikom obrednog „puštanja zavetne krvi“ (*Brit mila*).

Dakle, sa ove tačke gledišta, žena je bila u senci muškarca (brata, muža), počev od običajnog pristupa njenom rođenju, pa preko naslednih prava na imovinu, mogućnosti da stekne obrazovanje (koja se, tek tokom vekova, počela da uvećava), sve do njenog zvaničnog položaja i uloge u braku.

Međutim, s druge strane, neke činjenice (o kojima je bilo reči u okviru prethodnih poglavlja), ukazuju da položaj žene u ovom „svetu muškaraca“ nije bio tako inferioran, kao što bi se moglo pomisliti na prvi pogled. Iako je muškarac bio centralna figura socijalne i duhovne kulture jevrejskog društva, žena je, prema istim tim tradicionalnim shvatanjima, bila neprikosno-





veni „stub kuće”.⁶⁵ Ako se ima u vidu da je porodica smatrana suštinskom bazom primanja, učenja i čuvanja kulturnih, religijskih, društvenih i, uopšte, svih tekovina judaizma, onda se uloga žene može označiti samo kao formalno podređena u odnosu na muškarca. Iako su skoro svi postnatalni obredi bili vezani za mušku decu, trud i briga oko ženske dece nisu, u stvari, bili ništa manji. Odgajanje i vaspitavanje ženskog deteta smatrano je veoma važnim ne samo na ličnom, nego i na društvenom planu. Temelji jevrejske porodice, građeni su onako kako se gradila i ispravna ličnost koja će, kada za to dode vreme, biti u stanju da preuzme značajan deo obaveza, predviđenih religijsko – običajnim sistemom jevrejskog društva. Osim uobičajenog održavanja kuće i domaćinstva, uloga žene je podrazumevala vaspitanje dece u jevrejskom duhu, odnosno dobro poznavanje svih kućnih praznika i obreda a, s tim u vezi, i preciznih verskih propisa o ishrani. Odgovornost za podizanje i obrazovanje dece, padala je na ženu isto kao i na muža.

U religijskom životu, glavna razlika između muškarca i žene bila je u učestalosti izvršavanja božjih zapovesti.⁶⁶ Za ženu su, naravno, kao i za muškarca, važile sve zapovesti i zabrane, s tim što žena nije morala da obavlja izvesne verske obrede – ukoliko su oni bili vezani za neko utvrđeno vreme. Na primer, bila je pošteđena molitvi kojima se pristupalo u određena doba dana, što ne znači da nije mogla da se moli, ako je to želela. Ove razlike u religijskom tretmanu pre bi se mogle objasniti različitim prirodnim funkcijama muškarca i žene, koje uslovljavaju normalnu distinkciju na planu radnih i drugih potreba, nego potcenjivanjem žene. Jevrejsko versko zakonodavstvo je razrešilo ženu obaveze da čita i proučava *Toru*, tako da je u ranijim razdobljima veoma mali broj žena bio upoznat sa svetim tekstovima. Ipak, talmudski propisi nisu uskratili ženi učenje i pristup *Tori*, s obzirom daje postojala i takva mogućnost da žena bude pozvana da, javno, u sinagogi, čita *Toru* ...⁶⁷ A pozivanjem neke osobe da čita *Toru*, ukazivano je veliko poštovanje. To su bili vrlo retki momenti ali, svakako, kontraindikovani pojednostavljenom shvatanju žene kao suštinski podređenog člana društvene zajednice. (Vremenom, odnosi su se menjali dotle da su, u savremeno doba, čak i žene iz ortodoksno opredeljenih porodica počele da stiču visoko versko obrazovanje, što je pre bilo nezamislivo).

Pored apsolutnog poštovanja roditeljskih odluka (što je, doduše, važilo i za sinove i za kćerke), tokom starog i delimično srednjeg veka, ženina podređenost je bila formalno označena njenim položajem u odnosu na muža. Slobodnije interpretirano, žena je tretirana kao neka vrsta vlasništva muškarca, koji je sa njom ostvario bračnu vezu. Eventualni razvod braka, mogao je da bude izvršen na osnovu njegovog zahteva, a bez njene saglasnosti. Pa i formulacija da muškarac „daje” a žena „prima” *get* (koja se, tradicionalno, zadržala i kasnije), verovatno potiče baš iz perioda, kada su odnosi bili tako





postavljeni. Pozitivna promena je usledila već na prelazu X u XI vek, kada je donet propis (po rabinu Geršomu), da se za razvod braka mora dobiti i ženina saglasnost.⁶⁸

Međutim, imajući u vidu daleka vremena, odnosno stupnjeve kulturnog razvoja kada je pisan *Talmud*, primetna je specifična težnja talmudskih zakona, preopširka i objašnjenja ka što humanijem balansiranju običajnih i društvenih normi ponašanja unutar društvene zajednice, zatim porodice i, na kraju, između muškarca i žene. Muškarcu je, isto tako kao i ženi, od malih nogu, usađivano poštovanje prema porodičnom načinu života kao najprirodnijem, dubok osećaj odgovornosti i pravac emocionalnog i seksualnog usmeravanja na onu osobu sa kojom će, jednom, otpočeti zajednički život. Zbog toga je razvod braka bio mnogo reda pojava, nego što bi se moglo očekivati s obzirom na to da je bio ne samo dozvoljen, nego i prilično slobodno shvaćen. Muško neverstvo i preljuba, seksualno zapostavljanje, grubost, nepoštovanje žene ili, uopšteno, nebriga za celokupnu dobrobit svoje porodice, bili su po *Talmudu* neprihvatljivi oblici ponašanja, podložni oštroj društvenoj osudi. Muškarac i žena su imali svoje uloge i dužnosti i, pri tom, muškarcu se ni malo nije „gledalo kroz prste”. Iz svih tih razloga, ne može se govoriti o potcenjenosti žene u judaizmu. Mnogih aspekti sagledavanja i običajno – normativnog i verskog regulisanja međuljudskih odnosa, t j. odnosa među polovima, predvideli su čitav kompleks dužnosti i postupaka sa jednostavnim ciljem zaštite društvenog, porodičnog pa, na kraju, i ličnog imidža i egzistencije. Pošto je u ljudskoj prirodi, više ili manje, uvek bila prisutna želja za kršenjem pravila, porodica je trebalo da bude ta inicijalna snaga stvaranja i očuvanja kulturnih i ljudskih vrednosti.

Porodica počinje sa muškarcem i ženom, a način njenog opstanka zavisi od kvaliteta njihove sprege. Iako podložna kritičkim osvrtima, kako negativnim tako i pozitivnim, u svetim traktatima Biblije i *Talmuda*, žena je društveni „potporni” stub i priznata je kao takva. Starovremenski jevrejski proroci se nisu libili da poredi Božju ljubav prema narodu Izraela sa muževljevom ljubavlju prema ženi. Bar je tako trebalo da bude. Žena nije zaobiđena ni u jevrejskim legendama (Ester, Rut, Mirijam) – bilo da je imala presudnu, bilo pomoćnu ulogu – na kojima se zasnivaju pojedini veliki praznici, ali i objašnjenja nekih događaja, smeštenih u realan istorijski i kulturni kontekst celokupnog jevrejskog etnosa.

U novom veku, na višim stupnjevima ekonomskog i kulturnog razvoja, tradicionalna slika o jevrejskoj ženi postepeno se oslobada nekih funkcionalnih ograničenja. U dramatičnim istorijskim zbivanjima koja su zadesila sefardske Jevreje, posle inkvizitorskog izгона sa Iberijskog poluostrva, krajem XV veka, upadljivo mesto imala je upravo jedna žena – Gracija Mendes Nasi – *maranka*⁶⁹ (pokrštena Jevrejka) rodom iz Lisabona, koja je zapamćena po





svom intelektu, bogatstvu i poslovnim uticajima, a najviše po tome što je sve to koristila da bi pomogla, koliko je moguće, svojim unesrećenim sunarodnicima. Na svom putu za Carigrad, Gracija Nasi je boravila u Dubrovniku 1553. godine.

U novijoj istoriji Srbije, a zatim i Kraljevine Jugoslavije, tokom XIX i u prvoj polovini XX veka, istakao se čitav niz jevrejskih žena koje su, u uslovima relativno slabih državnih ekonomskih moći, političkih previranja i ratnih sukoba, uspešno vodile razne humanitarne i obrazovne akcije. Prvo žensko društvo, uopšte osnovano u Srbiji, bilo je „Jevrejsko žensko društvo” u Beogradu. Društvo je osnovano 1874. godine, na inicijativu gospođe Ester B. Pinto i od stihijskog humanitarnog rada grupice entuzijasta, brzo je preraslo u čvrstu organizaciju sa humanitarnim i prosvetiteljskim ciljevima. Prva predsednica je bila Toni Azriel, a zatim su Društvom rukovodile beogradske gospođe Solči D. Buli, Luča Levi, Merkuša Buli i Neti Ž. Leonović ... Jubilarna pedesetogodišnjica postojanja i rada, proslavljena je 1924. godine. „Jevrejsko žensko društvo” je stvorilo ferijalnu koloniju, organizovalo javna, naučna predavanja i svoje humane i obrazovne aktivnosti proširilo po celoj Srbiji, pomažući ne samo ženama, nego i drugim društvima. Još veći napredak usledio je 1923. godine, kada je „Jevrejsko žensko društvo”, u dogovoru sa beogradskim aškenaskim društvom „Dobrotvor” (osnovanim u međuvremenu na sličnom principu), pristupilo organizaciji Udruženja jevrejskih ženskih društava Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Posebnu pažnju privlačili su i individualni podvizi jevrejskih žena. Beogradska učiteljica, Estira Ruso, bila je poznati humanista, patriota i intelektualac, autor „Biblijskih pouka” za učenike Mojsijeve vere, poznavalac vise evropskih jezika (naročito nemačkog, španskog i italijanskog), jedan od utemeljivača Jugoslovenskog učiteljskog udruženja, član Srpske književne zadruge i mnogih drugih srpskih i jevrejskih društava. Takođe, veoma poštovana i zanimljiva ličnost, bila je Neti Munk, proslavljena bolničarka na frontu – učestvovala u oba Balkanska rata, 1912-1913, kao i u Prvom svetskom ratu, 1914 – 1918. godine. Neti Munk je dobila orden Karađorđeve zvezde za hrabrost, kojim su se mogli pohvaliti samo izuzetni ratnici.

⁶⁵Hayyim Schneid: Family, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, str. 83-85.

⁶⁶Ibid, str. 85.

⁶⁷Ibid, str. 90.

⁶⁸Ibid, str. 90.

⁶⁹Marani – španski i portugalski Jevreji koji su, krajem XV veka, u periodu izгона, prelazili u katoličku veru da bi zaštitili život i imovinu, odnosno opstali u datoj sredini. Karakteristično je da su tajno ostali odani judaizmu, suštinski poštujući svoje pravo poreklo i prenoseći znanje o tome na naredne generacije.

⁷⁰Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu 1874-1924, Spomenica povodom pedesetogodišnjice postojanja, Beograd 1924.

⁷¹Spomenica gospođe Estire S. Ruso, učiteljice, Beograd 1924.



ODNOS PREMA SMRTI U JUDAIZMU – ŽALOBNI OBIČAJI

Ima nečeg utešnog u izreci „ko se nije rodio neće ni umreti”... Smrt je neminovnost života, njegova apsolutna suprotnost koju je ljudski razum oduvek konstatovao, a osećanja negirala, stvarajući od nje kult. Odbijanje čoveka da svesno prihvati Činjenicu o „povratku” u stanje ništavila, predstavlja normalnu reakciju izazvanu nepomirljivim sukobom između nagona za životom i pravca kretanja tog života – ka kraju. U prirodnom pokušaju čoveka da nadživi sudar Erosa i Tanatosa, u kojem pobeđuje ovaj drugi, smrt je na određen način tretirana, i kao pojam i kao pojava, u svim religijama ljudskih društava, počev od najstarijih oblika paganskih do institucionalizovanih, razvijenih religijskih sistema. Zajedničko rešenje misterije nađeno je u vizijama „života posle smrti”, koje su se međusobno, u okviru vremenski i prostorno udaljenih kultura i civilizacija, više ili manje razlikovale. Međutim, kroz religijska poimanja uzročno-posledičnih veza između ovozemaljskog načina života i kvaliteta onog koji sledi, religija je imala značajnu ulogu u regulisanju društvenih odnosa i očuvanju moralnih vrednosti. U svakom slučaju, treba imati u vidu da je pojam moralnog ponašanja prema samom sebi i prema drugim ljudima, veoma relativan i varira prema važećim shvatanjima i normama kulturnog sistema ljudskih zajednica. Shodno tome, mnoga religijska učenja polazila su od pozitivnih principa zaštite svojeg društva i njegovih vrednosti i, sa tog aspekta, uloga religije bila je od višestruke koristi, naročito na nižim kulturnim stupnjevima razvoja, kada je predstavljala negde jedinu, a negde jednu od glavnih institucija društvenog uređenja. Međutim, dok su neke religije i kasnije zadržale takav pravac, u drugima je, kroz istoriju, došlo do ozbiljnih zloupotreba „pozitivnih principa”, što je pomračilo osnovnu svrhu religije kao dela duhovne kulture čoveka ...

Shvatanje života i smrti u judaizmu, manifestovano je nizom običaja, verskih i ritualnih postupaka. Kompleksan sadržaj žalobnih običaja kod Je-





vreja celovito je regulisan verskim propisima, uz delimično prožimanje sa oblicima ponašanja i verovanja, nasleđenim iz nižih animističkih i drugih paganskih formi. U prošlim istorijskim i kulturnim etapama društvenog i ekonomskog razvoja, smrt jednog člana zajednice pogađala je celu zajednicu. Način ponašanja i izražavanja emocija najbližih srodnika, a onda i njihovog okruženja u slučaju smrti čoveka, propisani su *Torom*. Funkcionisanje šire zajednice bilo je usmereno ka pružanju objektivne pomoći i podrške onima koji tuguju, da bi im bilo omogućeno da se suoče sa svojim bolom, da ga izraze i, u krajnjoj liniji, pokušaju da nadu svoj duhovni mir, pred neumitnom činjenicom o smrti čoveka koga su voleli. Pravila iz *Tore* o tugovanju dece za roditeljima, roditelja za decom, za drugim članovima porodice ... vremenom su razrađivana u cilju izuzetnog pospešivanja nežne brige i saosećanja prvo za umirućeg, a potom za ožalošćene.⁷²

Bolesnom čoveku je trebalo pružiti podršku i pažnju dolaskom u posetu. Posećivanje bolesnika – *bikur holim* (hebr.) je bilo društveno pravilo ponašanja sa religijskom konotacijom. *Bikur holim* je bilo dobro delo, verska i moralna dužnost svakog Jevrejina prema njegovim rođacima i prijateljima, kao i prema susedima, i to – bez obzira koje su vere, rase ili društvenog položaja. Osim formalne podloge, običaj posećivanja bolesnika podrazumevao je konkretnu duhovnu, ali i materijalnu pomoć. Imućnog bolesnika posetilac je trebalo da uteši i ohrabri, a siromašnog još da opskrbi neophodnim stvarima. Svrishodnost posete ogledala se i u strogim rabinskim uputstvima o tome kada treba ići u posetu, i u kojoj meri. U slučaju teških i dugotrajnih oboljenja, poseta je bila zabranjena prva tri dana, koja su smatrana najkritičnijim. Tada su se o bolesniku brinuli samo članovi najuže porodice. Posle toga, u posetu se moglo ići, ali ne u prva i poslednja tri sata tokom dana, kada je, ako prilike nisu drugačije zahtevale, bilo rezervisano vreme za dolazak lekara. Sva rabinska uputstva o posećivanju bolesnika, bila su usmerena ka postizanju humane koristi, predviđene ovim običajem, uz veliki oprez, da ne bi došlo do suprotnog efekta koji je i te kako moguć, kada je čovek u teškom stanju. Ljudski život shvatan je kao neprikosnoven u judaizmu i pomoć ugroženom čoveku bila je opravdana u ma kojem kontekstu, uključujući i kršenje pravila ponašanja za *Šabat*. Intezitet brige koju je pokazivao lekar – *rofe* (hebr.) za svog pacijenta, nije smeo da opadne ni onda kada je bilo izvesno da će čovek umreti. Lekar je bio dužan da leči umirućeg do poslednjeg trenutka i postupava kao da ima nade za njegovo ozdravljenje, što je, u psihološkom pogledu, bilo veoma blagotvorno. Eutanazija je bila zabranjena i, po verskom jevrejskom zakonodavstvu, smatrana je ubistvom. Takav stav preuzelo je i civilno pravo.

U pokušajima da se bolesnik odbrani od smrti, pribegavalo se i *šinu* 'ašem (hebr.) ritualu – promeni njegovog imena ili dodavanju još jednog, sa





jasnim simboličnim značenjem: Hajim – život, Jahiel – Bog oživljava, Rafael – Bog leči, i si. U osnovi, postupak je magijskog karaktera, verovatno prenet iz znatno starijih paganskih rituala za zaštitu ili, možda, „maskiranje”. Magijska moć imena poznata je i u drugim kulturama.⁷³ Na primer, u slovenskim – Lav (kod istočnih i zapadnih Slovena) ili Vuk (kod Srba). Ovakva imena potiču još iz prehrišćanskog vremena, a služila su za odbijanje zlih sila od dece u porodicama, u kojima je bila velika smrtnost. Slično, mada religijski upotpunjeno shvatanje o sudbinskoj vezi čoveka i imena, dato je u *Talmudu*, po kojem su milosrđe, molitva, promena imena i promena delovanja, uslovi pod kojima može da se utiče na dalji tok stvari u ljudskom životu.

Čovek koji je na samrti, nazivan je *goses* (hebr.) i, ni u kom slučaju, nije ga trebalo ostavljati samog. Sedeti uz samrtnika bila je velika *micva* (bogo-ugodno, plemenito delo, hebr.), sa ciljem da mu se pruži uteha, ali i zaštita u trenutku kada nastupa smrt. Zapravo, prema verovanju koje se, naročito, razvilo u srednjem veku, prilikom umiranja odvija se žestok obračun između anđela i demona za dušu *goses* -a. Međutim, Jevreji su verovali da samo prisustvo drugog, živog čoveka, brani umirućeg od demona i ne da im da se približe. Pošto je nastupila smrt, elan porodice, po mogućstvu sin, sklapao je oči i zatvarao usta pokojniku, podvezujući donju vilicu pre nego što otpočne kočenje. Telo se polagalo na pod, pokrivalo čaršavom, a blizu glave pokojnika, palila se sveća. Obred paljenja sveće karakterističan je i za hrišćansku religiju, a zasnovan je na verovanju da svetlost sveće obasjava put pokojnikovoj duši ka nebu. U tumačenju ovog obreda nije isključen ni stariji, paganski motiv teranja zlih duhova plamenom i svetlošću sveće. Što se tiče polaganja tela na pod, verovatno je u pitanju kombinacija praktičnih i religijskih razloga. Praktičan, prvobitni razlog za ovakav postupak sa telom bila je topla klima, dok je religijski simbol potekao iz biblijske postavke da je čovek nastao iz „praha”, odnosno zemlje, i da će se u takvo stanje vratiti. Osim što *goses* – a ne treba ostavljati samog, običaj je nalagao da se i telo pokojnika čuva sve do sahrane, odnosno da se kraj njega stražari danju, noću, praznikom, čak i subotom. Ovim običajem iskazivano je poštovanje mrtvom čoveku, *kevod 'amet* (hebr.), jer je ljudsko biće, po jevrejskoj tradiciji, sveto kao što je svet svitak *Tore*. Analogno poštovanju i pobožnosti koje Jevreji osećaju za *Torn* – bilo kad je čitaju, bilo da je smeštena u sveti kovčeg *aron hakodeš* – takav je odnos i prema čoveku, za njegovog života i posle smrti. *Šomerim*, čuvari (hebr. množ.) pokojnika, oslobođeni su svih drugih verskih dužnosti dok traje bdenje.

Pranjem, oblačenjem i sahranom pokojnika, bavilo se posebno, tako-zvano „sveto udruženje” – *Hevra kadiša* (hebr.). Postojanje sličnih organizacija pominje se još u *Talmudu*, ali zvanično osnivanje ovog svetog udruženja





ne seže u tako daleku prošlost. Ono se prvi put javlja u Pragu, u drugoj polovini XVI veka, da bi po tom postalo deo opštejevrejskog verskog i običajnog sistema, na nivou lokalnih zajednica. Sveta udruženja su dugo funkcionisala na dobrovoljnoj osnovi i tek su se u novije vreme, najčešće u velikim jevrejskim opštinama, počeli da angažuju i plaćeni službenici. Osim poslova oko pokojnika, *Hevra kadiša* je obilazila bolesnike, pružala utehu, siromašnima obezbeđivala lekara i lekove, ožalošćenoj porodici pripremala prvi ručak posle sahrane, itd. Svi ovi poslovi imali su obeležja *micve*, važnih i humanih verskih dužnosti, tako da su ih često obavljale i veoma ugledne ličnosti iz zajednice. U posebno veliku *micvu* spadala je briga oko sahrane pokojnika, koji nije imao rodbinu ... Takav pokojnik se označavao terminom *met micva*, a poslovi oko njegove sahrane, *micva gedola*.

Kupanje mrtvaca – *taara* ili *rehica* (čišćenje, pranje, hebr.) – predstavljalo je ritualnu radnju, zasnovanu na biblijskoj misli da čovek treba da se isprati kao što je i dočekan. Ako se pristupalo kupanju novorođenčadi, istom treba pristupiti i posle čovekove smrti. Pranje mrtvaca vršili su takozvani *rohacim* (hebr. množ.), iz članstva lokalne *Hevra kadiše*, u zasebnoj kući ili u određenoj prostoriji grobljanske kapele. Za vreme rituala je neprekidno gorela sveća, a sa telom se postupalo sa velikim poštovanjem. Na kameni sto prostiran je čaršav, na koje je položen pokojnik. Pranje je vršeno od glave prema nogama, toplom vodom koja se sipala na svaki deo tela. Kosa je, takođe, prana i češljana, a nokti uređivani. Čaršav je služio za brisanje, pri čemu se vodilo računa da se telo ne dodirne, direktno, rukama.

Telo umrlog oblačilo se u *tahrihim* – posmrtnu odeću od belog lanenog platna, koja se sastojala od najviše sedam, a najmanje tri dela, šivenih bez poruba, čvorova i džepova. Iako se, do početka nove ere, posmrtna odeća javljala i u bogatijem obliku, ovaj izrazito skroman način oblačenja mrtvaca postaje univerzalan, odnosno verski i običajno propisan, što je bilo u skladu sa shvatanjima da su u smrti svi jednaki. Karakteristike *tahrihim* su imale simbolična značenja: bela boja je simbolisala čistoću duha i praštanje, a labavo spajanje komada ove odeće, bez čvorova i poruba, proisticalo je iz talmudskih i post-talmudskih verovanja o vaskrsnuću i početku onostranog života. Tada, mrtvi ne bi bili sputani odećom i čvorovima. (Zbog toga je kod Jevreja bilo neprihvatljivo oblačenje mrtvaca u klasično odelo.) Magijska moć čvora je, inače, bila poznata, kako u jevrejskoj, tako i u drugim kulturama, obično sa negativnom konotacijom. Čvor je bio simbol „vezivanja”, „zapatljavanja”, koji je, prema principima prenosne magije, mogao da izazove sličnu situaciju u presudnim momentima, u životu i u smrti. (Osim što su čvorovi izostavljeni zbog vaskrsnuća, da podsetimo i da su odvezivani prilikom teških porođaja, o čemu je bilo reči u prvom poglavlju.) Nedostatak džepova je već bio religij-





ski simbol – izražavanje određenog stava prema materijalnim stvarima. Po jevrejskim shvatanjima, na onom svetu čoveka prate Tora i njegova dobra dela, a ne imovina. (Potpuno drugačija religijska koncepcija od, na primer, staroegipatske.) Na istoj osnovi je bio i običaj da se sake umrlog otvore, ukoliko su bile stisnute u pesnice. Jedini predmet koji je sahranjivan sa pokojnikom, bio je njegov molitveni šal, *talit*. Tom prilikom, *talitu* je odsecana jedna resa – *cicit*, čime je *talit* gubio svoju sakralnu vrednost. Simbolično „oduzimanje” funkcije koju ima molitveni šal predstavljalo je suočavanje sa realnošću – sa činjenicom da ga vlasnik više ne može koristiti.

Period od nastupanja smrti do sahrane, naziva se *aninut* (od *anen* – žaliti, hebr.). Po jevrejskim propisima, *aninut* traje relativno kratko, jer sahranu ne bi trebalo odlagati duže od dvadeset četiri sata. Najbliži ožalošćeni srodnik, označen je terminom *onen* (hebr.), i on ima poseban status tokom ovog perioda. On je oslobođen redovnih verskih dužnosti i molitava, a potpuno posvećen mislima na pokojnika i poslovima oko sahrane. Takođe, onen podleže određenom režimu ishrane – ne jede meso i ne pije alkoholna pića. Prema *Talmudu*, ožalošćenog čoveka je zabranjeno tešiti u periodu *aninuta* – kada je šokiran gubitkom nekog koga je voleo i u stanju najgore potrebnosti. Nikakve reči utehe nisu tada primerene, čak bi mogle biti i neukusne u trenucima kada je svest prožeta velikim bolom, u stvari, suočena sa činjenicom beznadežnog nestajanja voljene osobe. *Aninut* je bio praćen različitim, lokalnim običajima. Upečatljiv običaj tog tipa, bilo je izbacivanje vode iz kuće u kojoj se dogodio smrtni slučaj. Prolivanjem vode se, bez reči, „objavljivala” nečija smrt, jer su Jevreji izbegavali da budu direktni prenosioci loših vesti. Takođe, po jevrejskom verskom zakonu, društvena klasa *kohanim* (sveštenici, hebr.), t.j. pripadnici svešteničkih rodova i samim poreklom obavezani na određene svešteničke dužnosti – morali su da se drže na propisanom odstojanju od kuće, ispred koje je prolivena voda – da bi ostali ritualno čisti u okviru svog statusa. Međutim, uloga vode kao simbolične poruke o smrti, bila je prožeta i nekim verovanjima paganskog porekla: duh umrlog je kružio oko tela izvesno vreme, a prolivena voda ga je sprečavala da se približi živima, odnosno da ih napadne. (I pored razvijanja što prirodnijeg odnosa prema smrti u judaizmu, verovanje ima negativnu konotaciju – ilustruje strah od onostranog.) Veoma raširen običaj, kako kod Jevreja tako i u drugim kulturama, bilo je pokrivanje ili okretanje ogledala prema zidu – da se duh umrloga ne bi ogledao. Isto tako, bio je to gest radi živih, tj. da ožalošćeni ne bi gledali svoje, tugom izobličeno lice, kao i da bi se sprečilo eventualno osećanje sujeta u trenucima kada za to nije vreme.

Karakteristična radnja kojom se izražavala žalost zbog gubitka bliske osobe, bila je *keria* (cepanje odeće, hebr.), koja spada među najstariju grupu





jevrejskih običaja. Capanje odeće sledilo je, obično, pre sahrane, na groblju ili u kapeli pored mrtvačkog sanduka. Ritual se vršio stojeći, u skladu sa biblijskim stavom da nesreću i bol treba primiti uspravno, i prema određenim pravilima: za oca i majku, cepan je komad odeće sa leve strane, prema srcu, a za sve ostale bližnje, sa desne strane, u dužini od jednog pedlja. Dok je za oca i majku *keria* vršena rukom, što je bilo znatno teže, za ostale je vršena nožićem, odozgo na dole. Ovaj ritual je važio i za verski nepunoletne članove, tj. za mušku decu mladu od trinaest godina i žensku, sa manje od dvanaest godina. *Keria* se nije vršila subotom, za praznike, niti u slučajevima kada je vest o smrti stizala tek posle trideset dana. Vremensko ograničenje nije važilo jedino kada su u pitanju otac i majka, za kojima se *keria* činila uvek.

Prema jevrejskim verskim propisima, pokojnik se sahranjuje u zemlju, u mrtvačkom sanduku napravljenom od ravnih, neobrađenih dasaka, bez ukrasa i upotrebe metalnih eksera.⁷⁴ Ovi strogo utvrđeni propisi usledili su posle izvesnih modifikacija običajnog postupka pri sahranjivanju. U periodu pre n.e. korišćeni su kako sanduci od drveta, tako i od kamena i gline, ukrašavani crtežima ili natpisima. Za vreme vladavine Hašmonejaca, već krajem stare ere, običaj je bio da se sakupe kosti umrlog i polože u sandučiće od kamena ili gline. Pretpostavlja se da su tokom talmudskih vremena mrtvaci prenošeni do groblja na nosilima, a da su sanduci upotrebljavani samo ako je umrle trebalo, sticajem okolnosti, nositi na udaljena mesta. U srednjem veku, propisi nisu nalagali sahranjivanje u mrtvačkim sanducima. Čak je u XVI veku preovladao kabalističko mišljenje da pokojnik mora biti u direktnom dodiru sa zemljom, čime se sasvim ispunjavao biblijski stav o povratku čoveka u stanje ništavila (u „prah“). Ipak, vremenom je postalo uobičajeno korišćenje sanduka, propisanog izgleda. Krajnje jednostavan sanduk – *aron metim* (mrtvački sanduk, hebr.), simbolizovao je skromnost i poniznost pred Bogom, kao i sklad sa pomenutim biblijskim stavom ... Pošto je *Hevra kadiša* pripremila pokojnika za sahranu, sanduk je zatvaran i vise se nije smeo otvarati. Na jugu Srbije i u Bosni, pokojnik je nošen na groblje u takvom jednostavnom, neobojenom sanduku koji je, zatim, razbijan nad rakom i zakopavan zajedno sa pokojnikom.

Običaj da se bdi nad otvorenim sandukom, odnosno da telo bude izloženo pogledima pre sahrane (svojtven hrišćanskim kulturama), bio je zastupljen i kod Jevreja ranotalmudske epohe, koji su ostavljali pokojnikovo lice otkriveno. Međutim, iz moralnih pobuda, ovaj običaj je sasvim odbačen jer – siromašni slojevi jevrejskog društva nisu mogli da plate odgovarajući balzamni tretman kojim se, privremeno, zaustavljala degradacija leša, što ih je dovodilo u neravnopravan i neprijatan položaj. Kod Jevreja nema, niti je bilo kremacije ili nekih drugačijih postupaka pri sahranjivanju, uglavnom vezanih za pagansko nasleđe.





Sahrana – *kevura* (hebr.), po propisima, obavljala se u roku od dvadeset četiri sata, ali nije bila dozvoljena za *Sabat* (subotom), kao i za *Jom kipur* – Dan pokajanja (sledi desetog dana od *Roš hašana*, jevrejske Nove godine). To su neprikosnoveni verski praznici, kada je zabranjena bilo koja vrsta rada. Odlaganje sahrane u redovnim uslovima, smatrano je ponižavajućim za pokojnika i bilo je verski i etički neprihvatljivo. (O tome da se pokojnik ne sahrani, ma ko daje bio za života, i ma kakav greh daje počinio, nije bilo ni govora. Po Bibliji, ostati nesahranjen bila je strašna nesreća za umrlog i tako nešto niko nije zasluživao.) Kada se prisustvovalo sahrani, nije bilo dozvoljeno „iskoristiti priliku” i običi druge grobove bližnjih. Razlog ovakve zabrane je bio, pretežno, formalne prirode, sa svrhom da održi pretpostavljen nivo poštovanja prema pokojniku, čija je sahrana bila konkretan povod dolaska na groblje. Međutim, opet nije isključen paganski momenat – verovanje da se za vreme sahranjivanja javljaju demonske sile na groblju, pa nije preporučljivo napuštati pogrebnu povorku i ići sam. Groblje čak treba što pre napustiti, odmah po završetku čina sahrane.

Pogrebna povorka ili ispraćaj pokojnika – *levaja* (hebr.) – bila je velika *micva* i odvijala se bez obzira na to ko je bio pokojnik i kakva (dobra ili loša) dela je počinio za života. U slučaju nekoliko *levaja* tokom jednog dana, opet nije bila dozvoljena nikakva društvena diskriminacija. Jednostavno, prvo je sahranjivan onaj koji je prvi umro. U talmudskim vremenima, običaj je bio da se pogrebna povorka zaustavlja šest puta pre nego što stigne do rake. Simbolika ovih ritualnih pauza u hodu, vezuje se za objašnjenje u *Midrasu*⁷⁵, da u životu čoveka postoji šest osnovnih faza, koje bi se mogle ovako interpretirati: dolazak na svet i prva godina života u kojoj dete uživa samo pažnju i nežnost okoline, najranije detinjstvo u kojem dete razvija interesovanje za spoljni svet i pokazuje sklonost da sve stvari dodiruje, nemajući svest o čistom i nečistom; mladost, koja je ispunjena nervoznim iščekivanjem i željom za suprotnim polom; mlade zrelo doba kada počinje bračni život; zatim srednje zrelo doba, kada se čovek bori za dobrobit svoje porodice, odnosno dece i, na kraju, starost, koja savladava čovekovu snagu. Međutim, može biti prisutan i paganski elemenat – verovanje da ovakvi prekidi imaju zaštitnu ulogu jer dezorijentišu i ometaju zle duhove, koji prate pokojnika i celu povorku. Moguće je da se u toj simbolici razvila i formalna strana izražavanja tuge za preminulim, upravo pomoću određenog ponašanja, t j. oklevanja pri konačnom rastanku. Vremenom, ovaj običaj je donekle reducirana, uglavnom, tri zaustavljanja pratnje, ali se zadržao do savremenog doba. Pošto su za obred sahranjivanja bili odgovorni pokojnikovi srodnici, simbolično ispunjenje te obaveze vršilo se tako što je svaki od njih ubacivao po tri lopate zemlje u raku. Rukovanje lopatom vršeno je po principu prenosne magije – lopata se





nije međusobno dodavala već se, posle upotrebe, spuštala na zemlju, da se nevolja ne bi prenosila od jednog do drugog čoveka. Prema nekim podacima iz *Talmuda*, na grob se stavljala mirođija. Nošenje i polaganje cveća na grob, nije bio jevrejski običaj.

Jevrejski propisi ne dozvoljavaju ekshumaciju, osim u izuzetnim slučajevima kada, na primer, posmrtno ostatke treba preneti sa nejevrejskog na jevrejsko groblje, ili ih treba preneti u Svetu zemlju.

Po *Talmudu* postoje četiri faze žalosti. Prva i najkraća bila je *aninut* – od trenutka kada je čovek umro, pa do njegove sahrane. Pošto je obred sahranjivanja izvršen, sledio je sedmodnevni period žalosti, *šiva* (sedam, hebr.) Prijatelji i susedi, ili članovi *Hevra kadiše*, pripremali su prvi obrok za ožalošćenu porodicu, koji se sastojao od kuvanih jaja, hleba i sočiva. Osim hleba, jaja i sočivo su bile namirnice sa simboličnom vrednošću. U jevrejskoj, pa i u nekim drugim starim kulturama, jaje je bilo simbol života, uskrснуća, a jaje u ljusci je asociralo na introvertnost, kao očekivanu formu ponašanja u žalosti. Upotreba sočiva se, dakle, sreće kao i u običajima kod rođenja deteta (“dobrodošlica muškom detetu”), opet u smislu simbola kružnog toka života i smrti. Običaj je bio da se taj prvi obrok – *seudat havraa* (obed utehe, hebr.) – donese u korpama od vrbe, bez obzira na društveni i ekonomski položaj ožalošćenih. (Kao i u prethodnim situacijama, običaj je izjednačavao bogate i siromašne u žalosti.) Za ovih sedam dana tuge, ustaljen je opisni naziv „sedeti šiva” kojim se ukazuje na određeno ponašanje ožalošćenih: oni ne izlaze iz kuće, sede na podu ili na niskim tronošcima, obučeni u meku odeću i bez cipela (u čarapama ili mekim papučama). Ovakav spoljni izgled izražavao je određeno duhovno stanje, koncentrisanje na sopstveni bol za izgubljenom osobom, koji ne treba da bude ometen svakodnevnim stvarima i postupcima. U vezi s tim, tokom *šiva* perioda, sve praktične i lične aktivnosti su bile zaustavljene – nije bilo kuvanja, pranja, šišanja, seksualnih odnosa između supružnika, itd. Izvorno, *šiva* se poštovala u šest vrsta srodničkih veza – za majku, oca, sina, kćerku, brata, i nevenčanu sestru, a kasnije, obavezno i za umrlog muža ili ženu. Dok traje *šiva*, sveća ili kandilo su neprekidno goreli. Međutim, „sedeti šiva” ne treba shvatiti bukvalno. Bilo je dovoljno da ožalošćeni sede sat-dva tokom jednog dana. Posete su bile dozvoljene, ali po utvrđenom protokolu. Posetilac je mogao da sedi sa ožalošćenim sve dok ovaj ne klimne glavom i time ne stavi do znanja da želi da ostane sam. Za to vreme nije dozvoljena spontana konverzacija – posetilac je mogao da odgovara na pitanja, ali ne i da ih postavlja ili započinje razgovor na neku temu. Nije poznata starost običaja *šiva* (spada među najstarije jevrejske običaje, uopšte), niti zašto traje baš sedam dana, odnosno za koji momenat se može vezati simbolika ovog broja.





Drugi period žalosti koji se prvih sedam dana poklapa sa *šivom*, naziva se *šelošim* (trideset, hebr.). Kao što sam naziv kaže, ovaj period traje trideset dana, a počinje posle sahrane najbližeg srodnika ili supružnika. Pošto istekne *Siva*, u okviru tih trideset dana produžavaju se zabrane određenih aktivnosti, mada u manjoj meri. Zabranjeno je šišanje, brijanje, oblačenje novih odela, prisustvovanje zabavama i svečanostima, uključujući i ceremonije venčanja i obrezivanja. Odstupa se jedino u slučaju da termin za obrezivanje sopstvenog deteta padne u dane *šelošim*. Takođe, veliki verski praznici – *Roš hašana*, jevrejska Nova godina, kao i hodočasni praznici *Pesah*, *Šavuot* i *Sukot* – imaju prioritet, tako da prekidaju, t.j. skraćuju period *šelošim*. S obzirom na to da je crna boja simbolisala žalost, običaj je bio da se za vreme *šelošim* nosi crna odeća. Zanimljivo je to da su ortodoksni Jevreji savremenog doba, odbacili ovaj veoma raširen žalobni simbol, smatrajući ga izvorno paganskim.

U specifičnim slučajevima, kada je vest o smrti bliskog srodnika stizala sa zakašnjenjem, predviđena su dva propisa: ako je vest stigla pre isteka trideset dana od objektivnog nastupanja smrti, ožalošćeni je bio dužan da poštuje žalobne običaje *šiva* i *šelošim* u punom trajanju, i to od trenutka kada je vest primio; ako je vest stigla posle navršenih trideset dana od smrti srodnika, ovi običaji su simbolično sprovedeni u roku od jednog sata.

Čovek koji tuguje za izgubljenom voljenom osobom, nazivao se *avel*, a njegovo ponašanje i duhovno stanje označavano je terminom *avelut* (tugovanje, oplakivanje, hebr.). Propisima *dine avelut*, običajno je regulisan način izražavanja žalosti. Međutim, filozofija judaizma stremlji ka uspostavljanju ravnoteže između formulisanog ponašanja, kroz koje treba izraziti tugu i stvarnog, psihičkog odnosa prema smrti bliske osobe. Običaj i lični doživljaj stoje u međusobnoj korelaciji, uslovljeni su tradicijom, vaspitanjem i razvijanjem određenih pogleda na svet, na život i smrt. Imajući to u vidu, period žalosti bio je neophodan, normalan i time formalno određen, ali nije smeo da preraste u depresiju ili slično patološko stanje duha. Kao što su običaji predviđali iskazivanje bola, tako su predviđali i njegovo savladavanje i nastavak daljeg života. Period *šelošim* bio je, u izvesnom smislu, prelaz ka ponovnom uspostavljanju svakodnevnog načina življenja. Jedino je oplakivanje roditelja trajalo punih godinu dana.

Četvrta, sveobuhvatna žalobna faza traje godinu dana od smrti srodnika i označena je terminom *Sana* (godina, hebr.).

Godišnjicu smrti, Aškenazi su nazivali *jarcajt*, a Sefardi *anjus* ili *anju*. Običaj obeležavanja godišnjice smrti potiče još iz biblijskih vremena. (Pomenuti, posebni termini sa značenjem „godišnjica”, uvedeni su kasnije.) Na *jarcajt* ili *anju* održavana je komemoracija srodnicima, a pomeni tog tipa davani su, još od davnina, i istaknutim ličnostima na nacionalnom nivou. U





mnogim zajednicama, na dan godišnjice smrti, običaj je da se posti – u znak poštovanja pokojnika, kao i ispaštanja i kajanja za eventualne grehove. Tog dana se čine dobra dela i daje milostinja. Godišnjica se računa od dana smrti (po jevrejskom kalendaru). Ako porodici nije poznat datum smrti njihovog člana, trajno je odabiran jedan dan u godini kao komemorativan. Na dan godišnjice smrti odlazilo se na grob, a u kući je neprekidno gorela sveća tokom dvadeset četiri sata. Smatralo se daje ta svetlost simbol duše, što je izazivalo asocijaciju na besmrtnost.

Molitva ožalošćenih je *Kadiš* (sveti, aram.).⁷⁶ To je molitva stara dve hiljade godina, nastala na aramejskom – narodnom jeziku antičkih Jevreja u Palestini. Izuzev poslednje strofe, koja je na hebrejskom (književnom jeziku), *Kadis* se i danas recituje na aramejskom i zastupljen je, već vekovima, bukvalno u svim jevrejskim zajednicama na svetu. Prvobitno, *Kadiš* je bio kratka molitva, koja je sledila po završetku redovnih propovedi na aramejskom jeziku. U *Talmudu* se ne raspravlja o *Kadisu*, pošto nije nastao kao sastavni deo bogoslužjenja. Vremenom, uveden je kao završnica pojedinih delova bogoslužjenja a, zatim, i na kraju javnih čitanja *Tore* ili *Talmuda*. Međutim, u vreme Krstaških ratova i strašnih pogroma nad Jevrejima u XII veku, *Kadiš* je postao molitva ožalošćenih i to je ostao do danas.

Kroz *Kadiš* molitvu, čovek izražava svoju odanost Bogu i spremnost da, bez rezerve, prihvati njegov sud ma kakav da je ...⁷⁷ U godini žalosti, kao i na dan same godišnjice smrti, *Kadiš* se recituje stojeći, i to tri puta dnevno tokom jedanaest meseci. (U nekim jevrejskim zajednicama je običaj da svi prisutni stoje za vreme molitve.) Ova molitva je, prvobitno, bila posvećena samo umrlim roditeljima. Postepeno, postala je obavezan religijski ritual koji se odnosio na sve preminule. Razlog što se kazivanje *Kadiša* odvija jedanaest a ne svih dvanaest meseci, proističe iz mističnog verovanja naroda da bezbožnici, po kazni, provode bar dvanaest meseci u paklu. Kazivanje molitve za roditelje tokom cele godine (što je u početku bio običaj), asociiralo je njihovo izjednačavanje sa grešnicima – pa je period za molitvu skraćen je za jedan mesec. Da se održi *Kadiš* potreban je *minjan* – prisustvo deset verski punoletnih muškaraca, a recituje ga, takođe, muškarac, odnosno sin. Nije običaj da ovakvoj molitvi pristupa kćerka, čak i kada je porodica bila bez muških naslednika. To je bio presedan koji se, ipak, povremeno dešavao i zanimljivo je da ga rabinski autoriteti nisu sprečavali. Duhovna snaga *Kadiša* nije doživela ni jedan pad tokom dve hiljade godina jevrejskog religijskog i društvenog života, niti su se u molitvi odigravale bilo kakve transformacije i odstupanja.

Što se tiče specifičnih molitava za pokoj duše umrlih, kod Aškenaza je zastupljena molitva pod nazivom *El male rahamim* (Bože koji si pun milosrđa), koja se peva prilikom sahrane, poslednjeg dana *šelošim*, za *jarcajt*, ali je





vezana i za dane predviđene za *jizkor* – pomen, koji sledi za verske praznike *Jom kipur*, *Šemini aceret*, zatim poslednjeg dana *Pesaha* i drugog dana *Šavuota*. U ovom veku, molitva je obuhvatila žrtve holokausta i poginule jevrejske borbe iz Drugog svetskog rata. Sefardski pandan ovoj molitvi je *Aškava* (Počivanje u miru), koja sledi posle sahrane na groblju, kao i u onim danima kada se čita *Torn* u hramu, (subotom, ponedeljkom i četvrtkom). Kod Sefarda je običaj da se posle pevanja *Aškave*, daju prilozi u dobrotvorne svrhe, kako za održavanje hrama i groblja, tako i za ugrožene članove zajednice. Posebni dani za pomen nisu utvrđeni kod Sefarda. Pomen se vrši prilikom redovnih pozivanja na čitanje *Tore* i posle vraćanja *Tore* u „sveti orman“.

Međutim, Aškenazi imaju kompleksan verski ritual čitanja pomena. Još od Krstaških ratova, običaj je da se posle čitanja *Tore* u hramu, mole za duše svojih umrlih. U opštem smislu, takvi pomeni su obuhvaćeni terminom *Azkarat nešamot* (pomen za pokojnike). Podrazumevaju posebne molitve zvane *Jizkor* (neka se pomene), koje se konkretno odnose na članove uže ili šire porodice, a u određenim prilikama, i na istorijske ličnosti.

Nije poznato da li su Jevreji biblijskih vremena imali posebno određena mesta za sahranjivanje. Međutim, očigledna pojava organizovanih jevrejskih grobalja počinje u dijaspori, sa potrebom raseljenih zajednica da, u stranim sredinama, lokalizuju i uredе prostor za svoje mrtve. Jevrejsko groblje – *bet kevarot* (groblje, hebr.) ima obeležje svetog mesta; tu se ne jede, ne pije, ne puši i ne ide gologlav. Najranije po isteku *šiva*, a po pravilu poslednjeg dana *šelošim* ili po navršenoj godini od smrti, na pokojnikov grob se postavlja spomenik – *maceva* (nadgrobni spomenik, hebr.). Skriveni paganski elemenat se oseća u terminu *nefe's* koji je, u rabinskoj literaturi, korišćen za označavanje spomenika. *Nefeš* (duša, hebr.) proističe iz narodnog verovanja da nad njim lebdi duša umrlog, što je analogno pojmu paganskih kultura o spomeniku kao „staništu duše“. Podizanje spomenika spada u vrlo stare običaje o čemu svedoče sačuvani arheološki ostaci i komentari u *Mišni*.⁷⁸ U dijaspori, prvih osam vekova, natpisi na spomenicima su bili masovno na grčkom ili latinskom jeziku da bi ih, vremenom, počeli da potiskuju kako hebrejski, tako i jezici lokalnih sredina. Uspostavljena je i razlika u obliku spomenika između Sefarda i Aškenaza. Sefardski se postavljaju horizontalno, a aškenaski vertikalno.

Specifičan jevrejski običaj da se prilikom obilaska groba na njemu ostavi kamen, zasnovan je na verovanju u moć duše umrlog, koje postoji i u narodu i u talmudskoj i drugoj verskoj literaturi. Smatra se daje duša umrlog svesna svega što se u ovom svetu događa i može, čak, da kazni ili da nagradi žive. Ona jedino nema moć direktne komunikacije. Simboličan kontakt živih





i mrtvih, ispoljava se ostavljanjem kamena na grob. Taj postupak je dokaz duši umrlog da nije zaboravljena i da uživa poštovanje kao i pre.

Međutim, često posećivanje groblja, češće nego što je potrebno, nije bilo preporučljivo. Odgovarajuće vreme za posetu mrtvima, određivali su rabini i to, obično, pred velike praznike, i u desetodnevnom periodu između *Roš hašana* i *Jom kipura*, kao i za godišnjicu smrti. Tokom praznika i za *Šabat*, poseta groblju nije bila dozvoljena.

Verski spisi imaju isti tretman kao i ljudi. Na jevrejskim grobljima uvek postoji i jedan poseban grob – *geniza* – u kojem su sahranjene verske knjige koje vise nisu u upotrebi. *Geniza*, takođe, ima svoj spomenik koji je ukrašen otvorenom knjigom od kamena.

U velikom i iskrenom poštovanju mrtvih i delikatnom odnosu prema groblju, koje se simbolično naziva i *bet olam* (kuća večnosti, hebr.) ili *bet hajim* (kuća života, hebr.) što ukazuje na odnos prema smrti – jedino odstupanje javlja se u slučaju sahranjivanja samoubice. Samoubistvo⁷⁹ se nije smatralo zločinom, ali je predstavljalo sukob sa Božjom voljom. Iako je samoubistvo uvek posledica velikog očajanja, sveta dužnost čoveka je da čuva i produžava život. Razlozi za taj očajnički potez, objektivno su razmatrani i razumevanje za samoubicu bilo je moguće ukoliko je oduzeo sebi život pod nejasnim okolnostima ili u stanju strahovite depresije uzrokovane nekim pritiscima ili strahom ... U slučajevima samoubistava iz herojskih, moralnih pobuda – kao što je bilo kolektivno samoubistvo u tvrđavi Masadi posle razorenja Drugog hrama i izgubljene bitke sa Rimljanima – bilo je, čak, dozvoljeno prekršiti zakone *Tore* zbog specifičnih uslova. Međutim, samoubistva izvršena zbog idolopoklonstva, nemoralnih ili zločinačkih postupaka – nisu bila priznata i takvi pokojnici su tretirani kao ekskomunicirani. Sahranjivani su dalje od porodičnih grobnica, na ivici groblja, i bez poštovanja žalobnih običaja i rituala.

⁷²Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 173-188. i Danijela Danon: Jevrejski žalobni običaji, (poseban pregled termina i običaja), SJOJ, Beograd 1996.

⁷³Džems Džordž Frejzer: Zlatna grana, studija magije i religije, Beograd 1937, str. 313.

⁷⁴Izvorni način sahranjivanja podrazumeva upotrebu sanduka bez dna, kako bi telo bilo direktno položeno na zemlju.

⁷⁵Danijela Danon: Jevrejski žalobni običaji, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 6.

⁷⁶Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 179.

⁷⁷Sadržaj Kadiš-a dat je u prevodu Eugena Verbera: Uvod u jevrejsku veru, Beograd 1993, str. 109.

⁷⁸Danijela Danon: Jevrejski žalobni običaji, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 10.

⁷⁹Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma, SJOJ, Beograd 1996, str. 188-189.



JEVREJSKI KOSTIM – RAZVOJ I UTICAJI

Pored staništa, pokućstva, oruđa, oružja i raznih drugih predmeta za praktičnu upotrebu, poseban deo materijalne kulture jednog naroda predstavljen je i načinom njegovog odevanja i ukrašavanja. Kostim, kao etnička karakteristika, direktno je određen klimatskim uslovima, a posredno drugim vidovima važećeg kulturnog sistema. Osim elementarne zaštitne funkcije, odeća je uvek imala i statusni simbol – kroz nju su izražavana verska shvatanja, običajne i socijalne relacije, stepen prihvatanja spoljnih uticaja, kao i estetski ideali.

Sudeći prema arheološkim nalazima, sačuvanim reljefima i biblijskim svedočanstvima, jevrejska odeća starozavetne i talmudske epohe bila je jednostavna i nije se razlikovala od odeće okolnih naroda istog klimatskog pojasa.⁸⁰ Osnovne odevne predmete činili su: *simla* ili *salma*, *ezor* i *ketonet*.

Simla je bila dugačka, uglavnom pravougaona tkanina. Izgledala je kao običan pokrivač, koji su ljudi ogrtali ili obmotavali oko sebe. Nošena na taj način, *simla* je podsećala na rimski *palium*. Mogla se koristiti i kao ćebe, a antičkim Jevrejima je služila i kao „bošča”, za nošenje namirnica. Zbog svoje jednostavnosti i višestruke primene, *simla* je bila karakterističan element u odevanju većine bliskoistočnih naroda. *Ezor* je bila vrsta najprostije tkane haljine. Određeniji oblik imao je *ketonet*, koji je pravljen u vidu tunike (rimske), sa dugim ili kratkim rukavima. *Ketonet* je dopirao do ispod kolena ili do članaka, a pravljen je od vune, platna i ponekad, od kože.

Opšte uzev, vuna, platno i koža su bile tri jedine vrste materijala od kojih se izrađivala odeća. Žene su, takođe, nosile *simlu*, ali nije poznato u kojim su se sve detaljima razlikovali muški i ženski odevni predmeti. Nekih razlika je verovatno bilo, ako ne u obliku onda bar u načinu ukrašavanja. Prema biblijskim izvorima, žene su koristile ornamentisane materijale, šminkale su se i nosile određene komade nakita – najčešće minduše, narukvice i prstenje.

Obuća (*nealim*, hebr. množina) biblijskih i talmudskih vremena je bila slična današnjim kožnim sandalama. Stariji oblik sandala je bio otvorenog





tipa, ali je zatim zamenjen zatvorenom mekom kožnom obućom u rimskom stilu, koja je bila nešto između sandala i mokasina i pokrivala je celo stopalo.

Jevrejski odevni i spoljni imidž imao je tri principijelna obeležja: rese – *cicit* (hebr.), posebno uređivanje kose – *peot* (hebr.) i zakonsku odredbu – *šatnez* (hebr.), koja je podrazumevala zabranu kombinovanja vune i platna. Pošto se ova zabrana nije odnosila na pravljenje sveštениčkih pojaseva niti na *cicit*, pretpostavlja se da nije imala verski već svetovni karakter neke vrste ranog, ekonomskog zakona, protiv nepotrebnog trošenja materijala.

Rese – *cicit* su stavljane na uglove *simle*, a zatim i na uglove drugih predmeta (ogrtača), uključujući i molitvene šalove, koji su se sukcesivno razvijali u odevnom stilu antičkih Jevreja. Mada su rese, kao odevni detalj, bile rasprostranjene u bliskoistočnom području, pa čak prihvaćene i u jednom kratkom periodu ranog hrišćanstva, ipak se u konačnom značenju vezuju za jevrejsku simboliku. Imajući funkciju simbola a ne ukrasa, *cicit je*, po *Talmudu*, bio obeležje jevrejstva, odnosno znak verske i etničke identifikacije. Izvorni način izrade obuhvatao je dva osnovna tipa resa – *cicit* koji je pravljen od tri niti (karakterističan za Filistejce) i takozvani *gedilim* (hebr. množ.), pravljen u vidu konopčića sa nizovima čvorića, prvenstveno, zastupljen u asirskoj kulturi. (Prema nekim nalazima, pretpostavlja se da je *gedilim* označavao visok društveni položaj, a s tim u vezi, moguće je i da mu je pridavan izvestan magijski značaj.)

Pod posebnim uređivanjem kose, podrazumevali su se uvojci – *peot* (hebr.) ili *pejes* (jidiš) – koji su se nosili pušteni, sa obe strane lica. *Peot* se može videti i danas kod Jevreja ortodoksnih, naročito hasidskih zajednica. Međutim, poreklo i izvorno značenje *peot* – a nije tačno utvrđeno, odnosno nema nikakvih dokaza da je to jevrejska specifičnost. U antičkom periodu, isti tip uređivanja kose sretao se i kod stanovništva Libije i Krita.

Za vreme persijske dominacije, od V do III veka pre n.e. tradicionalna bliskoistočna nošnja počinje da se razvija. Dotadašnji primitivni oblici odeće i jednostavan postupak sa tkaninom zamenjeni su šivenim odorama – nekom vrstom mantila sa rukavima, različitih dužina, zatim raznim kabanicama i ogrtačima. Uveden je određen model pantalona koje su, u stvari, bile jahaće pantalone, a uz njih su se obavezno počele da nose čizme ili kožne dokolenice – gležnjaci. Na glavi se nosila visoka kapa od čvrste, jake tkanine. Ovakav kostira je postao karakterističan za celokupno stanovništvo Persijske imperije, pa se skoro sigurno može smatrati i kostimom prilično brojne jevrejske zajednice pod persijskom vladavinom. Nemoguće je napraviti detaljnu rekonstrukciju odevnog stila jedne manjinske populacije, kao što je bila jevrejska u tom periodu rane dijaspore, ali nema razloga za sumnju da su se Jevreji generalno drugačije oblačili. Čak je vrlo verovatno da se opisani





kostim zadržao kod Jevreja i po završetku progonstva, odnosno pri povratku na teritoriju Palestine.

Tokom III veka pre n.e., silovit osvajački pohod starih Grka, na čelu sa Aleksandrom Makedonskim, završio se okupacijom Judeje i uspostavljanjem grčke vladavine za sledećih, skoro, dve stotine godina. U sukobu i prožimanju dva različita civilizacijska kompleksa, Jevreji su pod vlašću dinastija Ptolomeja, a još više Seleukida, bili izloženi upornim i snažnim grčkim uticajima na religijskom i kulturnom planu. Međutim, dok je osnovni religijsko-običajni okvir jevrejskog načina života ostao sačuvan, u drugim vidovima kulture, naročito materijalne, odigravale su se izvesne promene. Snažan grčki uticaj upravo se ogledao u nošnji koja je, bar kod viših društvenih slojeva, sasvim podlegla grčkom stilu. U tom smislu, reklo bi se da je brzina širenja grčkih „modnih trendova” ipak oscilirala, kako između društvenih slojeva, tako i između mesta življenja. Čvrsta veza sa sopstvenom religijom i tradicijom, navodi na pretpostavku da je jevrejsko stanovništvo na teritoriji Palestine sporije prihvatilo grčki kostim kao simbol uklapanja u tuđi, spoljni imidž. Ovakav, kao i drugi vidovi grčke asimilacije bili su, na primer, neosporni kod Jevreja u Aleksandriji koja je, u to vreme, bila jedan od velikih klasičnih kulturnih centara i mesto neodoljivog grčkog uticaja. Međutim, kada su se Jevreji pod vodstvom lidera iz roda Hašmonejaca, konačno izborili protiv Grka i oslobodili njihove vladavine, grčki kostim je već bio opšteprihvaćen. To je bio dominantan odevni stil i u periodu pojave hrišćanstva. Takva nošnja se sastojala od tipične starogrčke tunike – *kolobijuma* – koja je bila krajnje jednostavna, dugačka, krojena iz jednog komada sa otvorima za glavu i ruke. Preko ove tunike nosila se neka vrsta ogrtača – *himation* – na čijim uglovima su, kod Jevreja, obavezno stajale *cicit* rese. Vrlo slična, mada naprednija varijanta *kolobijuma*, bila je tunika *dalmatika*, koja je imala mnogo sire, naglašenije rukave. Oba predmeta imala su, kao ukras, dve uzdužne vrpce – *klavi* – po jednu sa leve i desne strane, koje su se protezale celom dužinom tunika, od ramena do poruba. *Dalmatika* i *klavi* su bili tipični elementi nošnje u periodu ranog hrišćanstva.

Kada je reč, uopšte, o načinu odevanja kod Jevreja, relevantna činjenica koja ukazuje na poreklo i formiranje odevnih stilova u antičkim i ranohrišćanskim vremenima, jeste terminologija kojom se služe *Mišna*, *Midraš* i *Talmud* u opisivanju odeće.⁸¹ Nazivi odevnih predmeta su, uglavnom, grčkog, latinskog i iranskog porekla, a transkribovani na hebrejski jezik. Očigledno se radi o kostimografskom amalgamu iz kojeg je teško izdvojiti one elemente jevrejskog kostima koji bi se, sa sigurnošću, mogli označiti kao izvorni i sasvim originalni. Koegzistencija više različitih kulturnih sistema u klimatski ujednačenom arealu, kao i kontinuirane migracije stanovništva usled istorij-





skih okolnosti, prirodno su vodile ka prihvatanju stranih uticaja u odevanju. Jedan od primera takve mešavine odevnih stilova, pod uticajem aktuelnog okruženja, prikazan je na freskama sinagoge Dura Europosa iz III veka. Dura Europos je bio rimski, utvrđeni grad koji je imao svrhu granične odbrambene baze na reci Eufratu koji su, pre ekspanzije Rimljana, držali grčki osvajači. Sudeći po freskama, tu su se mešala sva tri odevna stila : grčki i rimski – koji su, po tipu, bili bliski, i iranski. Grčki i rimski su podrazumevali tuniku *dalmatiku* sa *klavijem*, *palijum* (ogrtač) i sandale, a iranski stil je predstavljen tunikom u kombinaciji sa pantalonama i čizmama ili cipelama. Ne može se tvrditi da su ovi stilovi bili, bukvalno, istovremeni, ali ta mogućnost nije isključena. (Ako jesu, to je u kulturološkom smislu, bio zaista zanimljiv prizor.)

Iako je pokrivalo za glavu bilo kog oblika – kapa, šešir, turban, i si – činilo značajan odevni elemenat u mnogim kulturama, počev od zaštitne, pa preko statusne funkcije, nema dovoljno podataka o tome da li su, i kako, jevrejski muškarci pokrivali glavu u antičkom periodu. I ako jesu, (s obzirom na klimu, verovatno jesu), koristili neku vrstu kape, nije poznato da li je njena uloga, između ostalog, imala statusno ili religijsko obeležje u to vreme. U kasnijim periodima, situacija će biti drugačija. Međutim, kod jevrejskih žena je pokrivanje glave, odnosno kose, bilo običajno i verski propisano još u dalekoj prošlosti. Za razliku od device, udata žena se nije mogla pojaviti u javnosti otkrivene kose. Običaj da udata Jevrejka nosi periku, ustanovljen je u talmudskoj epohi, ali nije bio vezan sa običajem da se žena, na dan svog venčanja, obrije do glave. Ova dva običaja se vremenski ne poklapaju. Nošenje perike je, u početku, imalo svrhu pokrivanja sopstvene kose, dok je drastičan obred brijanja glave uveden kasnije. Na kraju, ovaj postupak je zadržan samo kod ultraortodoksnih Jevreja. Pretpostavlja se da je obredno šišanje mlade do glave paganskog porekla, s obzirom daje praktikovano i u staroj Grčkoj gde se kosa posvećivala boginjama u cilju pridobijanja naklonosti. (Logično je potražiti osnovu određenog odnosa prema ljudskoj kosi u dubljem, zaboravljenom, paganskom sloju verovanja, po kojem se kosa povezuje sa snagom, energijom ili kakvom drugom odlikom ljudske ličnosti.)

Sastavni deo jevrejskog kostima činili su – *tefilin* – dve male kožne kutije na dugačkim tankim, kožnim kaiševima. U svakoj kutijici su se nalazila po četiri poglavlja iz *Tore*. Prilikom molitava, ovi specifični verski predmeti učvršćivali su se, pomoću kaišića, jedan na čelo, jedan na levu ruku. U talmudskim vremenima, učenjaci i rabini su ih nosili po ceo dan. (Ortodokсни Jevreji ih stavljaju i danas, za jutarnje molitve.)

Međutim, svakako prepoznatljiv deo jevrejskog kostima bio je i ostao *talit* ili *tales* – molitveni šal. Iako je *talit* predmet sa religijskim značenjem, pretpostavlja se da je njegovo poreklo bilo svetovno, odnosno da se razvio





iz vrste običnog odevnog predmeta, verovatno ogrtača *palijuma*. U talmudskim vremenima, *talit* je bio materijalni pojam vezan za mudraca, učenjaka, i nošen je preko jednostavne dugačke košulje *haluk* (hebr.), koja je pokrivala celo telo. *Talit* je, obavezno, imao rese – *cicit* – nad kojima su se svakodnevno izgovarali blagoslovi. Dakle, suštinski nosilac religijske simbolike bile su *cicit* – rese, dok je *talit* bio prateći objekat. U tom kontekstu *talit* je, vremenom, i sam dobio obeležje religijskog simbola. U konačnom obliku i značenju, *talit* se javlja kao molitveni šal koji ogrću verski punoletni muškarci pri svakoj molitvi, bilo redovnoj bilo u sastavu neke ceremonije. *Talit* je pravougaon, izrađuje se ili od vune ili od svile, i uvek je bele boje sa plavim ili crnim poprečnim prugama na oba kraja. Vuneni molitveni šalovi su obično većih razmera, a ponekad dosežu čak do članaka. Deo molitvenog šala koji se postavlja uz vrat, pokriven je *atarom* – vrstom trake koja se posebno izrađuje od zlatnih ili srebrnih niti i prišiva na šal. Prema nekim mišljenjima, *atara* je poreklom sefardski elemenat, kasnije opšteprihvaćen među s vim jevrejskim zajednicama. Na uglovima *talit a* nalaze se po četiri rese – *cicit*, u beloj ili plavoj boji. Manje važni detalji su bile neke vrste aplikacija za *talit*, kojima su popunjavani uglovi šala (iznad resa). Mogle su biti napravljene kao posebni, pri tom, vrlo dekorativni uglasti komadi, čija osnova je bila bordo, braonkaste ili ljubičaste boje, sa zlatnim ili srebrnim vezom, ali se češće javljaju u prostoj formi, iste boje i sastava kao što je *talit*.

Verovatno daje iz *talita*, kao osnovnog oblika, izveden takozvani *talit – katan* (mali *talit*, hebr.),⁸² simbolično nazvan i „četiri ugla”, koji se prvi put zvanično pominje u XIV veku. Oblik *talit – katana* je, takođe, pravougaon, s tim što je daleko manjih dimenzija i u sredini ima prorez za glavu. Na uglovima je postavljan *cicit*. *Talit – katan* je u upotrebi kod ortodoksnih Jevreja i predstavlja karakterističan religijski odevni predmet koji se nosi danju, ispod odeće, i to od malena.

Od specifičnih elemenata jevrejskog kostima iz antičkih i ranohrišćanskih vremena, savremeno doba dočekali su jedino *talit* i *kitel* (košulja za određene svetkovine, o čemu je bilo reči u odeljku o venčanju).

Eskalacijom islama u VII veku i vladavinom kalifa Omara II, pokrenuta je transformacija jevrejskog kostima, u skladu sa kulturnim uticajima dominantnog okruženja.⁸³ Od tada, postepeno i uz mnoge i česte varijacije, počinju da se uvode propisi o odevanju koji su imali svrhu da obeleže, odnosno vizuelno razdvoje nemuslimansko stanovništvo od muslimanskog. Distinkcija je postizana upotrebom određenih boja za nemuslimane, među kojima je najčešća bila žuta, kao i nekim odevnim detaljima.

Tokom IX veka, Jevrejima i hrišćanima su bili dozvoljeni ogrtači isključivo žute boje i pojasevi od upredenog kanapa. U tom periodu se prvi





put pominje i direktno označavanje nemuslimanskog stanovništva pomoću neke vrste tekstilnih znakova – bolje rečeno oblikovanih žutih aplikacija koje su se, po dve, zašivale na spoljnu odeću. Što se tiče pokrivala za glavu koje je, u međuvremenu, postalo neraskidiv deo kostima, Jevrejima i drugim nemuslimanima bilo je dozvoljeno da nose turbane, ali isključivo u žutoj boji. Uz turban, među stanovništvom je bila veoma raširena i upotreba meke persijske kape, duguljastog oblika, pod nazivom – *kalansiva* – mada, opet, u određenoj boji. Nije bila zanemarena ni oprema za glavno „prevozno sredstvo” – konja. Nemuslimanski jahači su morali imati obeleženo sedlo, a uzengije od drveta.

Obeležavanje pripadnika druge vere i etnosa bilo je samo po sebi negativna pojava, ali su paranoične restrikcije egipatskog kalifa A1 Hakima u XI veku, prevazišle dotadašnje propise. U cilju zavaravanja neprijatelja, kalif je prvo naredio da celokupno nemuslimansko stanovništvo nosi crne turbane, kakve su tada nosili i muslimani. Međutim, naredba je ubrzo obuhvatila kompletnu odeću ... Svi nemuslimani su bili skroz odeveni u crno, pri čemu su Jevreji morali da nose oko vrata pločicu sa gravurom zlatnog teleta, a hrišćani masivan gvozdeni krst.

U sledeća tri veka, glavni verski i etnički pokazatelji odnosili su se na boje. Krajem XII veka, Jevreji, pa čak i oni koji su prihvatili islam, morali su da nose odeću plave boje, sa širokim i dugačkim rukavima, a umesto turbana, koristili su duge velove. Nešto kasnije, u periodu do XIV veka, plavom bojom su obeležavani hrišćani, crvenom Samarićani, dok je za Jevreje bila propisana žuta boja, a svi zajedno su morali da nose upletene pojaseve i tekstilne znakove. Za žene, osim propisane boje odeće u zavisnosti od verske pripadnosti, bila je propisana i kombinacija boja za cipele i to, crno – bela ili crno – crvena. Bitno je pomenuti da socijalno – politički tretman nemuslimanskog stanovništva nije bio ujednačen. Hrišćani su bili izloženi daleko oštrijim merama i pritiscima, dok je prema jevrejskom stanovništvu pokazivana izvesna tolerancija, što se odražavalo i na preciznost u primeni zakonskih propisa o odevanju, odnosno na sankcije u tom pogledu.

Nošenje turbana u odgovarajućim, propisanim bojama i veličinama, bilo je svima dozvoljeno. Pošto je turban ipak bio muhamedanski simbol, znatan deo pripadnika drugih vera radije je nosio persijsku *kalansivu*, koja je, vremenom, poprimila oblik visoke i četvrtaste kape.

Izvesna formalna diskriminacija prema Jevrejima u Persiji je, u XVI i XVII veku, manifestovana naredbom o nošenju filcanih šešira, koji su podsećali na robovske. Kasnije, sredinom XIX veka, nošnja je ujednačena bez obzira na veru. Zadržan je samo jedan propis po kojem su jevrejske žene bile obavezne da, u javnosti, nose crne, nikako bele velove.





Najbolji tretman u svakom pogledu i najveću toleranciju, uživali su Jevreji moćne Otomanske imperije.⁸⁴ Na povoljan status ukazivale su, između ostalog, i razne varijacije jevrejske nošnje, od kojih su se neke, sasvim slobodno razvijale i formirale u sopstvene odevne stilove. Osim uobičajenih odredbi o dozvoljenim bojama odevnih predmeta, od kojih je osnovna bila zabrana upotrebe zelene boje, širom Turske imperije nisu uvedene nikakve ponižavajuće restrikcije u odevanju nemuslimanskog stanovništva. S obzirom na migracije, svakako je postojala izvesna raznolikost odevnih stilova kod samih Jevreja pod turskom vlašću, i to u zavisnosti od njihovog porekla i kulturnog nasleđa. Sefardi, koji su se posle izгона sa Iberijskog poluostrva krajem XV veka, naselili na turskim teritorijama, imali su drugačiju nošnju od starosedelačkih, orijentalnih Jevreja. Pri tom su se i jedni i drugi razlikovali u odevanju od Aškenaza, kojih je, doduše u malom broju, takođe bilo u Turskoj. Nije bio isključen i eventualan, pojedinačan upliv evropskih elemenata u odeći (prema nekim podacima iz XVII veka, koji se odnose na ženski žaket šiven u struk i paspuliran krznom). Međutim, bez obzira na mešavinu evropskog, prvenstveno sefardskog kostima i domorodačkog, orijentalnog, sudeći prema opisima iz XVII i XVIII veka, odevanje većine Jevreja je bilo manje-više prilagođeno okruženju. Ako se izuzmu detalji i pravila o bojama, mnogi Jevreji su se u opštoj pojavi jedva mogli razlikovati od Turaka.

S obzirom na relativnu slobodu u oblačenju, sefardski došljaci su sredinom XVII veka nosili jednu vrstu španskog mekanog šešira sa naglašenim vrhom, koja ih je razlikovala od orijentalnih Jevreja sa turbanima. Istovremeno je bila zastupljena i kapa bez oboda, oko koje se, po želji, mogao savijati turban, što je već bilo sasvim blisko turskom stilu. Tokom XVIII veka, Jevreji su u velikoj meri pokazivali sklonost ka tamnim ili crnim bojama spoljne odeće – kaftana i jakni, a na glavi su nosili zanimljivo „kompromisno rešenje”: španski izduženi šešir oko kojeg su savijali turban, ali tako da vrh šešira štrči. Ti turbani su bili, mahom, ljubičaste boje, i ostali su karakteristični deo muškog jevrejskog kostima u Turskoj, sve do kraja XIX veka.

U poređenju sa ostalim delovima Otomanske imperije, izgleda da su u razvijanju sopstvenog odevnog stila bili najslobodniji Jevreji Soluna, bolje rečeno Jevrejke. Tokom XIX veka, žene su nosile odeću živih boja čiji se kvalitet kretao od štampanog pamučnog platna do svilenog brokata, već u zavisnosti od imovinskog stanja. Način oblačenja je bio slojevit. Nosile su dimije i po dva-tri komada gornje odeće, uključujući i dugački ogrtač, obično tamnocrvene boje sa krznenim pervazom, koji se koristio pri izlasku u javnost. Udate žene su uvek imale skupljenu kosu na potiljku, u nekoj vrsti mrežice koja je bila prikačena na kapu. Kapa je pokrivala teme glave i oko nje se savijala fina muslinska marama. U javnosti, veo se jeste nosio, ali lice nije





bilo pokrivano. Sama mrežica je, osim praktične, imala i ukrasnu funkciju s obzirom da su se u nju uplitala sjajne i lepe perlice. Velika pažnja, poklanjana ukrašavanju žene, ogledala se u naglašenoj upotrebi nakita koji je pospešivao opšti kolorit jevrejske nošnje u Solunu.

Sefardskim Jevrejima – rasprostranjenim u Srbiji, Makedoniji i Bosni pod turskom vladavinom⁸⁵ – date su nešto manje mogućnosti da puste mašti na volju u oblačenju i ukrašavanju. Kostim je bio ograničavan kako starim zabranama iz VII veka, tako i kasnijim, donetim u XVI veku fermanom sultana Murata IV. Mada je pritisak da se održi određeni imidž i obeleži nemuslimansko stanovništvo, vremenom počeo da popušta, ipak su Jevreji ovih južnoslovenskih zemalja bili odeveni po strožim pravilima nego u nekim drugim delovima Turske imperije, čak bližim Carigradu. (To, zapravo, nije bila ekskluzivna situacija. Tolerancija turskih vlasti prema materijalnoj kulturi nemuslimanskog življa srazmerno je opadala sa većom udaljenošću od vladarskog centra.)

Kao i drugde, nijedan odevni predmet nije smeo biti u zelenoj boji. Muški sefardski kostim sastojao se od: fesa, čakšira, pojasa, kratkog kaputa ili koporana, dugačkog kaputa i cipela, t j. papuča. Čakšire su bile specifičan model pantalona, širokih u gornjem delu oko kukova, sa karakterističnim spuštenim naborima između nogu (“spušteni tur”) i suženim nogavicama u delu ispod kolena. Čakšire su bile od vunениh ili lanenih tkanina, u crnoj boji, a dosezale su do članaka. Dugačak pojas, koji se vise puta obmotavao oko struka, pridržavao je čakšire, i bio pravljen od svile, vune ili platna. Koporan je bio od čoje, kratak, do struka, sa širim dugim rukavima. Zakopčavao se napred pomoću sitnih dugmadi, postavljenih u nizu. Preko ove odeće, nosio se dugačak i otvoren kaput, širokih rukava i postavljen krznom (ukoliko je predviđen u sklopu zimske garderobe). Fes je bio simbol etničke, odnosno verske pripadnosti, a mogao je simbolizovati i profesionalni status. Fes je, takođe, pravljen od čoje. To je bila vrsta kape od čvrste tkanine, kružnog oblika, koja se u gornjem delu malo sužavala. Na nekim fesovima su postojale kićanke. Cipele, odnosno papuče pravljenе su od kože, bile su sasvim ravne i uz nogu. Interesantan model predstavljale su cipele – koje su se navlačile preko pomenute obuće. Po svom obliku one su, opet, više ličile na orijentalne papuče, s obzirom na to da su bile otvorene na peti, a zašiljene napred.

Sefardska žena je nosila specifičnu kapu – *tukado* ili *tukadu*, dugu košulju do članaka, atraktivnu anteriju i, zimi, bundu. *Tukadu* je bila čvrsto oblikovana kružna kapa, ne mnogo visoka i ukrašena niskama dukata, koji su se nazivali „frontera”. Pravljenа je najčešće od brokata, a na potiljku je imala duge crne rese, koje su imitirale, ispod kape, sakrivenу kosu žene. *Tukadu* se dugo održala, sve do početka XX veka. Relativno često je nošena i u kombina-





ciji sa građanskim načinom oblačenja, koji se širio kod sefardskih Jevrejki na prelazu XIX u XX vek. Do sebe, žena je oblačila dugu do članaka, meko tkanu košulju od platna, a preko nje anteriju. Anterija je, takođe, bila dugačka do članaka, krojena zvonasto i sa polukružnim izrezom oko vrata. Napred je bila otvorena celom dužinom. Anterija je imala duge rukave koji su, od lakata do zglobova sake, bili izrezani (otvoreni) sa unutrašnje strane ruku. Anterije su šivene, obično, od brokata i pliša, a ukrašavane su ukusnim vezovima. Na sličan način su se ukrašavale i poluduboke cipele (po formi podsećaju na današnje kratke čizmice, mada bez visokih štikli), koje su nosile sefardske gospode. Anterija je mogla biti u crnoj, crvenoj, ljubičastoj ili plavoj boji i, s obzirom na oblik i vez, delovala je veoma bogato i elegantno. Zimi se preko anterije oblačila bunda, širokih rukava i otvorena celom dužinom. Što se tiče nakita, kod sefardskih žena Srbije, Bosne i Makedonije, najpopularnije su bile minduše. Manje je zapaženo korišćenje drugih vrsta nakita (ogrlice, narukvice) što, naravno, ne znači da ih nije bilo.

Posebnu pažnju zaslužuju amuleti, prvenstveno karakteristični za Sefarde, čija je forma zasnovana na kombinaciji estetike i magije. Amuleti su bili, obično, u obliku priveska i fine izrade pa su, u tom smislu, delovali kao nakit. Međutim, njihova funkcija je bila magijska, isključivo zaštitna, što ukazuje na njihovo daleko, pagansko poreklo. Prema verovanju, amuleti su štitali od zlih sila i uroka i pomagali čoveku da postigne uspeh, da se izbori sa bolešću ili sa neprijateljima. U te svrhe, na amuletima su gravirani razni motivi – uglavnom jevrejski simboli (menora, Davidova zvezda, i sl.), ili citati iz svetih spisa, kao i određene kombinacije floralnih i drugih predstava.

U zapadnoj i srednjoj Evropi, tokom srednjeg veka, jevrejski kostim se razvijao u kontrastnoj situaciji, u svakom pogledu.⁸⁶ Dok je, s jedne strane, jevrejski način odevanja bio stilski usklađivan sa sredinom i pod njenim snažnim kulturnim uticajima, s druge strane ga je ta ista sredina ograničavala i obeležavala, kako bi bio odmah prepoznatljiv. Tako je, na primer, u XIII veku katolička crkva insistirala na razlikama u odevanju Jevreja i hrišćana, u XIV veku je aragonski vladar, Huan I, doneo zakon po kojem su Jevreji obavezni da nose dugačke ogrtače i žute tekstilne oznake, a u XV veku su zakoni o jevrejskom kostimu postali još precizniji. Zajedničko obeležje jevrejske odeće u srednjovekovnoj Španiji, Engleskoj i Francuskoj bio je žuti znak. U Nemačkoj, Jevreji nisu imali obavezu da nose pomenuti znak, ali su se vizuelno izdvajali od ostalog stanovništva, noseći karakteristične šešire koji su prosto nazivani „Judenhut“ (jevrejski šešir). „Judenhut“ je po obliku podsećao na persijsku *kalansivu* i verovatno je vodio poreklo od nje. Sličan tip šešira nosili su i Jevreji Poljske i Austrije.

Međutim, opšte obeležje jevrejskog srednjovekovnog kostima u zapadnoj i srednjoj Evropi, bio je prostran ogrtač sa kapuljačom – kojim se





čovjek mogao potpuno pokriti prilikom molitvi. Ovaj običaj potpunog pokrivanja, radi koncentrisanja na molitvu, potiče još iz talmudskih vremena. Vremenom, kapuljaču je zamenila beretka, koja je dugo bila u svakodnevnoj upotrebi. Kasnije, počinje da se nosi samo za odlazak u sinagogu.

Tokom XVII veka, ogrtač (kabanica) pod nazivom *sarbal*, postala je specifičan odevni predmet kod Jevreja širom Nemačke, Austrije, Mađarske i Švajcarske.⁸⁷ Poseban *sarbal*, koji se nosio za *Šabat*, bio je zanimljiv po tome što nije imao otvor za desnu ruku – da bi podsetio čoveka da se na praznik *Sabat* posveti duhovnom uzdizanju i molitvama i da ne vrši nikakav posao. Univerzalan detalj i u muškoj i u ženskoj nošnji, koji su Jevreji masovno prihvatili, bila je veoma nabrana kragna, koja je stajala uz vrat. Ovaj tip kragne nastao je još u srednjem veku i održao se veoma dugo. Isto je važno i za ženski, takozvani „kvadratni veo”, koji su Jevrejke nosile za *Šabat* i prilikom odlaska u sinagogu. To je bilo pokrivalo za celu glavu, sa dva ukružena, izdignuta platnena krila na temenu i sa dve plave pruge, kao obeležjem jevrejstva.

Jevreji se nisu naročito drugačije oblačili ni u XVIII veku. Muškarci su nosili crne ili tamne ogrtače, crne šešire i već opisane bele kragne. Ipak, pod uticajem sredine, mnogi su prihvatili i svilene kapute, pa i perike. Jedan od zapaženih običaja toga doba bio je da muškarci odlaze u sinagogu u papučama, čime su simbolično pokazivali da im se nikuda ne žuri, te da se u sinagogi osećaju kao kod kuće. „Kvadratni veo” je, konačno, počeo da gubi popularnost i sve više ga je potiskivala prijatnija ženska kapa sa širokim, čipkanim obodom. Žene su i dalje nosile ukočene nabrane okovratnike kao i muškarci, a preko haljina su, opet analogno, nosile tamne ili crne ogrtače. Za ukrašavanje su koristile zlatne čipke za glavu, srebrnaste pojaseve oko struka, nakit i slične dodatke.

U Nemačkoj se ovakav kostim zadržao za *Šabat* i tokom XIX veka. Međutim, u svakodnevnom oblačenju Jevreji su, kao i ostalo stanovništvo, prihvatili slobodniju varijantu u oblačenju. Muškarci su počeli da nose cipele sa srebrnim kopčama, bele ili crne svilene dokolenice, somotske pantalone, koje su se završavale ispod kolena, odnosno stezale srebrnom kopčom, prsluke u raznim bojama, frakove sa srebrnim dugmadima i zelene ogrtače, koji su se zakopčavali napred, jednom srebrnom kopčom. Okovratnik je bio i dalje aktuelan. Na glavi su nosili beretke, ispod kojih su se nalazile tipične jevrejske verske kapice (na temenu), poznate kao *kepele*. Zanimljivo je da je brada, koju su jevrejski muškarci kroz celu istoriju nosili, bila zanemarena u prvoj polovini XIX veka. Naročito su se brijali učeni ljudi. Ipak, od sredine XIX veka, brada se vraća u modu. Jevreji u Francuskoj oblačili su se slično kao i u Nemačkoj, a najslobodniji su bili Jevreji Holandije i Engleske. U slobodnom razvijanju stilova i potpunom uklapanju u lepotne ideale sredine, prednjačili su Sefardi. Takav trend je bio prisutan još u XVIII veku, tako da se Sefardi ovih





zapadnoevropskih zemalja tokom narednog veka nisu uopšte razlikovali od hrišćana. Promene su prihvatili i Aškenazi, ali uz manju fleksibilnost na tom polju. Teško su se odricali upadljivih, velikih brada i tamne, skromne odeće.

Karakteristični odevni predmeti nacionalne nošnje u Poljskoj i Rusiji bili su kaftan i šubara.⁸⁸ U istom stilu oblačili su se i Jevreji istočnoevropskih zemalja. Međutim, odevni predmeti kojima je, unekoliko, bio određen spoljni imidž jevrejskog stanovništva, bila su pokrivala za glavu: *kepele* ili *jarmulka* – polukružna kapica koja stoji na temenu glave, vrsta popularne šubare sa delovima za pokrivanje ušiju, koja je univerzalna u tom klimatskom području i poznata pod nazivom „ušanjka” (ruski termin), zatim visoka kapa, koja se izrađuje u kombinaciji krzna sa plišem – *spodik*, kao i kapa potpuno istog oblika, ali cela od samurovine – *kolpak*. Specifični za haside, bili su: svileni *kepele* – nazvan *mosalka* i krzneni šešir – *duhovni*, koji su nosili hasidski učenjaci. Po načinu oblačenja jevrejske žene su se, takođe, razlikovale od okoline, osim po nekim ukrasnim detaljima i pokrivalima za glavu. Na primer, karakteristične dekoracije za glavu i kosu, bile su čipkane kape, zatim vrpce od satena, svile ili somota, ukrašene vezom, koje su se vezivale oko glave. Te vrpce su, ponekad pravljene u vidu dijadema s perlama, a još raskošniji oblik je bila neka vrsta krunice opet sa perlama, a kod bogatijih gospođa i sa dragim kamenjem.

Iako se rabin, obično, u nekom odevnom detalju mogao razlikovati od ostalih članova zajednice, tradicionalna rabinska odora nikad nije postojala.⁸⁹ Kao što se jevrejski kostim, u opštem smislu, razvijao i menjao pod uticajima dominantnog kulturnog okruženja, tako se i rabinski odevni stil prilagođavao istim, aktuelnim uticajima. Aškenaska „tvrda linija” u spoljnoj pojavi, uslovia je jedino strogo poštovanje pokrivanja glave kod rabina, zatim nošenje brade i apsolutno odbacivanje perike dok je bila u modi. Sefardski rabini su, uglavnom, bili konvencionalno odeveni, odnosno u skladu sa svojom, a posredno i širom sredinom.

⁸⁰ Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, str. 5-28.

⁸¹ Ibid, str. 16.

⁸² Eugen Verber: Uvod u jevrejsku veru, Beograd 1993, str. 26.

⁸³ Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, str. 32-39.

⁸⁴ Ibid, str. 40-57.

⁸⁵ Židovi na tlu Jugoslavije, katalog izložbe, Muzejski prostor, Zagreb 1988; poglavlje dr Vidosava Nedomački: Odeća i nakit, str. 105.

⁸⁶ Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, str. 91-124.

⁸⁷ Ibid, str. 154-188.

⁸⁸ Ibid, str. 125-144.

⁸⁹ Ibid, str. 190-194.



ISHRANA

Jevrejska kuhinja je zbog obaveze poštovanja ritualnih – dijetetskih pravila, složena kuhinja. Ritualna ishrana podrazumeva: (1) propise o namirnicama koje se mogu konzumirati, (2) propise o klanju (*šehita*) i pripremi namirnica od mesa, (3) propise o konzumiranju mesnih i mlečnih proizvoda, i (4) propise o kuvanju i održavanju *kašer* domaćinstva.

Ishrana Jevreja bila je strogo određena propisima navedenim u Bibliji a koji su kasnije kodifikovani i u *Talmudu*. Ovi propisi o ritualno ispravnoj i ritualno neispravnoj hrani dobili su naziv *košer* ishrana prema hebrejskoj reči *kašer* – čisto. (Reč *košer*, koja se danas upotrebljava je zapravo jidiš izgovor hebrejske reči *kašer*.)

Propisi o ritualnoj ishrani određuju namirnice koje se smeju koristiti, način na koji se smeju koristiti, kao i način kombinovanja namirnica prilikom pripreme i jela.

Propisi o dozvoljenim i nedozvoljenim namirnicama, uglavnom se odnose na upotrebu životinjskog mesa, jer je dozvoljena upotreba svakog voća i povrća. Od životinja, zabranjena je upotreba svinjskog mesa, a dozvoljena je upotreba životinja koje imaju razdvojene papke i koje preživaju hranu. Tu spadaju goveda, ovce i koze. Ovi propisi zasnovani su na stihovima iz Biblije u Trećoj knjizi Mojsijevoj „O razlici čistijeh i nečistijeh životinja”:

Što god ima papke i papci su mu razdvojeni i preživa između životinja, to jedite (11:3).

Ali onijeh što samo preživaju ili što samo imaju papke razdvojene, ne jedite, kao što je kamila, jer preživa ali nema papaka razdvojenih; da vam je nečista (11: 4).

Dalje se nabrajaju i druge životinje koje se smatraju nečistim i ne treba ih jesti.





Zabranjena je, potom, i upotreba mesa mnogih ptica. Meso domaće živine je dozvoljeno, a Biblija izričito nabraja koje su sve druge ptice zabranjene. (Verovatno je razlog tome što su neke od njih grabljivice u čijoj se ishrani može naći i zagađeno meso.)

U glavi 14. Pete knjige Mojsijeve, Ponovljeni zakon, kaže se:

Sve ptice čiste jedite; (14: 11)

A ovijeh ne jedite: orla, ni jasterba, ni morskoga orla, (14: 12)

Ni sokola, ni eje, ni kraguja po vrstama njegovijem, (14: 13)

Ni gavrana po vrstama njegovijem (14: 14).

Dalje se navode i mnoge druge vrste ptica koje su zabranjene za upotrebu, a zabranjeni su za upotrebu i insekti izuzev nekih vrsta skakavaca. To je navedeno u Trećoj knjizi Mojsijevoj:

Ali između svega što gamiže a ima krila i ide na četiri noge jedite što ima stegna na nogama svojim, kojima skače po zemlji. (11: 21)

Između njih jedite ove: arba po vrstama njegovim, salema po vrstama njegovim, argola po vrstama njegovim i agava po vrstama njegovim (11: 22).

Biblija ovako reguliše upotrebu onoga „što se mice po vodi i živi u vodi“:

A između svega sto je u vodi ovo jedite: što god ima pera i ljusku u vodi, po moru i po rijekama, jedite (11:9).

A što nema pera i ljuske u moru i u rijekama između svega što se miče po vodi i živi u vodi, da vamje gadno (11: 10).

Najzad, zabranjene su ribe koje nemaju krljušt i peraja (jegulja, som...) i svi mekušci, zglavkari, školjke i gmizavci.

Druga grupa propisa reguliše način na koji se mora postupati pri klanju životinja dozvoljenih za ishranu. Ovi propisi nazivaju se *šehita* (hebrejski). Klanje može vršiti samo osoba koja je posebno obučena za to. U našim krajevima, za čoveka koji je obavljao obredno klanje stoke i živine, upotrebljavano je više termina: koljič, obredni koljič, *šahter* (jidiš). Ovu varijantu naziva upotrebljavali su aškenaski Jevreji u Hrvatskoj i Vojvodini. Sefardi su koristili izvorni termin *šohet* (hebrejski). Ovo zvanje obično su nosili rabini koji bi se posebno obučili,⁹⁰ ili neka druga osoba kojoj bi to bilo osnovno zanimanje. Takav *šohet* je putovao po jevrejskim opštinama i obavljao ritualno klanje životinja. Siromašnije opštine bi takvog *šoheta* iznajmljivale samo pred praznike, kada se zbog verskih propisa mora pripremiti svečanija trpeza sa određenim jelom od mesa.





Da bi mogao da izvrši obredno klanje, *šohet* ima specijalne, veoma oštre noževe čija veličina zavisi od toga za koju vrstu stoke i živine je namenjena. Samo klanje se izvodi jednim neprekinutim pokretom i potrebno je da se izazove trenutna smrt, da bi se životinji nanelo što manje bola, i da bi se omogućilo da iz tela životinje izađe sva krv. Pošto se životinja zakolje, mora se pristupiti pregledanju mesa, *bedika* (hebrejski), odnosno mora se utvrditi da li je životinja bila zdrava. Ukoliko na nekim organima ima anomalija (slepljena plućna maramica ili nešto drugo), meso se smatra ritualno neispravnim, nije košer, odnosno kašer. Mora se utvrditi da nisu polomljene kosti i da ne nedostaje neki od unutrašnjih organa. Termin koji označava ritualno neispravno meso je *taref, terefa* (hebrejski), *trayf* (jidiš), a u našim krajevima se dosta upotrebljavao termin *trefe*. I danas se u popularnom govoru koriste termini košer i trefe, kada se za nešto želi reći daje dobro i ispravno, odnosno loše i nepodobno.

Potrebno je, na kraju, obratiti pažnju na još jedan propis zasnovan na zabranama iz Biblije. To je odstranjivanje masnoće. Ovo se posebno odnosi na masnoću sa trbuha životinje, tj. na masnoću na abdominalnom delu tela: *Vječan zakon neka vam bude od koljena do koljena u svijem stanovima vašim: da ne jedete sala ni krvi* (Lev. 3:17). Još jednom se u Bibliji ponavlja ovaj propis: (Treća knjiga Mojsijeva, Lev. 7: 23-25).

Kaži sinovima Izrailjevim, i reci: ne jedite sala od vola ni od ovce ni od koze;

Može se uzeti za svaku potrebu salo od živinčeta koje crkne ili ga zverka razdere; ali ga ne jedite;

Ko li bijeo salo od stoke koju prinosi čovjek na žrtvu ognjenu Gospodu, neka se istrijebi iz naroda svijega onaj koji jede.

Kada se utvrdi da je meso životinje podobno za ishranu, mora se pristupiti postupku odstranjivanja krvi iz organizma životinje. To se čini putem usoljavanja i ispiranja mesa nakon propisanog vremena, odnosno putem vatre u slučaju pojedinih delova tela zaklane životinje (jetra). Ovi postupci se nazivaju *kašerovanje*, a takođe se zasnivaju na propisima iz Biblije (Lev. 7: 26, 27):

Ni krvi ne jedite u stanovima svojim ni od ptice niti od kojega živinčeta.

Svaki koji bijeo kakovu krv, neka se istrijebi iz naroda svijega.

Treća grupa pravila ritualne ishrane je vezana za zabranu istovremene upotrebe mesa i mleka, i zasnovana je na stihovima iz Biblije – Druga knji-





ga Mojsijeva, Izlazak (Izl. 23:19): *Prvi ne od prvoga roda zemlje svoje donesi u kuću Gospoda Boga svojega; nemoj kuhati jagnjeta u mlijeku majke njegove.*

Druga knjiga Mojsijeva, (Izl. 34:26): *Prvi ne od prvoga roda zemlje svoje donesi u kuću Gospoda Boga svojega; nemoj kuhati jareta u mlijeku majke njegove.*

Peta knjiga Mojsijeva, Ponovljeni zakon, (Pnz. 14:21): *Ništa mrcino ne jedite; došljaku koji je kod tebe podaj neka jede ili prodaj tuđinu; jer si narod svet Gospodu Bogu svojemu. Ne kuhaj jareta u mlijeku matere njegove.*

Poštovanje ovog propisa veoma komplikuje košer kuhinju jer se mora paziti da jedan obrok u celini bude sastavljen od mlečnih jela dok je drugi „mesni“. Tako je došlo do posebne terminologije. Mlečna hrana, odnosno ona u kojoj se koristi mleko i mlečni proizvodi naziva se *milhik* (jidiš) od nemačke reči *Milch* (mleko), a mesna, odnosno ona u kojoj ima i mesa, naziva se *fleschig* (jidiš), mesno od nemačke reči *Fleisch* (meso). Postoji i termin *pareve* (hebrejski) za neutralnu hranu, koju čini sve povrće, riba i jaja. Da se ne bi mešala mesna i mlečna hrana, u domaćinstvima koja strogo poštuju ritualne propise, postojalo je odvojeno posude za mesnu hranu i posebno za mlečnu.

Uzastopno konzumiranje mesne i mlečne hrane podleže veoma strogim propisima. Posle konzumiranja hrane od mesa, mora se čekati najmanje tri sata (kod Jevreja istočne Evrope – šest sati), da bi se jelo neko jelo spravljeno s mlekom ili buterom ili neki kolač sa šlagom. Ako se prvo konzumira hrana koja sadrži mleko ili nešto od mleka, ne mora se čekati da bi se jela hrana s mesom, ali između ta dva jela usta se moraju isprati i mora se pojesti malo hleba (*Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem: Vol. 6 Di-Fo, Dietary laws, str. 40).

Postoji dosta podataka o košer ishrani jugoslovenskih Jevreja. U Zemunu su na primer postojale „kasapske livade“. Godine 1822. tu „su podignuti uređaji za tovljenje i klanje marve“ liferanta mesa Franca Levija (IAB, ZM, 1822 R 988).

Iz dokumenta od 18. marta 1823. godine vidi se „daje nesposobni opštinski bik prodat zakupcu krčmljenja mesa Francu Leviju za 36 for.“ (IAB, ZM, 1823, P447/428).

U Ispisima za istoriju Jevreja u Zemunu i Slavonsko-sremskoj vojnoj granici, dr Slavko Gavrilović donosi dokument: „1823. juni Zemun, U vezi s molbom Perl Majera za dozvolu za otvaranje radnje za prodaju košer vina, rakije i životnih namirnica namenjenih ovdašnjim Jevrejima – ovdašnji sitničari izjavljuju da ne poznaju neku naročitu košer robu i mole da se molba





odbije da se ne bi povećala konkurencija, a Jevrejska opština ima od ranije svoju radnju. Molba se odbija.”

O tome da su zemunski Jevreji jeli guščetinu kao i većina Aškenaza, ima pomena u registama dokumenata iz Zemunskog Magistrata⁹¹. „18.1.1785 Židov Rafael Salomon i obućar Nikola Lovčić uzajamno su se vredali cenkajući se za 1 par gusaka „od prokletih Židova ne može ništa da se kupi”. Obojica da se kazne sa 1 for. globe” (Fd 1 Rats Protocolle 1785 Inv. br. 1706).

U knjizi Obitelj, Zagreb, 1996. str. 90, Vera Dojč se seća: „Bakino domaćinstvo je moralo biti košer i baka je sve nabavljala znajući ponekad i nešto „prošvercati”, ali uvek je sve moralo biti *milhik i flašik*. I tako se desilo da u vreme kad je umro djeda i kad su već sva djeca radila, da se Sabat nije slavio na Sabat, jer ga je baka kao praktična žena premjestila na nedelju.”

Dragan Wollner u istoj knjizi, str. 95: „Budući da smo se u kući držali kašruta, uvijek je posebno bilo odvojeno posuđe za mliječno od onog za mrсно, a redovito nam je dolazio i šahter, neki gospodin Reiniger koji je klao piliće uz prigodnu brohu”.

Na Balkanu bi se teško mogla razdvojiti tipično sefardska od tipično aškenaske kuhinje. Pre svega zato što je Bosna, kao najjači centar sefardskog života, bila pod vlašću Austrougarske monarhije, pa su tako i tamo stigli uticaji srednje Evrope.

Za razliku od aškenaske kuhinje koja je srednjoevropska, kontinentalna, sefardska kuhinja je mediteranska. Mediteranska je po tome što Sefardi posle desetine vekova na Iberijskom poluostrvu, poprimaju tamošnji način života i jezik i običaje⁹². No, kako je posle izгона iz Španije najveći broj Sefarda našao utočište u zemljama Otomanske imperije, na njihovu ishranu je neminovno uticala i ishrana okoline. Tako je, zapravo, sefardska kuhinja mešavina mediteranske i orijentalne kuhinje.

Odlike mediteranske kuhinje su: laka hrana i dosta ribe, povrća i voća. Drugi segment čine jela koja su u tu kuhinju ušla tokom boravka na teritoriji Otomanske imperije, znači od XVI veka. To su razne pite, sa mesom, sirom i povrćem – *burikitas, pastelikas* – slatkiši prelivevani sirupom od šećera – *baklava, tišpišti*. Od mesa koristi se uglavnom jagnjetina i ređe govedina.

Razlika u upotrebi namirnica u sefardskoj i aškenaskoj kuhinji je rezultat geografske raspoređenosti Sefarda i Aškenaza. Tako je kod Sefarda od povrća najviše u upotrebi plavi patlidžan, praziluk, paradajz, paprika i krastavac. Koriste se i sva ostala povrća i druge namirnice, ali ova su





zaista veoma karakteristična i veoma zastupljena u sefardskoj kuhinji. Na Balkanu je ovaj jelovnik obogaćen češćom upotrebom tikvica, bundeva i spanaća.

U aškenaskoj kuhinji od povrća dominiraju šargarepa, cvekla, krompir, kupus, pasulj, a od žitarica, geršla (ječam). Od mesa, karakteristična je upotreba guščijeg i to posebno dimljenog guščijeg mesa. U aškenaskoj kuhinji karakteristična je i upotreba iznutrica kao i raznih perifernih delova životinja (punjeni guščiji vrat ili punjena teleća creva) i posebno marinirano goveđe meso. Osnovna masnoća koja se koristila u aškenaskoj kuhinji je guščija mast, za razliku od sefardske kuhinje u kojoj se koristi ulje, maslinovo i suncokretovo. Za kolače se, i u jednoj i u drugoj kuhinji, upotrebljava margarin jer je to jednostavnije nego koristiti buter. Pošto je buter mlečni proizvod, jela s buterom se ne smeju upotrebljavati u toku obeda u kome su zastupljena jela s mesom.

Aškenaski Jevreji živeli su širom istočne Evrope i Rusije i to, uglavnom, u siromašnim zajednicama u kojima se tokom cele nedelje nije jelo meso, već je moglo da se priušti samo za *Šabat*. Drugi razlog što se nije jelo meso tokom nedelje je i to da siromašne zajednice nisu bile u mogućnosti da plaćaju *šahtera* (čovjek koji je obavljao ritualno klanje stoke). *Šahter* bi bio angažovan samo za praznike i posebne prilike kao što je venčanje, kada se posebno uživalo u bogatoj supi s mesom. U toj kuhinji dominirala su jela sa mnogo povrća, mlečnih proizvoda i mleka. Pravila su se jela od testa, razne knedle, krofne, palačinke, štrudle i razne vrste svećanih i prazničnih hlebova.

Zbog geografskih uslova i klime, jasno je da u sefardskoj kuhinji nije moglo da se koristi mleko koje se kvarilo na toploti. Umesto toga, u sefardskoj kuhinji se dosta koristio jogurt. Isto tako, sarma se nije pravila od kiselog kupusa nego od vinovog lišća koga je bilo u velikim količinama. U aškenaskoj kuhinji koristio se veliki broj začina da bi jela bila ukusnija. Najčešći i najpoznatiji su crni i beli luk. Posebno je beli luk bio karakterističan za jevrejsku kuhinju. Za kolače su se često koristili cimet, karanfilić i đumbir. Razlika u izboru riba u aškenaskoj i sefardskoj kuhinji, takođe je odraz geografskih razlika. U sefardskoj kuhinji dominira morska riba a na Balkanu šaran. U aškenaskoj kuhinji srednje Evrope štika je glavna riba koja se priprema za *Šabat*. Pored štuke, jedu se i bakalar, haringa i druge ribe.

Jevrejska kuhinja je najpoznatija po nekoliko vrsta peciva ili hleba. To su *maces* i *hala*.

Hala je praznični subotnji hleb koji se pravi u obliku pletenice. Varijante ovog peciva su bezbrojne.





Drugo, širom sveta poznato pecivo i na neki način zaštitni znak jevrejske tradicije i kuhinje je *maces* (u aškenaskoj varijanti) ili *macot* (hebrejski izgovor). To je beskvasni hleb koji pominje Biblija: „*Sedam dana jedite hljebove prijesne, i prvoga dana uklonite kvasac iz kuća svojih; jer ko bi god jeo što s kvascem od prvoga dana do sedmoga, istrijebiće se ona duša iz Izrailja*” (Druga knjiga Mojsijeva, Izl. 12:15).

Šta je jevrejska kuhinja dala balkanskoj kuhinji i obrnuto, šta je jevrejska kuhinja dobila kao uticaj sa Balkana, teško je reći. Za to bi bilo potrebno veliko istraživanje jer je i sama balkanska kuhinja mešavina raznih uticaja, od orijentalne kuhinje na jugu, do srednjoevropske kuhinje u Vojvodini i Slavoniji. Međutim, neke stvari su neosporne. To je pre svega patišpanj (u nekim našim krajevima kaže se „patišma”). Ta iskvarena reč pod kojom danas većina domaćica podrazumeva testo za tortu, zapravo je *pan di Spagno* (španski hleb), tradicionalni sefardski kolač.

Najzanimljiviji je običaj da se jede i da se gosti „služe” slatkim koji je verovatno rezultat međusobnog uticaja. Taj običaj postoji među Jevrejima i hrišćanima u državama sa teritorije bivše Jugoslavije, u Bugarskoj, Rumuniji, Grčkoj i Turskoj. A među Jevrejima bivše Jugoslavije, mnogo je zastupljeniji kod Sefarda nego kod Aškenaza.

Međutim, čini se daje slatko nešto što je veoma karakteristično za sefardsku kuhinju. Sama španska (ladino) reč „*dulse*” koja se kod nas direktno prevodi kao slatko, ne postoji u mnogim drugim jezicima jer ne postoji ni ono što ona označava. U bugarskom postoji reč „*slatko*”, u rumunskom „*dulceata*”. Običaj služenja gostiju slatkim, postojao je kod grčkih i turskih Jevreja i to su opisali mnogi putopisci. Za razliku od običaja koji se kod nas zadržao da se služi jedna vrsta slatkog, kod turskih Jevreja je bio običaj da se služe dve vrste slatkog na istom poslužavniku. Na ovim prostorima, u Bosni, zadržao se među Jevrejima izraz „*dulsi*”. U Vukovom Srpskom riječniku iz 1852. godine ne postoji reč slatko kao termin za neko jelo. Za reč pekmez, misli da je turskog porekla i prevodi je kao *syrupus*, a ne postoji ni reč, *džem*. Uz malo slobode, pretpostavljamo da su *Sefardi* u Srbiji u to vreme još upotrebljavali *ladino* termine i da su govorili *did si* a da je tek krajem XIX veka uvedena reč *slatko* kao prevod i kao termin za jelo koje je prihvaćeno na ovim prostorima i uvršćeno u jelovnik. U knjizi *Richard Haase, Jewish Regional Cooking*, navedena su među jelima iz Jugoslavije i ova dva: *Watermelon Slatko* (slatko od lubenica), i *Strawberry Plum Slatko* (slatko od jagoda i šljiva). Očigledno je da se reč slatko ne prevodi na engleski jer za to nema adekvatnog termina.





Praznična kuhinja

Glavni jevrejski praznik, *Šabat*, slavi se svake subote u znak sećanja na to daje Bog šest dana stvarao svet, a daje sedmog dana mirovao. Slavi se i kao spomen na vreme kada su Jevreji bili roblje u Egiptu.

Šabat počinje u petak uveče kada se pojave prve zvezde na nebu, i to je *erev Šabat*, a završava se sledeće večeri kada je *mocae Šabat* – izlazak *Šabata*.

Pošto je ovo značajan i veliki praznik, tokom *Sabata* zabranjen je svaki rad. Zato domaćice moraju u petak da pripreme svu hranu za dva dana. Poseban problem je to što je zabranom rada obuhvaćeno i paljenje vatre. Zato je bio običaj da se za *Šabat* pripremaju jela koja se dugo kuvaju i koja mogu dugo da ostanu na vatri koja tinja ili koju održava neko od nejevreja.

Praznični jelovnik za *Sabat* podrazumeva nekoliko obroka za koje se pripremaju različite vrste hrane. U stvari, propis je da se jedu *Šaloš seudot* (tri obroka), jer ko tako čini spasava se tri nevolje. Neki pak uzimaju i četvrti, obično lakši obrok.

Petkom uveče – *erev Sabat* – priređuje se u svakoj jevrejskoj porodici svečana večera na koju se obično pozove i neki gost (putnik, siromašni rođak, đak koji je na školovanju u tom mestu...). Pozvati gosta na večeru za *Sabat* je bogougodno delo, *micva*.

Većina siromašnih Jevreja pokušavala je sebi da priušti, barem za *Sabat*, svečanu trpezu, bolji hleb i malo mesa. Prilikom ove svečane večere obavlja se *Kiduš* (na hebrejskom – *posvećenje*), molitva kojom se posvećuje subota i praznik. Po pravilu *Kiduš* se moli nad vinom (ako ga nema, može i nad hlebom), a na stolu obavezno treba da bude i subotnji hleb, *hala*, ili *barhes* kako su ga zvali Aškenazi, ili *pitikas* kako su ga zvali Sefardi.

U subotu u podne, za ručak, kod Aškenaza se obično jeo *šolet*. Pored toga, tradicionalna jela su i *ričet* (pasulj s geršlom), pihitije od živinske sitneži, *šolet jaja* (jaja dugo kuvana u lukovini), *gefilte fiš* (punjena riba) i riba pripremljena na razne druge načine.

Sefardi nisu imali tako ustaljen jelovnik kao Aškenazi. Oni su subotom jeli razne pite, ribu i živinu. Tradicionalno jelo za subotnji ručak bio je *hamin*.

Pasulj je jelo koje je simbol *Šabata* i koje se jelo i petkom za večeru, a još više subotom za ručak. Pripremao se na razne načine. Kod Aškenaza, najpoznatije jelo od pasulja je *šolet*. Sefardi su pasulj zvali na ladinu *fižon*, *fižonis*, a u Makedoniji *fižon di noći di Sabat*.

Da bi hrana koja se pripremala u petak bila topla i u subotu kada se nije smela paliti vatra, postojale su naročite peći za podgrevanje hrane. Bile su obično male, taman tolike da na njih stane lonac sa *šoletom*, ili nekim drugim jelom. O postojanju peći za podgrevanje subotnjeg ručka ima podataka





iz raznih mesta u Vojvodini i Slavoniji. Obično su bile zidane unutar kuće, dok je ložište bilo spolja (izvan kuće), tako daje subotom mogao da dode neko od komšija, nejevreja, da naloži vatru. U nekim mestima, posebno u onim u kojima su živeli ortodoksni Jevreji, hrana se podgrevala u pekari. Postojao je poseban talmudski propis koji je dozvoljavao nošenje i kretanje subotom pod određenim uslovima. Zahvaljujući tome, hrana se mogla doneti kući iz pekare.

Kod Sefarda je dosta porodica imalo peći za podgrevanje hrane (odnosno peći u kojima je hrana ostajala topla). Te peći zvali su *furnjaja di bam*, *furnjala*. Evo kako tu peć opisuje jedna Sefartkinja iz Sarajeva: „*Furnjaja* to je od zemlje zidana duga peć, gore lim i ringle, a ložilo se drvima i ugljem rano ujutro u petak i držalo toplo do nedelje. Sva jela, dobro poklopljena, *pastel*, *burikitas*, supe itd. uvek su grejana” (upitnik 27). Jedan Sarajlija ovako je opisuje: „*Furnjajitja* (u prevodu pećnica), izrađena od stare šerpe ili lavora, oblepljena ilovačom, s rupicama bočno radi promaje” (upitnik 10). Podatak iz Banjaluke: „*Zvala se furnjaja di baru*, mala okrugla pećnica formirana od gline, postavljena na okrugli lavor u kome je izgarao drveni ugalj” (upitnik 36), a u Žepču: „To je bio kao ćup od gline jer je držao toplinu, zvao se *njinja*” (upitnik 96).

Prema podacima iz ankete Jevrejskog muzeja o praznovanju, na pitanje da li su imali poseban stolnjak za *erev Šabat*, ispitanici su ovako odgovorili:

• **Svečani stolnjak za Sabat** (p. 16)

105	- Da	(73%)
28	- Ne	(19%)
11	- BO	(8%)
<hr/>		
144		(100%)

• **Prekrivač za subotnji hleb** (p. 19)

99	- Da	(69%)
33	- Ne	(23%)
12	- BO	(8%)
<hr/>		
144		(100%)

• **Kako se u porodici nazivao subotnji hleb?** (p. 29)

82	- Barhes	(57%)
50	- Pitikas	(35%)
8	- Hala	(6%)
1	- Ostalo	(1%)
8	- BO	(6%)





• **Da li je postojala peć za podgrevanje jela za Šabat** (p. 48)

117	- Ne	(81%)
18	- Da	(13%)
9	- BO	(6%)
144		(100%)

Godišnji ciklus praznovanja jevrejskih praznika počinje jevrejskom Novom godinom, *Roš hašana*, koja se slavi prvog i drugog dana sedmog meseca – *tišri*. Ovaj praznik po našem kalendaru pada u jesen, između početka septembra i kraja oktobra.

Novogodišnja trpeza treba da sadrži nešto slatko – da bi cela godina bila slatka. Običaj je bio da se *barhes* umače u med, slatko ili šećer. Pored posude sa medom i sa slatkim, na tipezi je trebalo da se nađe i neko voće, obično ono koje zri u to vreme, a do tada se još nije jelo: nar⁹³, grožđe, jabuke... Među Aškenazima, uobičajeno jelo bilo je *cimes*... Sefardi iz Bitolja se sećaju: „Blagoslav na *dulse di kalbasa*, *dulse di mansana* i na *mangrana*”.

Kod Aškenaza nije bio običaj da se jede slatko od jabuka, ali se zato, često, pored *barhesa*, u med umakala i jabuka, a u Subotici je bio običaj da se u med umače šargarepa.

Bio je običaj da se za *Roš hašana* pojede glava ribe, jagnjeta ili glava neke živine (pre toga se izgovara molitva koja se završava rečima: „Da bude mo glava, a ne rep!”). Takođe je bio običaj da se ne jede ništa od salata, niti pak bilo šta što je kiselo ili ljuto.

Sefardi su tradicionalno za novogodišnji obrok imali *kaldu di gajina*, *gajina kum verduras*, *pastel*, *sungatu*, *mina*... (supa od živine, živina sa povrćem, razne pite).

Join kipur – *Dan pomirenja*, ali i dan pokajanja, praštanja, dan bez zlih misli i dan potpune posvećenosti Bogu. Ovaj praznik obeležava se strogim postom, bez uzimanja hrane i vode u toku 24 sata.

Post počinje posle večere uoči *Jom kipura* i traje sledeća 24 sata, do sutra uveče. Post se prekidao na razne načine. U većini porodica prvo bi se popila bela kafa i pojeo kolač; kod Sefarda bi to obično bio *patišpan*, a kod Aškenaza *kuglof*. U nekim porodicama, post se prekidao čašicom žestokog pića, konjakom ili rakijom. Prema upitnicima iz naše ankete, saznajemo da se u Makedoniji, Prištini i Beogradu post prekidao slatkim i vodom ili sokom, limunadom. U Sarajevu se u nekim porodicama uzimalo malo hleba sa slatkim od jabuka i čašicom rakije, dok se u Zvorniku uzimalo malo svežeg hleba sa šljivama ili grožđem. U pojedinim mestima pila se crna kafa ili se jeo *tišpišti*.

Za *Jom kipur* se vezuje običaj *kapara*, prenošenje greha na živinu. Običaj je prastar, potiče još iz Vavilona, a opstao je uprkos mnogih raspri i pro-





tivljenja raznih rabina. – Dan pre *Jom kipura*, iznad glave žene tri puta bi se obrnula bela kokoška, a iznad glave muškarca beli petao i pri tom se izgovarala određena molitva: „Ovo je moj otkup, moja odmena, moja žrtva. On će umreti, a ja ću poći i nastaviti putem dobrog, mirnog života”; na nemačkom jeziku formula je glasila: *Mir zum Leben ihm zum Tod* (Meni za život, njemu za smrt).

• **Da li je postojao običaj – kapara** (p. 76)

97 – Da (67%)

40 – Ne (28%)

7 – BO (5%)

144 (100%)

Posle obreda živina bi se nosila *šohetu*. U mnogim mestima bio je običaj da se ta živina nakon *kašer* klanja, pokloni siromašnim porodicama. Neki su je davali ženi koja dolazi subotom da održava vatru, a jedna Jevrejka iz Sarajeva kazuje da je njena majka od te piletine pripremala hranu i pozivala na ručak deset siromašnih Jevreja (upitnik 41). U mnogim porodicama bio je običaj da se od pola živine pripremi supa koja se jede pre posta, a pola se da siromašnim porodicama. Ova supa koja se jela pre posta bila je veoma bogata i u nju su se obično ukuvavle *kreplah*, knedle punjene mesom. U najsiromašnijim porodicama se sva živina zadržavala za ishranu.

Hanuka se slavi kao sećanje na borbu jevrejskog naroda protiv helenških okupatora u vreme vladavine Antioha IV Epifana iz dinastije Seleukida. *Hanuka* na hebrejskom znači *osvećenje*, a kao naziv praznika je verovatno skraćena od *hanukat habajit* – osvećenje doma, Hrama.

Jela koja se spremaju za *Hanuku* vezana su za legende o ulju. Stoga se, u raznim jevrejskim zajednicama pripremaju jela koja se prže na ulju. U istočnoj Evropi su to bili *latkes* – odresci od struganog krompira, u Jemenu – *zalavije*, u Tripoliju – *spanzes*, a u savremenom Izraelu su to *sufganijot* i *levivot* – uštipci od testa ili krompira. U srednjem veku postojao je običaj da se jednu razne vrste kolača sa sirom u znak sećanja na legendu o Juditi koja je Halofernu dala sira kako bi ovaj tražio još vina⁹⁴.

Sefardi na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije redovno su za praznik *Hanuka* pripremali razne vrste halve *halva di hanuka*, *halva de kučara*, *halva preta*, *tišpišti*.

U svojoj studiji o Jevrejima vardarske Makedonije, Ženi Lebl piše da se za *Hanuku* u tim krajevima obično kljukala guska. „Deo bi ispekli, a deo su sušili. „*Halva di Hanuka*” pravili su kod kuće. Bila je to neka vrsta zaprške – pšenično brašno prženo na ulju i preliveno uvarenim, mrkim šećerom – koju





bi kasnije prelili u razne „kalupe”. Bogatiji su pravili *baklavu* i *kadaif*, a ostali „*tišpištil*”, tzv. sirotinjsku baklavu.” (1990: 393).

Tubišvat je na ovim prostorima, kod Sefarda, poznat pod imenom *Hamišoši* ili *Frutas*, a kod Aškenaza kao *Hamišoser*. Ovaj praznik je u *Mišni* opisan kao Nova godina drveća. – To je jedan od veselijih praznika. Slavi se u krugu porodice, u opštini ili u nekom od kulturnih, umetničkih, omladinskih ili ženskih društava. Bile su čuvene proslave koje su u Sarajevu organizovali „Matatja” ili „Omladinsko kolo”, „Wizo” u Beogradu, „Jarden” u Splitu...

Posebno su se deca radovala ovom prazniku – padao je zimi, a za praznik je trebalo nabaviti što raznovrsnije voće. Smatralo se da svaka porodica treba da skupi barem 15 do 18 vrsta svežeg ili osušenog voća. Uzevši u obzir godišnje doba i oskudnu zimsku pijacu to nije bilo ni malo lako. Zato nije bio redak slučaj da se voće još u jesen uvija u slamu ili posebno pakuje kako bi trajalo do zime (upitnik 27) – (prema Bošković, 1985: 55-56).

Purim je dan radosti i veselja koji se slavi 14. i 15. adara (mart-april), u spomen izbavljenja Jevreja od masovnog pokolja, koji je, prema predanju, pripremao Haman, ministar persijskog kralja Ahašveroša (Kserksa). *Purim* se tako naziva po hebrejskoj reči *pur* – žreb, kocka – jer je Haman kockom odredio dan pokolja (Danon, 1974: 43).

Među pet *micvot* (dobrih dela) koja treba ispuniti za praznik, ubrajaju se: post uoči praznika, prisustvo javnom čitanju *Megile* u hramu, slanje darova rodbini i prijateljima, darivanje dece i sirotinje i prisustvovanje purimskoj zabavi...

„Slanje darova rodbini i prijateljima najpopularniji je purimski običaj. Sefardi su ga nazivali *platikus di Purim*, prema specijalnom velikom tanjiru *platiku* na kome su se darovi slali, a Aškenazi *šlahmones*, od hebrejske reči *mišloah manot* što takođe znači slanje poklona. Pravilo je bilo da se darovi šalju po nekom, a ne da se lično nose. To su obično radila deca, ona su se tome posebno radovala, mada je bilo porodica koje su svoje darove slali po posluži ili čak poštom. Međusobno su se darivali najbliži rođaci i prijatelji, a posebno tazbina, kod Sefarada poznati kao *kunsvegrus*.

Bilo je i drugih primera. U ortodoksnoj porodici trgovca Jichaka Engla u Subotici svake su godine slati darovi rabinu i *šohetu* i to ne samo u novcu već i u tkaninama. Kao što je poznato darovi su se nosili na tanjirima uvijeni u salvete. Oni kojima su pokloni namenjeni uzimali su ih sa tanjira i na njih stavljali svoje uzvratne darove. Tako su deca uvek nosila pune tanjire, a za svoj trud su posebno dobijala sitan novac i kolače. Najčešće su razmenjivani kolači. Nigde nije bilo propisano šta treba slati, već su se ti običaji formirali spontano u zavisnosti od sredine. Nezaobilazne su bile kiflice sa orasima, *roskitas di alšahu*; puslice od badema, *čaldikas*; jaja u lisnatom testu *fularis*;





patšpanj sa špinovanim šećerom zvani *tišpišti*; poslastica od oraha i meda, *juzlima*; baklave; slatki somun, itd.

U Vojvodini slate su *hamantašne* – trouglasti kolači punjeni makom i orasima, a još popularnije bile su jufke s makom i suvim gro đem oblikovane kao dete u jastuku i zato nazvane *kindle*, zatim *flodne*, itd. Poneko je slao južno voće, po koju flašu vina ili čak manji poklon” (Bošković, 1985: 61-2).

Pesah se praznuje u spomen spasenja Jevreja iz egipatskog ropstva. Slavi se od 15. do 22. nisana, u dijaspori osam dana, a u Izraelu i među reformističkim Jevrejima sedam dana. *Pesah* se još naziva *Hag haaviv* – Praznik proleća, i *Hag hamacot* – Praznik beskvasnog hleba.

U okviru priprema za praznik, kuća je detaljno pospremana – to su Sefardi zvali *las Hadrás di Pesah*. Glavna svrha velikog spremanja bila je čišćenje cele kuće i od najmanjih mrvica kvasne hrane⁹⁵. Pro vera čistoće imala je obredni karakter. Obred, poznat pod različitim nazivima: *bedikat hamec*, *akužer il hamec*, *boškar bokados* ili *hamec batlenen*, vršio je domaćin uoči praznika; on bi, nakon povratka sa večernje molitve, uzimao perušku i papirni fišek i polazio u obilazak cele kuće tražeći *hamec*, odnosno ostatke kvasne hrane. Pratili su ga domaćica sa svećom u ruci i deca za koju je to bila neka vrsta zabave. Kako je kuća već ranije očišćena i sav *hamec* uklonjen, a da bi se propisani obred obavio, domaćica ostavlja na vidna mesta komadiće kvasnog hleba (obično 10), a domaćin ih pronalazi i peruškom ubacuje u papirni fišek.

„Pronađeni” *hamec*, prema običajima, bio je sledećeg jutra spaljivan u peći ili je javno spaljivan na vatri koja se ložila u dvorištu škole ili sinagoge. Taj obred se zvao *biur hamec* – spaljivanje hameca. – „U Beogradu, na primer, pre I svetskog rata spaljivao se *hamec* na *Erev Pesah*, a deca su od ranog jutra obilazila kuće po Jevrejskoj mahali i izvikivala „*A kimar hamec*” (Spaljujemo hamec). Zatim bi u dvorište hrama doneli pune vreće ostataka hleba, koje bi *šamaš* – crkvenjak uz odgovarajući blagoslov spalio. Time su kuće proglašene čistim u narednih osam dana, koliko traje praznik, u njima se neće jesti kvasni hleb, ni bilo koja druga kvasna hrana. *Talmud* propisuje da se u toku *Pesaha* ne sme posedovati ništa okarakterisano kao *hamec*, pa su stoga pobožni trgovci, pekari, pivari... pribegavali simboličnoj prodaji svoje robe nekom nejevrejину, što je poznato kao *mehirat hamec* (prodaja *hameca*). U svakom mestu bi se uvek našao neki nejevrein koji bi bio spreman da otkupi *hamec*, pa se s njim, u prisustvu rabina, sklapao fiktivni kupoprodajni ugovor o tome da se vlasnik privremeno oslobodi nedozvoljenog poseda. Nakon isteka praznika, ovaj se ugovor raskidao i vlasnik je ponovo preuzimao svoju robu.





„*Maca* je vrsta hleba koja se jede za vreme praznika *Pesaha*. Naziva se i *lehem oni* – *hleb nevoljnika* (Peta knjiga Mojsijeva, glava 16/3). Testo za *maca* se mesi u brzini, bez kvasca i bilo kakvih drugih dodataka, kako bi se sprečio proces fermentacije /.../ U staro vreme, *maca* je bila primitivna vrsta hleba. Kada se otkrilo da testo može da uskisne, to je učinilo da hleb postane ukusniji; *maca* je ostala hleb siromaha, koji nisu mogli da čekaju da testo uskisne, ili se pak pripremala u izuzetnim slučajevima kada bi naišao nenajavljeni gost pa je trebalo na brzinu ispeći hleb. „ (Danon, 1978: 38-9).

U vreme *Talmuda*, *maca* se pekla svakog dana; bila je debela oko četiri prsta. U srednjem veku, debljina tako spravljenog hleba ograničena je na debljinu jednog prsta. Vremenom, *maca* je postajala sve tanja i lomljivija. /.../

Početak ovog veka, pronalaskom mašine za pečenje, pojednostavljen je proces proizvodnje *macota*. Ipak, još uvek postoji mali broj pobožnih Jevreja, koji smatraju daje *kašer* samo ona *maca* koja je spravljena rukom.

Među poslovima koje je trebalo obaviti pre nastupa praznika, važno mesto zauzima spravljanje *macota*. Kupovanje gotovog, fabrički pravljenog *macota*, novina je modernog vremena i kasno je ušla u savremenu upotrebu. *Macot* se odvajkada pravio ručno, pa mnogi verski autoriteti i danas smatraju da je jedino takav *macot* ritualno čist tj. *kašer šelpesah*. *Macot* se pravi od pšeničnog brašna i vode, bez drugih sastojaka. Pšenica se nadgledala, da ne bi došla u dodir s vlagom koja izaziva vrenje. Najčistija i ritualno najprikladnija za prve dve večeri praznika je *maca šemura* ili *šmire maces*. To je *macot* pravljen od pšenice, nadgledane od momenta žetve do upotrebe. Pored nje, koristio se i običan *macot*, pravljen od pšenice nadgledane od momenta mlevenja, ali se taj *macot* jeo u toku ostalih dana praznika, jer se smatralo daje njegova ritualna čistoća nešto niža” (Bošković, 1985: 71-2).

Isak Sion piše da se u Štipu „pripremanje *macesa* vršilo na nekoj vrsti mobe ili zadružne samopomoći. Vise jevrejskih porodica su imale u svojim kućama zidane male pekare samo za pečenje *maseca*. Obično deset do dva-deset, a i više domaćica, kako gde, više po rodbinskoj liniji, udruživale su se zajedno da peku *maces*. Svaka je domaćica obezbeđivala potrebnu količinu brašna paskual, tj. posebno mlevenu u mlinovima za *Pesah*. Domaćice su mesile i pekle *maces* redom i to je trajalo po desetak i više dana pred *Pesah*. Osim *macesa* tom prilikom su se mesili i pekli *bojus*, mali deblji hlepčići od istog testa” (Sion, 1985).

Za *Pesah* je neophodno da se pripreme i sudovi. Ritualni propisi su nalagali da svako domaćinstvo ima posebne sudove za *Pesah*. Kako je to za mnoga domaćinstva bilo nedostupno, sudovi su se morali prati odnosno očistiti od *hameca*, na poseban način. To se činilo uranjanjem sudova u ključalu vodu, staklenih sudova u hladnu vodu a posude koje je to moglo





da izdrži bilo je izlagano plamenu. Ovaj postupak nazivao se *kašerovanje*. Obavljao se kod kuće ili javno. U Beogradu, u jevrejskoj mahali taj običaj se zvao *skaldar el kovri* (prati u kipućoj vodi). „U dvorištu sarajevskog hrama zvanog „*Kal grandi*“ nekada se ložila velika vatra i domaćice su donosile svoje sudove pa ih je *šamaš* velikim drvenim mašama okretao u kazanu. Nakon toga su sudovi ispirani ključalom vodom. U kazane su radi što boljeg efekta pranja, ubacivani otopljeno olovo, živa soda, usijano kamenje ili pepeo. I Aškenazi su imali isti običaj i nazivali su ga *kašern*, a u kazane su ubacivali usijane cigle.

Običaj javnog *kašerovanja* sudova postepeno se napuštao i u periodu između dva rata, većina domaćica je sama izvršavala ovu obavezu u svojim kućama, prokuvavajući sudove u vreloj vodi. U Bihaću, na primer, to se zvalo *skaldar los tepsinas*. U ponekim pobožnim porodicama nije bio redak slučaj da se i šporet na kome se kuva svakodnevno *kašeruje* pre *Pesaha*. Domaćice su ga prvo trljale lužinom a kada bi bio očišćen, morao se potpaliti i tek kada izade prvi dim, šporet se smatrao za *kašer*. „ (Bošković, 1985: 75).

U Žepču su sudove vezivali kanapom pre potapanja u kazan, a svaki sud je tri puta uranjan u vodu.

Glavni deo praznika *Pesah* je *Seder* večere. To je vreme u koje se obavezno okuplja cela porodica, a odvija se po strogom ritualu propisanom u *Hagadi*, knjizi koja opisuje kako je došlo do toga da se slavi *Pesah*, odnosno da se obavlja *Seder* večere, a opisuje se i ritual za to večere. Prilikom obavljanja rituala tokom *Sedera*, čitaju se stihovi iz *Hagade* pa je nekada bio običaj da svi ukućani imaju po jednu takvu knjigu, a bilo je obavezno da domaćin ili onaj ko vodi *Seder* ima *Hagadu*.

Da bi se ritual mogao odvijati, potrebno je da na stolu bude *kearat Seder* – veliki tanjir na koji treba da se stavi sve ono što je propisano:

- *Šaloš macot* – tri komada *macota*, prekrivena belim salvetom, koji simbolično predstavljaju Koena, Levija i Jisraela;
- dva jela: *zeroa* (krilo od kokoške) i *beca* (jaje kuvano u luku);
- *maror* – gorke trave kao sećanje na gorak život predaka u ropstvu;
- *haroset* da zasladi gorke trave, a u stvari simbolično podseća na blato od kojeg su Jevreji pravili cigle za građevine – *zeher letit*;
- *karpas* – celer ili peršun;
- *hazeret* – ren kao začim mesu ili ribi, i sirće u koje su se umakale trave.

„*Sederom* rukovodi domaćin. On prvo pročita uobičajeni blagoslov *kiduš*, kojim započinje svaka svečana večera. Nakon toga svi ispijaju prvu





od četiri propisane čase vina. Domaćin potom pere ruke nad za to posebno pripremljenim lavorom i to je tzv. *urhac*. Zatim svako dobije po komadić peršuna umočenog u slanu vodu ili sirće što će se pojesti uz odgovarajući blagoslov. Domaćin uzima srednji od tri komada *macota* sa *seder činije* i lomi ga na dva dela i to se zove *jahac*. Jednu polovinu vraća pod salvet na činiji, a drugu zvanu *afikomana* ostavlja sa strane da mu posluži u završnici večere. *Magid* podrazumeva početak čitanja *Hagade* i njenog tumačenja svima prisutnima. Nije bilo retko da se *Hagada* čitala pasus po pasus, uporedo na više jezika. Domaćin bi započinjao na hebrejskom, a pratio ga je neko na ladinu, nemačkom, mađarskom, jidišu ili srpskohrvatskom, što je zavisilo od govornog jezika porodice. *Seder činija* se podizala uvis i istovremeno izgovarao početni pasus *Hagade* poznat kao „*Ha lahma anja*” (“Ovo je hleb bede”). U mnogim porodicama je bio običaj da se tada otvaraju vrata kuća i u toku *sedera* drže otvorena, jer se smatralo da je to veče kada svaki namernik može da se pridruži proslavi.

„*Ma ništana*” (“Po čemu se razlikuje ova noć”) je zajednički naziv za četiri pitanja koja obično najmlađi učesnik *Sedera* postavlja, a čija je suština u tome da se objasni zašto se samo te večeri jedu pomenute simbolične namirnice i koja je svrha tih obreda. Domaćin daje na njih odgovor, čitanjem odgovarajućih pasusa iz *Hagade*.

Čita se priča o četiri učenjaka, parabola o četiri sina i priča o rođenju Mojsija i izlasku iz Egipta. Ovaj se deo završava nabrojanjem deset napasti koje je Bog poslao na Egipćane, pa se tom prilikom obično zamače prst u čašu sa vinom i otresaju kapljice, u smislu „daleko od nas bilo”. Negde je običaj da se pri pomenu svake napasti sipa malo vina u lavor, a istovremeno se u isti lavor sipa i malo vode (Papo, 1983: 11).

Nakon toga svi ispijaju po drugu čašu vina. Pre nego što će se poslužiti praznična večera, treba obaviti još nekoliko obrednih radnji.

Najpre će domaćin oprati ruke uz odgovarajući blagoslov, a to isto će uraditi i svi muškarci za stolom i to je tzv. *ralica*. Zatim će izgovoriti dva blagoslova nad *macotom*, jedan zvani *moci*, a drugi *maca*. *Moci* i *maca* su nazivi za komade *macota* sa *seder činije*, gornji i srednji. Domaćin će odломiti po komadić od oba, podeliti ih svima i to će se pojesti uz izgovaranje blagoslova.

Maror je naziv za komadić gorke trave, celera ili rena koji se zamoči u slatki *haroset* i pojede. Zatim se pojede i *Hilelov sendvič* (dva komadića macesa između kojih je ren ili list salate). Pre večere svako će pojesti i po komadić tvrdo kuvanog jajeta zamočenog u sirće ili slanu vodu, što je tzv. *šulhan oreh* (Bošković, 1985: 76-7).





• **Koji se beskvasni hleb jeo za Pesah (p. 130)**

- 130 – Macot, maces (90%)
- 59 – Bojus (41%)
- 15 – Maca šemura (10%)
- 2 – BO (1%)

• **Kako je nabavljan beskvasni hleb (p. 131)**

- 69 – Preko jevrejske opštine (48%)
- 47 – Kupovali u jevrejskoj pekari (33%)
- 27 – Sami pravili (19%)
- 4 – BO (3%)

• **Kako je nabavljano kašer vino (p. 132)**

- 49 – Preko jevrejske opštine (34%)
- 38 – Kupovali u radnji (26%)
- 16 – Sami pravili (11%)
- 41 – BO (28%)

- 144 (100%)

Hag hašavout je Praznik sedmica, a poznat je još i kao *Hag hakacir* – Praznik žetve i *Hag habikurim* – Praznik prvina. U našoj zemlji praznik je poznat pod imenima: *Šavuot*, *Ševuot*, *Sivo*, *Ševues*, ili *Švies*. – Danas se slavi dva dana, 6. i 7. *sivana*, u Izraelu samo 6. *sivana*. Talmudski učitelji su izračunali da je upravo na taj dan *Mojsije* dobio *Toru*, dakle i *Deset zapovesti* na brdu Sinaju, pa su upravo to proglasili glavnim sadržajem ovog praznika.

Danas je, kao sećanje na nekadašnji ratarski karakter ovog praznika, ostalo samo ukrašavanje sinagoga i unutrašnjosti kuće zelenilom, kao i spremanje jela i slatkiša od mleka i mlečnih prerađevina. Ovaj mlečni karakter prazničnog obroka objašnjava se još i time što se praznuje u slavu *Tore*, a ona se u Pesmi nad pesmama upoređuje s „medom i mlekom”.

Sefardi su pravili poslastice od pirinča: *ličikas* (puding od mlevenog pirinča), *sulač* (sutlijaš), *aroz di leči* (sutlijaš posut cimetom u formi Magen Davida). Aškenazi su pravili kolače sa sirom koji su se zvali e *milhikes* ili *kasedolken* ili *delkli*.

Od kolača za *Šavuot*, posebno treba pomenuti dva: *La manu di Moše rabenu* i *Montis di Sinaj* ili *Montis di Savout*. Oba su vise sefardski specijaliteta. Prvi, koji u prevodu znači Mojsijeva ruka, pravljen je u specijalnim modlama u obliku sake. Drugi zvan sinajsko brdo, imao je formu okruglog hleba ili pogače sa apliciranim ili urezanim ukrasima. Testo se pravilo kao kiselo ili kao *milihbrot* sa suvim grožđem. Ukrasi su bili od istog testa i imali su razne simbolične forme: tu su stepenice, kao uspomena na Mojsijevo





penjanje na Sinaj, zavetne ploče sa zapovestima, valjčići u obliku svitka *Tore*, jer je *Šavuot* praznik *Tore*, magični štap kojim je Mojsije razdvojio vodu Crvenog mora. Pored toga bilo je još i raznih ptica, Davidova zvezda i dr. (Bošković, 1985: 85-6).

⁹⁰Rabini su obavljali po nekoliko dužnosti, posebno u malim opštinama. Oni su vršili obrezivanje muške dece, znači obavljali posao modela, bili predmolitelji i vršili zvanje kantora (jidiš termin kod Aškenaza) odnosno hazana (hebrejski termin koji je bio u upotrebi kod Sefarda). I najzad, obavljali su i ritualno klanje.

⁹¹Regesta dokumenata u kojima se pominju Jevreji, a koja su vezana za delatnost Zemunskog Magistrate, poklonio je Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju Lazar Čelap

⁹²„Sefardski Jevreji su osim ladino jezika, romansi i poslovice donijeli iz Španije još i neka jela.” (Pinto, 1987: 30).

⁹³Nar se jede zbog obilja zrna koja on sadrži. Rabini su izračunali da u naru ima 613 zrna, a isto toliko ima i zapovesti kojih Jevreji treba da se pridržavaju Taijag micvot.

⁹⁴Judita je jevrejska heroina koja je hrabrošću i lukavstvom pomogla svom narodu u odlučnom času. Asirski kralj, Navukodonosor, posle osvajanja Medije, okrenuo se protiv Izraelaca. Njegov vojskovođa Holofern je kod Betulije opkolio utvrđeni grad i posle duge opsade, gradu je pretila opasnost da bude osvojen i uništen. Judita, udovica, odlazi u Holofernov šator i tamo izaziva lepotom ovog Asirca, a lukavstvom ga opija. Neotpornost Holoferna prema lepoti i vinu koštala je glave. Asirska vojska, ostavši bez vođe, povlači se, a Judita peva pobedonosnu pesmu u slavu Boga i sa narodom odlazi u Jerusalim, gde se u podnožju Hrama tri meseca slavi oslobođenje.

⁹⁵„Hamec (hebr. kvasac) je naziv za svu hranu ili posude koje nisu kašer šel Pesah (npr. uskiso testo usled delovanja kvasca ili stajanja). Prema Tori, za vreme praznika, zabranjeno je da se jede i upotrebljava hamec. U prenosnom smislu, reč hamec se upotrebljava kao sinonim za pokvarenost. Rabini su hamecom nazivali zao nagon u čoveku (jecer hara). Sličnim terminima su se naročito složili kabalisti u srednjem veku.” (Danon, 1978: 44).



ODRŽAVANJE TRADICIJE KOD JUGOSLOVENSKIH JEVREJA

Jevreji se doseljavaju na tlo bivše Jugoslavije tokom 2000 godina. U različitim periodima živeli su na raznim teritorijama. No uvek su svoj boravak i način života organizovali prema propisima vere, osnivajući institucije koje su omogućavale ispunjenje svih ritualnih propisa. U antičkom periodu, pod rimskom vlašću, Jevreji su živeli na području Makedonije, Slavonije i Dalmacije. Ostaci materijalne kulture i tekstovi sa nadgrobnih spomenika govore da je jevrejska zajednica postojala u antičkoj Mursi kod Osijeka, u Saloni kod Splita i u Stobima u Makedoniji.

O jevrejskoj zajednici koja je postojala na teritoriji Slovenije u srednjem veku ostali su pored materijalnih spomenika (sinagoge, kuće, ulice) i pisani izvori koji govore o tome kako je bio organizovan život te zajednice.

Rani pisani izvori su, zapravo, svojevrsna rabinska literatura nazvana „response”. To su knjige u obliku pitanja i odgovora. Nastale su tako što su učeni rabini sabirali i štampali pitanja koja su im stizala iz mnogih gradova o raznim pravnim i verskim problemima i svoje odgovore na njih. Te knjige su u stvari, zbornici rasprava o održavanju jevrejske verske tradicije u određenoj oblasti i predstavljaju prvorazredne izvore za naučna istraživanja. Na osnovu njih se može pratiti istorija i život Jevreja na čitavoj teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije.

Na primer, o Jevrejima u Mariboru je pisao mariborski rabin Isrlein⁹⁶ čije responze je, mnogo godina kasnije, priredio kotarski rabin iz Đakova, Šulsinger (Schulsinger); o Jevrejima u Bosni je pisao sarajevski nadržabin, dr Moric Levi, na osnovu sačuvanih opštinskih knjiga ali i na osnovu obimne literature⁹⁷; o Jevrejima u Makedoniji je pisala publicista iz Izraela, Ženi Lebl na osnovu velikog broja sačuvanih responzi u kojima se govori o Jevrejima u Skoplju, Bitolju, Štipu i drugim mestima u Makedoniji⁹⁸; o Jevrejima u Beo-





gradu je pisao beogradski rabin Ignjat Šlang u knjizi Jevreji u Beogradu⁹⁹ – on je koristio, pored responzi koje su pisali slavni rabini iz velikih jevrejskih centara (kao što je bio rabin Smuel da Medina iz Soluna), i responze koje su sabrali i izdavali beogradski rabini u XVII veku. U Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju se čuva i jedna knjiga responzi koja se odnosi na splitske Jevreje. Štampana je u Livornu 1844. godine.

Pored najstarijih jevrejskih stanovnika Balkana, koji su nazvani Romanioti, oni koji su se doseljavali u kasnijim periodima su bili različiti po svom istorijskom i kulturološkom nasleđu. Posle Romaniota na Balkanu se pojavljuju Aškenazi, srednjoevropski Jevreji koji su se posle razorenja Jerusalima 70. godine naše ere, raselili po sredozemnim i drugim evropskim zemljama. Aškenazi su dobili ime po hebrejskoj reči „Aškenaz“ kojom se označava područje na kome je danas Nemačka. Ovi Jevreji su nosioci srednjoevropske kulture, a jezik kojim su govorili naziva se jidiš. To je mešavina staronemačkog i hebrejskog, sa velikim primesama slovenskih (poljskih i ruskih) reči. U kasnijem periodu, jidiš se više proširio među Jevrejima istočne Evrope. Aškenazi se doseljavaju na Balkan sa područja Habzburškog carstva. Oni osnivaju svoje zajednice na teritoriji Slovenije u Ljubljani, Mariboru, Ptujju, i drugim gradovima. Proterani su iz ove oblasti početkom XVI veka. Nikada više na toj teritoriji nisu živeli u znatnijem broju. Najviše Aškenaza je živelo na području Vojvodine, Slavonije i Hrvatske gde se doseljavaju krajem XVIII i, u većem broju, tokom XIX veka. I pored toga što se doseljavaju relativno kasno, oni su ekonomski veoma brzo prosperirali i ostavili velikog traga u gradovima u kojima su živeli. Bavili su se trgovinom, preduzetništvom i slobodnim profesijama.

Druga grupa Jevreja su Sefardi, koji su vekovima živeli na Iberijskom poluostrvu i tamo stvorili značajnu kulturu. Godine 1492. prognani su iz Španije i razilaze se po Mediteranu, a veliki broj je bio primljen na teritoriju Otomanske imperije. Na područje bivše Jugoslavije stigli su preko Turske, Bugarske, Grčke i iz Venecije i preko Jadrana u Split, Dubrovnik i Sarajevo. Svoje zajednice su osnovali na teritoriji Makedonije, Srbije, Bosne, u Dubrovniku i u Splitu. Sefardi su se bavili trgovinom i zanatima. Govorili su ladino, jezik koji je u osnovi stari španski jezik sa dosta turskih i slovenskih reči.

Sefardi i Aškenazi su na Balkanu živeli u zasebnim zajednicama, imali su odvojene sinagoge i druge institucije. Razlikovali su se po kostimu, običajima i odnosu prema sredini u kojoj su živeli. I odnos sredine je bio drugačiji prema Sefardima nego prema Aškenazima. Kako se Sefardi naseljavaju već od XVI veka oni su duže na ovim prostorima od Aškenaza koji dolaze uglavnom u XIX veku. Zato su Sefardi bili bolje prihvaćeni od sredine i na njih se gledalo kao na starosedeoce, dok su Aškenazi prihvatani kao došljaci i



stranci. No i pored toga odnos drugih naroda prema Jevrejima na Balkanu bio je veoma tolerantan ako se uporedi sa svim pogromima i progonima koje su Jevreji doživljavali u drugim zemljama Evrope. Zbog svog načina života i potrebe da održavaju običaje, Jevreji su uglavnom u svim gradovima živeli u određenim ulicama, pa su one i dobijale specifična imena. U Beogradu, Ljubljani i Dubrovniku i danas postoji Jevrejska ulica (Žudioska). U nekim gradovima to su bile mahale, a u Splitu i Dubrovniku postojao je pravi geto u kome su Jevreji živeli. Tako je u Splitu ostao naziv ulice „U sred geta”, a u Dubrovniku je Žudioska ulica bila geto – jer se zatvarala sa oba kraja. Ovakvo stanovanje na malom prostoru delimično je bila i posledica potrebe da se sve jevrejske ustanove skoncentrišu na malom prostoru. Tako je na primer u Sarajevu, u okviru Sijavuš pašine daire, prostoru koji je bio određen da se u njemu naseljavaju Jevreji, podignuta i sinagoga. Pošto je Jevrejima zabranjeno da na praznik *Šabat* daleko pešače do sinagoge, one su građene u okviru jevrejskog naselja. Takvih primera ima u mnogim gradovima u kojima su živeli Jevreji. Uz sinagogu je obično i ritualno kupatilo, škola, stan za rabina, prostorije raznih društava. Sličan propis je postojao i za groblja koja su, takođe, formirana nedaleko od jevrejskog naselja. Jedan od najpoznatijih primera takvog groblja koje je sačuvano i danas potpuno uklopljeno u urbanu okolinu je Jevrejsko groblje u Pragu. I na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije ima nekoliko sačuvanih starih jevrejskih grobalja koja, doduše, nemaju takvu mistiku kao praško Jevrejsko groblje, jer nisu tako zbijena i ukomponovana u svakodnevni životni prostor. Ali zato neka groblja kao što je, na primer, staro sefardsko groblje na Kovačićima u Sarajevu, imaju veliki značaj zbog nadgrobničkih spomenika koji su po svom obliku jedinstveni. Za sada još nije objašnjeno otkuda takav oblik spomenika.

Jevrejska društva su imala veliku ulogu u održavanju tradicije i u ispunjavanju zadataka koje vera postavlja pred Jevreje. Humanitarna društva za negu bolesnika spadaju u najstarija jevrejska društva. Poseban značaj ima društvo *Hevra kadiša* koje se staralo oko umirućih i njihove sahrane. U mnogim gradovima je društvo *Hevra kadiša* staro koliko i sama jevrejska opština. Veliku ulogu u održavanju tradicije imala su i verska društva koja su okupljala Jevreje u vreme praznika koji su zahtevali razne jutarnje molitve ili ponoćna okupljanja. U okviru takvih društava se subotom proučavao *Talmud* i *Tora*, a obezbeđivali su se i posebni ritualni obedi. U Beogradu i danas postoji zgrada jevrejskog društva *On eg šabat* koje je bilo posvećeno održavanju tradicije. U Sarajevu još uvek postoji zgrada jevrejskog društva *La Benevolencija* koja je simbol jedne sasvim druge vrste društava. To su humanitarna društva koja se osnivaju krajem XIX i u XX veku i koja se bave humanim radom na jedan savremeniji način. Ona pomažu i školovanje uče-





nika i studenata i potpomažu kulturni rad. U velikim jevrejskim zajednicama razvili su se razni tipovi društava. Uz ona koja su se bavila tradicionalnim zadacima, kao što je briga za bolesne i siromašne, postojala su i ženska društva koja su se bavila nabavkom miraza za siromašne devojke.

U Sarajevu je dvadesetih i tridesetih godina bio veoma jak sefardski pokret. U okviru njega, više sefardskih društava je priređivalo razne kulturne priredbe i posela na kojima su se prikazivale amaterske pozorišne predstave. One su govorile o običajima, a u njih su bile ukomponovane numere sa mnogo romansi i drugih folklornih elemenata. *La Benevolencija* je 1924. godine objavila spomenicu koju je uredio Stanislav Vinaver i štampana je u Beogradu. Mnogi tekstovi iz te retke knjige danas su antologijski. To su, pre svega, „Ženidbeni običaji bosanskih Sefarda” Avrama Altarca i „Štimunzi iz bosanskih sinagoga” dr Atijasa. To je jedan od najlepših tekstova napisanih o jugoslovenskim Jevrejima.

Evo jednog odlomka koji govori o sinagogi koju je u svojoj kući držao Maći Bohor u Sarajevu, na Banjskom Brijegu: „Kraj lijepih petroklejskih lampi i vitkih mlječnih svijeća na teva s kakvom su se toplinom molile nekada u Maći Bohora bogomolji selahotske molitve! Pokojni Šor Leon, pun tip pobožnosti, nešto zapuštene vanjštine, ali tačan i prvi u bogobojaznim i bogougodnim stvarima, a lahkim dugim tračkom nasmejanosti na licu zborio bi „eluenu šebašamajaim” s takvim uzdasima da bi ti se sjekli u dušu. Zborio bi ih tronutom molitvom, koja je zvučala kao plač i koja ti je iz mraka elulskih ranih jutra domamljivala daleke tajne dalekih vremena kroz prozore one bogomolje. Koliko je ta svečanost bila kada se je ta bogomolja proširila i u drugu sobu. Jevrejima Banjskog Brijega bijaše kao da im je dvostruko porastao imetak. Familija Maći Bohorina s njim kao patrijsrom na čelu rasuta po velikom dvorištu bogomolje, bijaše kao posvećena na Banjskom Brijegu. Maći Bohor, tačan, pobožan, brz i uvijek jednako nježan, niska stasa, u fesu i bosanskim čakširama, ne bijaše nikad besposlen. Kada nije Boga veličao molitvama, pravio je red u avliji, gradio *suka* ili sirio mlijeko na *košer*.”

U Jevrejskom istorijskom muzeju je bila 1986. godine priređena izložba pod nazivom „Jevrejski praznici”. Obuhvatala je godišnji ciklus praznika, uz uvodno objašnjenje o jevrejskom kalendaru. Tom prilikom su bili prikazani eksponati i fotografije iz fonda Jevrejskog muzeja, kao i iz zbirke koje se čuvaju po jevrejskim opštinama i sinagogama u raznim gradovima bivše Jugoslavije.

Ova izložba je bila poslednja u nizu studijskih izložbi kojima su predstavljene zbirke Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja: izložba o metalnim ritualnim predmetima, zatim izložba o vezenim tkaninama, o starim jevrejskim knjigama i rukopisima i izložba o jevrejskoj štampi na tlu Jugoslavije. Izložba o





jevrejskim praznicima je, za razliku od prethodnih, imala etnografski karakter, a prikazani eksponati su služili samo kao ilustracija predmeta koji su bili u upotrebi za praznike. Povodom priređivanja te izložbe, zaključeno je da će nastavak istraživanja o običajima obuhvatiti „životni ciklus“, odnosno običaje vezane za rođenje, venčanje i smrt.

U međuvremenu, pojavila se mogućnost da se u Muzejskom prostoru u Zagrebu, organizuje velika izložba pod nazivom „Jevreji na tlu Jugoslavije“. Izložba je bila priređena 1988. godine u Zagrebu a tokom 1989. u Sarajevu, Beogradu i Novom Sadu, a 1990. u Njujorku i Torontu. Ovaj veliki projekat je izmenio planove Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u periodu od nekoliko godina. A, svakako su tome doprineli i raspad zemlje, rat i loši uslovi za rad. Tako je realizacija izložbe o „životnom ciklusu“ odlagana više od deset godina, ali je zato u okviru pomenute izložbe, „Jevreji na tlu Jugoslavije“ obrađena i ova tema. Naime, u okviru teme „Vjerski obredi i običaji“ koju je obradila prof. dr Vidosava Nedomački predstavljeni su rođenje, *Brit mila*, *Bar micva* i *Bat micva*, kao i obred venčanja. Kao posebna celina i tema, predstavljeni su žalobni obredi i običaji.

Uz izložbu o praznicima, štampan je i katalog sa objašnjenjima o tome kako su se u ovim krajevima praznovali jevrejski praznici. Pored postojeće literature za ovu temu, glavni izvor podataka za tekstove u katalogu, bilo je malo istraživanje o praznovanju jevrejskih praznika kod jugoslovenskih Jevreja. Ideju za ovakvo istraživanje dao je sociolog Srećko Mihailović a uz njegovu pomoć su realizovale istraživanje Milica Mihailović i Hedviga Bošković, autori izložbe i tekstova u katalogu. Kako je u uvodnom delu upitnika koji je napravljen za to istraživanje, bilo i nekoliko opštih pitanja koja su se odnosila na održavanje tradicije, ponovićemo ovom prilikom podatke do kojih smo došli.

Upitnik o praznovanju jevrejskih praznika kod jugoslovenskih Jevreja štampan je u Jevrejskom pregledu za novembar-decembar 1984. godine. Na upitnik je odgovorilo 139 jugoslovenskih Jevreja. Od toga je bilo 70 muškaraca i 69 žena. Prosečna starost je bila 73 godine. Najstariji anketirani je rođen 1892. a najmlađi 1943. godine. Odgovori su stigli iz 38 gradova bivše Jugoslavije. Odgovorilo je 53 Sefarda i 81 Aškenaz i 5 Jevreja iz mešovitih brakova. Upitnik je imao 158 pitanja koja su se odnosila na održavanje tradicije u praznovanju. Od toga je bilo devet pitanja opšteg karaktera što je moglo da nam kaže nešto o porodici uopšte.

Iz odgovora na pitanja o jevrejskim praznicima vidi se daje skoro u svakoj porodici koja je bar malo držala do tradicije bilo raznih svećnjaka (za *Sabat*, za *Hanuku*) i drugih ritualnih predmeta. Jugoslovenska jevrejska zajednica nije spadala u ekonomski moćne i bogate. Zato su neki podaci o





tome kako su se u siromašnim sefardskim porodicama dovijali da udovolje propisima tradicije, prosto dirljivi. Bilo je u bogatim porodicama i srebrnih *hanukija*, ali bilo je i porodica u kojima bi majka izdubila krompire i u ta udubljenja sipala ulje i stavila fitilj da izgleda kao osam upaljenih svećica. U nekim porodicama su se upotrebljavala drvca od metle obavijena pamukom i umočena u ulje da bi gorela umesto svećica. Bilo je porodica u kojima su postojale posebne lepo umetnički ukrašene kutijice za mirise za obred *Havdala* na isteku *Šabata* (neki od anketiranih bili su toliko srećni što smo ih podsetili na te male kutijice da su ih u upitniku nacrtali), ali bilo je i onih iz siromašnih porodica koji su rekli da bi se za *Havdala* u njihovoj porodici pomirisala kafa ili limun, bez ikakve kutije.

Ovo malo istraživanje pomoglo je da se dobije slika o tome koliko su jevrejske porodice (u godinama pred II svetski rat) držale do tradicije. Na pitanje „Da li je Vaša porodica bila religiozna, malo religiozna ili pak uopšte nije religiozna?“, većina Sefarda je odgovorila daje njihova porodica bila religiozna, manji broj je rekao daje bila malo religiozna, a samo njih četvoro je reklo da nisu držali do tradicije. Kod Aškenaza je mnogo veći broj rekao da im je porodica bila malo religiozna, a niko nije rekao da nisu držali do tradicije.

Na osnovu odgovora na pitanje: „Da li je neko od članova Vaše porodice odlazio u ritualno kupatilo (*mikve*) i u kojim prilikama?“, dobili smo sliku da su se tog običaja držali samo u religioznijim porodicama, da su se tog običaja držali više Aškenazi nego Sefardi, da se odlazilo „kako propisi nalažu“, da su uglavnom odlazile žene posle menstruacije, pred venčanje, pred *Šabat* i druge praznike i muškarci pred *Jom kipur* ili druge praznike. Neki su naveli u upitniku da u njihovom mestu nije postojala *mikve* (Zemun, Murska Sobota, Farkaždin, Novi Sad, Sivac, Niš, Zavidovići, Derventa, Bihać) ali su i neki beogradski Jevreji rekli da tu nije bilo ritualnog kupatila, iako su postojala dva, sefardsko i aškenasko.

Na pitanje: „Da li je neko od članova Vaše porodice nosio ili upotrebljavao *tefilin*, *ciciot*, *talit veliki*, *talit šal*, *kitl*, *kepele*, *šatl*, *tukado...*?“, ogromna većina i Aškenaza i Sefarda je odgovorila da su njihovi očevi i dedovi upotrebljavali *tefilin* i *talit šal*. Da su njihove dede i očevi upotrebljavali *ciciot* odgovorilo je 17 sefarda i 16 Aškenaza. *Kitl* je imalo vise Aškenaza a veliki *talit* je imalo vise Sefarda.

Ovo malo istraživanje dalo je podatke i o tome koliko su se Jevreji na ovom tlu pridržavali propisa o ritualnoj ishrani – *kašrut*. Ovih propisa se pridržavalo 60% ispitanika, a onih koji to nisu činili bilo je 37% (3% nije odgovorilo na ovo pitanje).

U Biltenu, glasilu jevrejske zajednice, za februar 1995. godine objavljena je nova anketa. Ona se odnosila samo na životni ciklus. Bilo je postavljeno





ukupno 37 pitanja. Međutim, članovi opština odazvali su se našem pozivu u malom broju. No, svi podaci su dragoceni, pa će i ovi pristigli odgovori biti uzeti u obzir kao ilustracija u opisu očuvanja običaja i tradicije. Tim pre, što su to retki odgovori na pitanja o tome kako je izgledao obred venčanja ili *Bar micva* i žalobni običaji. – Evo nekoliko interesantnih opisa običaja prilikom žalosti, koji su prikupljeni upravo ovom poslednjom anketom:

U Bačkom Petrovcu držali su se svih običaja: posle sahrane jela su se jaja posuta pepelom, sedelo se na podu na slami 7 dana i za to vreme se nije kuvalo već se jelo ono što bi doneli rođaci.

Margita Ast, Sarajevo: „Bio je običaj da se jede hrana koju su donosili rođaci”.

Demajo Aleksandar, Beograd: „Povodom smrti bio je običaj da se košulja zacepi spreda na vidljivom mestu. Mislim da se to tako nosilo prvih nedelju dana, dok se sedelo na niskim stolicama i primali izrazi saučešća. Svako jutro je neko od rodbine (koja je u slučaju moje porodice bila vrlo široka), a možda i iz kruga prijatelja, donosio doručak – „*dizajunu*”. To su bile u stvari paštete sa sirom i spanaćem. Ovo se često naručivalo kod nekog Danona koji je to pravio i kod njega se i inače češće navraćalo na te njegove specijalitete. Imao je radnju u blizini kafane Imperijal u blizini Studentskog trga, otprilike na mestu gde je danas prazan prostor između Filozofskog fakulteta i zgrade rektora. Vrlo verovatno da je isto to pravio i neko na Dorćolu. Sahrana je vršena, koliko se sećam, u najobičnijem drvenom sanduku bez poklopca, prekriveno belim čaršavom. Zemlja se preko toga nabacivala (1939. godine).”

Nisim Navonović, Priština: „Za sahranu se upotrebljavao jednostavan sanduk do groblja a da se sama sahrana obavljala bez sanduka. Postojao je običaj *keria*, *šiva*, za prvi obed jela su se jaja i lepinja, pokrivala su se ogleдалa. Godišnji pomen se zvao *anju* a svakog petka uveče palilo se kandilo do godinu dana.”

U Nišu je godišnji pomen nazivan *limud* a 7 dana žalosti samo su sedeli muškarci i nisu se tih dana brijali. Hranu su donosili rođaci ili prijatelji.

Običaje vezane za sahranu i druge žalobne običaje u Derventi, opisao je Josip Pesah: „U Derventi se sahranjivalo u jednostavnom sanduku, nije postojalo društvo *Hevra kadiša*, održavan je *ičaj keria*, *šiva*. Za prvi obed posle sahrane jela su se kuvana jaja i pecivo s uljem. U kući se nije ništa kuvalo i spremalo, hranu su donosili drugi, sedelo se na patosu. Ogleдалa su se prekrivala, održavalo se i trideset dana žalosti, i godišnji pomen koji su zvali *limud*. Povodom ovog običaja, Josip Pesah je dao ovo objašnjenje: Hram u Derventi osvećen je 1911. godine. Za njegovu izgradnju pored priloga svih Jevreja meštana, pet uglednih imućnih Jevreja dali su priloge od 2000-5000 kruna u zlatu i tim postali zaslužni. Među njima je bio i moj deda (očev otac) Josef





Pesah. Za svakog od njih postavljena je u Hramu (sa leve i desne strane od *Ehala*) mermerna ploča na kojoj je to pisalo. Opština je preuzela obavezu da se njihova imena čitaju za *Erev Jom Kipur* posle *Kol Nidre* i da im se svake godine na dan njihove smrti posle *tefila* održi *limud* uz obavezan *minjan*. Pored toga, što je za mog dedu održavan *limud* svake godine u hramu, u našoj kući je svake godine na dan smrti dede i babe (po ocu) održavan uveče *limud*. *Limud* je čitao rabin, a bilo je prisutno i dvadeset vernika. Mislim da su moj otac i njegova braća taj dan postili. Posle molitve služilo bi se: slatko, rakija, kuhana jaja (*inhaminadus*), lukum i crna kafa. Prvo bi bio poslužen rabin i on bi rekao blagoslov (*biraha*), a potom svi ostali. – Pri polasku kući, svako bi dobio po jedan lukum i dva kuhana jaja da ponesu kući da bi i ukućani kazali *biraha*.”

Dr Isak Levi, Sarajevo: „*Šiva* je upražnjavana. U slučaju daje sahrana umrlog u petak – *šiva* počinje tek u nedelju. Ukoliko je smrt nekog daljeg člana uslijedila prije godinu dana, *šiva* bi se održala samo jedan sat. U slučaju smrti nekog bližeg člana porodice ili bilo kojeg stanara u zajedničkoj zgradi, ispražnjavala se je (izbacivala) sva sakupljena voda (*vazojar las aguas*). *Jarcajt* – *limud* se je održavao nakon 30 dana, 11 mjeseci – i svih godišnjica smrti; (*limud* nakon 30 dana, 11 mjeseci održavao se je na dan sahrane, a godišnji pomen na dan smrti). Ožalošćeni prvih sedam dana u kući i od tada do 30 dana su na začelju (od ulaza) u hramu. Ovo kao i izbacivanje vode bila je u ranija vremena preventivna mera protiv zaraznih bolesti.”

Kako su izgledali Jevreji Jugoslavije na početku XX veka? To su već bili emancipovani građani u običnoj građanskoj nošnji kakvu su nosili i ostali u njihovoj okolini. Jedino je manji broj Sefarda nosio tradicionalnu nošnju, što znači da su žene nosile tukadu, a muškarci fes. Ako se pogledaju sačuvane fotografije, na početku veka su skoro sve starije Sefardkinje nosile tukadu. Takav utisak dobija se i na osnovu fotografija na spomenicima na beogradskom Jevrejskom groblju.

U anketi o prazničnim običajima, 24 Sefarda je reklo da su njihove majke i bake nosile tukadu. Što se tiče Aškenaza, oni su, budući da su živeli po zemljama srednje Evrope, tradicionalno nosili evropski građanski kostim. Žene su, kao uostalom i kod drugih konfesija, pokrivale glavu i nosile razne vrste kapa. Za ortodoksne Jevrejke bilo je obavezno da šišaju kosu i nose perike – *atl*. U anketi o prazničnim običajima ukupno 9 aškenaskih Jevreja je navelo da su njihove majke nosile periku – *šatl*. Neki su naveli da su se obavezno nosili i dugi rukavi. U bivšoj Jugoslaviji je postojalo 12 ortodoksnih jevrejskih opština i sigurno je da su njihovi pripadnici poštovali pravila o pokrivanju glave (nosili su male kape koje se u raznim krajevima različito zovu *kipa*, *kepele*, *jarmulka*) a mnogi su nosili šešire, *pejesa*, *cicit* i druga obeležja. Međutim, do danas se nije pojavila nijedna fotografija takvih ortodoksnih





Jevreja u Jugoslaviji. Jedino na fotografijama iz holokausta, mogu se videti ortodoksni Jevreji iz Sente, kako po naređenju nacista čiste ulice i obavljaju i druge poslove kojima je trebalo da budu uniženi. U anketi o prazničnim običajima bilo je propušteno da se pita da li su muškarci nosili fes. No, i bez ovog odgovora, fotografije svedoče o tome da su sve do holokausta, stariji Sefardi u Bosni i Makedoniji nosili fes.

Opšte i obavezno školovanje dece, emancipacija žena i njihovo sve veće uključivanje u svet zaposlenih, je uticalo da se porodica menja i da se održavanje tradicije polako napušta. U godinama pred Drugi svetski rat, bilo je sve više jevrejskih porodica kod kojih se održavanje tradicije svodilo na odlazak u sinagogu za određene praznike i na svečaniji ručak za neke druge praznike. U svim evropskim zemljama Jevreji su se sve više asimilovali i svojim oblačenjem i običajima se sve više približavali narodima s kojima su živeli. Najveći udar na održavanje tradicije učinio je holokaust koji je zbrisao i iščupao nit održavanja jevrejske tradicije sa tla Evrope. Danas se tradicionalno i živopisno obučeni ortodoksni i hasidski Jevreji mogu izuzetno retko videti u Evropi. Na čitavoj teritoriji istočne Evrope gde je živio ogroman broj veoma tradicionalnih Jevreja, sa bezbrojnim društvima, ješivama, učilištima, malim sinagogama, pozorištima, novinama i časopisima, sve je to nestalo u holokaustu, a ono što je preživelo nije više imalo mogućnosti za iskazivanje u novim političkim uslovima.

Na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije, holokaust je imao strašno lice jer su se sem nemačkih nacista koji su bili ideološki inspiratori uništenja Jevreja, tim uništenjem bavili i mnogi drugi. Zato su se Jevreji priključivali partizanima, kao jedinama koji su se otvoreno borili protiv nacizma i fašizma. Prihvatajući partizanski pokret i njegove ciljeve, prihvatili su i komunističku ideologiju. Kada je rat bio gotov, ljudi su iz njega izašli potpuno izmenjeni. Ono malo preživelih Jevreja više, zapravo, nije bilo religiozno. Preživelo je veoma malo starih ljudi vezanih za sinagogu, a oni koji su želeli da ostanu verni tradiciji i koji nisu prihvatili nov način života, iselili su se u Izrael u periodu 1948-52. godine.

Jevrejske opštine su u gradovima gde je bilo Jevreja, preuzele održavanje običaja, tako da su se praznici umesto u kući slavili u prostorijama opštine. Održavale su se priredbe i skupovi, održavalo se i Seder večer, a u sinagogama koje su ostale u funkciji obično bi se obeležili praznici *Ros hašana* (Nova godina) i *Jom kipur*. Obredi kao što je *Brit mila* ili *Bar micva*, održavali su se izuzetno retko i u tajnosti. Venčanja u sinagogi obavljana su za strane državljanke. Sve se, naravno, posle sedamdesetih godina izmenilo i sada se opet svi obredi i običaji, ako za njima ima potrebe, upražnjavaju javno i svečano.





Prekid tradicije kod jugoslovenskih Jevreja je potpun. Kada je pedesetih godina u Beogradu srušena stara sinagoga u Solunskoj ulici, koja je bila jedna od najstarijih zgrada u Beogradu, ubeležena u planove Beograda iz XVIII veka, taj događaj je propratio potpuni muk od strane beogradskih Jevreja. Čini se da to nisu ni приметili. Ili su samo zažmurili s nadom da to vodi nečem boljem, i u to vreme, potrebnijem.

⁹⁶Dr H. Schulsinger, O pravnom i gospodarskom životu Jevreja u Štajerskoj, Koruškoj i Kranjskoj god. 1371-1496, Jevrejski almanah 1925/26, Vršac, 1925.

⁹⁷Dr Moric Levi, Sefardi u Bosni, Beograd, 1969.

⁹⁸Ženi Lebl, Plima i slom, Gornji Milanovac, 1990.

⁹⁹Dr Ignjat Šlang, Jevreji u Beogradu, Beograd, 1926.



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FOTOGRAFIJE
PHOTOGRAPHS

Svi predmeti i fotografije su vlasništvo Jevrejskog
istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu.

*All objects and photographs are from the collection
of the Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade.*



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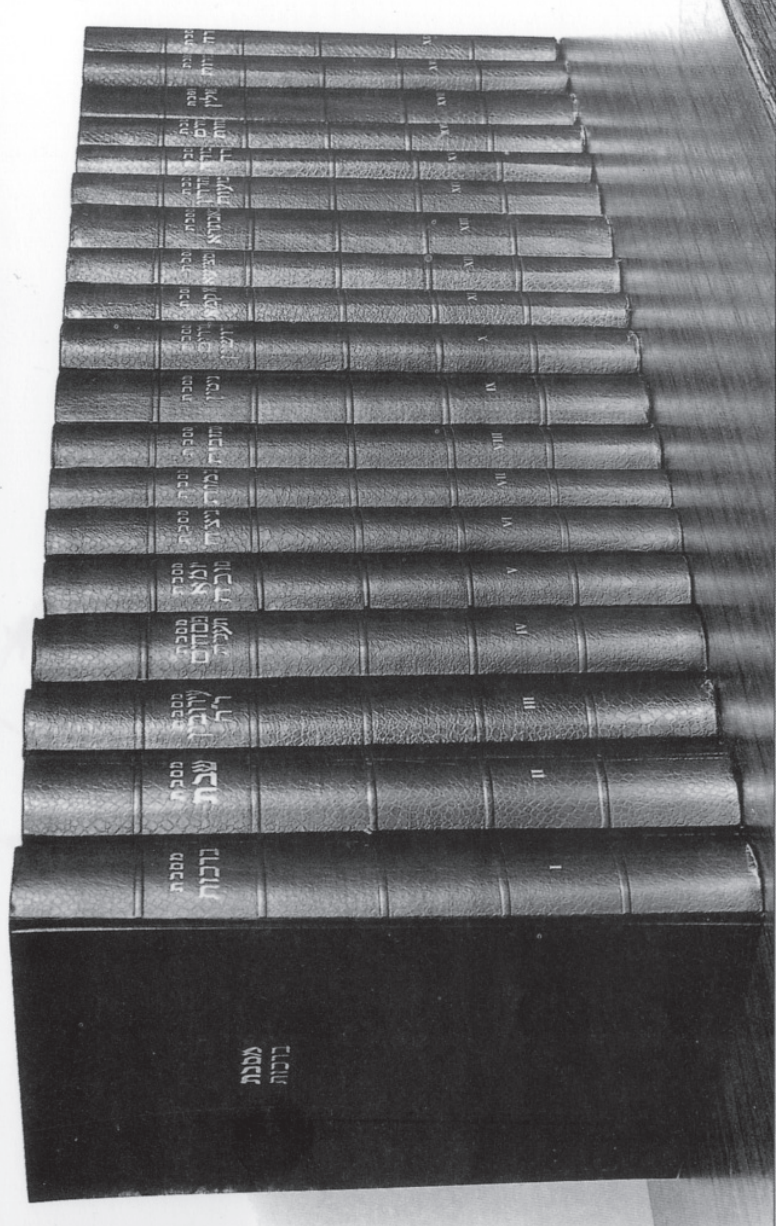


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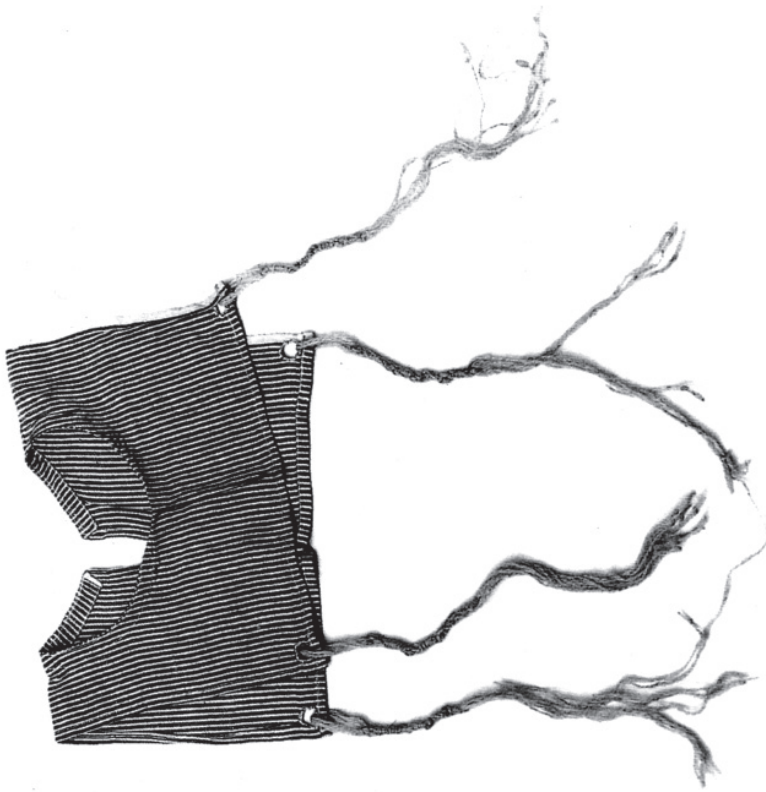


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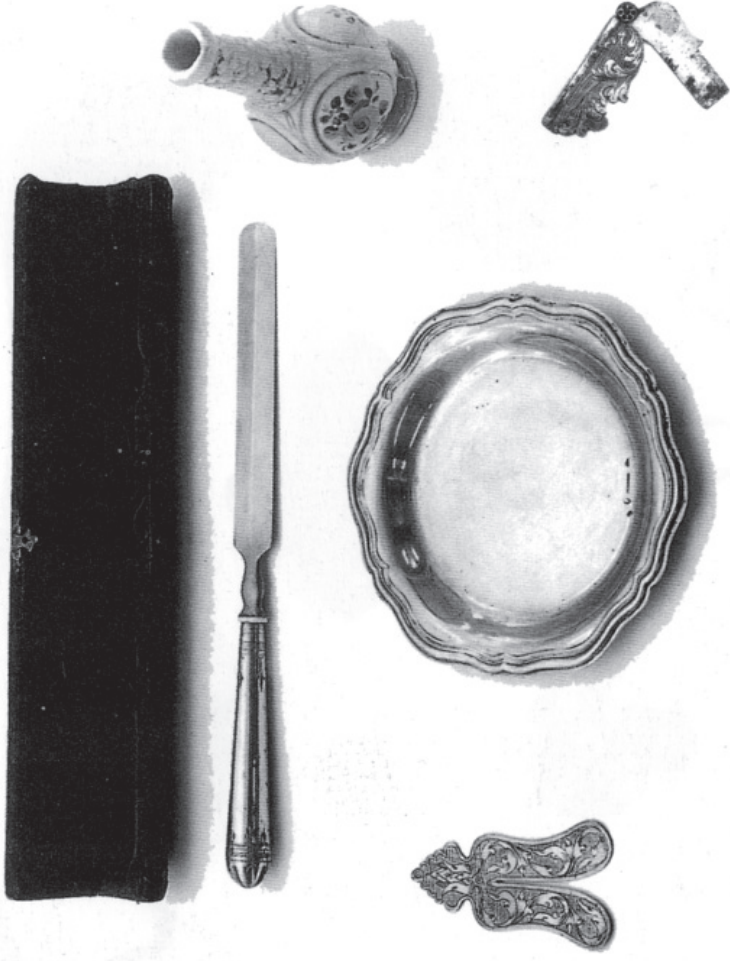


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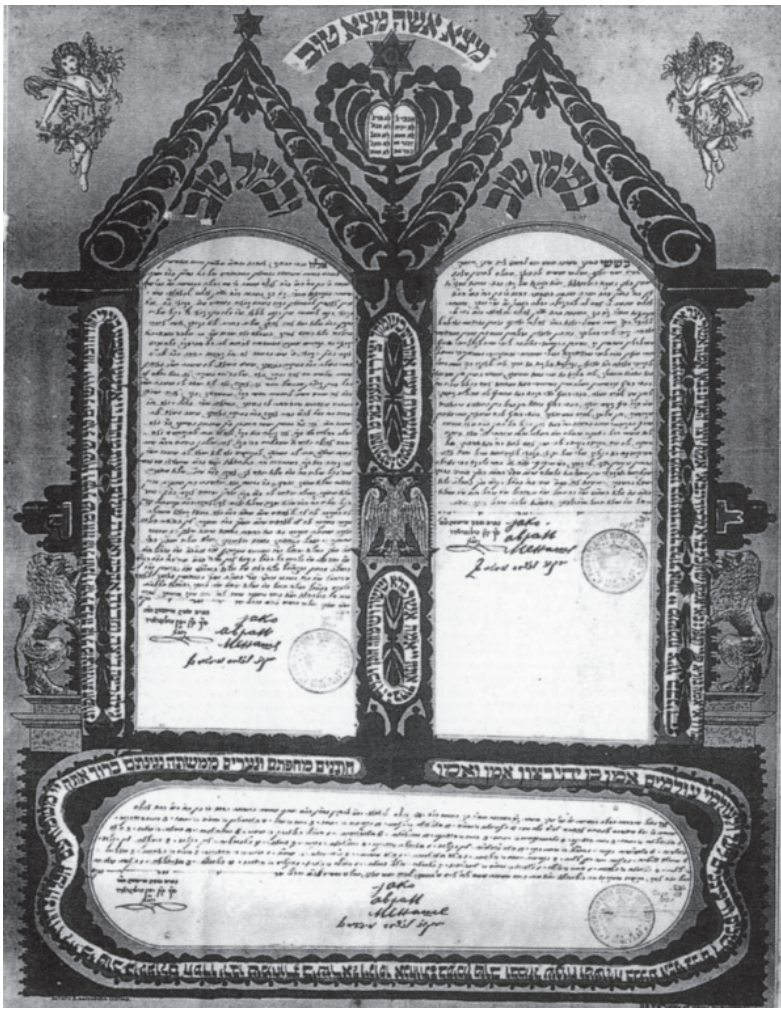
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SPISAK FOTOGRAFIJA LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

1. **TORA, Livorno, XVIII vek / TORAH, Livorno, XVIII c.**
JAD, Austro - Ugarska, XIX vek / YAD, Austria - Hungary, XIX c.
2. **TALMUD / TALMUD**
3. **TALIT KATAN, poč. XX veka / TALLITH KATAN, beginning of XX c.**
4. **AMULETI, Maroko / Izrael, XIX/XX vek /**
AMULETS, Morocco / Israel, XIX/XX c.
5. **PRIBOR ZA B'RIT MILA, Italija, XIX vek /**
EQUIPMENT FOR B KITH MIL Al, Italy, XIX c.
6. **BAR MICVA, Beograd, oko 1930. / BAR MITZVAH, Belgrade, 1930 (?)**
7. **TALIT I TEFILIN, poč. XX veka; MOLITVENIK, Beč 1887.**
TALLITH & PHYLACTERIES, beginning of XX c; PRAYER BOOK, Vienna 1887.
8. **JEVREJSKO VENČANJE, Beograd, oko 1935. /**
JEWISH WEDDING, Belgrade, 1935. (?)
9. **JEVREJSKO VENČANJE, Bitolj, oko 1930. /**
JEWISH WEDDING, Bitola, 1930 (?)
10. **KETUBA, Sarajevo, 1746. / KETUBBAH, Sarajevo, 1746.**
11. **KETUBA, Beograd, kraj XIX veka / KETUBBAH, Belgrade, end of XIX c.**
12. **NETI MUNK, Beograd, medicinska sestra, učesnik u Prvom svetskom ratu**
NETIMUNK, Belgrade, nurse, First World War
13. **ŽENSKO DRUŠTVO, Beograd, oko 1930. /**
WOMAN SOCIETY, Belgrade, 1930 (?)
14. **POKRIVAČ ZA MACOT, Rumunija, XIX vek /**
COVER FOR MATZOT, Romania, XIXc.
15. **TEPSIJA ZA PRAZNIČNU KUHINJU, istočna Evropa, XIX vek**
PAN FOR FESTIVE FOOD, East Europe, XIX c.





16. **UTICAJ NA KOSTIM – SEFARDI U SRBIJI, Srbija, kraj XIX veka**
INFLUENCES UPON THE COSTUME – SEPHARDIMIN SERBIA, Serbia, end of XIX c.
17. **GRAĐANSKI KOSTIM, Beograd, oko 1930. /**
URBAN COSTUME, Belgrade, 1930 (?)
18. **HEVRA KADIŠA IZ BEOGRADA, Oplenac, 1935.**
HEVRA KADISHA FROM BELGRADE, Oplenac, 1935
19. **SEFARDSKO GROBLJE U SARAJEVU, XVII – XX vek**
SEPHARDIC CEMETERY IN SARAJEVO, XVII-XX c.



INTRODUCTION

The exact date of the first written documents from the spiritual tradition of the Jewish people is difficult to establish. It is assumed, however, that the selection of thoughts, ideas and concepts that had already existed in written form, as well as of the fresh ones, started in the 6th century BC. Their integral version, which took centuries to create, finally appeared in the 1st century AD in the form of the *Old Testament* in Christians, i.e. the *Tanna* in Jews.¹

The *Tanna* consists of five books of Moses (*Pentateuch* or the *Torah*), eight *books of Prophets* (*Nevi'im*) and eleven books of *Holy Scriptures* (*Ketuvim*).² Inspired by the *Tanna* and guided by the *Torah*, the Jews would make a two thousand years long voyage through historical migrations, disasters and social reforms, resisting the penetration of foreign elements into the heart of their culture.

As the Jewish society developed by abandoning nomadic lifestyle and cattle-breeding, in the beginning of the New Era, a need for an elaborate system of custom and legal norms presented itself. Even though the books of the *Tanna* contained collections of legal, health and ethical codes and rules – apart from historical and literary documents – higher forms of productivity and better living conditions in many spheres transcended the existing regulations which were enforced as laws (*halachot*, Heb., pi). The spreading of the system of custom law was gradual and even difficult. Each new regulation – *halakha* – had to be based on the texts of the *Tanna*. Annexed to the custom law, the regulations were passed down through oral tradition until the 2nd or the 3rd century, when a collection of laws and custom regulations known under the name of *Mishna* (Hebr., Repeated Study) was compiled.³

The appearance of the *Mishna*, a supplement to the Biblical canons, represents one step forward in the further socio-historical consolidation of the Jewish people. The *Mishna* was developed, amended and commented,





until its 'extended version' – *Gemara* (Hebr., to learn, to receive knowledge) – was created. *Mishna* and *Gemara* combined make one of the greatest written monuments of mankind – the *Talmud* – a collection of Jewish laws which throughout the centuries, particularly in the *galut* (Hebr., Diaspora), represented the scheme of the Jewish lifestyle, by safeguarding the unusually homogenous religious and ethnic character of the Jewish groups scattered around the world. The *Talmud* is a gigantic 'database' with all the legislative, legal and ethical norms and religious rules as well as a collection of tractates from the fields of medicine, hygiene, agriculture and other sciences as they were understood at that time and within the Jewish cultural system. The procedures for every human activity, be it physical or intellectual, are discussed in the *Talmud*, the broadness of which is evoked in its ancient metaphorical name — *Yam Atalmud* (Hebr., the Sea of Talmud).⁴

For reciting and interpreting the *Tanna* a special technique – *Midrash* – was used. It resorted to examples, stories and fairy tales in order to reveal the essential messages of the *Tanna* texts.⁵ However, the use of such symbols is not possible when interpreting the complex books of the *Talmud*, which, in fact, served a very practical legislative purpose. The *halachot* codes needed to be explained in concrete terms and made easy to understand, in order to be correctly applied by the common people. With that goal in mind, famous Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages (Maimonides, Yakov Ben Asher) tried to present and systematize the numerous collections of the *halachot* in a form of a unique collection of regulations. Two brilliant and very comprehensive manuals resulted from these efforts, but neither one was sufficiently adjusted to the needs of the ordinary people. Finally, Joseph Karo, a Spanish Jew, successfully compiled *Shulhan 'arukh*, published in Venice in 1551. *Shulhan 'arukh* has been the most broadly accepted collection of regulations ever since, with certain *halachot* from private, legal and religious life. Due to the author's origin, however, *Shulhan 'arukh* did not include the Ashkenazi customs. It could therefore be said that this significant job had not been completed before 1578, when an extended edition by Moses Isserles from Krakow was published.⁶

The books of the *Tanna* and the *Talmud* had been compiled for centuries. They offer the model of Jewish lifestyle, the overall value system and the system for understanding things and relations.

The destiny of the Jewish people has in every possible way been conditioned by the endless Diaspora. In time, two main demographic groups were formed – the Sephardim, Jews from the Pyrenees, and the Ashkenazim, meaning German Jews in free translation, settled in Central and Eastern Europe. The life in different geographic, historical and cultural environments





inevitably resulted in different customs, as well as in considerable linguistic differences between the two groups. This, in fact, was the most notable consequence of the life in different environments: the Sephardim spoke *Ladino* (Judesmo, Judeo-Espariol), and the Ashkenazim *Yiddish*. These two fully structured languages were in fact mixtures of various linguistic elements and dialects „from the neighborhood”, based on spoken Spanish and German respectively. (These languages are not forgotten, even though their usage has been considerably reduced. As a spoken language, *Yiddish* is much better preserved.)

The territory of Yugoslavia and other south-Slavic countries had been populated by the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim in several migration waves, over a long period of time, and, consequently, under different historical circumstances. The Ashkenazim from Central Europe withdrew to the Balkans running away from the belligerent medieval Christianity, while the Sephardim expelled from Spain and Portugal found the same (at that time Muslim) refuge on the eve of the New Ages. The new century, however, never appeased the spirits...

Despite the inevitable distinctions between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi ethnic image in the sphere of material and, partly, cultural expression, the link with the original culture and religion remained intact. Visible differences in appearance, as well as oscillations in ceremonial procedures, do not interfere with the deeper layers of the Jewish system of customs, be it in the domain of the cycle of life or in the domain of religious and national festivals. The essence is the same, regardless of where or how they lived...

Shalom.

A.D.

¹Eugen Verber, Milica Mihailović and Hedviga Bošković, *Jezik, pismo i knjiga Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Language, Writing and Books of Jews in Yugoslavia), Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade 1979, P 13.

²Ibid, p. 14.

³Ibid, p. 16.

⁴Ibid, p. 17 and Cadik Danon: *Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma* (Collection of Judaism Terms), SJOJ, Belgrade 1996, p. 160.

⁵Eugen Verber, Milica Mihailović and Hedviga Bosković: *Jezik, pismo i knjiga Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd 1979, p. 16.

⁶Ibid,p. 18.



BIRTH OF A CHILD JEWISH FAMILY AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD OFFSPRING

The ideas about family, the most solid social foundation in the life of man, are as old as the Jewish nation itself. They survived unchanged throughout history, from the *First Book of Moses (Genesis)* until today. For centuries, the Jewish family preserved the integrity, spirit and tradition of the Jewish people, wherever in the world they lived. It provided a shield against assimilation, stronger and more important than the one offered by the synagogue. The first notions about the world, as well as the models of behavior and the system of values, are formed within the family. It has therefore been the major focus of reflections and debates found in the numerous religious books of the Jewish people.

The Jewish family is essentially patriarchal, although traces of matriarchal organization can be found in the structure of its internal relations. These traces are believed to be inherited from the early stages of the history of mankind, or more precisely, from the earlier, more primitive periods in the cultural history, when the matriarchal system predominated. Within the Jewish family, the traces of the matriarchal system are to be found in the treatment of kinship, which still parts from the maternal side of the family. Apart from that, there is a clearly expressed attitude toward the man – as the „head of the household” – who should be generous and considerate of his wife and children and treat them with love, care and respect. It is also possible that this matriarchal thread, present throughout history up to the present day, does not come from the early stages in the social evolution, but rather that it was accepted, together with the *Torah*, as a rational way of regulating familial relationships. In any case, regardless of whether the described social relations continually developed from the primitive to the more civilized cultural levels, the fact remains that the relations within the Jewish family have been established with regard to a specific combination of customs, aimed at





preserving the family as the basic social group, as well as at creating spiritual harmony with the extended community. The system of family upbringing and religious education in the period of childhood very seldom created problems such as alienation or inadaptiveness in broader community. Furthermore, breaking the traditional rules has been rarely heard of, and have always been sanctioned accordingly (for example: marriage with a member of another religion was condemned by the community and sanctioned by total excommunication; inflicting injury to another person was compensated for by a special type of fine, etc.)

The primary role of the Jewish family (other than its more important social roles) has been the continuation of life. (This role has been maintained to this day, even though the term *continuation* is understood with much more lenience). According to the Jewish religion and tradition, children are God's reward and the main purpose of any legal relationship between man and woman. A marriage without children cannot be a happy one.

Unlike the *Bible*, in which no reference is made of conception and pregnancy, the *Talmud* contains elaborate biological, scientific and theological views on this subject as it was understood in the Talmudic scheme of things. In fact, the *Talmud* on the one hand contains a mixture of irrational and religious ideas, and on the other, rational explanations of the processes which a woman undergoes while carrying the embryo.²

Judaism regards the human being as the union of three entities – the father, the mother and God. The father gives the child the so-called „white” substances, i.e., bones, nails, eye-whites and brain, while the mother's are the so-called „red” substances, such as blood, flesh, skin and eye pupils. In addition to these physical elements, God's gift to Man is his spirituality as well as the physical powers closer to the spheres of aesthetics and intellect – mind, breath, beauty of shape, eye-sight and hearing, as well as the ability of speaking, walking, understanding and reasoning. When a man dies, God takes „his part” back, leaving the father's and the mother's material parts behind.

The *Talmud* does not give any particular consideration to the act of child birth, viewed as a physiological and physical phenomenon. In the *Talmud*, the moment of birth is understood as a symbolic bond between Man and God, i.e. within the context of comparing Man's powers to the powers of God (plants grow from the soil cultivated by man in the same way a human creature is born out of two different seeds – male and female – united by God's will). Thus the fetus is the fruit of joining the male's and the female's seeds together, but the child's sex is determined at the moment of ejaculation. If the woman reaches the orgasm first, the child conceived at that moment will be of the male sex, and vice versa.³





In the *Talmud*, there is a description of the fetus, of its position and the way it is being fed inside the uterus. Pregnancy is believed to be divided in three phases of equal duration, which affect the sexual activities due to the physical changes experienced by the woman and the embryo. A couple's intimate relations are of great importance for harmony in marriage, and must not be neglected. The *Talmud* describes the right position of the fetus during each of the three phases and recommends the exact periods of abstinence (or rather extreme caution) or activity. The realistic description of the fetus' health and its position is vivified by the religious idea about the fetus being aware of the *Torah* and its contents throughout its developmental stages. This awareness, given by God, is taken away by an angel at the moment of birth. A newborn is coming to this world as a *tabula rasa*, but, according to a popular belief, the hole on the face between the nostrils and the upper lip is the sign of the angel's touch, and, consequently, oblivion.⁴

Apart from the religious and the scientific explanations given by the Talmudic philosophers, pregnancy and the act of giving birth, as well as the post-partum period, were denoted in the popular customs, primarily in the form of a series of ritual procedures of character that showed their remote pagan origin. Even though these customs were a part of the folklore, with no official religious codification, they were supported by the popular belief in their role in protecting both the mother and the child from disease and evil spirits.

Throughout the history of mankind, there was no society or civilization that did not accept superstition and magic (we still knock on wood to protect ourselves against the evil). Man turned to magic most devotedly in the early stages of his development, when he felt powerless before the Nature and diseases, and when mortality rate in women and newborns was high. Since the future of the family and its members depended on the individual's own mechanisms of defense, it is easy to understand why they resorted to magic, which, if nothing else, offered a subjective feeling of security. It is impossible to make a difference between the magical rites practiced by the Jews and those practiced by the neighboring peoples on the similar cultural level. Regardless of all other ethnic and religious features which shape their particular cultural identities, most of these rites were not culture – or nation-specific, as they resulted from intercultural communication. For example, one of the old rites which served to protect a child-bearing woman from evil spirits consisted of drawing a magical circle on the floor, with chalk or carbon, around her bed. In order to ensure a quick and easy labor, all the ribbons (bows, knots) on the woman's clothes used to be left untied.

In case of a difficult and risky labor, more rites typical of the Jewish people were performed: with a bunch of keys to the local synagogue in





hand, the child-bearing woman would wear a belt used for tying the *Torah* scrolls around her waist, as prayers were said by the graves of the pious ancestors. The ritual processions were led around the local graveyard walls, with the Psalms and prayers of remorse sung continually. In the Mediterranean and the countries in the Middle East, inhabited mostly by the Sephardim, the women were typically protected by differently shaped amulet (a hand, a seven-branched candelabrum – *menorah*, etc.). Various magical activities were also engaged in: to prevent a miscarriage, the house doors were kept open and pots uncovered throughout the pregnancy; sweets were put under the childbearing woman's bed in order „to bribe” the evil spirits... Lilith, the evil female demon, who, out of envy, attacked the mother and her child in the post-birth period, was the most dangerous of all. Lilith was particularly interested in male newborns. To fight against the awful Lilith, a variety of talismans and amulets were used, or, more precisely, the objects and products typical of a particular geographic area – ivory, corals, certain kinds of metals and, of course, still very commonly used, garlic. The Ashkenazim of Eastern Europe had a habit of putting a red ribbon around the child's wrist. However, in most Jewish communities, the most common was the belief in the power of steel, which is why a knife was usually put under the mother's bed or inside her baby's cradle. The most convenient for the purpose was the circumcision knife. The fear from Lilith lasted right until the circumcision ceremony, after which the male infant established connection with God.⁵

The ceremony of naming a child varied according to local customs: male infants were usually named during the circumcision rite, and female babies on the occasion of their father's visit to the synagogue to read the *Torah*, or during their mother's first visit to the synagogue after childbirth. In Western Europe, the naming of a child usually took place at home, in a festive atmosphere in the family circle, often in the morning on Saturdays.

Birth of a child – especially a male child – was considered a major and a happy event. The custom of welcoming a male infant – *sholem zokhor* (Hebr.) is one of the oldest rites still actively used.⁶ With some local variations, the basic purpose of this custom is to gather relatives and friends in the festive and happy atmosphere of the parents' home.

After reciting the appropriate extracts from the *Bible* and the *Psalms*, the guests are served drinks, sweets and fruit. The custom consists of three basic symbols expressed by the way in which the guests are served: firstly, it is necessary to serve chick-peas or lentils (their shape is reminiscent of the circle of life); secondly, food is sometimes served on the „sad” table (reminiscence about the life's ephemeral nature), and thirdly, the main purpose of





servicing the guests is to symbolically comfort them, just as the children are comforted because they forgot their knowledge of the *Torah* at the moment of birth.

It is important to point out that the purpose of the *sholem zokhor* was not to form and support different emotional attitudes toward male and female children. The *Talmud* is explicitly against any differences in expressing feelings and in the treatment of sons and daughters, as well as against any kind of favoritism. The parents should show the same love and care to all their children. In early childhood, the mother is the one who has a more direct contact with the children and, consequently, plays a more important role in their upbringing. Later on, the father takes more responsibility, particularly in the boys' upbringing, while the mother continues to take more care of the girls (until they marry). On the other hand, the *Talmud* also regulates the children's attitude toward their parents. They have moral and human obligation to unreservedly respect their parents, i.e., to obey them without questioning their authority. In accordance with the traditional rules, the parents could exercise their rights related to their children. For example, they could arrange their daughters' marriages through ransom, or even sell them as slaves – though this right was limited.⁷ These ancient customs, established in the times when life was difficult and the struggle for survival continuous, did not acknowledge prostitution. It was strictly forbidden, no matter how hard the living conditions were. It could be said that the traditional regulations of the relationship between parents and children (daughters) were to a certain extent based on a strange „enslaved-free” kind of contradiction. While the parents were allowed to influence their children's private life and future, with the right to impose upon them some very drastic requirements, as in the above cases, their daughters were allowed to return to their father's house after divorce.

The position of male children is very interesting, especially in the context of the relations between brothers. The role of a brother (or brothers) has a special place within the Jewish family. The relations between brothers, based on solidarity and harmony, are, in fact, one of the most cherished Biblical ideals. Consequently, there are hypothesis about the ancient Jewish society as a developed system of brotherhoods organized in tribes. Brothers, not fathers, used to be the heads of such communities. Since this situation is analogous to particular stages of the overall social development, and since it is in accordance with the Talmudic view of the father's role in the family (for a brother is also a father), this may be a correct assumption. Moreover, the term *brother* was used in a much broader sense, not only to denote kinship. However, this is still just a hypothesis, since Biblical ideals and forms of address cannot be taken as absolute proof.





The first-born child enjoyed special treatment, both in terms of ritual and economic status.⁸ This aspect of traditional family relations should not be confused with the code of a principled attitude toward all children, who have equal right to their parents' love and care. Nevertheless, the firstborn was always expected with utmost consideration, and in hope that it would be a son who would ensure the continuity of the family name and wealth. According to the *Bible*, the first-born son is entitled to a special religious status, and his is the right of inheritance: he is entitled to two parts of his father's property, while the other sons have the right to one part each. In the religious sense, the special status of the first-born child has to do with the simple fact that he is the first son of his mother. However, if a man had more wives, all of their firstborn sons enjoyed the same religious status, but only one of them – his firstborn – was entitled to the inheritance privilege. On the other hand, if a woman had more husbands, her first son had a cult status, while all her other sons had the privileged position in inheriting their father's property, provided they were their fathers' first-born male infants. The significant measure in regulating the inheritance privilege was the father's acknowledgment of the boy as his first-born one. If the father happened to die or be killed before his first son's birth, his right to inherit two parts of his father's property was left unconfirmed, and he had the same rights as all other sons. Since the relations within a family are very complex, the possibility of appearance of another „daddy's favorite" was also taken into consideration, so the father could not change the privileged inheritance position of his first-born son, nor could he deny it.

The first-born daughters did not have any particular status related to the inheritance of property, even in families without any sons. All daughters were entitled to equal parts of their father's property.

According to the *Bible*, the father was obliged to „pay ransom" for his first-born son by offering five shekels to a priest of his choice – *kohen* (Kohen, the priestly Jewish tribe). If he would refuse to do so, he would be judged by rabbinical court, called *beth din*. The ransom paid for the firstborn son – the *pidyon ha-ben* (Hebr.) is an ancient symbolic rite which was performed on the 30th day of the child's life: the *kohen* would accept the child from the father asking if the father was going to pay the ransom or leave the child with him; the father would, of course, buy the child back from the priest, pronouncing two blessings – one related to the accomplishment of the command, and the other expressed his gratitude. The *kohen* would then say three times that the child had been ransomed and he would return it to his father, pronouncing a special blessing over a cup of wine. The rite was postponed only if it coincided with other religious festivities, such as the *Sabbath*, or





others, during which the use of money was prohibited. However, if a child's primogeniture was doubtful, as in abandoned children or orphans, the „ransom” ceremony did not take place. In ancient times there existed a custom that an orphan of known origin carried a medallion with a note that he had been a firstborn, until he grew up to the age when he would be able to pay ransom for himself. This custom was later on reshaped so that the ransom would be paid by the rabbinical court or a distant relative, if the child had one. Overall, this rite should be viewed only as a religious symbol, without attributing any other connotations to it. Even though the father violated the code of behavior by refusing to pay the ransom, his actions did not affect the child's status within the community.

Along with their special economic status went the obligation to fast before the *Pesah*. This sometimes applied to first-born girls, too. If the child was too young to fast, his father did the fasting for him, unless he had been a firstborn himself. If the latter was the case, the mother took over this responsibility.

A woman was to have as many children as her state of health would permit. Even though the need to give birth and continue the life cycle was strongly emphasized, the woman's life was always given priority. Life was viewed and treated from many different angles, which also included the issue of abortion⁹. The treatment of the abortion issue clearly illustrates the attempt to coordinate the common law and the religious beliefs with practical humanity and the understanding of the nature of the woman, whose importance in the community was until recently measured primarily by her offspring. According to the *Talmud*, abortion was not taken simply as an act completely opposed to the basic postulates of the Jewish religion and the demand to provide posterity. If pregnancy endangered a woman's health and her life, the Jewish rules allowed abortion. To abort the embryo under such circumstances was not considered a homicide or a criminal act, until the stage of full formation was reached and presented through the act of childbirth. From the moment a child expressed itself as a living entity, the life of the mother lost its importance regardless of the delivery conditions. In other words, from that moment on both the mother and the child had the equal right to life. On the other hand, the situation was not as clear-cut when there existed indications that the child might be born physically or mentally impaired (i.e., for genetic reasons or as a result of an illness the mother had suffered in pregnancy). Of course, these indications could never be confirmed with scientific certainty which made it even more difficult to make the right decision. In those instances, the permission to perform abortion was usually granted, while taking into account the stage of pregnancy the mother was in.





Within a broader context of social relations, the Jewish philosophers were faced with another issue, namely whether abortion should be permitted in perfectly normal pregnancy. Different opinions were voted on this subject, but over the ages the majority of the people involved in the discussion agreed that abortion should be permitted if it was important for the woman's well-being and survival. Within the carefully developed system of the Jewish religion and culture, this attitude seemed quite flexible, but it was not to be understood literally. Essentially, this was an attempt to protect the woman under extraordinary circumstances, in times of war, for example, rather than to give her the right to choose. In case of adultery, for instance, according to some experts, abortion should be permitted only to married women, but not to single women, since in their cases the laws of inheritance would not be breached.

With relation to the status of the offspring, it is interesting to point out the common law regulations concerning adoption. Despite certain claims, there is no convincing evidence that adoption was practiced in the Biblical times, nor was the procedure referred to or defined in the *Talmud*. According to the *Talmud*, all rights and obligations in the parent – child relationship were defined exclusively within the context of biological dependence¹⁰. Therefore, there was no social institution of adoption. However, adopting children was not only possible but it was considered one of the major *tzedek* (acts of mercy, Hebr.) and applied to non-Jewish children as well. More precisely, it was a procedure defined by the common law which in its form resembles modern adoption, but it differs from it in the way the relationship is defined. By the decision of the corresponding rabbinical court the endangered child was given into care of an interested and suitable party. A man who would assume responsibility for the physical and mental well-being of somebody else's child, as well as for his financial position and his future in the new family, was considered a guardian rather than a father. The relationship between the child and his guardians did not necessarily include emotional and financial bonds, which are natural in the relationship between a parent and his child. A child did not have to be an orphan in order to acquire a guardian; more important were his living conditions and his general well-being (a tribunal could take the child away from his parents if they neglected or abused him). Accordingly, the child could have been given several guardians, while his biological parents were obliged to provide financial support to the best of their abilities. In those cases, of course, the child knew who his real parents were and could maintain contacts with them. This type of adoption did not abolish the relationship between the child and his real parents. Such children inherited their real fathers' property. However, due to their living circumstances the children of unknown parents were treated in



a manner similar to present-day adoption, since they were entitled to inherit a portion of their adoptive parents' property which would have belonged to them had they been their real children.

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¹Hayyim Schneid: Family, Keter Books, Jerusalem 1973, p. 10

²Ibid, page 33.

³Ibid, pp. 37-38.

⁴Ibid, p. 35.

⁵Ibid, pp. 38-41.

⁶Ibid, p. 41.

⁷Ibid, p. 22.

⁸A special form of the custom based on financial measure, very common in other patriarchal cultures as well, Ibid, p. 65.

⁹Ibid, pp. 46-51.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 7.



B'RITH MILAH – CIRCUMCISION OF A MALE INFANT

Circumcision of a male infant *B'rith Milah* (Hebr.) – has always been and still is one of the most important ceremonies and one of the basic symbols of the Jewish culture, a symbol of keeping the covenant with God. According to the Bible, the rite of circumcision was introduced upon God's order.

Brith Milah is a ritual and a religious custom. It is assumed to originate from the ancient times of the nomadic and cattle breeding communities. During the period of the Hellenic domination over Judea, from the 4th to the 2nd century BC, all the Jewish symbols and rites were strictly forbidden in an attempt to assimilate and eliminate Judaism and its monotheism, which was in complete contradiction with the religion of the ancient Greek conquerors.² However, even then the continuity of the ritual circumcision was not interrupted. It forms an integral part of the Jewish behavioral code, which carries significant social and spiritual meaning of the great *Mitzvah* (deed pleasing to God, Hebr.), executed in the form of a medical procedure also known as „oath bloodletting”.³ (A recent research indicates that circumcision is an excellent prevention of male population against certain kinds of infection and even some kinds of cancers. It is very possible that the ancient Jews had empirically reached the same conclusion. In most general terms it can be said that many of the religious rites include measures of protection and it is quite safe to presume that they were not practiced from purely spiritual reasons. However, this matter will not be further speculated upon, since circumcision is, above all, a way of expressing respect of the will of God and of earning God's love and protection, which is why the ceremony should be considered in the religious context only.





Although it was the father's obligation to arrange *B 'rith Milah* for each of his sons, the ceremony was not considered to be an exclusively Jewish sacrament. Every child of a Jewish woman is a Jew, circumcised or not. The rite of circumcision can be performed by any Jewish man, and even a woman, if no experts are available. However, in most cases, the ceremony is carried out by a specially chosen, truly religious man – a *mohel* (Hebr.) – who is familiar with the operation. In the Talmudic times, the *mohel* used to be considered a kind of a professional craftsman. Later, in more modern communities, the rite was performed by trained persons licensed by the local rabbi. (Today, circumcision is usually carried out in hospitals.)

According to the rules, the ceremony took place on the eighth day of the child's life, in the morning, providing that the infant was in good health. If the child was premature, physically weak or ill, the circumcision rite was postponed until his complete recovery. Furthermore, if the child was for some reason circumcised before the eighth day of his life (or if he was born without foreskin on his genitals), the rite was performed by a symbolic pin-prick or a minor skin cut, just to „let a drop of the oath blood“. The *B 'rith Milah* ceremony had a certain priority over the sacred *Sabbath* and other religious holidays, and all the preparations (bringing the ritual supplies, etc.) had to be completed before the holiday.

Its spiritual aspect left aside, the circumcision ceremony was, in fact, a very simple and relatively easy surgical procedure performed in a ritual manner.⁴ Before the ceremony began, all the members of the community would bless the child. The Sephardim had a special song for this occasion. At the door of the room in which the rite was to be performed, the godfather – *sandak* (the one who holds, Hebr.) – would take the child from the mother's arms and give him to the *mohel*. Inside the room, a specially decorated chair was placed for Elijah the Prophet, the children's guardian angel, whose spirit was present at all the *B 'rith Milah* ceremonies. The *mohel* would place the child on the chair, blessing the memory of Elijah the Prophet. Sitting „next to“ Elijah, the *sandak* would put the child on the pillow on his lap, holding the child's legs tightly. Right before the operation, the *mohel* would wash his hands and immerse them into a disinfectant, to reduce to minimum any danger of infection. With his left hand, he would take the foreskin on the infant's penis, and, after having marked the part to be removed, he would put on it a sort of a pin-like protector. The protector was used as a barrier between the top of the penis and the skin which was to be cut, to prevent injury. In his right hand, the *mohel* held a special circumcision knife, often double-edged, and, reciting a blessing, he would cut off the foreskin in one sweep along the protector. Using both





hands, the *mohel* would then firmly hold the mucous membrane between his thumbs and index fingers, uncovered by the operation, and cut it up as much as necessary (intervention called *periah*, Hebr.). In some cases, the *periah* was done by scissors, but, most commonly this was avoided because of heavy bleeding. In the final phase, it was essential to clean the wound very carefully (*meziza*, Hebr.). In recent years, the operation has been made easier by the application of a special glass tube, authorized by rabbinical tribunal.

Upon the completion of the procedure, the child's father would pronounce a blessing, accompanied by the guests who were invited to take part in this important ceremony. The blessings recited during the ceremony vary. Unlike in Israel, in most Jewish communities in the Diaspora it is not customary to recite joyful blessings, because of the pain the child has just suffered.

The healing process which follows circumcision was watched over with particular attention (and fear). Researches indicate that hemophilia – a blood disease in men, transmitted by women – had been discovered as early as in the Talmudic times. This can be proved by the following rule: if the circumcision of the first two sons (born by the same mother) ended in death, the next-born sons were not circumcised. Furthermore, if two sisters lost their first male infants under the same conditions, the sons in the whole family (on the mother's side) would not be circumcised. In such cases, a short ceremony symbolizing circumcision was arranged: in the same atmosphere, the *mohel* would hold up a glass of wine and pronounce two blessings, one for the wine, and the other as a promise to God. Finally, a special prayer for the child's well-being is said and the child is given a few drops of wine.⁵

Typically, the child was named during the circumcision rite, regardless of whether the ceremony was observed in its entirety or just improvised symbolically.

The circumcision ceremony is usually carried out at home. However, during the Middle Ages, it usually took place in local synagogues. The Yugoslav Sephardim chose the circumcision site according to their preferences, and it was held at home or in the synagogue. The rite was usually performed by the rabbi, for there were few Sephardi communities with their own *mohel*. The Ashkenazi Jews living in Yugoslavia were somewhat more strict: in most cases, the rite took place at home and was performed by the *mohel*. (The data are for the period before the Second World War.)⁶

During the mid-19th century, there were attempts to advance the circumcision procedure, by using more instruments, in order to make it safer for the baby. However, this did not affect the traditional technique, which





remained unchanged. Moreover, having been proved as more efficient, it was practiced until the modern surgical procedure came into place.

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¹Cadik Danon: Collection of Jewish Terms, SJOJ, Belgrade 1996, p. 164.

²Simon Dubnov: A Short History of the Jewish Nation, SJOJ, Belgrade 1961, pp. 64-65.

³Hayyim Schneid: Family, Ketter Books, Jerusalem 1973, pp. 56-61

⁴Ibid, pp. 57-59.

⁵Ibid, pp. 61-62.

⁶According to the data collected in the survey of the Jewish History Museum, 1984.



BAR MITZVAH AND BAT MITZVAH

Bar Mitzvah/Bat Mitzvah (Hebr. Son/Daughter of the Commandment) is a ritual commemorating a boy's or a girl's adulthood. A young person is now under obligation, he or she assumes responsibility and is believed to have reached physical maturity. Boys take this obligation when they are 13 plus one day, and girls when they are 12 plus one day. It is held that henceforth they are able to control their desires. As stated in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, some Talmudic scholars, like, for instance, Rashi, claimed that *Bar Mitzvah* had a status of obligation and was in the category of Biblical laws. In *Midrash*, the thirteenth birthday is often mentioned as a turning point in the life of a young person. Until he turns thirteen, a son receives his father's merits (enjoys his father's privileges) but he is also liable to suffer for his father's sins. After *Bar Mitzvah*, a person is responsible for his own actions. That is also the time when a child leaves elementary school to enroll in upper grades. It is held that children of that age are already capable of fasting.

In the *Talmud* this custom is mentioned several times, while in the *Bible* the 13th birthday is seldom made reference of as a turning point in life. In fact, a quote from *Pirke Avot* (Hebr., *Fathers*, 5:24) is the only section where it is mentioned: „He used to say, At five years of age the study of Scripture; at ten, the study of Mishna; at thirteen, subject to the Commandments; at fifteen, the study of Talmud; at eighteen, marriage; at twenty, pursuit (of livelihood); at thirty, the peak of strength; at forty, wisdom; at fifty, able to give counsel; at sixty, old age creeping on; at seventy, fullness of years; at eighty, the age of 'strength'; at ninety, body bent; at one hundred, as good as dead and gone completely out of the world.”

The *Bar Mitzvah* ritual is very solemnly marked in the synagogue and at the boy's home. The climax of the ceremony in the synagogue is when the boy is called up to read from the *Torah*, because it symbolizes his adulthood. This event takes place on any occasion following the 13th birthday according





to the Jewish calendar on which the *Torah* is read. It is the first public demonstration of his new role as an equal member of the congregation. Nowadays, this particular event is understood under the term *Bar Mitzvah*. When the boy's father is called up to read from the *Torah*, he pronounces the following benediction: „Blessed is He who has now freed me from the responsibility of this one". Among the religious Jews in Eastern Europe, the boy would usually be called up to read from the *Torah* on the Monday or Thursday following his birthday. In western Europe this ritual is marked with much more solemnity and it is customary to call up the *Bar Mitzvah* boy to read the *Maftir* and *Haf-tara* on the first Saturday (*Sabbath*) after his birthday. The boys would perform this task after extensive preparations. According to an old custom from Lithuania, the boy reads the *Maftir* on the *Sabbath* preceding his 13th birthday, and is accorded the usual *aliyah* immediately afterwards. In the 17th and 18th centuries in Worms, Germany, the custom was that those boys who were able and had pleasing voices conducted parts or the entire service for that day. In some communities it is customary to let the boy read the whole passage assigned for that week. On the *Sabbath* when *Bar Mitzvah* is celebrated the morning service at the synagogue is more solemn. The members of the boy's family are also called up to read from the *Torah*, and as a rule the rabbi gives a special sermon stressing the boy's new responsibility and privilege.

In many modern synagogues the *Bar Mitzvah* boy is given presents by the members of his congregation.

After the service or on the following day, the boy's family prepares a banquet for the members of the religious community. Some authorities ruled that the parents must arrange a banquet when their son became *Bar Mitzvah* just as they do on the day of his wedding.

The following is a recollection of *Bar Mitzvah* from a survey conducted among the Yugoslav Jews by the Jewish Museum:

„I remember *Bar Mitzvah* in full detail and shall give you a point-by-point account of it, although I believe not all of it will be of interest.

My father was a religious man and wanted his son's *Bar Mitzvah* to be special in every way and in all according to his design. Since I was born in August, it was my father's wish to read from the *Shofetim*, which he found to be among the most beautiful portions.

beginning I learned from the book, and ten days before the *Bar Mitzvah*, when I could already read, accentuate and sing fairly well, from the *Sefer Torah*.

For my *Bar Mitzvah* the temple was solemnly decorated like for the biggest holidays. Many non-Jewish friends of my father's were also present.





In our congregation, the *mitzvot* in the temple were subject to bidding and would go to the best bidder. That Saturday my father bought out all the *mitzvot* and then gave them up on behalf of the respectable members of our community.

When it was my turn to read from the *Torah*, the rabbi called me forward to stand at the *tiva*. The rabbi was standing on the left side, and those called up for the reading from the *Torah* on the right side. I was third in line, and then followed my father's brothers and as the last came my father, who read the *Aftar*. Everyone presented lavish gifts for the temple, the congregation and the rabbi, and their respect for my father and the *gabbai*. After the *Aftar* my father recited the *Kaddish*.

The rabbi was very pleased with my reading of the *Torah* and so was my father, and since they were pleased, so was I. After *Tefilla* was over, the rabbi, my father and I were congratulated. My father invited all the present to come to our house for Saturday lunch and many accepted the invitation.

Nothing was served in the temple. In our congregation eating or drinking in the temple was deemed inappropriate.

On the occasion of my *Bar Mitzvah* there was a three-day celebration in our house. It started with breakfast on Saturday, where brandy, hard-boiled eggs (*inhaminadus*), *burriqitas* and *zilena* were served, with coffee in the end. After the breakfast many stayed on and had long conversations.

In the afternoon on Saturday and Sunday my father's friends came to offer their congratulations, and my mother's friends on Monday. Individual visits and congratulating continued throughout the week.

The major ritual innovation obligatory on a boy who has reached the *Bar Mitzvah* is that henceforth he is required to put on the *tefillin*, ritual belts for the morning prayers. The boy is usually coached in wearing the belts some time before the *Bar Mitzvah*, and putting the belts on is a separate ceremony. The Sephardim and occasionally the Hasidim, interpreting the *Kaballa* very literally, insist that the *tefillin* must never be worn before the *Bar Mitzvah*.

Among the Sephardim donning the *tefillin* is a part of the solemn ceremony itself. Customarily, an elder or a scholar is honored with helping the boy in donning the *tefillin*.

This ritual is based upon the following verse from the *Bible*: *And it shall be to you as a sign on your hand and as a memorial between your eyes, that the law of the Lord may be in your mouth; for with the strong hand the Lord has brought you out of Egypt. You shall therefore keep this ordinance at its appointed time from year to year (Exodus, 13:9, 10)*, and also: *It shall be as*





a mark on your hand or frontlets between your eyes; for by a strong hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt (Exodus, 13:16)

The *Tefillin* consist of two parts: one for the arm, which is wrapped around the hand and the upper arm, and another for the head. Each of the two ritual belts has small cube-shaped cases in the middle, containing miniature scrolls with excerpts from the *Torah*. When wrapped around the upper arm, the case must be placed on the top of the muscle so that when the arm is resting next to the body the case faces the heart. It is wrapped around the naked left upper arm with the right hand, after the sleeve has been rolled up high. The ritual belt is wrapped around the arm towards the hand and around the middle finger. The other *tefillin* is put on the head so that the case is placed on the top and right in middle above the eyes ("between the eyes"), so that the rear part of the case touches the hairline. It is fastened behind the neck and the belts are left to hang freely next to the chin. The ritual of wrapping the belts is also based on the following biblical verses: „*And you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets between your eyes*” (Deuteronomy, 6:8), and: „*You shall therefore lay up these words of mine in your heart and in your soul; and you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, and they shall be as frontlets between your eyes*” (Deuteronomy 11:18).

As a part of the solemn ritual before the *tefillin* are put on, benedictions are pronounced. Serbian translation of these benedictions is found only in *The Book of*

Prayers by Dr. Shalom Fryberger: „Before putting on the arm-tefillin: Blessed are You, HASHEM, our God, King of the universe, Who has sanctified us with His commandments and has commanded us to put tefillin! Before putting on the head-tefillin: Blessed is the Name of His glorious kingdom for all eternity. Before putting on the finger-tefillin: I will betroth you to Me forever, and I will betroth you to Me with righteousness, justice, kindness, and mercy. I will betroth you to Me with fidelity, and you shall know HASHEM.”

During the *Bar Mitzva* ceremony it was customary for a boy to wear the prayer shawl *tallith* for the first time. The obligation to wear the shawl during prayer is believed to derive from the following biblical verse: „*The Lord said to Moses, ‘Speak to the people of Israel, and bid them to make tassels on the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and to put upon the tassel of each corner a cord of blue, and it shall be to you a tassel to look upon and remember all the commandments of the Lord, to do them, not to follow after your own heart and your own eyes, which you are inclined to go after wantonly. So you shall remember and do all my commandments, and be holy to your God. I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God: I am the Lord your God’*” (Numbers, 15:37) and „*Bless the Lord, Oh my soul! O*





Lord my God, thou art very great! Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment, who hast stretched out the heavens like a tent” (Psalm, 104:1-2).

Before putting the *tallith* on the following benediction is pronounced: „Blessed are You, HASHEM, our God, King of the universe, Who has sanctified us with His commandments and has commanded us to wrap ourselves in *tzitzis*.”

After the ceremony in the synagogue it became customary among the Ashkenazim during the Middle Ages to let the boy deliver a solemn „talmudic discourse” – *derashah*, during the celebration at home. The content of the discourse is usually connected with the ritual itself. The discourse presents an occasion for the boy to thank his parents for their attention and care and for taking part in his ceremony. This custom is still observed today, with sons of traditional families giving a talmudic discourse, and others a more general talk. In Conservative, Reform and some Orthodox synagogues a prayer before the Ark of the Law is sometimes said by the *Bar Mitzvah* boy in place of the *derashah*.

Most congregational Hebrew schools have special classes for the preparation of *Bar/Bat Mitzvah* students. In some congregations (for instance, in Great Britain) the boy is not allowed to celebrate his *Bar Mitzvah* until after he passes an examination in Hebrew and the basics of the Jewish religion.

Reform congregations have instituted the ceremony of Confirmation. In the 19th century Germany this was a substitution for *Bar Mitzvah*. The ceremony took place only after the 16th or the 17th birthday on the grounds that before that age a young person is not really able to understand all the implications of the rituals. In modern times, especially in the U.S., Confirmation has been adopted as an addition to *Bar Mitzvah*, which is celebrated in a more traditional manner.

A separate ceremony for the girls, *Bat Mitzvah*, is not found mentioned before the 19th century.

A formal „promotion” of the *Bar Mitzvah* boys appears not earlier than the 16th century. Still, it is obvious from various sources that the status of obligation for boys over 13 was assumed in early times. A *Bar Mitzva* boy acquired the right to vote, to become a member of *beth din*, to be reckoned as a member of a *minyán* and buy and sell property (although there have been records of the testimonies by 13-year olds being dismissed due to their lack of experience in the matters of trade).

Asked in a survey conducted by the Jewish Museum how the *Bar Mitzvah* was commemorated in our country, a respondent from Bački Petrovac said that „a boy would get his first pair of trousers”.





Nisim Navonović remembers customs typical of the Jewish community in Priština, Kosovo. „Wearing the belts around the arm and head and reading a prayer in the rabbi's presence. After the synagogue, lunch for friends and going to the Turkish bath together.”

„In the synagogue, the boy would be called forward to read from the *Torah* for the first time. In our congregation in Zagreb, the *Psalms* were not included in the reading, and that was applicable in my case too. It was customary on that day for the father to give charity (to *Hevra Qaddisha* and the like). This would be announced loudly and my father also made such donations. On the occasion of my *Bar Mitzvah* a large banquet was held at our house with many guests, and Dr. Gavro Schwartz, the chief rabbi of Zagreb, was also present.” (Andreja Preger)

„A more formal lunch and a present, a wrist watch.” (Emil Klajn)

The following is an account of *Bar Mitzvah* by Dragan Wollner: „When I turned 13 and celebrated my *Bar Mitzvah* and read the *Maftir* in the temple, according to our laws and religious rules I came of age and became responsible for my actions. Henceforth, I was regularly called up to the *Torah* and read from it myself’. (*Obitelj*, p. 95)

There are also recollections of how *Bat Mitzvah* was commemorated in our parts. This ritual was observed mainly in the Ashkenazi congregations. According to the section of the survey relating to holidays, it is clear that this ritual was associated with the festival of *Shavuot*.

„As a very young girl I belonged to the first generation to commemorate the *Bat Mitzvah* in Koprivnica. Dr. Hirschberber, the rabbi and our professor at high-school, coached us for the ceremony. He taught us Hebrew for a year, and an additional reason for this was a very strong and active Zionist organization in Koprivica, where many intended to leave for the then Palestine.

For *Bat Mitzvah* all the girls were given white dresses and white shoes. It was very beautiful when we were called up to the *Torah* and each had to say something. It was on that particular occasion that a grand parade was organized in Koprivica, which everybody talked about for a long time.” (*Obitelj*, memories of Lizzy Kollmann Nick, p. 124)

„In Subotica in 1941 my sister Ruža had her *Bat Mitzvah*, along with another fourteen girls, that was the last one. Then the war broke out. I never had one.

All fifteen girls wore white dresses and white gloves and held one white rose each. Three of them were speaking. The first recited by heart and in Hebrew, the second in Serbian, and the third in Hungarian. They held two huge wreaths, plenty of roses and other flowers, which they laid in front of





the *Torah*. After the benediction, they each received a book of prayers to remember the day.

That same afternoon at four o'clock they were invited to the rabbi's place for a snack.

My sister Ruža took that book of prayers with her to forced labor and managed to bring it back home. I hope she still has it, I should ask her, she lives in Subotica and I live in Israel. In Subotica, the *Bat Mitzvah* was commemorated on the day of the festival of *Shavuot*.¹ (Edita Dori/Deri from Subotica) „I do not know, I do not remember it all as it is mentioned in the Survey. All I know is that in June there was a celebration in the synagogue. Fourteen-year-old girls, myself among them, were dressed very solemnly (in brand new dresses) and held baskets full of flowers which we scattered at the entrance to the synagogue. We walked in pairs (two by two), then formed a line and walked inside and upstairs to the *Torah*, where rabbi Geršom was waiting. We all said a prayer, the synagogue was jam-packed because that was a very important ceremony. In the afternoon the rabbi invited us for a snack to which (unfortunately) I never went because a friend insulted me so gravely that I fainted. This sad event was covered by the daily press, too. Her words hurt me still today and I can still cry as I cried then whenever I think about it. My early childhood was very painful. Later on, there came a period of serenity. I would like to tell my life story to someone because it is already tormenting me.” (Jelisaveta Dinić from Subotica).

A.D.

¹Solomon Ben Isak Rashi (1040-1105), the greatest Jewish commentator of Bible and Talmud.

²Here, some local phrases (formerly used in Derventa) are kept.



Vojislava Radovanović

A MAN AND A WOMAN – JUDAISM AND MARRIAGE

Sexual instinct is a functional component of life. Accepted by Judaism as an integral part of the man's life and one of his basic needs, the manifestation of this instinct was regulated in a traditional manner, but it was never considered a taboo. The *Talmud* offered descriptions of equal rights and duties in an intimate relationship between men and women. Sexual ethics among the Jews was never marked by the frustrating underestimation of the importance of sex life or surrounded with silence. Quite to the contrary, it was marked by the religious and common-law regulations which not only accepted the sexual act as natural but also considered it to be a *Mitzvah* (a deed pleasing to God, Hebr.) The positive attitude toward sexual relations as a natural part of human physical and emotional activities was based on the religious belief that everything given by God was sacred. However, what made an act sacred (or forbidden) were the conditions under which it was performed. In this sense, there is an essential difference between the Christian and the Jewish view of human sexuality. According to classical Christianity, sexuality has its origin in the primary sin and is consequently viewed as a vice. Therefore, the sexual act is incompatible with sacred individuals – monks, for instance – but it is allowed in the profane life, as a „prerogative” of the eternal human weakness. On the other hand, the Judaism treats the sexual act as a *Mitzvah* provided it is in accordance with the common-law regulations. It is a vice only within a relationship which is traditionally and socially unacceptable.

The sacred component of sexual behavior was based on the concept of self-control, which implied that the human libido had to be directed and expressed in a certain manner. The right way to accomplish this was through the institution of marriage.

The physical contact between spouses was not reduced to procreation, neither formally or essentially. Apart from its sacred purpose of giv-





ing birth to children (a marriage without children was considered unhappy), a couple's sex life was seen as one of the foundations of their life together, and as a basis for their emotional closeness and development. Fulfilling the „marital duty” was as important as any other obligation in marriage. In order to ensure the continuity of the intimate relationship between spouses, and in situations in which the woman's health could be endangered by another pregnancy, Judaism allowed certain contraceptives, which could be used by women only. According to the *Talmud*, even the ancient Jewish civilization was apparently familiar with both mechanical (a „tampon”) and oral (a medicinal herb beverage) means of protection, though nothing is known about their composition and the way they were prepared (or how effective they were).² Contraceptives for men – interrupted intercourse (the semen is ejaculated outside the woman's body), or sexual abstinence – were considered unnatural and religiously unacceptable. (Both of these methods are in direct contradiction with the First Commandment, which says: Be fertile and multiply, (*Genesis 1:28*); moreover, God sentenced Onan to death because he „spilled his sperm on the ground” to prevent the conception of a child in the levirate with Tamar, his late brother's wife (*Genesis 38: 9-10*).³

According to the *halakha* (regulation, Hebr.), deviations from natural ways of having intercourse were prohibited. This is, in fact, the essence of the Jewish traditional view of sexual relations, which acquired the status of common-law regulation taken from the *Bible* and developed and practically defined in the *Talmud*. Consequently, any unnatural behavior (homosexuality, etc.) was strictly forbidden, from as early as the times of the *Old Testament*. Sexual acts which did not belong to the sphere of sexual deviation but disturbed the natural way of expressing and fulfilling the intimate needs in any way were also prohibited. Those included the above mentioned forms of men's contraception as well as abstinence. Just like the „sexual freedom” in any form did not exist, celibacy as a result of personal choice (unless it was a consequence of a mental or a physical disease) was also absolutely unacceptable as an inadequate psychological and physical living style.⁴

The most natural and normal situation for both men and women was to live together – in marriage, which was treated as a sacred obligation within the Jewish common-law system.⁵ Marriage was given such a great significance that a poor man was allowed to sell his *Torah* (!) in order to improve his financial situation and get married, which was accepted by the society without condemnation. However, marriage was a common-law regulated institution established in accordance with the existing rules created with the purpose to protect the social system as a whole. Consequently, in some cases, there were strict religious prohibitions against getting married.⁶ According



to the *Torah* laws, marriage was not allowed in case of blood kinship (a man could not marry his mother, daughter, sister, granddaughter, aunt, etc.). Also, a man could not marry his daughter-in-law, step-mother, his uncle's wife, or his brother's wife. Furthermore, he could not marry a divorced woman if she did not have a *get* (release papers, Hebr.) issued in accordance with the Jewish religious laws, nor his wife's sister as long as his wife was alive, even if divorced. Of course, all the above prohibitions applied to women as well. Getting married with a member of another religion was also out of the question. As in case of all other prohibitions, these ones had the main purpose to protect the society against pathological phenomena (incest) and to maintain the moral code behind the religious and ethnic structure of the Jewish society.

The Jewish marriage was monogamous. Its secondary form was a levirate (a marriage between a man and his brother's widow) which used to be the man's obligation in certain situations (which will be discussed in the continuation of this text). It is interesting to point out that, in ancient times, polygamy had been allowed which included an official marriage with two women, or with one woman only, while the other had the status of a concubine. This did not affect the women's position, especially not with respect to their children's inheritance rights. However, there were relatively few cases of polygamy so they cannot be taken as a characteristic feature of the Jewish social culture.

It was recommended that one should marry at a young age (eighteen or twenty), though the age limit was increased in case of men who were highly educated and devoted to the study of the *Torah*. Nevertheless, even in such cases the Talmudic scholars gave certain preference to marriage, suggesting that the man would be more composed and learn with more ease, if married.

In order to eliminate any negative feelings of fear before uncertain future and insecurity, or any possibility of having problems in establishing and maintaining good relations, the Jewish common-law defined all rights and duties of marital partners. The wedding ceremony was, thus, understood as a combination of a religious rite and a legal agreement.

The wedding was considered as one of the three most important events in a person's life, and it was accompanied by a rather complex set of customs which differed from one geographic region to another since the Jewish people have lived in the Diaspora for many centuries. Some of the customs are very old, which can be proved by the presence of distinctive magical elements set up to protect the newly-weds against magic spells, or to secure them a happy life and healthy children. In the Talmudic times, the wedding ceremony consisted of two separate rites. The first was the engagement (*erusin* or *kidusin*, Hebr.), which confirmed a man's and a woman's bond in matrimony. But, they were not to start living together before the





true wedding ceremony (*nisuin*, Hebr.) had been performed, part of which included taking the bride to the groom's home. However, during the Middle Ages, these two rites started being treated as one, i.e., performed one after another within the same ceremony. This was done to eliminate the period of separation, and, at the same time, the possibility of any complication in the confirmed but not physically completed marriage.

The choice of a marital partner was made with much consideration.

According to the generally accepted standards of the Jewish traditional society, the best were ready-for-marriage girls from respectable and rich families, goodnatured, of appropriate age, diligent, modest, and capable of running a household. Naturally, the reality was often much different, and therefore, it was not common or recommended for a man to be engaged to a woman he had not met before, no matter how glorified her qualities were. It was necessary to respect the religious and traditional rules when choosing a partner and getting married. Even though the creation of a socially acceptable relationship was of the greatest importance, personal feelings should not have been neglected. Getting married because of financial or any other interests was considered an immoral and unhappy choice. As a matter of fact, according to the Jewish principles, an ideal matrimony had two presuppositions: getting married in accordance with the rules and, because of love.

The delicate choice of a marital partner was everybody's problem – parents, relatives, friends, and, of course, the young man and the girl all actively participated in the process. In the course of time, the profession of a matchmaker developed and became very respected.⁷ In the *Bible*, there is nothing written about finding a wife or a husband, but, according to some comments, it is supposed to have been done both through personal quests and by accepting the help of a third person. The profession of a „matchmaker“ as we understand it today, however, is a much more recent invention.

In the Talmudic times, a marriage used to be arranged by the fathers of the two interested parties. It was not before the 13th century that the term „matchmaker“ (*shadchen*, Hebr.) first appeared in the rabbinical books carrying the meaning it has kept to the present day. Matchmaking was considered a very responsible profession which required not only a great deal of intuition but also extensive knowledge of human psychology and the capacity to be a good judge of characters. In fact, this was an activity which called for educated persons, and, in mediaeval times, it was the profession of many rabbis and scholars. A choice of an adequate marital partner according to man's or woman's wishes, was also possible, to a certain extent. Although the father, as head of the family, was the formal decision maker, the young man or the girl to be married were also given the right to choose their poten-





tial partners, provided their wishes did not contradict the traditional rules. According to the *Mishna*, in ancient Jewish communities meetings without chaperons were organized two times a year, on the Day of Atonement *Yom Kippur* (September or October) and the fifteenth day of the month of *Av* (July or August by the Jewish calendar). On these occasions, young women ready for marriage, dressed in white, would come out into an open field where unmarried men would gather for the same reason.⁸ If „that very one” did not happen to be there, the above mentioned methods of searching and choosing a partner would be pursued again during the year.

The custom which called for the official definition of the conditions (*tenaim*, Hebr.) under which a future marriage was to be confirmed is also a very old one.⁹ The conditions were discussed in a special formal ceremony (*shiddach* Hebr.) with the purpose of imposing moral and practical responsibility to respect the marital agreement. In some communities, the conditions were offered in a written form. This agreement, or a document, included the day and the place the marriage ceremony was to be performed, as well as the financial obligations on both sides. It was customary to bring a dowry which varied in size depending on the agreement and the financial situation. In the Talmudic times, the minimal value set for the dowry was 180 grams of silver. This minimum remained unchanged, even though families always aimed at offering as much as possible as the future bride’s dowry. This was especially important because of the very widespread custom of exhibiting the prepared dowry to the members of the community, that is, to the invited guests and relatives. This custom was practiced, to a certain extent, among the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim living in Yugoslavia as well.¹⁰

Although the dowry was compulsory, the fact that poor families sometimes could not offer it did not create serious problems for the future brides coming from such families. If a girl came from a very poor family, her dowry was collected by the local community from the funds instituted for that very purpose. The marital agreement included the amount set for the dowry. The Ashkenazim had the dowry determined by a common-law regulation, which completely abolished the ancient custom of purchasing the bride (purchase – *mohar*, Hebr.)¹¹

However, the custom of *mohar* was retained in the form of a more generous exchange of goods by some Sephardi communities living in the Middle Eastern countries. As a matter of fact, the groom would „buy” the bride by giving a sum of money to her father. He would also give some presents to the bride herself. In return, the bride would bring a certain quantity of material goods – in other words, the dowry – into the groom’s house. The purchase of a wife is a very old custom which can be traced all the way back the Biblical





timeš, and which was practiced in nomadic and cattle-breeding communities at a low level of social organization. In its original form, the purchase could be accomplished not only by money but also by carrying out some work in the girl's father's house.

At any rate, the man was obliged to offer material compensation which was understood as a guarantee (*eravon*, Hebr.) that the marriage would be consummated. In the post-Talmudic times, this symbolic guarantee was replaced by a concrete object – a ring – given to the bride on the engagement day. The ring has remained a significant part of the engagement ceremony to the present moment.

In the Talmudic times, the way the dowry was to be used in case a married woman with no children happened to die was described in a great detail. The husband inherited the whole dowry. However, in the course of time, a conclusion was reached that this was not the optimal solution, which led to the introduction of some changes in the legal regulations relating to the dowry. The likelihood of such a tragic turn of events (the mortality rate being much higher in the distant past) could affect the bride's father's decision regarding the size of dowry he was ready to offer for his daughter. For that very reason certain limitations were introduced in the 12th century in cases of childless marriages with respect to the extent of the husband's right to his late wife's dowry. The final version of this religious and common-law regulation was provided in the rabbinical ordinances from the 18th century, according to which, the husband had the right to inherit the whole dowry only in case his wife died after having been married to him for at least five years.

The *tenaium* – marriage conditions – included the possibility of penalty for the one who would break the agreed upon engagement without any objective reason. In addition to the penalty, the person was obliged to make up for all the expenses the other side had been exposed to while preparing for the engagement, as well as to give back the wedding presents. Since such situations normally created many financial problems and interpersonal conflicts, very often the rabbis suggested that the matrimony ceremony took place in accordance with the agreed upon conditions, after which the newly weds would be admitted a divorce (*get*, Hebr.) right away.

The preparations for the wedding ceremony started from the moment the marriage was confirmed through the engagement ceremony, and they proceeded until the last week before its performance. The way the community treated the future bride and groom tells quite a lot about the local folklore and the traditional customs which were combined with certain religious and magical elements. The Ashkenazim showed respect for the groom by inviting him to read from the *Torah* in the synagogue on the *Sabbath* prior to the wed-





ding day. On that occasion, the members of the community would sprinkle the groom with rice or sweets in order to assure health, happiness and fertility of the future couple. In the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities alike, there was a custom for the future husband and wife to give presents to each other (*sivlonot*, wedding gifts – Hebr.). They also organized the so-called „bachelor (or maiden) dinner”, a public celebration well-known in other cultures as well. The oriental Sephardim had an interesting custom, within the „maiden dinner”, of putting henna on bride’s hands which was a symbol of innocence and was considered a powerful protection against magic spells. The custom which characterized all the Jewish communities was the one connected with the future bride’s obligation of having a ritual bath in the *mikveh* (ritual bathroom, Hebr.)¹² That was the woman’s first bath in the *mikveh* (provided it was her first marriage) and she needed to be cleansed before she became a married woman, that is, before she engaged in sexual intercourse with her husband. The future bride would go to the bathhouse accompanied by an elderly woman, normally a relative. According to the religious laws, the ceremony of the woman’s ritual cleansing by entering the *mikveh* is connected to the menstrual cycle and should be repeated once a month.

The wedding day should be chosen with great caution, for it could not fall during any of the important holidays (*Sabbath*, for instance), or on a day of national mourning. The *Talmud* contains some special rules of behavior in cases of unfavorable turn of events such as the death of one of the newlyweds’ parents, or the death of a person belonging to the same local community. If one of the parents died (on the wedding day), he (or she) was buried upon the completion of the wedding ceremony, and the mourning started seven days later. On the other hand, if any other member of the community happened to die on the wedding day, the funeral was carried out immediately, while the wedding ceremony was delayed for seven days, and it was performed after the initial mourning period had passed. In the course of time, however, this two customs assimilated and the ceremony was delayed for seven days in case any member of the community passed away on the wedding day.¹³

There were no particular rules related to the outfits the young couple would wear to the wedding ceremony. The custom for the bride to be in white, her head covered by a cap, developed very gradually through history. Wearing a veil, however, originates from very ancient times and it a rule ordered by the *Mishna*. The rule applied to virgins only, i.e., to women who got married for the first time. The veil was adopted by the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi communities (especially the Orthodox ones) all over the world, and it was also used by the Yugoslav Jewish women who decided to get married in accordance with the religious laws. The veil was an integral part of the bride’s dress, which cov-





ered her face during the wedding ceremony. The dressing style, as well as the way the bride was decorated, were influenced by the material culture of the local (broader) community. Consequently, the appearance of the bride varied considerably, ranging from moderate Central European civil outfit of rather „severe lines”, over richly embroidered „merrier” dresses of Mediterranean style, to the Middle Eastern explosion of colors and „heap” of jewels, ducats and other ornaments. Men also dressed according to the local customs. The exceptions were made in certain Orthodox communities where the groom wore the *kittel*, an outfit which was also worn for *Yom Kippur*. The presence of this religious symbols in the groom’s outfit was not mandatory, and sometimes he wore the *kittel* under the common black garment of the Orthodox Jews. During the ceremony, the groom would wrap the prayer shawl (*tallith* or *tales* (Yid-dish)) around his shoulders.¹⁴

The site of the wedding ceremony was chosen in accordance with the local customs.¹⁵ It was essential to follow the rules and provide the conditions related to the marital agreement, prescribed by the Jewish religious legislature, but the ceremony itself could take place in the synagogue or in the open air. In some Jewish communities, it was customary for the ceremony to take place in the open, though in most Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, it was carried out inside the synagogue. Another interesting point is that a rabbi did not have to attend the ceremony, provided all the necessary preparations were carried out so that the wedding could be performed in accordance with the prescribed rules. One of the unavoidable rules was the gathering of ten adult males – *minyan* (Hebr.) – whose presence was necessary in order to proceed with the ceremony in a proper way. However, in reality, in addition to all the above conditions, it was customary for the wedding ceremony to be performed by a competent person – most commonly a rabbi, so that all potential mistakes or irregularities which could endanger the legitimacy of the marriage would be avoided.

The custom to start the wedding ceremony by putting together the nuptial agreement is very old. The nuptial agreement – *ketubbah* (Hebr.) became obligatory as early as in the first century BC, representing a traditional and legal act complementary with the complex religious rite of marriage.¹⁶ Before the Middle Ages, when it became customary to join the engagement and the wedding rites together within the same ceremony, the nuptial agreement had been prepared and signed before the engagement ceremony would take place. For that reason the engagement had a meaning of the formal wedding ceremony, while the wedding itself, performed after a certain period of time, was considered as the final step toward its realization. The period from the moment when the *ketubbah* was signed to the actual wedding, which



marked the initiation of the couple's life together, created a certain confusion in the common-law procedure, because the sexual relations were prohibited before the nuptial agreement was signed, but also before the wedding ceremony was completed. In other words, even when the man signed the *ketubbah* and, at least formally, started his married life, he had not been considered married yet. Since unnecessary waiting and the ban on sexual intercourse between the newlyweds created difficulties in certain situations, the traditional marital law, provided for the possibility of joining the engagement and the wedding ceremonies into one.

Before the dual engagement/wedding ceremony could start, it was necessary to have the *ketubbah* – the nuptial agreement ready.

The ceremony of signing the nuptial agreement was followed by a ritual act, by which the groom accepted to take all the responsibilities quoted in the agreement. The rite was the symbol of „offering” and „giving gifts”. In other words, the groom would take a trivial thing from the rabbi – a handkerchief, a piece of garment or similar, smooth it and stretch it slightly, and give it back. After this symbolical gesture, two witnesses would sign the *ketubbah*, and, in most communities, the groom would do the same. The rite of signing the *ketubbah* was almost the same in all the communities, but there were some differences in the sequence of events during the procedure. While in some communities it was customary to sign the document first and then perform the described symbolical act, in other communities the symbolical act was performed during the ceremonial reading of the *ketubbah*, between the engagement and the wedding ceremonies. This custom is more common in Orthodox Jewish communities, where the *ketubbah* is being written during the ceremony, while the groom delivers a speech he prepared in advance for the occasion. His speech is normally interrupted by jokes and songs of friends and relatives who attend the ceremony, in order to create a relaxed and joyful atmosphere.

The groom, followed by his companions, walks up to the bride and covers her face with the veil. Meanwhile, the rabbi recites a benediction. This procedure, known as „covering the bride” (*bedeken di-kale*, Hebr.), was typical for the Ashkenazi communities¹⁷, while the Sephardim did not have it. The next step was the rite of lighting candles, and sometimes even torches, which was carried out by the bride's and the groom's parents. The significance of this rite has not been clearly explained yet, but it is being attributed to two possible sources – the ancient magical act of driving away the evil spirits, or as a symbol of the eternal Jewish ties with God and the *Torah*, i.e., with the moment of the „enlightenment” on the Mount Sinai. After a while, the young couple's fathers would leave the wedding procession and, followed by joyful voices and music, lead the groom to a site known as the *chuppa* (canopy,





Hebr.) which consisted of four separately erected wooden pillars with nicely decorated and embroidered cloth stretched on their tops. The *chuppa* is the symbol of the skies, the heaven high above, which is the original meaning of the term. (In case the fathers were not alive, or the bride and the groom were orphans, the groom was led to the *chuppa* by two relatives or friends.) In the communities in the Diaspora, the groom would stand under the *chuppa* with his face turned in the direction of the land of Israel; if the ceremony took place in Israel, he would look in the direction of Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, he would look towards the Synagogue. While the rabbi recited the benedictions, the bride would come up followed by hers and the groom's mothers. The bride's entering the *chuppa*, to join her future husband was followed by the magical rites which varied according from one Jewish community to the other. Their purpose was to protect the couple against the evil spirits and spells. In the Ashkenazi communities, once under the *chuppa*, the bride would go around the groom seven times and then she would stand by his right side. The circle and the number seven are attributed magical protective powers and are magical elements known and commonly used in many other cultures as well. The oriental Sephardim symbolically protected the newlyweds as their relatives shredded a piece of cloth or paper with scissors.

In the atmosphere in which the legal and the ritual (the rational and the irrational) proceedings were combined harmoniously, the first rite of the wedding ceremony – the engagement (*erusin* or *kiddushin* – Hebr.) began.

Over a glass or a cup of wine, the rabbi would recite the special benediction related to the confirmation of the marriage. He would then give some wine to the bride and the groom to drink. In the original version of the ceremony, the groom would say the benediction by heart, but this was later on transferred to an official person to do, for practical reasons.

After having taken a few sips of wine from the same glass, the groom would put a ring on the bride's right hand index finger, saying a special marriage prayer by repeating its words after the rabbi. The procedure had to be performed before two witnesses who could not be relatives of the newlyweds. The marriage ceremony performed without witnesses was not considered valid. Putting the ring on the bride's right hand index finger was part of the original version of the ceremony. However, in time, this ritual has been modified. In some modern congregations, the Reformist ones, for example, the engagement ring could be put on some other finger as well (the ring-finger, for example). Furthermore, a more universal custom in which the bride and the groom exchange rings has been adopted by the Jewish communities as well.¹⁸ The ring could be made of any metal, but it should not be less valuable than what was prescribed by the *Talmud*.





The engagement and the wedding rites were separated from each other by the reading of the *ketubbah* – the nuptial agreement¹⁹. The nuptial agreement was read aloud by the rabbi or some other man, a wedding guest the newlyweds wanted to pay the special honor to. As a rule, the *ketubbah* was written, and read, in Aramaic, no matter where in the world the ceremony took place. A short passage from the *ketubbah* was then read in Hebrew (in Israel) or in the language of the local community (in the Diaspora). Even though some variations were to be expected in the reading of the *ketubbah*, its core and original importance has remained unaffected by the migrations and the passing of time. Modifications of the original language in which the Jewish nuptial agreement was to be written and read, which involved using a local alphabet and a local language for that purpose, was unacceptable for the longest time.

Unfortunately, the assimilation and the acculturation process has to a certain extent affected the majority of Jewish communities, resulting in failure to observe the above outlined restrictions related to the structure and the form of the *ketubbah*. Consequently, *ketubbot* written in languages other than Aramaic can be found in different Jewish communities, as is the case of the 1862 *ketubbah* from Zemun, completely written in German. (It was the nuptial agreement arranging the marriage between David A. Suzin and Rebeka – Ruvkula, a daughter of Moses Abraham Ozer. The document is now property of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, ser. no 538). Such examples are very rare, but they still attract much attention especially in the light of the fact that Jewish communities in the Diaspora, including the one on the territory of former Yugoslavia, have been very successful in preserving their traditional, ethnic and religious identity for the longest time. Nonetheless, a certain degree of acculturation in every aspect of Jewish social life has been unavoidable due to the extensive and long-term contacts with other religions and other cultural systems.

When the reading ceremony is complete, the *ketubbah* is given to the bride to keep. If a woman happened to lose her *ketubbah*, her sexual relations with her husband were prohibited until a new document of the same content was written.

The second rite – the wedding (;*nisuin*, Hebr.) was then performed, as the essential part of the celebration, which marked the real beginning of the marriage and the main purpose of the whole ceremony. The *chuppa* remained the essential symbolic component of the wedding ceremony, though in many communities during the mediaeval and modern times it was being replaced by the prayer shawl, the *tallith*, simply stretched by the groom over his bride's and his own heads. (Among the Yugoslav Jews, the *chuppa*





has still remained, more than the *tallith*, a part of the wedding ceremony.) It should be pointed out that in ancient Jews the term *chuppa* was used to denote a definite physical space – the groom’s tent, a cottage, or similar where the newlyweds were to begin their life together. Upon the completion of the wedding rite, the wedding guests followed the bride to the groom’s *chuppa* which represented a symbolic place where the marriage began. The *chuppa* was the foundation for the spiritual and material growth of every couple’s relationship.²⁰ And even though the original *chuppa* has been modified, i.e., reduced to a symbolic construction, first made completely of wood, and, later, as a combination of wooden pillars decorated with cloth, its symbolic meaning has remained unchanged.

The marriage was finally confirmed by saying seven benedictions (*sheva berahot*, Hebr.) over another glass or a cup of wine.²¹ The rabbi was given the choice to recite all seven benedictions or only some of them. In most cases, he would say the first one, while the remaining six were offered to one or several chosen wedding guests. Reading the benedictions at a wedding ceremony was considered a special honor. The procedure ended as the bride and the groom drank the blessed wine, after which the groom was expected to break the empty glass by stepping on it. The same rite is carried out in Israel and in the Diaspora, with slight modifications in accordance with the local customs. One of the variations, for example, is breaking a glass full of wine against the wall, in order to perform the magical „appeal” to material prosperity and bounty. At any rate, the purpose of this rite is quite transparent, and it is to remind the newlyweds of the life’s ups and downs which have to be taken with a light heart and an optimistic eye. The rite may also be connected with the tragedy in which the Jerusalem Synagogue was destroyed, and which marked the beginning of the endless Diaspora.

At the very end of the wedding ceremony, the so-called *yihud* was performed – the characteristic Ashkenazi custom which originates from the Talmudic times when the beginning of the marital life used to be marked by the bride’s coming into the groom’s *chuppa*²² The *yihud* included a ritual procedure simulating the original wedding ceremony from the ancient times: immediately after the marriage had been confirmed, the newlyweds went to a separate room. The exact time they could spend alone in the room was not precisely defined or limited, but it usually lasted for just a few minutes (this was an exclusively symbolic gesture), after which the newlyweds would return to join the wedding party.

The wedding celebration also included a formal dinner and music. Music, and, according to some sources, dancing, were unavoidable parts of the ceremony from the most ancient times. In the course of time, various musical





forms and instruments have developed, as well as different dances associated with the wedding ceremony.²³ A popular dance is the so-called *Mitzvah* dance, performed by two groups of dancers: a group of men including the groom, and a group of women including the bride who would dance without mixing with one another.

The *Mitzvah* dances were characteristic for both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. In some of the later, more informal forms of the *Mitzvah* dance, the men and the women could dance together. In those cases, the male wedding guests were allowed to dance with the women including the bride, but they had to wrap the bride's hand in a piece of cloth first to avoid a direct contact. At the beginning of the 19th century, the male and female dancers danced together holding onto the edges of handkerchiefs so as to avoid direct contact. The main purpose of this symbolic separation was to prevent, or at least reduce inciting sexual desire which could be provoked by physical contact. Throughout the wedding celebration, the bride was paid a special attention. She would usually sit surrounded by the chosen guests, while the *badchen* (a professional entertainer hired for such occasions – Hebr.), singing and telling jokes all the time, invited the wedding guests to dance with her. The priority was always given to the parents and the groom, who were followed by other guests called in the proper order according to the status they enjoyed within the community. The most beautiful and colorful dances were invented by the Ashkenazim living in the countries of Eastern Europe. These included, for example, some energetic male dances known as *Red*, *Karaho* and *Hopke*, as well as female dances such as the *Koylih* danced in a group, or the „Bottle” dance (performed with a bottle on the head), etc.

The wedding ceremony ended with the *birkat amazon* (Hebr.), the act of expressing gratitude, and by repeating the seven benedictions over a cup of wine.

The bride's first visit to her husband's house was accompanied by a special ritual procedure as well. There are many local variations as to the way of welcoming the woman in her new home: throwing rice, coins, etc., at the bride's feet, while she is entering the house; cracking the cake (*ruska*, Hebr.), especially made for that occasion, over the newlyweds' heads,²⁴ etc. Regardless of their form, all the ritual proceedings had a clear magical connotation whose most common purpose was to drive the evil spirits and spells away, to support fertility, health and prosperity of the marriage.

The Jewish tradition calls for the continuation of the celebration and the festive atmosphere for a certain period of time after the wedding. If it was the first marriage for both newlyweds, the whole year following their wedding was marked by the signs of their wedding ceremony. The couple





continued to be called „the bride” and „the groom”. The groom was paid a special attention: he was not obliged to go to the army, except in case of a defensive war. During the first seven days after the wedding (excluding the *Sabbath*) the feast was in fact continuing in the house of the newlyweds.

During that first week, the man was spared from work, and in the newlyweds’ house, dinners were arranged for at least another ten persons, each time with one special guest present. During each of the meals the seven benedictions were recited at the table. In case it was the man’s second marriage the described festive atmosphere lasted for just one more day after the wedding.

Part of the Jewish common-law was the obligation to commit to the levirate marriage under certain circumstances.²⁵ The term levirate originates from the word *levir* – brother-in-law (Hebr.) and it denotes a marriage between a widow and her late husband’s brother, i.e., her brother-in-law. The levirate, in fact, is one of the oldest customs widely spread among many tribal communities within different cultural and economical systems.

According to the Jewish tradition, this specific form of stipulated marriage applied only to the situation when the late person did not have any children of his own. The obligation of the levirate included only the late person’s oldest brother on his father’s side who was born before the husband’s death. But, if the „eldest” happened to be much younger than his late brother, or even still a child, the widow had to wait until he became of legal age in the religious sense (after the *Bar Mitzvah* (Hebr.) ceremony), when it was possible to confirm a levirate.

Along with the levirate, the Jewish marital law instituted a specific counterpart – a custom known as *haliza* (woman’s exemption, absolution, Hebr.).²⁶ In the period of parallel existence of both customs, the woman, who had to wait for the levirate or the *haliza*, was allowed to join another man in a temporary matrimony. He was obliged to give her divorce when the time came for one or the other procedure prescribed by the custom-law to be executed. In spite of its temporary status, the children born in these temporary marriages were not considered to be extramarital (*mamzerim*, Hebr. plural). However, after the monogamous marriage had been adopted by the Jewish society as the only official one, the *haliza* pushed out the levirate as the form of marriage associated with polygamy, at least in a certain number of cases. Thus, the levirate disappeared from the custom code of the Jewish society, and the question remains to be asked – what was the reason for still having the *haliza*? Though definitely abandoned in practice, the levirate was, obviously, left preserved on some formal level of the traditional conscience, for, the *haliza* continued to be practiced with the status of a very official and significant procedure.





The procedure was conducted by three officially appointed rabbis and two other members. The rite was performed in the morning, on a site previously chosen by the five men. The woman had the obligation of fasting for a certain period of time before the *haliza*. She and her brother-in-law had been given the instructions about what to say during the procedure. (Their statements had to be made in Hebrew, regardless of the location of the Jewish community in question.) Also, to make the procedure valid, the woman and the levir had to answer some questions in order to confirm that they were both of legal age and mentally healthy, as well as that ninety one days had passed after her husband's death (to avoid any possibility of eventual pregnancy). Although the levirate had ceased to be practiced, the presiding rabbi would still ask the levir a formal question, whether he wanted to marry the widow, or to give her the absolution. Of course, her brother-in-law would give her the absolution after which the so-called *haliza shoe* ritual would be performed: the woman would take off a specially made leather shoe (a moccasin, without any metal details) from his foot. This was, in fact, the essential symbol of the whole procedure, after which the woman was free to continue with her life, that is to marry another man. She would give the leather moccasin to her brother-in-law as a gift.

Up to the present day, the Eastern European Ashkenazim add another part to the ritual *haliza* procedure: the levir has to lie down, placing the upper part of his body on the table which was used for the deceased person's ceremonial bath. Through this rather morbid ritual the levir is actually taking over his dead brother's position in accordance with the marital common-law. In England and Germany, another, quite different, ritual procedure was applied for the occasion: the levir would guarantee, by his signature deposited on his brother's wedding day, to give his sister-in-law the *haliza*, if she ever needed it. This „cruel” act had a very practical purpose of defining the relations from the very start, which actually made it appear very modern. Nevertheless, it is easy to understand why it was not so popular.

The Jewish marital law allowed a very extraordinary possibility – to get married through an intermediary, where the third person literally played the role of a „deputy”, representing the absent bride or the groom. In addition to giving the permission to represent him (or her) during the wedding procedure, the absent person was obliged to name precisely his (or her) wishes and requests and the third person was to act in accordance with them. In order to make the wedding valid, the deputy had to act according to the accepted obligation, without any improvisations or exceptions. The most interesting was the fact that the „deputy” did not have to be of the same sex as the „original”. (Naturally, this was a purely administrative procedure which did not involve any sexual relations.)





Generally speaking, mentally disturbed persons were not allowed to get married.²⁷ The act of marriage was to be accepted with full consciousness and responsibility, and marital life did not only require emotions, but performing the marital duties as well. Marrying a mentally disturbed person, was not acceptable for several reasons: first, the genetic factor was taken into consideration and all possible precautions were taken to prevent genetically transmitted diseases; and second, the mental incompetence of one partner would gravely affect the quality of the married life. However, objective assessments of different mental disorders and their intensity are difficult to make even today, despite all the technological and scientific advances. It is easy to imagine how difficult it was to determine the degree of someone's mental incapacity in the ancient times. If, a person diagnosed with a mental disorder, was considered to be in control of his or her mental capacities, he/she was allowed to get married despite all the risks involved.

According to the *Bible*, deaf and mute individuals were not allowed to get married. In the course of time, the common-law forgot about this restriction, since these handicaps were not illustrative of the person's mental and physical health (though those disorders could be hereditary). In such cases, the engagement and the wedding ceremonies were performed in the usual way, with the necessary presence of a person who was familiar with the „sign language“.

The sacred duty of living together did not encompass the threatening aspect of the „sealed fate“. If the marital relationship of two people was really bad, overloaded with serious problems and without a real hope for improvement, a divorce could be reached upon the initiative of either the man or the woman. A marriage was dissolved by the rabbinical court (*Beth Din*, Hebr.), in accordance with very precisely defined proceedings complementary with the religious regulations (*halachot*, Hebr.).²⁸ During the divorce procedure the unhappy spouses were not required to state explicitly what their marital problems were.

According to the Jewish laws, the wish for a divorce expressed by both partners was sufficient. More precisely, unhappiness in any form or shape was a reason enough to get a divorce, without any need or attempt to put blame on either of the spouses. A man who spent ten years in a marriage without children could get a divorce. Likewise, a woman who could get a divorce if she was neglected by her husband, if her husband made their life together empty and unbearable, if he worked too hard or was unable to provide for her, etc.

Also, a woman could get a divorce in case her husband had sexual problems, he was unfaithful, had a heavy infectious disease and, ultimately,





if he physically abused her. In theory, a divorce was defined by the religious regulations as a change of situation „offered” by the husband, and „accepted” by his wife. Consequently, the man was the one who „asked” for a divorce, while the woman was the one who „got” it. In practice, however, the divorce proceedings were conducted with equal respect for both sexes.

A divorce is denoted by the term *get* (dismissal or divorce letter, Hebr.).²⁹ In fact, it was a document, of which the husband and his wife received two separate copies, which included only their personal data, the date and the place when and where the *get* was issued, without citing any reasons for the act. According to the regulations, the *get* must not be a pre-printed document, but rather prepared in accordance with the given circumstances, for every life situation has its specific characteristics.

Apart from the rabbinical court, a procedure used to dissolve a marriage had to be performed before a notary (*sofer*) and two witnesses. The notary and the witnesses had to be believers, and not relatives to one another, or to either of the spouses. If it was impossible to find suitable witnesses, the members of the rabbinical court were allowed to take over their function. Before the procedure to prepare the *get* was started, the court was ordered to confirm that both marital partners agreed on getting divorced. At the same time, the court had the obligation to try to reunite and reconcile them, though it did not have to consider the actual reasons for the dissolution of marriage, nor their financial situation. Formally, it was very easy to dissolve a matrimony, with both of the partners present. If it happened that either one of them could not attend the *get* hearings, the marriage dissolution was executed in the presence of an intermediary who received the *get*, in the name of the absent person. This function could be taken over by any of the officials of the community (members of the *Beth Din* or the notary). After she received the *get*, the woman could get married to another man, but not before the ninety second day after the divorce (on account of eventual pregnancy, to avoid any possible dilemmas about the paternity rights). The Jewish marital law, however, included the possibility of „another try”: the woman could marry her former husband for the second time, if she had not married and divorced another man in the meantime. In order to be valid, the divorce, just like the wedding ceremony, had to be dissolved in accordance with the religious and traditional laws.

According to the Jewish religious regulations, a civil marriage, and a divorce resulting from it, administered by the state authorities, was not accepted as valid. It is interesting to point out that the *halachot* are still respected in Israel. In the Diaspora, the validity of a marriage and a divorce depends on the actual state laws. In the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia, or more precisely, before the Second World War, the church weddings, in principle, used to have





the status of official and formal nuptial procedures. Civil weddings were not necessary, although they were sometimes performed even by the Sephardim and Ashkenazim, especially immediately before the War.³⁰ In the more distant past, during the previous centuries, religious weddings were the only ones accepted by the society (not only in the Jewish culture). Since 1945, however, the situation has been changed by the Yugoslav state laws, which consider a marriage formally valid only if it has been confirmed before the civil authorities, while church weddings have been considered a matter of personal choice.

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¹Hayyim Schneid, *Marriage*, Keter books, Jerusalem 1973, pp. 1-2.

²*Ibid*, p. 2.

³*Ibid*, p. 2.

⁴*Ibid*, pp. 3-4; and Cadik Danon: *Zbirka pojmov iz judaizma* (Collection of Judaism terms), SJOJ, Belgrade, 1996, pp. 168-169.

⁵Cadik Danon: *Zbirka pojmov iz judaizma* (Collection of Judaism terms), SJOJ, Belgrade, 1996, p. 168.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 171.

⁷Hayyim Schneid: *Marriage*, Keter books, Jerusalem, 1973, pp. 10-11.

⁸*Ibid*, p. 10-11.

⁹*Ibid*, p. 13.

¹⁰Data from a survey of the Jewish Historical Museum, 1984.

¹¹Chayyim Schneid: *Marriage*, Keter books, Jerusalem, 1973, p. 15.

¹²*Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

¹³*Ibid*, p. 21

¹⁴*Ibid*, p. 21

¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 24

¹⁶*Ibid*, pp. 24-27.

¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 29.

¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 33, and Cadik Danon: *Zbirka pojmov iz judaizma* (Collection of Judaism terms), SJOJ, Belgrade, p. 170.

¹⁹Hayyim Schneid: *Marriage*, Keter books, Jerusalem, 1973, p. 36.

²⁰*Ibid*, pp. 36-40.

²¹*Ibid*, pp. 40-41.

²²*Ibid*, p. 41.

²³*Ibid*, pp. 42-47.

²⁴This is an old less typical custom observed in some Sephardi communities. *Ibid*, p. 48.

²⁵Eugen Veber, *Uvod u jevrejsku veru* (Introduction to Judaism), Belgrade, 1993, p. 100.

²⁶Hayyim Schneid, *Marriage*, Keter books, Jerusalem, 1973, pp. 51-52.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 53.

²⁸Cadik Danon: *Zbirka pojmov iz judaizma*, SJOJ, 1996, Belgrade, p. 171.

²⁹*Ibid*, pp. 171-172.

³⁰Data taken from the survey conducted by the Jewish Historical Museum, 1984.



Milica Mihailović

KETUBBAH

Jews in the territory of the former Yugoslavia adhered to all customs, including those relating to marriage. There are mentions of arranged marriages in literature, as well as in the questionnaires of the Jewish Historical Museum asking members of the Jewish municipalities about what marriages looked like.

The memories of family life of Croatian Jews were published in the book *Obitelj* (*Family*, Zagreb, 1996). What follows are some examples.

„My Father’s brother was killed in the First World War, and his four sisters married one after the other, but none of them out of love. All these marriages were made through intermediaries, and, as our aunts told us, this made them very uncomfortable. However, as they lived in a small place, there were no other possibilities, while the *schatchen* knew that in Kutina or Dugo Selo, say, there was a good marriage opportunity. It is interesting, though, that they all had very good marriages and peace and harmony in their homes. My parents were the only ones in the family who married for love, and they got along very well and loved each other.” (*Obitelj*, p. 119, reminiscence of Mima Veber)

„When I married in 1945 in the Zagreb Temple, I was given a *ketubbah*, a marriage certificate according to the Jewish Law, signed by the groom and two witnesses. This marriage contract obliges the husband to take care of the wife, and the wife to take care of the husband.” (*Obitelj*, p. 95, reminiscence of Dragan Wollner)

„I met my husband while a student, in the Zagreb Jewish mass hall, in the cellar of the building in Palmotićevea street. We were married in the beautiful temple in Koprivnica, and I was led to the marriage not by my father, but by my brother. My husband’s parents – the father a judge, the mother a daughter of a famous physician from Travnik who had been made an honorary citizen there – came for the occasion from Sarajevo. The *chuppa* was





decorated with flowers on all sides, and all the arches of the bridal canopy were of flowers, as well. The guests included nearly all my high school teachers, including the school principal, and the first to congratulate me was my former Croatian teacher, who kissed my hand and said, 'Madam, my congratulations'. I was very nicely dressed, as my aunt in Zagreb had made me a beautiful white dress, and the groom was also very elegant, in a jacket with a top-hat" (*Obitelj*, p. 125, reminiscence of Lizzy Kollomann-Nick).

Here are also some reminiscences from the answers to the questions in the survey of the Jewish Historical Museum:

„On the occasion of the *betrothal*, the groom's closest relatives were invited to the bride's house so the families could meet each other (*kumizer*), gifts were exchanged, *Oh ke Lekububor* was danced. The groom was given a gold watch and chain, the bride jewelry" (Flora Atijas, Sarajevo).

„Me and my wife were married by the chief rabbi Dr. Gavro Švarc on 30 June 1941 in Zagreb. It may well have been his last ceremony – the Germans and the Ustashas were already after him" (Dr. Isak Levi, Sarajevo).

After modern weddings, the newlyweds are left with a photograph. In times gone by, after the wedding a much more valuable document was left – a marriage contract, or, in Hebrew, *ketubbah* – what is written down. As old *ketubbot* are nowadays rare and valuable objects of art, we shall devote some space to their description here.

There is a large body of literature on the *ketubbah*. One of the most important researchers in this field is Dr. Shalom Sabar, two of whose studies I was able to consult.¹

The oldest known *ketubbot* were found in the Judean desert. These are, actually, only fragments of texts which indicate they were once part of *ketubbot*.

Talmudic scholars paid great attention to the precise formulation of every clause in the *ketubbah*. Thus, the Talmud contains a whole section entitled *ketubbah*.

In the early stages of development of this interesting document, the term *ketubbah* related to the husband's obligation to reimburse his wife in case of divorce or widowhood. The *ketubbah* mentioned the sum of 200 *zuzim* which had to be paid in case the wife had been a virgin, or half that in all other cases. It was considered that the sum was high enough to dissuade people from unnecessary divorces. Formulations and demands changed with the times.

The first *ketubbot* which show signs of decoration date from the Middle Ages (10th-11th century), and were found in the Cairo *geniza*. They have decorations only around the introductory text, or „preamble”, usually con-





sisting of geometric or floral motifs, micrography or adornment of the letters themselves.

During the Middle Ages, the text of the *ketubbah* was standardized. At that time, differences arose in attitudes towards the *ketubbah* between two groups of Jews, the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim.

The Ashkenazim adhered strictly to the rabbinical rules and wrote their marriage contracts on square paper or parchment, without decorations, and always with the same codified text.

Unlike them, the Sephardim considered the marriage contract to be a personal document. They did not accept the ban on polygamy instituted by rabbi Geršom, nor did they standardize the sum of money. Decorated *ketubbot* existed in Spain before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, and after they were dispersed, they continued this tradition everywhere they settled.

The form and disposition of text of the *ketubbah* produced in the territory of Yugoslavia was similar to those the produced in the Netherlands, Italy and Greece.

The earliest illuminated *ketubbot* date from the early 17th century Venice. The sources of the decorative elements which appear in early Italian *ketubbot* are works of applied art, illuminations in books and manuscripts, the architecture of Baroque and Rococo churches and towns. Especially popular was the motif of a gate with columns, borrowed from the cover pages of the first printed books. Family coats-of-arms also appeared as decorative motifs, along with various markings of state: flags, symbols, coats-of-arms.

There are several subjects which usually appear as illustrations in the *ketubbah*. First of all, Jerusalem and the Temple in Jerusalem. It is usually depicted as a miniature in an arch over the text. Illuminations may also feature portraits of the bride and groom, again as miniatures over the text. The most frequent motifs are flora and fauna. They are usually intertwined with motifs of the signs of the Zodiac.

There is little mention of *ketubbot* produced in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. That is why I shall take this occasion to attempt to give a survey of the *ketubbot* known so far (some of them mentioned in various texts, some of them shown at exhibitions).

The Sarajevo chief rabbi Moric Levi published an article entitled *Jewish Manuscripts in the Sarajevo Museum* in the March-April, 1940 issue of the magazine *Omanut*. The article mentions four *ketubbot* – three remained in the National Museum in Sarajevo until the Second World War, while the fourth one was given to Nahum Soklov on the occasion of his visit to Sarajevo. Of two of the *ketubbot* in the Museum, Dr. Moric Levi said they were





„without particular importance”, while the third one was described in detail and reproduced. A special characteristic of this *ketubbah* is that the same form was used for two weddings. A paper with the text of the *ketubbah* for the first wedding was pasted into the blank space in the middle of a *ketubbah* with a very finely ornamented border, and another paper for the second wedding was pasted over it. According to data given by Dr. Moric Levi, the first contract was made in Sarajevo, in the year 5505 (1744). The groom was Jakov, son of Jozef Papo, and the bride Rahela, daughter of Benjamin Cevi from Belgrade. The second contract was also made in Sarajevo, in the year 5598 (1837). The groom was Menahem, son of Jakov Papo, and the bride Estera, daughter of Cadik Haj-Danon. The priest at the first marriage was Jakob Almuli, at the second – Mojsije Perera. Dr. Moric Levi concluded that these contracts were from the same family. Also, he pointed out that he had seen identically ornamented *ketubbot* in the *Jiidisches Lexikon* – one from the Cluny museum in Paris, the other from Leningrad. Based on this, Dr. Levi concluded that the Sarajevo *ketubbot* were written on forms used in other Jewish communities as well.

Just as the *ketubbah* from Sarajevo given to Nahum Soklov will probably appear in some museum or collection, so the *ketubbah* illuminated in Belgrade in the late 19th century by the painter Samuilo Elić can now be seen in the *Beth Tzedic* museum in Toronto.

In his large monograph *ketubbah* (New York, 1990), the well-respected researcher Shalom Sabar gives a survey of *ketubbot* kept in the three largest and most significant collections in the United States: Hebrew Union College, Skirball Museum and Klau Library. The book also publishes three *ketubbot* created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The first one is a *ketubbah* from Dubrovnik, dating from 1762, very beautifully decorated with motifs of columns and a basket of flowers above the text. The second *ketubbah* is from Rijeka, from 1844, without too many decorations. The third one is from Zemun, from 1845. Unlike the other two, which were written on parchment, this one is on paper. Shabar compares this *ketubbah* with one from Vienna, dating from 1831. What gives the Zemun *ketubbah* special value is that it was signed – as a witness – by rabbi Jehuda Haj Alkalaj.

A *ketubbah* produced in Split in 1644 now, sadly, exists only in the form of a photograph. The decoration was intended to follow on Italian models, but was not executed very skilfully.

Duško Kečkemet's book *Jews in the History of Split* (1971) shows a reproduction of a *ketubbah* from the Morpurgo family. It was produced in Split, but no date is given. The text is in two columns, bordered with floral motifs.





A further two *ketubbot* from the Split family Morpurgo were shown at the exhibition *Language, Books and Writing of the Jews in Yugoslavia*, organized by the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade in 1979. Both dated from the 19th century, and were produced on parchment, without ornamentation.

At the exhibition *Jews in the Territory of Yugoslavia*, held in Zagreb in 1988, a *ketubbah* from the Jewish Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina was shown. It was produced in Sarajevo, around the year 1900.

A collection of *ketubbot* is kept in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade. The most significant one in the collection is a *ketubbah* made on parchment in Anconna in 1652 and preserved in the Split family Morpurgo. This *ketubbah* has a rich floral decoration filling a large arched area over the text. The text itself is in two columns and framed with representations of the Zodiac. Apart from this very valuable *ketubbah*, also of interest is one made in Sarajevo in 1746, on paper and without decoration, as well as a *ketubbah* from Zemun, from 1842, on paper and with simple decoration. Another high point of the collection are *ketubbot* produced on printed forms. These are lithographs designed by Jakov Haj Altarac, and printed by the lithographer P. Marković in the early 20th century in Belgrade. Apart from these Belgrade forms, *ketubbot* written in the late 19th and early 20th century printed forms from Vienna, Sofia and Sarajevo have also been preserved.

The Jewish cultural and educational association *La Benevolencia* published in 1937 in Sarajevo Jorje Tadić's book *The Jews in Dubrovnik*. This book carries several rare translations of marriage contracts into Serbo-Croatian; we shall quote one registered by Aron Koen in 1641:

„On Friday, the 12th day of the month of Tebeth of the year 5396 since the creation of the world, according to the count we keep here in Dubrovnik, which lies near the sea and drinks spring water, near the river Ombla, the young and illustrious groom, the honorable Josip Franko, son of the gentleman David Franko, may God keep him, told the virginal young lady Ester, daughter of the *haham* Aron Koen, may God keep him: 'Be my wife according to the law of Moses and Israel, and with God's help I will feed you, provide for you, take care of you, keep you and dress you so as the wives of the Jews are truly to be kept and dressed according to the Jewish canons, and I shall give you a dowry for your virginity of 200 pieces of silver, which shall be yours, and upkeep, and I shall unite myself with you according to the customs of the whole world'. And the lady Ester agreed, the bride, and became his wife according to the laws of Moses and Israel, and brought him in cash 2,800 Venetian ducats, in gold vases 300 ducats, in furniture, bedding and





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clothes, 1,050 ducats, and he gave her a further 2,050 ducats, so that she had a total of 6,200 Venetian ducats. Their witnesses were Haim Abenun, Danijel Franko, Samuel Maestro, Mojsije Selem Kabiljo and Abram Beatar.”

S.V.

¹Shalom Sabar, ketubbah, New York 1990; Shalom Sabar, Mazal tov, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1993.



RITUAL BATH – MIKVEH

Mikveh is a bath or a space filled with clean water which makes it possible for ritually unclean persons to ritually purify themselves through immersion in this water. The rules on ritual bathing are based on verses from the *Third Book of Moses (Leviticus 11:36)*: „Nevertheless, a fountain or pit, wherein there is plenty of water, shall be clean: but that which toucheth their carcase shall be unclean „

A person was considered ritually unclean in the following cases:

- after contact with the dead, based on verses from the Bible, *Numbers*, 19;
- after contact with any unclean matters, and especially after contact with bodily secretions (sexual secretions in men and others), and, in women, during menstruation (*Leviticus*, 15);
- in cases of conversion to Judaism;
- before feasts, especially before *Sabbath* and *Yom Kippur*;
- after taking vessels from gentiles – based on verses from the Bible (*Numbers*, 31:22-23): „Only the gold, and the silver, the brass, the iron, the tin, and the lead, Everything that may abide the fire, ye shall make it go through the fire, and it shall be clean; nevertheless, it shall be purified with the water of separation: and all that abideth not the fire shall ye shall make go through the water“. Talmudic scholars and other religious experts point out that the immersion is a spiritual purification, not a physical one. Nowadays, the *mikveh* is still used mainly for women after menstruation (*niddah*), as the other rules on uncleanness ceased after the destruction of the Second Temple.

Any quantity of water gathered, either rainwater or from a spring or any other kind, if sufficient for a man to be immersed in it may be used as a *mikveh*. Rabbis have pointed out that only water which has previously not been in any vessel can be used for a *mikveh*.





The smallest volume of water which is needed for a *mikveh* is one cubic meter (however, it should be pointed out that different figures are cited in this context). If the *mikveh* contains less water than the volume described as 40 *se'ah* (Biblical measure for water, ranging from 250 to 1,000 liters, depending on the calculation), the ritual bath is considered invalid, and more water must be added for it to become valid.

These rules are the basis for various manners of constructing a *mikveh*. The manners of construction are discussed in the *Talmud*, and a whole eponymous tract is devoted to this subject, along with a lengthy treatise by Maimonides.

Regardless of how the bath (*mikveh*) is constructed, it is valid if it makes possible for the water not to be prefabricated, brought in and then stopped, as this would create a „vessel” which would make the water „drawn water”, *mayim she'uvim*. A *mikveh* may be gouged from a rock, built or dug, and any material is allowed. It must be non-porous, because if water flows out, the volume will decrease and the *mikveh* will become invalid. The *mikveh* must contain 40 *se'ah* of natural water. Although originally the height of a *mikveh* had to be 120 cm, which would enable a person to stand with slightly bent knees and be fully immersed, subsequently the minimum volume of water allowed was that which would enable a person to be fully immersed, even if lying down.

Water from any natural source which gives pure water, which did not change its color through any admixture, is acceptable for a *mikveh*. As for rainwater, which is ideal for a *mikveh*, and for melted snow and ice (even if made from drawn water) which are also acceptable, care must be taken that the water flow freely, that it not be stopped anywhere, or it will become unacceptable as „drawn water”. Also, the water must not arrive in the *mikveh* through vessels made of metal or other materials which might be ritually unclean. This is avoided by adding drainpipes and other accessories in such a way that they do not acquire the status of „vessels”. Similarly, *mikva'ot* are emptied by hand, by vacuum or by electrical pumps. Emptying a *mikveh* through a hole in the bottom is forbidden, as this opening can be considered a „vessel” or a possibility for leakage.

Another problem was heating the water. Various systems were used to this intent. The Belgrade rabbi Slang quotes in his book on Jews in Belgrade a treatise by the well-known Belgrade rabbi Yehuda Lerma : „In one of his treatises, Lerma deals with the matter of the ritual bath in Belgrade. Since times immemorial, he says, it was to be found in the same yard. However, some well-respected women complained they were uncomfortable passing through the yard where men usually sat.





Although it was made public several times they should not be in the yard at that time, the warnings were unsuccessful. Further, the women complained that the water was often too cold, and that they could not bathe in it. Therefore, he proposed to the municipality that these women's requests be accommodated, and that heated water be conducted by a wheel and drain-pipe into another section of the bathhouse, which would have a separate, more convenient entrance."

The Sarajevo rabbi Moric Levi mentions in his book *The Sephardim in Bosnia* a description of the ritual bathhouse in Sarajevo: „The Jewish laws of cleanliness dictate that a woman should immerse herself in running water after every menstruation, or else it was strictly forbidden to come close to her. For this purpose, the Jews of Sarajevo had a special tub in the public bathhouse in town, built at their expense and according to rabbinical rules, and they paid the owner of the bathhouse 10 *groschen* yearly in addition to the regular bathing fees."

There is also a lengthy description of the Belgrade hamam from the early 20th century as remembered by Bencion Levi: This hamam was also described in his stories by the writer Haim S. Davičo.

Many Yugoslav Jews still remember their mothers going to the *mikveh*. We have gathered data on this in questionnaires on feasts. To the question, „Who in your family went to the *mikveh*?", a respondent born at the turn of the century in Bezdán answered, „My mother and sisters, according to the requirements of our religion". A female respondent answered, „I was married in Ilok in 1932 and went to the *mikveh*". A respondent from Mukačevo: „Mother went regularly". A respondent from Sarajevo: „My grandmother and mother went every Friday".

Certainly one of the best and most striking descriptions of adherence to the rules of ritual bathing, i.e., of use of the *mikveh*, is to be found in Isaac Bashevis Singer's novel *The Slave*:

„Wanda", said Jacob, his voice trembling, „you must first go out and take a bath in the river."

„I have already washed and combed my hair." „No, you must immerse yourself in the water." „Now?"

„Yes, God's law demands it."

S.V.

¹Mikveh, Encyclopedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971

²Jehuda Lerma, „Peletat bet Jehuda", Venecija, 1647.



STATUS OF JEWISH WOMEN WITHIN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Even though a general definition of social relations does include patriarchy, the way it is understood varies from one community and ethnic group to another.

The Jewish society is patriarchal. All Jewish communities, Ashkenazim or Sephardi, Orthodox or Ultraorthodox, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, are organized by patriarchal principles, which are in compliance with the Biblical and the Talmudic doctrines.

The difference in status between men and women in all social, traditional, legal and religious contexts represents one of the most systematically studied topics in both the *Bible* and the *Talmud*. Many views about the subject reveal a typically patriarchal basis for sexual discrimination, with men being given priority over women in every respect. First of all, the birth of a male infant was always given particular importance and was marked by special religious ceremonies (*sholem zokhor*, etc). However, the situation was quite different when a girl was born. A boy becomes a man who bears the family name, inherits family property, becomes a father and a husband in his own right and takes care of financial and moral well-being of his family. He is the carrier of spiritual development, with the ancient obligation and the special honor to study the *Torah*, and in a more profound and intellectual sense he is dedicated to God, who embraces and protects him from the moment of the ritual „oath bloodletting” (*B' rith Milah*).

Women have thus always been in the shadow of their men (brothers, husbands, etc.) in all aspects of life, ranging from the treatment traditionally given to the birth of a female child, women's rights to inheritance and education (the latter having been improved during the centuries), to their official position and role in marriage.



On the other hand, however, some facts (mentioned in the previous chapters) indicate that a woman's position within the „man's world" was not as inferior as it may seem at first glance. Although Jewish men were indeed given the central position in social and spiritual spheres of life, women were considered revered „pillars of the family".¹

Given the family's role as a focal place in which all cultural, religious, social and many other traits of Judaism were adopted, taught and kept, it is safe to conclude that the woman's role is only formally inferior to that of the man. In spite of the fact that almost all birth celebrating ceremonies were dedicated to sons, the attention and care given to daughters were, in fact, just as important. The upbringing and education of a female child within the family was very important for both the child and the society. The foundations of the Jewish family rested on the same principles as the foundations of an honest individual capable of assuming important responsibilities in the religious and traditional systems of the Jewish society. Apart from the usual household duties, the woman had to bring up her children in the spirit of the Jewish tradition – teach them the rites practiced for holidays and ceremonies, as well as the very precise religious rules related to food. In fact, the woman and her husband shared the responsibility for their children's upbringing and education.

As to the religious part of life, the main difference between a man and a woman was in the frequency of fulfilling God's orders.²

Of course, women, just as men, had to respect all the commands and prohibitions, but they did not have the obligation to take part in certain religious rites performed at a particular time. For example, women did not have to follow the „timetable" for daily prayers, but were not prohibited from doing so either. These differences in religious practice had more to do with the different natural roles assumed by men and women, which then resulted in different daily routines, and did not imply disregard of the woman's position in the family. The Jewish religious laws spared the woman the obligation of reading and studying the *Torah*. Consequently, in earlier periods there were very few women familiar with the holy manuscripts. Nevertheless, the Talmudic rules did not exclude the possibility of a woman reading and studying the *Torah*. In fact, women were called up to read from the *Torah* during the congregational gatherings in the synagogue.³ Calling a person forward to read from the *Torah* meant high respect and honor. Such cases, though very rare indeed, contradicted the simplified image of women as absolutely inferior members of the community. (In time, a lot changed in the interpersonal relations within the Jewish community. Nowadays, it is almost normal for women, including those coming from





Orthodox Jewish families, to acquire high religious education, which was impossible in the past).

Besides the fact that they had to obey unreservedly their parents' decisions (which applied to sons and daughters alike), in ancient times and, to a certain extent, during the Middle Ages, women's inferiority was formally marked by their position in relation to their husbands. In a broader sense, a woman used to be treated as her husband's property. A divorce was possible, upon the husband's request, and without the wife's consent. Even the concept of the man as the one who „gives” and of the woman as the one who „receives” the *get* (which has been preserved as part of the tradition at later times as well) is very likely to have originated from the times in which such social relations were maintained. There have been some positive changes of attitude at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, when the decree was issued (according to rabbi Gershom) by which the wife's consent was also needed in order to dissolve a marriage.⁴

However, bearing in mind the level of cultural development in the Talmudic period, one may note a specific tendency in the content of the Talmudic laws, recommendations and explanations toward a more humanistic set-up of the traditional and social rules of behavior within the community at large, within the family and, finally, in the relationship between man and woman. From early childhood, both sexes were taught to respect the family way of living as the most natural one, to be responsible and to direct their emotions and sexual needs toward their future spouse. This explains the low incidence of divorce, which may be contrary to expectations, given that divorce was not only allowed, but also accepted fairly liberally. According to the *Talmud*, the man's infidelity and adultery, sexual neglect, brutality and lack of respect for his wife, as well as general neglect of his family and its well-being, were deemed unacceptable and severely sanctioned by the community. The man was by no means forgiven nor protected; husband and wife both had their roles and responsibilities. Therefore, favoritism to men is not to be taken as typical of Judaism. There are numerous concepts, common law and religious regulations related to interpersonal relationships, i.e. relations between the two sexes, including a series of duties and procedures intended for the protection of the social, family and personal image and existence of each individual. Since it has always been in the human nature to break the rules, to a smaller or greater extent, the family was given the power to set and preserve cultural and human values.

A family starts with a man and a woman, and its survival depends on the quality of their relationship. Although sometimes exposed to criticism, the woman was identified in the *Bible* and the *Talmud* as the „support pillar”





of the society and treated as such. The ancient Jewish prophets often compared God's love for the people of

Israel to a husband's love for his wife. That was the ideal order of things. Women are very frequently portrayed in the Jewish legends (Esther, Ruth, Miriam), as either the main heroines or supporting characters. The fictitious female characters inspired some significant holidays, and legends about them served to explain events from Jewish history and culture.

Along with economic and cultural development, the traditional image of the Jewish woman gradually lost its functional limitations. In the dramatic events in the history of the Sephardim, after the Inquisition expelled them from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century, a woman played a crucial role. It was *Gracia Mendez Naci – marrana*⁵ (a converted Jewish woman), born in Lisbon and remembered for her intellect, wealth and business relations which she used to help her suffering compatriots. In 1553, on her way to Constantinople, Gracia Naci visited Dubrovnik.

The more recent history of Serbia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, during the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century saw many outstanding Jewish women who successfully organized a variety of humanitarian and educational activities in times of overall poverty, political turmoil and war. *The Jewish Women's Association*, founded in Belgrade in 1874, was the first women's association in the history of Serbia.⁶ The organization was founded upon the initiative of Mrs. Ester B. Pinto who turned a group of poorly organized humanitarian enthusiasts into a strong organization with well defined humanitarian and educational goals. Toni Azriel was its first chairman, and many Belgrade ladies – Solci D.Buli, Luca Levi, Merkusa Buli and Neti Z. Leonović among them – followed suit.

The Society's fiftieth anniversary was celebrated in 1924. *The Jewish Women's Association* ran a holiday camp, held public lectures and organized humanitarian and educational work throughout Serbia, giving its support not only to women but to other social groups as well. Another successful action took place in 1923, when *The Jewish Women's Association*, together with the Belgrade Ashkenazi association *Dobrotvor* (The Benefactor), founded a bit later but with the same purpose, initiated the setting up of the Union of Jewish Women's Associations in the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. The individual accomplishments of the Jewish women received public attention. A Belgrade elementary school teacher, Estira Ruso, was a well-known humanist, patriot and intellectual, the author of *Biblical Lessons* for theology students, fluent in several European languages (especially German, Spanish and Italian), one of the founders of the Yugoslav Teachers'





Society, a member of the *Srpska književna zadruga* and many other Serbian and Jewish societies.⁷ Another respected and remarkable personality was Neti Munk, a famous war-time nurse who took part in both Balkan Wars (1912-1913), as well as in the First World War (1914-1918). Neti Munk was awarded the Karadjordje's Star, a decoration for bravery, given to the bravest only.

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¹Hayyim Schneid: *Family*, Ketter Books, Jerusalem 1973, pp. 83-85.

²*Ibid*, p. 85.

³*Ibid*, p. 90.

⁴*Ibid*, p. 90.

⁵Marranos – Spanish and Portuguese Jews who, at the end of the 15th century, during the times of persecution, converted to Catholicism to protect their lives and their property, and to ensure their survival in the region. They secretly remained loyal to Judaism, respecting their true origin and handing down their tradition to the new generations.

⁶The Jewish Women's Association of Belgrade 1874-1924, commemorative volume on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, Belgrade 1924.

⁷The commemorative volume by Estira S. Ruso, elementary school teacher, Belgrade, 1924.



ATTITUDES TOWARD DEATH IN JUDAISM – THE MOURNING RITES

There is something comforting in the proverb „one who was not born will not die”. Death is an inevitable part of life, its absolute opposite, which has always been recognized by the human mind and denied by the human heart. The man’s refusal to consciously accept the fact about his „return” to the state of nothingness presents a normal reaction caused by the irreconcilable conflict between the instinct for life and the passage of life towards its end. In a natural attempt to survive the collision between Eros and Thanatos, in which the second one wins, human beings have treated death both as an idea and as a phenomenon within different religious systems (ranging from ancient pagan religions to the more developed institutionalized religious systems) at every level of human social development. The common solution to the mystery of death has been found in the notion of „life after death”. The interpretations of this common solution, however, varied across cultures and societies. On the other hand, the religious concept of cause-and-effect relationship between the way of living in this world and the quality of the one to come, has been given practically equal treatment across religious systems and it has played a significant role in regulating social relationships and maintaining moral values. That said, one should keep in mind that the notion of the morally acceptable behavior toward oneself and the fellow human beings has been a relative one, and it has varied according to the prevailing conceptions and norms of the cultural systems in different human communities. At any rate, most religious studies have been initiated in an attempt to protect the society and its values. Consequently, the religion has had a highly beneficial role, especially at the lower stages of cultural development when it represented one of the main institutions of the social establishment. However, while some religions have kept this positive course, others suffered a serious misuse of the „positive principles” through history,





which has darkened the basic purpose of the religion as an integral part of the human spiritual culture.

Comprehension of life and death in Judaism is manifested through a number of religious and ritual procedures. A complex set of mourning rites present in the Jewish culture is entirely regulated by religious rules, and partially intertwined with the modes of behavior and beliefs transferred from pagan societies which lived at a lower level of social organization. In earlier historical and cultural phases of social and economic development, death of one member of the community affected the community as a whole. The behavior and the way emotions were to be expressed by the closest relatives and by the broader community where prescribed by the *Torah*. The broader community extended its help to the ones in mourning so that they could face their grief, express it, and, ultimately, try and find spiritual peace before the inevitable fact that the person they loved died. In the *Torah*, different aspects of mourning were discussed: mourning of children for their parents, of parents for their children, mourning of other members of the family or the community, etc. These rules were worked out in time in order to ensure better care and tender comfort, first for the dying, and then for the ones in mourning.'

A sick person needed the support and care which was provided through the visits from the members of the community. To visit a sick person – *bikur holim* (Hebr.) was a social event with religious connotations. *Bikur holim* was a good deed, religious and moral duty of every Jew to his relatives and friends as well as to his neighbors, regardless of their religion, race or social status. The custom to visit a sick person implied not only a formal act of good will, but also a specific spiritual and material aid. The visitor was supposed to comfort and encourage a wealthy patient and to provide a poor one with the basic necessities. Visits had a very practical purpose which is also reflected in the series of rather strict instructions provided by the rabbi, related to their frequency and duration. In cases of long and difficult illnesses, visits were forbidden for the first three days which were considered the most critical. When the initial period passed, only the members of the patient's family were allowed to take care of the him. In the days to come, other members of the community were allowed to visit the patient, except during the first and the last three hours of a day when the doctor's visits were expected. All rabbi's instructions about visiting the patient were formulated with consideration of the patient's well-being. Caution was very important in cases of serious illnesses. Judaism considers the human life sacred, and to help a man in need was justified in any context, even if it meant the violation of the code of behavior prescribed for the observance of the *Sabbath*. The





doctor – *Rofe* (Hebr.) had to stay by his patient's side even if the most likely outcome was fatal. The doctor was obliged to care for the dying person until the last moment and treat him as if there were hope for his recovery. From the psychological point of view, this was very beneficial. Euthanasia was forbidden, and it was treated as murder by the Jewish religious laws. This attitude was then transferred to the civil law.

The ritual called *Shinuj' ashem* (Hebr.), which involved changing the patient's name or adding another name to the one he had, was used in order to protect the patient from the encounter with death. Choosing another name had a very clear symbolic meaning as can be seen from the following examples: *Hayim* – life; *Yachiel* – God revives; *Rafael* – God cures, etc. All the names chosen by the sick had the purpose to protect or „desguise” them, so that they would be out of death's reach. The magical power of names is also known in other cultures². For example, Eastern and Western Slavic cultures use the name *Lyon* (*Lav*), while in the Serbian culture the name *Wolf* (*Vuk*) is given to children to protect them and make them stronger. These names originate from prechristian times, and they were common in families with high infant mortality rates. Similarly, the connection between a man and his name is described in the *Talmud*, according to which charity, prayer and the change of name, along with the alternations in behavior can bring someone's life to a better course.

A dying man was called *Goses* (Hebr.) and on no account could he be left alone. Sitting by the dying person was called the *Mitzvah* (God-pleasing, noble deed, Hebr.) and its purpose was to give the dying person the comfort and protection when the death came. Namely, according to the belief which was particularly common during the Middle Ages, angels and demons waged a fierce battle over the soul of the dying man. However, Jews believed that only the presence of the living could defend a dying person from demons and thus prevent them from approaching him. When death was confirmed, a member of the family, preferably a son, would close the eyes and the mouth of the deceased, and he would tie up the lower jaw before the body became stiff. The body was then placed on the floor, covered with a blanket, and the candle was lit close to the deceased person's head. The ritual of lighting the candles is also part of the Christian religion; this ritual is based on the belief that the dead person's soul needs the candlelight to illuminate his voyage to Heaven. This explanation does not stand in contradiction with the older, pagan motive of expelling demons by flames and candlelight. The custom of placing the deceased's body on the floor also presents a combination of practical and religious reasons. The practical and the primary reason for such a procedure was related to the warm climate, while the religious symbol origi-





nated from the *Bible* postulation that a man was created from „dust”, i.e., soil, and that to dust he would return. The *goses* was not to be left alone, and his body was to be watched day and night until the funeral, during holidays, and even on Saturdays. The purpose of this custom, *kevod' amet* (Hebr.), was to pay respect to the dead, since according to the Jewish tradition, human beings are considered as sacred as the *7bra/zascrolls*. Consequently, every deceased is entitled to a ceremony called the *awn hakodesh* which is an expression of respect and devotion for the dead. The mourner who sat wake by the deceased's side was called the *Shomerim* (guard, Hebr. pi.) and he was relieved of all other religious duties during the wake period.

The so called „Holy Association” – *Hevra Qaddisha* (Hebr.) was in charge of bathing and dressing the deceased, as well as of the burial procedure. Similar organizations are mentioned in the *Talmud* as well, but official establishment of this holy association does not reach far back into the past. The „Holy Association” was first mentioned in Prague, in the second half of the 16th century, after which it became a part of the Jewish religious and common law at the local community level. In the past, the „Holy Associations” functioned as volunteer organizations, but in more recent times in larger Jewish communities they began to employ full-time clerks. Aside from performing the tasks related to the deceased, the *Hevra Qaddisha* visited patients, comforted them, provided medical help and medicines to the poor ones, and made the first meal for the family after the funeral. All these jobs were considered the *Mitzvah*, important and humane religious duties which were often exercised by highly respected persons from the community. A particularly great *Mitzvah* included taking care of the funeral arrangements for the deceased who had no family. Such a deceased was marked by the term *Meth Mitzvah*, and the jobs related to his funeral *Mitzvah Gedolah*.

Bathing the body – *taara* or *rehitsa* (cleaning, bathing, Hebr.) – was a ritual act based on the Biblical concept that a man should be sent off to his last voyage in the same way he had been received. If newly born children needed to be bathed, the dead needed the same. The body was bathed by the so called *rohatsim* (Hebr. pi.), who was a member of the local *Hevra Qaddisha*. The ritual was performed in a separate house or in a special room dedicated to this purpose at the cemetery chapel. During the ritual, the candle was kept lit all the time and the body was treated with great respect. The deceased was laid on a stone table which was previously covered with a special cloth. The bathing ceremony consisted of pouring warm water over each part of the deceased's body starting from his head. His hair was also washed and combed, and his nails manicured. The cloth was used to dry off the body, which had to be done without any direct contact with it.





The body of the deceased was dressed in *tahirim* – clothes made of white linen. The *tahirim* consisted of at most seven and at least three parts which were sewed without borders, knots and pockets. These clothes were more elaborate at earlier times in Jewish history, at the beginning of the new era. This newer, explicitly modest way of dressing the dead was in accordance with the common law by which all men are equal in death. The *tahirim* had symbolic meanings: white color was a symbol of pure soul and forgiveness, and loose parts without knots and borders originated from the Talmudic and post-Talmudic beliefs about resurrection and the beginning of life on the other side, which the dead would enter unbound by clothes and knots. (For that reason, it was unacceptable for Jews to dress the dead in traditional clothes). The magic power of the knot is present both in the Jewish and in other cultures, and it normally carries negative connotations. The knot is a symbol of „bondage” and „entanglement”, which could, according to the principles of transferable magic, result in bondage and entanglement in crucial moments, both in life and in death. (It is interesting to repeat here that the custom of unbinding the knots was also applied during difficult child deliveries, as described in Chapter I). The absence of pockets was also a religious symbol, which expressed a specific attitude toward material things. According to the Jewish view of the world, a man is accompanied to the other world by the *Torah*, and by his good deeds, not by his assets (This view stands in absolute contradiction with that of other cultures, such as that of the ancient Egyptians). The custom to open the hands clenched in fists had the same origin. The only material object which the dead took to his grave was his prayer shawl, the *tallith*. During the funeral ceremony, a *tallith* tassel, the *tsitsith*, was cut off, by which the *tallith* lost its sacral value. The act of cutting off the *tsitsith* from the *tallith* symbolically represented the family’s encounter with reality, with the fact that the owner was not able to use his prayer shawl any more.

The period between the moment of death and the funeral is called the *aninut* (from *anen* – to grieve, Hebr.) According to the Jewish customs, *aninut* is rather short, because the funeral should not be delayed for more than twenty-four hours. The closest relative, known as *onen* (Hebr.) had a special status during this period. He was released from his regular religious duties and prayers and fully dedicated to thoughts about the dead and tasks connected to the funeral. The *onen* was also subject to certain restrictions in his diet; he was not allowed to eat meat and drink spirits. According to the *Talmud* regulations the man in mourning must not be comforted during the period of *aninut*, when he is overwhelmed with pain because of the loss of the loved one. No words of comfort are appropri-





ate under these circumstances; they could even be offensive in moments when the consciousness is pervaded with deep sorrow in the realization that the beloved person is gone for ever. The *aninut* was accompanied by different local customs. A very interesting one involved pouring water in front of the house where someone died. Death was „announced in silence” by pouring water because Jews avoided to spread bad news directly. Also, according to the Jewish religious laws, members of the social class called the *kohanim* (priests, Hebr.) i.e., members of the clergy, which were by their descent obliged to perform certain religious duties, had to stay at the prescribed distance from the deceased’s house in order to remain symbolically clean. The role assigned to water, as the symbolic carrier of the message of death, was also connected to certain beliefs of pagan origin, according to which the spirit of the dead circled around the body for some time, and the water prevented it from approaching the living ones and attacking them. (In Judaism, like in other religions, fear from the other world is very much present despite the attempts of the religious scholars to approach death and treat it as naturally as possible). Another widely spread custom, both in the Jewish and in other cultures, is to cover the mirror or turn it to the wall so the spirit of the dead could not be reflected in it. It was also a gesture performed for the sake of the living, so that the people in mourning could not see their faces twisted with sorrow. Furthermore, it was to prevent them from the inappropriate feeling of vanity in these difficult moments.

A distinctive act used to express grief for the loss of a dear person was *keri ‘ah* (tearing off clothes, Hebr.) which belongs to the oldest group of Jewish customs. Tearing off clothes was usually performed before the funeral, at the cemetery or in the chapel, beside the coffin. The ritual was performed standing up, in compliance with the Biblical belief that ill fortune and sorrow should be accepted with the head held high and following certain rules: when grieving for the father or the mother a piece of clothing one inch long was torn off, from the left-hand side toward the heart, while when grieving for other relatives, a piece of clothing from the right-hand side was torn off. While *keri ‘ah* for the father or the mother was performed by hand, which was more difficult, for the others a knife was used to cut off the clothes from top to bottom. This ritual was performed by the regiously underage members as well, i.e., by boys under thirteen and girls under twelve. *Keri‘ah* was not performed on Saturdays, during holidays, and if the news of death arrived more than thirty days after the moment of death. There were no time limitations only in cases of death of one’s parents. For them, *keri ‘ah* was always performed.





According to the Jewish religious customs, the deceased is buried into the ground, in a coffin made of flat, unprocessed boards, without ornaments and metal nails³. These strict religious rules resulted from certain modifications of the common law burial procedures. In the period BC coffins made of wood, stone and clay were used, and they were decorated by paintings and inscriptions. During the Hasmonean rule, near the end of the BC era, it was customary to collect bones of the dead and place them into boxes made of stone or clay. It is supposed that during the Talmudic period the dead were carried to the cemetery on stretchers, and that coffins were used under special circumstances, only if the dead had to be taken to a remote place. In the Middle Ages, the regulations did not dictate burials in coffins. Even in the 16th century the cabalistic belief prevailed according to which the deceased must be in direct contact with earth, which followed the Biblical principle that upon death the man returns to the state of nothingness. However, in time, coffins of the appropriate form gradually came into use. A simple coffin – *aron metim* (coffin, Hebr.), symbolized modesty and humbleness in the face of God, and it followed the above cited Biblical principle. When *Hevra Qaddisha* prepared the deceased for the funeral, the coffin was closed and no one was allowed to open it afterwards. In South Serbia and in Bosnia the deceased was carried to the cemetery in a simple and unpainted coffin which was then broken above the grave and put into the ground together with the body.

The custom to wake by the uncovered coffin, that is, to expose the body before the funeral (typical of Christian cultures) was also used by Jews in the early Talmudic period. The ancient Jews used to leave the face of the deceased uncovered. However, this custom was later on abolished for moral reasons, as the lower classes of the Jewish society could not afford embalming the body, which would temporarily stop the decay. In order to prevent embarrassment among the poor members of the community, all coffins were sealed before the funeral. Cremation or other burial procedures, mostly inherited from pagan times, were never practiced among the Jews.

The funeral – *kevura* (Hebr.) was performed within twenty-four hours from the moment of death, according to the religious laws, but it was not allowed on a *Sabbath* (Saturday) as well as on *Yom Kippur* – Repentance day (which falls on the 10th day from *the Rosh Hashanah*, the Jewish New Year). These are sacred religious holidays when any kind of work is forbidden. To postpone a funeral under regular circumstances was considered humiliating for the deceased and it was religiously and ethically stigmatized (every deceased had the right to be buried, regardless of who he was or what a sin he had committed. According to the *Bible*, to remain unburied represented a great unhappiness which nobody deserved). When attending a funeral, it





was not allowed to „take advantage of the opportunity” and visit the graves of relatives. The reason was predominantly a formal one, and its purpose was to maintain the assumed respect for the dead whose funeral was the reason for coming to the cemetery. However, a pagan motive cannot be excluded in this case either. There is a belief that demons attend funerals and therefore nobody should leave the funeral procession and wander around the cemetery alone. The cemetery should be left as soon as possible after the funeral. The funeral procession – *levaya* (Hebr.) – was a big *Mitzvah* and was carried out regardless of who the deceased was and what (good or bad) deeds he had done during his life. In case there were several funerals scheduled in one day, any social discrimination was, again, forbidden. There was a simple solution: the first to be buried was the one who died first. In the Talmudic times, the funeral procession stopped six times before reaching the grave. The symbolism of this ritual pauses is connected to the explanation given in the *Midrash*⁴. In a man’s life there are six basic stages which could be interpreted in the following manner: childbirth and the first year of life – when the child receives only care and affection from his environment; early childhood – when the child develops interests for the world around him and attempts to touch everything without any idea of what is clean or unclean; youth – which is full of impatient expectations and desire for the opposite sex; younger mature age – married life; middle mature age – when a man strives to provide for his family, especially his children; and finally, the old age – when the man loses his strength. However, one pagan element is also likely to be present: it is believed that these pauses play a protection role because they disorientate and obstruct the demons who follow the procession. It is also likely that formal side of grieving for the dead developed from this symbolism, expressed as the hesitation before the final parting. In time, the number of stops during the procession was reduced to only three, but the custom has remained a part of the burial ceremony to the present day. Since the relatives of the deceased were in charge of the funeral arrangements, their duty was expressed symbolically as each relative would throw three shovels of soil onto the coffin. Handling shovel was carried out according to the principle of transferable magic; the shovel was not handed to another relative directly after use. It was placed on the ground first in order to prevent transfer of ill fortune from one person to the other. Certain data from the *Talmud* indicate that dill was placed on the grave. Bringing and arranging flowers on the grave was not a Jewish custom.

The Jewish rules do not allow exhumation, except in special cases: namely, when the bones should be taken from a non-Jewish cemetery to a Jewish one, or transferred to the Holy Land.





According to the *Talmud*, mourning consists of four phases. The first and the shortest one is called the *aninut* – from the moment of death to the funeral. The funeral was followed by a period of seven-day mourning, known as the *shiva* (seven, Hebr.). Friends and neighbors, or members of the *Hevra Qaddisha* prepared the first meal for the family in mourning. The meal consisted of boiled eggs, bread and lentil. Bread, eggs and lentil carried symbolic meaning for the Jews. In the Jewish culture, but also in some other ancient cultures, an egg was a symbol of life and resurrection, and an egg in a shell was associated with the introvert nature, which was the prescribed form of mourning. Lentil was used at childbirth (as a „welcome to a baby boy”) as well as in mourning, again as a symbol of the circular course of life and death. The first meal – *se 'udah havra* (meal for comfort) was brought in baskets made of osier, regardless of the social or financial situation of the family in mourning (again, in an attempt to to make the rich and the poor equal in mourning). The descriptive name of the seven-day mourning period, „to sit the *shiva*”, implies how the family in mourning should behave; they must not leave the house, and they should sit on the floor or low tripods, dressed in soft clothes and without shoes (in socks or soft slippers). Such behavior was used to express a certain state of mind, i.e., the concentration on sorrow for the loss of a loved one. During the *shiva* period, the mourners were not to be disturbed by routine jobs and tasks. All practical and personal activities, such as cooking, washing, hair cutting, sexual intercourse between husband and wife, etc., stopped during the *shiva* period. Originally, the *shiva* was respected in cases of death of the following relatives: mother, father, son, daughter, brother and unmarried sister, and later, for the dead husband or wife. During the *shiva* period, a candle or an icon lamp remained lit all the time. However, „sitting” the *shiva* should not be taken literally. It was enough for the mourners to sit for an hour or two during a day. Visits were allowed but according to the determined protocol. The visitor could sit with the mourner until the mourner nods his head indicating by this gesture that he wants to be left alone. Spontaneous conversations were not allowed. The visitor could answer a question, but he could not ask a question or initiate conversation. It is unknown how old the custom of *shiva* is (it is one of the oldest Jewish customs) or why it whether its duration (seven days) has any symbolic meaning.

The third period of mourning which overlaps with the *shiva* for the first seven days is called the *sheloshim* (thirty, Hebr.). As its name indicates, this period lasts for thirty days, and it starts after the funeral of the closest relative or a husband/wife. After the period of *shiva*, ban on certain activities is prolonged for thirty days. The banned activities are: hair cuts, shaving, at-





tending parties and ceremonies including weddings and circumcisions. Only the circumcision of the mourner's own son, if it should fall during the *sheloshim* period, can be organized. Important religious holidays: *Rosh Hashanah*, the Jewish New Year and the pilgrimage holidays: *Pesah*, *Shavouth* and *Sukkoth* are also given priority over the *sheloshim*, and the 30-day mourning period is not observed in full if it coincided with one of these holidays. As the black color symbolized mourning, it was customary to be dressed in black during the *sheloshim*. It is interesting that the Orthodox Jews of modern times abandoned this very widely spread mourning symbol as they consider it to be of pagan origin.

In special cases, when the notice about the death of a close relative was delayed, two rules had to be followed: if the notice arrived before the expiration of the 30-day period from the day of the death, the mourners were obliged to respect the mourning customs of *shiva* and *sheloshim* in full, counting the days from the moment the notice arrived. If the notice arrived after thirty days from the moment of death, the customs were symbolically performed within just one hour.

A man in mourning for the loss of a person was called *avel* and his behavior and the state of mind were marked by term *avelut* (mourning, lament, Hebr.). The appropriate grieving behavior was prescribed by regulations called the *dine avelut*. However, it should be pointed out that the philosophy of Judaism strives toward balancing out discrepancies between the prescribed behavior through which a man should show his grief, and his emotional and psychological state of mind which is caused by the death of a close person. Customs and personal experience stand in correlation in this matter, conditioned by tradition, education and development of particular attitudes toward the world, including life and death. All this considered, the mourning period was understood as necessary and normal, but the grief could not be allowed to turn into depression or other more serious mental disorder. The custom instructed not only how to express grief, but also how to overcome it and continue living. The period of *sheloshim*, therefore, represented a transitional stage which should lead to the normalcy of the everyday life. Only mourning over death of a parent lasted a whole year.

The fourth mourning phase for the duration of one year from the death of the relative is marked by the term *sana* (year, Hebr.).

The death anniversary was called *yahrzeit* by the Ashkenazim, and *anjos* or *anju* by the Sephardim. The custom to mark the anniversary of someone's death can be traced back to Biblical times. (Special terms such as *yahrzeit* or *anju* were introduced much later). The memorial service for deceased relatives and nationally recognized individuals have been given on





the *yahrzeit*, i.e., the *anju* from ancient times. In many communities there is a custom to fast on a death anniversary, in order to mark respect for the deceased and repentance for the supposedly or actually committed sins. That day should be dedicated to charitable activities. The date of the anniversary is counted from the day of death (according to the Jewish calendar). If the family did not know the exact date of the relative's death, they chose one day of a year for the memorial service. On the day of the anniversary, the family visited the grave, and kept a candle lit for twenty-four hours in the house. The candlelight was considered to be a symbol of the deceased's soul and consequently associated with the idea of immortality.

The prayer of the mourners is called the *Kaddish* (holy, Aram.)⁵. This prayer is two thousand years old and was originally written in the Aramaic language of ancient Jews from Palestine. Except for the last few verses, which were written in the literary variety of Hebrew, the *Kaddish* is recited in Aramaic even now in the Jewish communities all over the world. At the beginning, the *Kaddish* was a short prayer which followed regular sermons in Aramaic language. The *Kaddish* is not discussed in the *Talmud*, as it was not an integral part of the sermon itself. In the course of time, it was introduced as the ending to certain services, and later on, as the ending to public readings of the *Torah* or the *Talmud*. During the Christian crusades and the horrible pogroms of the Jews in the 12th century, the *Kaddish* became a prayer of mourning and has been used for the same purpose to the present day.

Through the *Kaddish* prayer, a man shows his devotion to God and his readiness to accept, without reservation, His Judgment, whatever it might be.⁶ During the year of mourning, as well as on the day of the death anniversary, the *Kaddish* is being recited three times a day, standing up, for eleven months. (In some Jewish communities it is customary that everybody stands up during the prayer). At first, the prayer was said for dead parents only. Gradually, it became a religious ritual of universal value which referred to all dead. The reason why the *Kaddish* is read for eleven and not twelve months lies in the mystic belief that non believers are punished by remaining in hell for twelve months. Saying the mourning prayer for the parents for a whole year (which was customary in ancient times) would imply that they were treated as sinners. Therefore, the period for saying the mourning prayer was shortened for one month. The *minyán* – the quorum often men of religious age – was needed to perform the *Kaddish*. The prayer was recited also by a man from the family in mourning, preferably a son. Daughters did not take part in the mourning prayers, even when the family had no sons. The rabbinical court did not, however, explicitly prohibit such an exemption to the general rule. A spiritual power of the *Kaddish* has not at any time during the





two thousand years of Jewish religious and social history lost any of its spiritual value, nor has it undergone any transformations or alterations.

There also existed special prayers said for the rest of the dead's soul. The Ashkenazim had a prayer called *El male rahamim* ("God, full of mercy"), which was sung during the funeral, on the last day of the *sheloshim*, at the *Yahrzeit* memorial service, as well as on the days of the *Yitzkor* a memorial service which follows the religious holidays *Yom Kippur*, *Shemini atzeret*, on the last day of *Pesah* and on the second day of the *Shavout*. In this century, the victims of the holocaust and the Jewish soldiers killed during the Second World War are also being regularly mentioned in this prayer. The Sephardi counterpart to the *El male rahamim* prayer is the *Ashkava* prayer ("Rest in peace") which is said at the end of the funeral at the cemetery, and during the days when *the Torah* is read in the temple (Saturdays, Mondays and Thursdays). After singing the *Ashkava*, the Sephardim gave charitable gifts, both to the temple and the cemetery, and to the members of community in need. The Sephardim did not have special days for memorial services. They were held during the regular readings of the *Torah* and after returning the *Torah* to the „Holy chest“.

The Ashkenazim, on the other hand, have developed a complex religious rite which is regularly applied during memorial services. Ever since the times of the crusades they have been praying for souls of their dead after reading the *Torah* in the temple. The term *Ashkarat neshama* (memorial service for the dead) is used for all the memorial services practiced by the Ashkenazim, one of which is a special prayer called the *Yitzkor* ("let be remembered"), which revives the memories of individual members of the community, close or distant relatives, and on certain occasions, of historical characters.

It is unknown whether the Jews from the Biblical times had special locations designated as burial sites. More recently, certain Jewish communities in the Diaspora started constructing Jewish cemeteries in an attempt to maintain the unity of their communities far away from the mainland. A Jewish cemetery – *beth kevarot* (cemetery – Hebr.) is a sacred place: food, drinks or cigarettes are not allowed there. Likewise, it is prohibited to enter the cemetery with the head uncovered. A tombstone – *matzeva* must be constructed above the deceased's grave. The tombstone can be placed on the grave at various points in time during the mourning period: after the *shiva* period is completed, on the last day of the *sheloshim*, or, at the latest, after a year from the death. A hidden pagan element can be noticed in the term *nefesh* (soul, Hebr.) which is used to mark the tombstone in the rabbinical literature. The concept of *nefesh* is derived from traditional beliefs according to





which the soul of the dead floats over his body (similar concepts are present in many pagan cultures which consider tombstones „dwellings” of the souls). The construction of tombstones is a very old custom which is confirmed by archeological findings and comments given in the *Mishna* . In the Diaspora, during the first eight centuries, the inscriptions were mostly in Greek or in Latin, but in time, they were replaced by inscriptions in Hebrew or in the language of the local community. The differences between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim were also noticeable in the shape of the tombstones. The Sephardi tombstones were placed horizontally, while the Ashkenazim placed their tombstones vertically.

The Jewish custom to leave a stone on the grave upon each visit is based on the belief in the power of the dead’s soul. This belief is part of both the folklore and the *Talmud*, and it is also present in writings of other religions. It is believed that a soul of the dead remains aware of everything that is going on in this world, and that it can even punish or reward the living. However, it is not capable to communicate with the living in a direct manner. A symbolic contact between the living and the dead is established by placing the stone on the grave. This act is the proof to the dead person’s soul that he has not been forgotten and that he still enjoys the respect he was given while alive.

However, frequent visits to the cemetery are not recommended. The appropriate time to visit the dead is determined by the rabbis. The visits are usually allowed before important holidays, during the ten days between the *Rosh Hashanah* and the *Yom Kippur*, as well as on death anniversaries. During holidays and on *Sabbaths* visits were not allowed.

Religious written documents are treated with the same respect as human beings. At Jewish cemeteries there is always a special grave, called the *genizah*, in which the religious books are buried which are not in use any more. The *genizah* also has its tombstone which is decorated by an open book carved in stone.

Burials of suicide victims present the only exception to the deep and sincere respect that the Jewish community expresses toward its dead and, consequently, toward its cemetery which is symbolically called the *beth olam* (the house of eternity, Hebr.) and the *beth hayyim* (the house of life, Hebr.). Suicide ⁸ was not treated as a crime, but it stood in deep conflict with God’s will. Although suicides always result from great despair, it is the man’s a holy duty to care for his life and to make every effort to prolong it. Within the Jewish community, the reasons for the desperate act of suicide were objectively analyzed, and suicides could be justified only if they were committed under unknown circumstances, or in the state of tremendous depression caused by some pressures or fears. In cases of suicide committed for heroic or moral





reasons, like the collective suicide in the fortress of Masada after the Second Temple was destroyed and the battle against the Romans was lost, it was even allowed to break the laws of the *Torah* due to the specific conditions under which the suicides were committed. However, suicides committed due to immoral or criminal acts were not a justified and the dead were excommunicated from the Jewish religious community. Such suicide victims were buried far away from the family graves – at the edge of the cemetery – without any mourning rites.

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¹Cadik Danon, Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma (Collection of Judaism Terms), SJOJ, Belgrade, pp. 173-188. Danijela Danon, Jevrejski žalobni običaji (poseban pregled termina i običaja) (Jewish mourning rites, a special overview of terms and customs), SJOJ, Belgrade, 1996.

²James George Frasier: The golden branch: A study of magic and religion, Belgrade 1937, p. 313.

³The original burial procedure involved the use of a bottomless coffin, so that the body would be placed directly into the ground.

⁴Danijela Danon, Jevrejski žalobni običaji (Jewish mourning rites), SJOJ, Belgrade, 1996, p. 6.

⁵Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma (Collection of Judaism Terms), SJOJ, Belgrade 1996, p. 179.

⁶The content of the Kaddish is provided in the translation by Eugen Verber: Uvod u jevrejsku vera (Introduction to Judaism), Belgrade 1993, p. 109.

⁷Danijela Danon, Jevrejski žalobni običaji (Jewish mourning rites), SJOJ, Belgrade, 1996, p. 10.

⁸Cadik Danon: Zbirka pojmova iz judaizma (Collection of Judaism Terms), SJOJ, Belgrade 1996, pp. 188-189.



JEWISH COSTUME – HISTORY AND INFLUENCES

Along with dwellings, furniture, tools, arms and other appliances for everyday use, garments and ornaments are integral parts of the material culture of a nation. Costume is an ethnic feature which is on one hand directly conditioned by the climate, and on the other hand, it is indirectly influenced by other forms of the existing cultural system. Besides its basic protective function, clothing has always been a status symbol through which religious views, as well as traditional and social relations have been reflected. Clothes have also been a reliable indicator of the community's attitude toward outside influences and its aesthetic ideals.

According to archeological findings, preserved engravings and Biblical testimonies, Jewish garments of the Talmudic times were of simple shapes and did not differ from those worn by the neighboring nations living in the countries within the same climatic zone.¹ The basic garments were known as: the *simlah* or *salmah*, the *ezor* and the *kethoneth*.

The *simlah* was actually a long piece of cloth, usually of rectangular shape. It was a simple cover which was draped over or wrapped around a person's body. Worn in such a way, the *simlah* resembled the Roman *pallium*. It also served as a blanket, while the Israelites used it as a food carry-on bag. The *simlah* was worn by most Middle Eastern nations due to its simplicity and variety of applications. The *ezor* was the simplest form of woven garment, while the *kethoneth* was of a better defined shape, usually made in the form of a Roman tunic with long or short sleeves.

The *kethoneth* came down below the knees or to the ankles, and was made of wool or linen, but could also be made of animal skins.

Wool, linen and skins were the three exclusive materials used to make clothes in the ancient times. Women and men alike wore the *simlah*. However, it is not certain whether the male and the female *simlah* differed in any way. According to Biblical references, women preferred ornamented mate-





rials, which might indicate the female *simplah* were made of printed rather than simple one-color materials. The women also used cosmetics and wore jewelry, mainly earrings, bracelets and rings.

Shoes (*nealim*, plural, Hebr.) from the Biblical and the Talmudic times were similar to modern-day leather sandals. The most ancient sandals were opened-toe, but those were later replaced by soft leather shoes which covered the whole foot. These shoes were made in Roman style and represented a cross between a sandal and a moccasin.

Three essential features that conditioned the appearance of the Jewish costume were the tassels – *tsitsith* (Hebr.), a special hair-do – *peoth* (Hebr.), and the rule of *shaatnez* (Hebr.), according to which wool and linen could not be used in the same garment. As it did not apply to the Priest's girdle nor the *tsitsith*, it is presumed that the *shaatnez* did not have any religious connotations and that it reflected the simple necessity to save materials used in clothes manufacture.

The tassels – *tsitsith* were arranged on the corners of the *simplah*, as well as on the corners of other garments (such as the overcoat). More importantly, they were a part of the prayer shawl which in time became an integral part of the ancient Jewish dressing code. Consequently, the tassels have been generally associated with the symbolism of the Jewish religion, even though they were a rather common garment decoration in all Middle Eastern countries of that time. The tassels were also used for a short period of time in early Christian communities. According to the *Talmud*, the *tsitsith* was a distinctive feature of the Jewish nation and a sign of religious and ethnic identification of the members of the Jewish community. According to the original manner in which they were manufactured, two basic types of tassels can be defined – the *tsitsith* made with three threads (associated with the Philistines) and the so-called *gedilim* (plural, Hebr.), made in the form of a cord with a large number of knots, typical of the Assyrian culture. (According to some evidence, *gedilim* is believed to have been a sign of high social status, and it was probably for that reason that certain magical connotations were associated with it.)

The special hair-do included locks – *peoth* (Hebr.) or *peyes* (Yiddish) – which ran down both sides of the face. *Peoth* is still worn by some Orthodox Jews, by the Chasidim in particular. However, the origin and the true symbolism of the *peoth* is not exactly known. In ancient times the Libyans and the Cretans used the same hairdo as well.

The period of Persian domination, from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC, marks the beginning of the Middle Eastern traditional costume. The primitive forms of clothing worn in more ancient times were replaced by sewed





garments – coats of varying length with sleeves, cloaks and overcoats. A special type of riding trousers was introduced at that time, obligatorily worn with boots and leather leggings. Heads were covered by high caps made of strong, tough cloth. This remained the typical costume of the entire population (Jews included) of the Persian empire. Even though it is not possible to make a detailed reconstruction of the dressing code of the Jewish community (which was a rather small minority group within the Persian empire) during the period of the early Diaspora, there is no reason to believe that it differed significantly from that of the rest of the empire. It is much more likely that the above described garments became exclusive symbols of the Jewish people only upon their return to Palestine.

During the 3rd century BC, the violent Hellenic conquest, led by Alexander the Great, ended in the capture of Judea and the establishment of the Greek rule which was to last for the next two hundred years. Two different civilizations were thus forced to live together, under the rule of the Ptolemies, and even more so under the Seleucids. During the two centuries of Hellenic occupation the Jews were exposed to constant and strong Greek influences in both religious and cultural spheres. However, despite the strong Greek influence, the basic religious beliefs and the everyday customs of the Jewish people remained unchanged. Changes did take place in other cultural and, especially, material aspects of life. The strong Greek influence was particularly manifested in the Jewish costume which, at least among the members of the high society, was completely transformed in accordance with the Greek style. The degree of acceptance of the Greek „fashion trend” within the Jewish society varied both socially and geographically. As the Jews in Palestine paid great attention to their religious and cultural heritage, it is quite plausible that they took much longer in accepting the „Greek fashion”. On the other hand, evidence of Greek assimilation was very much present among the Jews living in Alexandria, which was one of the most important cultural centers of those times. At any rate, by the time the Jews, led by the Hasmonean kings, finally defeated the Greek conquerors and freed themselves of the Hellenistic domination, they had already completely adopted the Greek costume. The Greek dressing code was also predominant in the period of early Christianity. The most typical ancient Greek garment was a tunic – *colobium* – a long, extremely simplified one-piece garment with openings for the head and the arms over which the *himation* was draped – an overcoat with the *tsitsith* tassels attached to its corners. The *colobium* was very similar to the more modern *dalmatica*, a tunic with very ample sleeves. Both garments were usually decorated with two vertical bands known as *clavi*, on both left-hand and right-hand sides, running down the entire tunic length, from shoul-





der to hem. The *dalmatica* and *clavi* were typical elements of the outfit worn by the early Christians.

The most relevant information explaining the origins of the Jewish costume and the reasons for adopting particular dressing styles throughout the ancient and the early Christian periods can be found in the *Mishna*, the *Midrash* and the *Talmud*.² Almost all the names of the garments come from Greek, Latin or Iranian and are simply transliterated into Hebrew. Quite understandably, it is difficult to extract from the Jewish costume items that could be definitely considered authentic and absolutely original when this „costume design amalgam” is taken into account. The coexistence of many different cultural systems in the same climatic zone, as well as continuous migrations of the population due to various historical reasons naturally led to accepting foreign influences in the dressing code. One of the examples of such „borrowings” of dressing styles, can be seen in the frescoes from the 3rd century synagogue at Dura-Europus. Dura-Europus was a Roman fortress used as a frontier defense base on the river of Euphrates which had been held by the Greek conquerors before the Roman invasion. The garments in the frescoes display a combination of Graeco-Roman and Iranian styles. The Graeco-Roman outfit consists of the *dalmatica* tunic with *clavi*, *pallium* (an overcoat) and sandals, while the Iranian outfit includes a tunic combined with trousers and boots or shoes. It cannot be said with certainty whether all these garments originated from the same period. (If they were indeed worn during the same period in history, they present very illustrative examples of the cultural diversity of multiethnic communities of the time.)

Head covers of any shape or form – caps, hats, turbans, etc. – had a dual function of protecting the person against the weather and as a status symbol. Hats have represented an important item of clothing in many civilizations. There is, however, not much evidence from ancient times about the way Jewish men covered their heads. If they actually used a cap (which is very likely due to the hot climate), it is not known whether it was a status or a religious symbol. In time, however, the situation changed considerably.

Jewish women obligatorily covered their heads, or more precisely their hair, from the times forgotten. Moreover, unlike virgins, for married women it was absolutely prohibited to appear in public with their hair uncovered. Jewish married women started wearing wigs in the Talmudic times; another custom, which was introduced later, required women to cut their hair, or, more precisely, to have their head shaved, on their wedding day. This latter custom was preserved among the ultra-orthodox Jews only. It is believed that the ritual in which the bride's hair was shaved off was in fact of pagan origin, since it had also been practiced in ancient Greece where woman's hair was dedicated





to goddesses in order to earn their grace. (The mystical treatment of human hair should be traced back to the beliefs of pagan societies in which hair was associated with the source of power or energy in human beings.)

Integral parts of the Jewish costume were the *tephillin* – two small leather boxes attached to long and thin leather thongs. Each contained four passages from the *Torah*. During prayers, these religious objects were attached, by thongs, to the forehead and to the left hand. In the Talmudic times, scholars and rabbies wore them throughout the day, and nowadays they are worn by the Orthodox Jews during morning prayers.

The most distinctive item in the Jewish costume has always been the *tallith* or *tales* – the prayer shawl. Although the *talith* has a very strong religious connotation, it is supposed to have been of secular origin, or more precisely, it must have been developed from a common garment, probably the *pallium* (an overcoat). In the Talmudic times, the *tallith* was an attribute of scholars who wore it over a long under-garment known as the *hhaluk* (Hebr.) which covered the whole body. As a rule, the *tallith* had the tassels – *tsitsith* over which the blessings were recited every day. Consequently, it can be concluded that the tassels – *tsitsith* presented the core of the religious symbolism, while the *tallith* was initially far less important. In this context, the *tallith* was acquiring the meaning of the religious symbol very gradually. In its final version, the *tallith* appears as the prayer shawl of the religious adult males, worn during regular and ceremonial prayers. The *tallith* is of rectangular shape, made of wool or silk, always of white color with blue or black stripes at both ends. The woolen prayer shawls are usually larger, sometimes reaching to the ankles. The top edge of the prayer shawl (the part which touches the neck) is covered by the *ata* – a ribbon woven with gold or silver threads and sewn along the shawl edge. According to some authorities, the *ata*, which was adopted later by all the Jewish communities, was of Sephardi origin. Four tassels – *tsitsith*, white or blue, hang from each of the corners of the *tallith*. The shawl corners (above the tassels) were decorated with small size applications. These applications could be made as separate, yet very decorative angular pieces of cloth in dark red, brown or violet, with gold or silver embroidery. Usually, however, they are of simple shape, made of the same material as the *tallith*.

The so-called *tallith katan* (small tallith, Hebr.) probably originated³ from the regular tallith. It was symbolically called the „four corners”, and it was first officially mentioned in the 14th century. The *tallith katan* is also of rectangular shape, but smaller and with an opening for the head. The *tsitsith* are attached to its four corners. Even today, the Orthodox Jews wear the *tallith katan* as a typical religious undergarment.





The *tallith* and the *kittel* (an undergarment for special celebrations, described in the chapter on wedding rites) are the only elements of the original Jewish costume which have been retained to the present day.

After the rise of Islam in the 7th century under the rule of the caliph Umar II the Jewish costume underwent significant transformations under the influence of the new cultural setting⁴. From that time on, gradually and with many variations, dress regulations have been introduced in order to distinguish, i.e., visually segregate the non-Muslims from the Moslem population. The non-Muslims were required to dress in particular colors, primarily in yellow, and to wear particular dress details.

During the 9th century, the Jews and the Christians alike were allowed to wear yellow mantles and cord-made belts only. Furthermore, it was the first time segregation of the non-Moslem from the Moslem population by means of two yellow applications sewed on the outer garment of the non-Muslims. Head covers were an inseparable part of the costume of that time, but the Jews and other non-Muslims were allowed to wear yellow turbans only. Besides the turban a soft, tall and cone shaped Persian cap called *kalansuwa*, to which the same color restriction applied, was also very popular among men. Certain restrictions also applied to the equipment for the main „means of transportation” – the horse. Non-Moslem riders had to have a marked saddle and wooden stirrups.

Even though every act and requirement which results in segregation based on religious or national backgrounds is heinous, the above described facts from the early Islamic period appear benign in comparison with the paranoid restrictions introduced by the caliph of Egypt, al-Hakim, in the 11th century. In order to deceive his enemies, the caliph ordered all Non-Muslims to wear black turbans like the ones worn by the Muslims of that period. However, the restriction soon included their entire wardrobe. All non-Muslims had to be dressed in black, from head to toe: Jews were required to wear a block of wood carved to represent the golden calf around their necks, while Christians were obliged to wear large iron crosses.

During the following three centuries, all the main religious and ethnic distinctions were expressed by colors. At the end of the 12th century, the Jews, even those converted to Islam, were required to dress in blue, with wide long sleeves and long veils instead of turbans. By the 14th century, the distinctive colors were blue for Christians, red for Samaritans and yellow for Jews, while all of them had to wear cord-made girdles and cloth emblems. Besides wearing the appropriate colors, depending on their religious orientation, women also had to wear shoes in two colors – black and white, or black and red. It is important to point out that the social and political treat-





ment was not the same for all non-Muslims. Christians were treated with greater severity and cruelty, while Jews were treated with more tolerance, which was also reflected in the less stringent application of the dress code regulations for Jews.

Men of all confessions were allowed to wear turbans of the appropriate prescribed color and size. However, since the turban was the symbol of Mohammed, most non-Muslims preferred wearing the Persian *kalansuwa* which, gradually, assumed the shape of a tall and square cap.

A certain formal discrimination of the Jews living in Persia of the 16th and 17th centuries, was expressed through a regulation requiring all Jews to wear felt hats similar to those worn by slaves. Later on, in the mid-19th century, outfits became rather uniform, regardless of the religion. There was only one regulation left, requiring Jewish women to wear black veils instead of white ones when they appeared in public.

The Jews living in the powerful Ottoman empire received most favorable treatment,⁵ which was, among other things, was reflected in the variation of the Jewish outfit, parts of which gradually developed into particular dressing styles. In other words, throughout the Turkish empire there were no humiliating restrictions related to the non-Moslem dressing code, other than the usual restrictions with respect to the particular colors to be used for clothes (the most important was the rule that forbade wearing green). Certain differences in dressing codes among Jews living under the Turkish rule certainly existed, due to their constant migrations, different origins and diverse cultural traditions. The costume of the Sephardim who settled in the Turkish territory, after having been expelled from the Iberian peninsula at the end of the 15th century, differed from the that used by the native oriental Jews. Moreover, both groups dressed differently from the Ashkenazim, who formed a very small community in Turkey. Some European elements also had to be present in the Jewish costume of the Ottoman empire (according to some sources from the 17th century, following European influences, women wore jackets fitting tightly at the waist and trimmed with fur). However, judging by the illustrations from the 17th and 18th centuries, despite the presence of the European, predominantly Sephardi influence, along with the influence of the oriental Jewish dressing code, most of the Jews living in the Ottoman empire adjusted their dressing style to the broader cultural setting. If details and restrictions related to the color of their clothes were excluded, many Jews could hardly be distinguished from the Turks.

During the mid-17th century, the Sephardi immigrants took advantage of the limited freedom they were given in choosing their dressing style, and wore Spanish soft hats with pointed tops which distinguished them from the



oriental Jews who wore turbans. Also, they used a brimless hat around which they could wear a turban, thus accepting a part of the Turkish tradition.

During the 18th century, the Jews showed great affection for dark or black colors of their outer garments – caftans and jackets. Also they wore a peculiar hat which was a combination of the Spanish tall hat with the turban wrapped around it so that the hat top could be seen. The color of the turbans was usually violet, and they remained a part of the Jewish male outfit in Turkey until the end of the 19th century.

In comparison to the other parts of the Ottoman empire, it appears that the Jews, more precisely the Jewish women of Thessaloniki had the greatest freedom in developing their own dressing style. During the 19th century, they wore clothes of bright colors made of materials varying from printed cotton to silk brocade, depending on their financial situation. They mostly dressed in layers. They wore Turkish trousers – *dimije* – and two or three upper gowns, including a dark red long cloak, lined and trimmed with fur for outdoor wear. The married women mostly wore their hair in the back in a kind of bag attached to a cap. The cap covered the top of the head and a fine muslin kerchief was twisted around it. In public, they wore a veil which did not cover their faces. The bag itself, besides its practical function, also served as a decorative detail which was ornamented by beautiful shiny pearls. Rich and elaborate jewelry presented another integral part of the Thessaloniki Jewish women's dressing code.

The Sephardi Jews living in Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia under the Turkish rule⁶ were given less freedom to use their imagination in designing their outfits. Their dressing style was conditioned by the restrictions introduced in the 7th century, and by the 16th century Edict issued by the sultan Murat IV. Despite the fact that over the centuries the dressing code requirements for the Jews living in the Ottoman empire became less stringent, the Jews from Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria continued to dress according to the rules much more severe than those from the other parts of the Turkish empire, some of which were even closer to Constantinople. (In fact, the Turkish rulers' tolerance toward material cultures of the non-Moslem population tended to decrease as the distance from the center of power increased.)

Like everywhere else, green colored garments were forbidden. A typical male Sephardi outfit consisted of a fez, trousers, girdle, waistcoat, long coat and shoes, i.e., slippers. The trousers were very loose, very wide in the upper part around the hips, with suspended pleats between legs ("suspended seat"), and they narrowed in the part under the knees. The trousers were always black, made of wool or linen and reaching to the ankles. A long belt, wrapped





several times around the waist to hold the pants, was made of silk, wool or linen. The jacket was short with wide long sleeves and small buttons in the front, made of fine cloth. A long opened coat with wide sleeves, lined with fur (if it was a part of winter outfit) was worn over the waistcoat. The fez was a symbol of an ethnic and religious status, but it could also represent a member of a specific profession. The fez was also made of fine cloth, and it was, in fact, a round-shaped cap, narrowed at the top, sometimes with tassels. The footwear included leather flat slippers, fitting tight to the foot. They resembled oriental slippers because of their open-heel and pointed tops.

The female Sephardi outfit consisted of a peculiar cap – *tukado* or *tukadu*, a long undergarment reaching to the ankles, an attractive *entari* and, on winter days, a furcoat. The *tukadu* was a firmly shaped round cap, decorated by strings of ducats called the *frontera*. It was usually made of brocade, with long black tassels in the back which imitated the woman's hair hidden under the cap. The *tukadu* remained in common use for a long time, up to the beginning of the 20th century. It was often worn in combination with the city style dress, which was adopted by the Sephardi women at the end of the 19th century. The *entari* was worn over the softly woven linen undergarment reaching to the ankles. The *entari*, reaching to the ankles as well, was bell-shaped and had a semicircular opening around the neck. It was open in front along all its length. The *entari* had long sleeves which were cut (open) from elbow to wrist on the inner side. This dress was usually made of brocade or velvet and nicely embroidered. The Sephardi ladies wore high shoes (very similar to the modern flat low boots) which were decorated in a similar way. The *entari* was made in black, red, violet or blue, and, judging by its shape and embroidery, it looked very elaborate and stylish. On winter days, the women wore open furcoats with wide sleeves over their *entaris*. As to jewelry, the Sephardi women living in Serbia, Bosnia and Macedonia were especially fond of earrings. Other jewels (necklaces, bracelets, etc.) were seldom recorded in paintings or written documents, which does not mean, of course, they were not worn.

Another typical item in the Sephardi outfit were the amulets, which were shaped as to unite the aesthetic and the magical principles. The amulets were finely manufactured, usually in the form of a pendant, looking like jewels. However, their function was magical, and a mainly protective one at that, which shows their remote pagan origin. The amulets were believed to provide protection against evil spirits and spells, and to help people reach happiness or fight diseases or enemy. The amulets wore engravings in accordance with their purpose: different Jewish symbols (the *menorah*, the star of David, etc.), holy books quotations, or combinations of floral and other symbols.





During the Middle Ages, in Central and Western Europe, the Jewish costume developed under most contradictory circumstances.⁷ On one side, the Jewish dressing code developed in accordance with the broader cultural setting and under its strong influence, while on the other side, the setting itself restricted and limited its development, imposing regulations to make the Jewish costume different from that of the broader community. In the 13th century, for example, the Catholic church insisted on creating differences between Jewish and Christian outfits; in the 14th century, Juan I of Aragon introduced the law according to which the Jews had to wear long cloaks and yellow cloth emblems. During the 15th century, the laws related to the Jewish dress code became even more strict. The yellow emblem was a common sign worn by the Jews in mediaeval Spain, England and France. In Germany, the Jews were not obliged to wear the emblem, but they were visually segregated from the rest of the population by a special hat which was simply called *iheJudenhut* (the Jewish hat).

The *Judenhut* was very similar to the Persian *kalansuwa*, and it probably originated from it. A similar type of hat was also worn by Polish and Austrian Jews.

However, the most common feature of the mediaeval Jewish costume in Western and Central European countries was a large hooded cloak used to cover the whole body during the prayers.

This custom to completely cover one's body in order to concentrate on the prayer, originates from the Talmudic times. In course of time, the hood was replaced by the beret which continued to be the normal daily head-dress for the longest time, but which gradually became restricted to the synagogue use only.

During the 17th century, the cloak called the *sarbal* became a distinctive clothing item of German, Austrian, Hungarian and Swiss Jews.⁸ A specific type of *sarbal*, worn on *Sabbath*, was without an opening on the right-hand side – to remind the men not to do any other work on the *Sabbath* and to devote their time to spiritual education and prayers. At the same time, most Jewish men and women alike made elaborately pleated collars fitting tight to the neck a permanent item in their outfits. This type of collar was first used the Middle Ages and it remained in common use for a very long time. Another item „rescued” from the mediaeval times was the so-called „square veil” worn by Jewish women on the *Sabbath* and in the synagogue. It was a tightly fitting cap which covered the whole head. The „square veil” had two stiffly starched wings pointed toward the back of the head, and it was made of linen with two blue stripes which symbolized the Jewish religion.





In the 18th century, no significant changes were introduced to the Jewish outfit. The men wore black or dark colored cloaks, black hats and the above described white pleated collars. Nevertheless, due to contacts with the broader community, many started wearing silk coats and even wigs. One of the peculiar customs of that time was that men went to the synagogue in their slippers, symbolically stating that they were not in a hurry, and they felt comfortable. At that time, the „square veil” started losing its popularity, and it was gradually replaced by the more comfortable female cap with wide lace brim. Both men and women continued wearing the stiff pleated collars and dark or black cloaks over their dresses. For decoration, they used gold lace for the head, silver belts around the waist, jewels and similar details.

In Germany, the above described outfit was in use for the *Sabbath*, during the 19th century as well. However, like the rest of the population, the Jews also adopted some more convenient outfits for everyday activities. The men started wearing shoes with silver buckles, white or black silk socks, velvet knee breeches with silver buckles, colored waistcoats and tail coats with silver buttons, and green cloaks fastened in front by silver clasps.

The pleaded collar was still in use. The men also wore berets over typical Jewish skull-caps (worn on the top of the head) known as the *kappel*. It is interesting that the beard, worn by the Jewish men throughout the history, came out of the fashion in the first half of the 19th century. It became especially common for the educated men to be clean-shaven. In the second half of the 19th century, however, the beard came into fashion again. The French Jews' outfits were similar to the Gentian ones, while the most independent were the Jews living in Holland and England. The Sephardim were the leaders in the free development of styles and absolute acceptance of the beauty ideals of the local community. This tendency had been already present among the Sephardim during the 18th century, so that the Sephardim from the Western European countries gradually became totally undistinguished from the Christians. The changes were also accepted by the Ashkenazim, though with much less flexibility, since they could not give up their attractive long beards and dark modest clothes.

The Jews from Eastern European countries adopted garments typical of Russian and Polish national costume.⁹ However, there also existed some specific items of clothing which defined the image of the Jewish population in those areas. These included typical head-dresses such as: *keppelche* or *yarmulka* – a skull-cap; *ushanka* (Russian) – a popular fur hat with ear flaps typical of the area; *spodic* – a high fur hat trimmed with velvet, and *kolpak* – identical to the *spodic* but made of sable. The Hasidim wore special types of hats: a silk skull-cap called *mosalka* and a fur hat called *duchowny* which





was reserved for scholars. The Jewish women also differed from the rest of the community by the way they dressed. The only „fashion borrowings” they accepted were certain decorative elements and head-dresses, such as lace caps and satin, silk or velvet ribbons with embroidery, which were worn tied around the head. Sometimes, the ribbons were made in the form of a diadem with pearls, or even more ostentatiously in the shape of a little crown. The richer ladies also used to decorate their ribbons with pearls or diamonds.

Although there existed some details which distinguished the rabbi’s outfit from those of the other members of the Jewish community, there has never been a traditional rabbinical outfit.¹⁰ As the Jewish national costume has developed and changed under the influence of the prevailing cultural setting, the rabbinical dress style has been affected by those very same influences. The Ashkenazi rabies, maintaining „more rigid line” in their appearance, retained the strict rule to cover their heads, wearing beards and absolutely rejecting wigs (while they were still in fashion). The Sephardi rabies, in most cases, adopted conventional clerical clothes, and followed the dressing codes of the broader community.

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¹Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 5-28.

²Ibid, p. 16.

³Eugen Verber: Introduction to Jewish Religion, Belgrade 1993, page 26.

⁴Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 32-39.

⁵Ibid, pp. 40-57

⁶Jews in the Territory of Yugoslavia, exhibition catalogue, the Museum Showroom, Zagreb 1988; the chapter on Costume and Jewelry by dr Vidosava Nedomački, p. 105.

⁷Alfred Rubens: A History of Jewish Costume, London 1967, pp. 91-124.

⁸Ibid, pp. 154-188.

⁹Ibid, pp. 125-144.

¹⁰Ibid, pp. 190-194.



TRADITIONAL JEWISH COOKING

Because of the obligation to observe the ritual and dietary laws, the Jewish diet is very complex. Ritual diet includes: (1) regulations about foods that may be consumed, (2) regulations concerning *shehitah* – the ritual slaughtering – and the preparation of meat meals, (3) regulations about the consumption of meat and milk products, and (4) regulations about cooking and running a *kasher* household.

The Jewish diet was strictly defined by laws listed in the *Bible* and later codified in the *Talmud*. These laws about ritually fit or unfit foods are known as *kosher* diet, according to the Hebrew word *kasher*, meaning pure. (The word *kosher*, broadly used today, is, in fact, the Yiddish pronunciation of the Hebrew word *kasher*.)

The dietary laws specify the foods which can be consumed, the manner in which they must be consumed, as well as which foods can be prepared or consumed together.

The laws about fit or unfit foods refer mainly to the use of animal meat, since vegetables and fruit are used without restrictions. It is prohibited to eat pork, but it is allowed to eat animals that have cloven feet and chew the cud. These include cow, sheep and goat. These laws are based upon the biblical verse from the Third book of Moses *Whatever parts the hoof and is cloven-footed and chews the cud, among the animals, you may it (11:3)*

Nevertheless among those that chew the cud but does not part the hoof, you shall not eat these: The camel, because it chews the cud but does not part the hoof is unclean to you (11:4)

Other animals which are considered unclean and unfit to eat are listed in the continuation.

The meat of many birds is also forbidden. Poultry is allowed, and the *Bible* explicitly lists all other bird species that are forbidden. (The likely rea-





son being that some among them are predaceous birds whose diet may include infected meat.)

In Chapter 14 of the *Fifth Book of Moses (Deuteronomy)*, it reads as follows:

You may eat all clean birds, (14:11)

But these are the ones that you shall not eat: the eagle, the vulture, the osprey, (14:12)

The buzzard, the kite, after their kids, (14:13)

Every raven after its kind; (14:14).

Many more forbidden birds are listed in the continuation. Also forbidden are the insects, excluding certain kinds of grasshoppers. This is stated in the *Third Book of Moses*:

Yet among the winged insects that go on all fours you may eat those which have legs above their feet, with which to leap on the earth. (11:21)

Of them you may eat: the locust according to its kind, the bald locust according to its kind, the cricket according to its kind, and the grasshopper according to its kind. (11:22)

The *Bible* regulates the usage of what „moves in the water and lives in the water” in the following way:

These you may eat of all that are in the waters. Everything in the waters that has fins and scales, whether in the seas or in the rivers, you may eat. (11:9)

But anything in the seas or in the rivers that has not fins and scales, of the swarming creatures in the waters and of the living creatures that are in the waters, is an abomination to you (11:10)

Finally, all fish without scales or fins (such as eel or catfish) and all the molluscs, anthropods, shellfish and reptiles are forbidden.

A second group of laws regulates the manner in which animals fit for eating are slaughtered. These laws are called the *shehitah* (Hebr). *Shehitah* may be performed only by an especially trained person. In our parts, the person who performs the ritual slaughtering of cattle and fowl is known under several different names: *koljič*, ritual *koljič*, *shahter* (Yiddish). The latter was used by the Ashkenazi Jews in Croatia and Vojvodina. The Sephardim used the original Hebrew term *shohet*. In most cases, this title was borne by a specially trained rabbi¹ or a person who did it as his main profession. Such a *shohet*





traveled from one Jewish congregation to another and ritually slaughtered the animals. The poorer congregations used *shohet s* services only for festivals, when it was obligatory to prepare luxurious meals, some of them with meat.

For ritual slaughtering the *shohet* uses special, very sharp knives, the size of which varies according to the size of the animal which is to be slaughtered. The slaughtering is done in a single uninterrupted sweep and it must cause instant death to spare the animal from suffering and enable all the blood to drain from the body. After the animal has been killed, the meat is examined (Hebr., *bedika*) in order to establish whether the animal was healthy. If any kind of abnormality of inner organs is found (such as pleura sealed to the lungs), the meat is considered ritually unfit and not *kosher/kasher*. It has to be established whether any bones are broken or any organs missing. The terms designating ritually unfit meat are *terefe* (Hebrew), *trayf* (Yiddish), and *trefe*, most frequently used in our parts. The colloquial use of the terms *kosher* and *trefe* to designate that something is good and fit, or bad and unfit persists even today.

Finally, one more regulation based on the prohibitions from the *Bible* needs to be mentioned: the removing of the fat, with special reference to abdominal fat. „*It shall be a perpetual statute throughout your generations, in all your dwelling places, that you eat neither fat nor blood*’ (Leviticus, 3:17). This law is repeated in the *Bible* one more time (Lev. 7:23-25):

„Say to the people of Israel, You shall eat no fat, of ox, or sheep, or goat;

The fat of an animal that dies of itself, and the fat of one that is torn by beasts, may be put to any other use, but on no account shall you eat it;

For every person who eats of the fat of an animal of which an offering by fire is made to the Lord shall be cut off from his people.”

When the meat is found to be fit for eating, all the blood must be removed from the animal’s body. This is done by pre-soaking and salting the meat after a prescribed period of time, or by burning certain parts of the animal’s body (liver, for instance). These procedures are called *making kasher*, and are also based on the laws from the *Bible* (Lev. 7:26-27):

Moreover you shall eat no blood whatever, whether of fowl or of animal, in any of your dwellings.

Whoever eats any blood, that person shall be cut off from his people.

A third group of dietary laws has to do with the prohibition to use milk and meat simultaneously. This prohibition is based on Biblical verses from the *Second Book of Moses* (Exodus 23-19):





The first of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the Lord your God.

You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk. The Second Book of Moses (Exodus 34:26):

The first of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the Lord your God.

You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk. The Fifth Book of Moses (Deuteronomy 14:21):

You shall not eat anything that dies of itself; you may give it to the alien who is within your towns, that he may eat it, or you may sell it to a foreigner; for you are a people holy to the Lord your God.

You shall not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

The observance of this law complicates substantially the *kosher* cooking, since one has to make sure that one entire meal is made exclusively of dishes made of dairy products, and the other exclusively of dishes with meat. Thus special terminology was developed. The diet which includes dishes made of milk and dairy products is called *milhik* (Yiddish), from the German word *Milch* (milk), while the meat meals are called *fleschig* (Yiddish), from the German word *Fleisch* (meat). There is also the term *pareve* (Hebrew) to designate neutral foods – all vegetables, fish and eggs. In order to avoid mixing milk and meat, orthodox households used separate utensils during the time of preparation.

Consecutive consumption of meat and milk is subject to very strict regulations. After eating a meal with meat one has to wait for at least three hours (among the Jews from Eastern Europe it is six hours) before eating a dish made with milk or butter, such as a piece of cake with *crème*. If food containing milk is consumed first, one does not have to wait to eat meat, but between the two dishes one has to wash one's mouth and eat a piece of bread (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, Vol. 6 Di-Fo, Dietary Laws, p. 40).

There are quite a few documents about the kosher diet of the Yugoslav Jews. In Zemun, for instance, there existed a location known as the „Butcher's Meadows”, where „facilities for fattening and slaughtering the cattle”, owned by meat merchant Frantz Levy, were erected in 1822 (IAB, ZM, 1822, R 988).

It is clear from a document dated March 18th, 1823 that „a useless bull owned by the municipality was sold to meat merchant Frantz Levy for 36 forints” (IAB, ZM, 1823, P447/428).

In his *Short History of Jews of Zemun and on the Border Between Slavonia and Srem*, Dr. Slavko Gavrilovic quotes the following document: „June





1823, Zemun. With reference to the application by Perl Mayer for a permission to open a shop for the sale of kosher wine, brandy and aliments for the local Jews – the local hairsplitters claim that to their knowledge there is no such thing as kosher goods and ask that the application be turned down to avoid growing competition, and the Jewish congregation already has one food store. The application is turned down.”

Documents from the Zemun Archives prove that the Jews from Zemun ate goose liver just like most Ashkenazim did: January 18th, 1785. Raphael Salomon, a Jew, and Nikola Lovacic, a shoemaker, exchanged insults during a bargain over one pair of geese. ‘One can’t buy anything anymore because of the damn Jews’. They are to pay a fine of 1 forint each” (Fd 1 Rats Protocolle 1785, Inv. Br. 1706).

In the book *Obitelj* (Family, Zagreb, 1996, p. 90), Vera Deutsch remembers: „My grand-mother’s cooking had to be kosher, but when buying the provisions she would sometimes ‘smuggle’ something. Nevertheless, the food had to be *milhik* and *flašik*. After my grand-father died, and all her children already held jobs, she did not observe the *Sabbath* on Sabbath, but being a practical woman she transferred it to Sunday.”

In the same book, on page 95, Dragan Wollner says: „Because at home we adhered to the *Kashruth*, the utensils for milk and meat were kept separate, and the *shahter*, a certain Mr Reininger, who also slaughtered chicken for *broha*, used to visit us regularly.”

It is difficult to make a distinction between a typically Ashkenazi and a typically Sephardi cuisine in the Balkans. This is due to the fact that Bosnia, the onetime main Sephardi center, used to be under Austro-Hungarian rule and thus subject to the influence from Central Europe.

In contrast to the Ashkenazi cuisine – very Central European and continental – the Sephardi cuisine is Mediterranean. This results from several hundred years of life on the Iberian Peninsula, during which the Sephardim adopted the local way of life, language and customs.² However, after they were expelled from Spain, most Sephardim found refuge in the countries under the Ottoman rule and their cooking was once again influenced by the local tradition. Sephardi cuisine is, in fact, a mixture of Mediterranean and oriental cuisine.

Some characteristics of Mediterranean cuisine include: light food and plenty of fish, greens and fruit. Dishes adopted during the life in the countries under the Ottoman rule as of the 16th century form a separate segment. These include meat, cheese and vegetable pies – *burikitas*, *pastelikas*; pastry in sugar syrup – *baklava*, *tishpishti*. The most frequently eaten meat is lamb and occasionally beef.





The use of different aliments in Sephardi and Ashkenazi cuisine results from the geographic differences between the two. The Sephardim use a lot of brinjal, leek, tomato, peppers and cucumber. All the other vegetables are also used, but the above mentioned ones are very typical and used in abundance in the Sephardi cuisine. In the Balkans, their cooking is enriched with baby marrow, pumpkin and spinach.

The main vegetables in the Ashkenazi cuisine are carrot, red beet, potato, cabbage, beans, with barley being the main cereal. They consume a lot of goose meat, smoked in particular, as well as entrails and various peripheral animal parts (stuffed goose neck or stuffed veal intestines) and, particularly, marinated beef. The Ashkenazim used mainly goose cooking fat, in contrast with sunflower and olive oil, used by the Sephardim. Both used margarine to prepare sweets, since it is easier to use than butter. The latter being a dairy product, the dishes prepared with it must not be eaten during the meal if any meat is served.

The Ashkenazim lived all over Eastern Europe and Russia, mostly in poor congregations. Typically, they were unable to afford meat every day of the week, and ate it on *Sabbath* only. A second reason why they did not eat meat during the week was that the poor congregations could not pay a *shahter* (the man who performs the ritual slaughtering of animals). The *shahter* was invited on festivals and special occasions such as weddings, when rich meat soup was enjoyed. Their cooking was dominated by vegetable dishes, dairy products and milk. They consumed a lot of noodles, dumplings, doughnuts, pancakes, strudels and different kinds of bread for solemn occasions and festivals.

Because of the hot climate in which they lived, the Sephardim could not use milk, which turned sour in the heat. Instead, they use yogurt in generous quantities. The Ashkenazim used a lot of spices to make the dishes more savory, with onion and garlic being the most commonly used ones. Garlic in particular became characteristic of the Jewish cooking. Cinnamon, cloves and ginger were generously used in the preparation of sweets. Different kinds of fish typical of each cuisine also reflect the geographic differences. The Sephardi cuisine is dominated by sea fish and carp in the Balkans. The Ashkenazim of Central Europe eat a lot of pike, which they also prepare for the *Sabbath*. Cod, herring and other fish are also consumed.

The Jewish cuisine is best known for its baked products and breads: *matzos* and *halla*. *Halla* is a festive braid-shaped bread made on Saturdays. Variations of *halla* are endless.

Matzos (as the Ashkenazim call it) or *matzot* (as called by the Sephardim) is known around the world as the hallmark of both Jewish tradition and Jewish cuisine. „Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; on the first





day you shall put away leaven out of your houses, for if any one eats what is leavened, from the first day until the seventh day, that person shall be cut off from Israel (The Second Book of Moses, Exodus 12:15).

It is difficult to say what exactly the Jewish cuisine borrowed from the Balkan cuisine and vice-versa. To establish that, extensive research would be needed, since the Balkan cuisine already represents a mixture of influences, from oriental in the south, to Central European in Vojvodina and Slavonia. Nevertheless, certain influences are unquestionable. Take *patišpanj*, for instance (in some parts it is called *patishma*): the dialectal version of *pan di Spagno* (Spanish bread), a traditional Sephardi cake, which is used nowadays to designate a certain kind of dough.

The most interesting is the custom of eating and letting the guests help themselves to *slatko* (fruit preserves). It is probably a result of reciprocal influence. In former Yugoslav republics, Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Turkey the custom exists among Jews and Christians alike. In Yugoslavia, it is far more common among the Sephardim than among the Ashkenazim.

It seems, however, that *slatko* is typical of the Sephardi cuisine. The Spanish (Ladino) word *dulce*, literally translated into Serbian as *sweet*, is not found in most other languages because what it designates does not exist either. In Bulgarian there is a word *sladko*, and *dulceata* in Romanian. The custom to offer *slatko* to guests was practiced among Greek and Turkish Jews, as described in many books of travel. Unlike in our parts, where it is customary to serve only one flavor of *slatko* at the time, Turkish Jews used to serve two flavors on the same plate. The Jews from Bosnia kept the expression *dulsi*. In Vuk's *Dictionary* from 1852 the word *slatko* in the sense of comestible sweet does not exist. Vuk thinks that the word *pekmez* (Serb., jam) is of Turkish origin and translates it as *syrup*. It seems likely that the Sephardim in Serbia at that time still used the Ladino terms, including the word *dulsi*, and that it was only by the end of the 19th century that the word *slatko* was accepted for a particular type of food which was then included in the local menu. In *Jewish Regional Cooking* by Richard Haase, in the section dedicated to the Yugoslav Jews, the following two dishes are mentioned:

Watermelon Slatko and *Strawberry Plum Slatko*. Obviously, the word *slatko* is not translated into English in the lack of an adequate term.

Festive Meals

The main Jewish festival, the *Sabbath*, is observed every Saturday to commemorate that God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, and as a reminder of the times when the Jews were slaves in Egypt.





The *Sabbath* is observed from sunset on Friday, called *Erev Sabbath*, when the first stars appear in the sky, to nightfall of the following day, *Motzae Sabbath*.

Abstention from any type of work is fundamental to the *Sabbath* observance. Food is therefore prepared on Friday for the two following days. The fact that the work prohibition includes making fire represents a serious problem. Hence the custom to prepare dishes that take long to cook and are kept on low fire, lit before the *Sabbath*, which is then kept by a non-Jew over the holiday.

The festive menu for the *Sabbath* includes several meals with various types of food. It is obligatory to have *Shalosh Seudot* (Hebr., three meals) – a person is thus spared three misfortunes. Some take a fourth, usually light, meal.

On Friday evening – *Erev Sabbath* – festive dinner is prepared in every Jewish family and there is usually one guest at the table (a traveller, or a poor relative, or a student from out of town...) To have a guest for the *Sabbath* dinner is *Mitzva* – deed pleasing to God.

Most poor Jews tried to have a more solemn dinner for the *Sabbath*, a tastier bread and a bit of meat. Before the meal *Kiddush* (Hebr., sanctification) is pronounced, a benediction and a prayer to acknowledge the sanctity of the day and the festival. As a rule, *Kiddush* is pronounced over a cup of wine (or bread, if there is no wine), while a loaf of bread made especially for the occasion must be on the table. The Ashkenazi word for the *Sabbath* bread is *halla* or *barhes*, while the Sephardim call it *pitikas*.

Sholet was the traditional Ashkenazi meal served for lunch on Saturdays. Other typical *Sabbath* meals include *ričet* (beans with barley), poultry pieces in aspic, *sholet* eggs (boiled in onion leaves for two days), *gefilte fiš* (stuffed fish) and other fish dishes.

The Sephardi menu for the *Sabbath* was not as strict as the Ashkenazi. On Saturdays, they ate the usual pies, fish and poultry. *Hamin* was the traditional *Sabbath* meal.

Beans are a symbol of the *Sabbath*. Various dishes with beans were eaten on Friday evenings or, more frequently, for lunch on Saturdays. Among the Ashkenazim, the most popular dish with beans was *sholet*. The Sephardi (Ladino) word for beans is *fižon* or *fižonis*, and in Macedonian *fižon di noći di šabat*.

In order to keep the pre-cooked food warm for Saturday, because making fire was forbidden, special furnaces for warming up food were designed. They were usually small, just about the right size for a pot of *sholet* or any other dish. There are many documents to prove that such furnaces were broadly used in Vojvodina and Slavonia. They were usually built inside the house, while the firebox itself was on the outside, so that on Saturdays





a neighbor and a non-Jew could come and check the fire. In some places, in orthodox congregations in particular, the food was warmed up in bakeries. A special Talmudic law allowed the Jews to carry things and walk during the *Sabbath* under certain conditions. Thanks to this provision, the food could be brought home from the baker's.

Many Sephardi families had the furnaces for warming up food or, rather, keeping the food warm. They called them *furnjaja di baru* and *furnjala*. The following is a description of a *furnjala* by a Sephardi Jewish woman from Sarajevo: „*Furnjaja* is a long furnace made of clay, with corrugated iron and ring on the top side. It was fired with logs and coil early in the morning on Friday and kept warm until Sunday. All the dishes, in pots with lids, *pastel*, *burikitas*, *soups*... were always warmed up” (Questionnaire 27). A Sarajevo Jew describes *furnjaja* in the following way: „*Furnjajitja* – furnace, in translation – is made of old pot or tin washbowl, covered with a layer of clay, with little holes on the sides to allow the air to flow” (Questionnaire 10). A document from Banja Luka: „It was called *furnjaja di baru*, a small round furnace made of clay and put on a washbowl containing hot charcoal” (Questionnaire 36), and another one from Žepča: „It looked like a jar made of clay and it preserved heat. It was called *njinja*” (Questionnaire 96).

According to the results from a survey conducted by the Jewish Museum about festivals, when asked whether they used a special tablecloth for *Erev Sabbath* the respondents offered the following answers:

• **Solemn tablecloth for *Sabbath* (p.16)**

105	- Yes	(73%)
28	- No	(19%)
11	- N/A	(8%)
<hr/>		
144		(100%)

• **Cover for bread made for *Sabbath* (p.19)**

99	- Yes	(69%)
33	- No	(23%)
12	- N/A	(8%)
<hr/>		
144		(100%)

• **What was the *Sabbath* bread called (p. 29)**

82	- Barhes	(57%)
50	- Pitikas	(35%)
8	- Halla	(6%)
1	- Other	(1%)
8	- N/A	(6%)





• **Did you have a furnace for warming up food for *Sabbath*?**

117	- No	(81%)
18	- Yes	(13%)
9	- N/A	(6%)
144		(100%)

The annual cycle of Jewish holidays starts off with the Jewish New Year *Rosh Hashanah*, observed on the first and second day of the seventh month – *Tishri* (beginning of September – end of October, according to our calendar).

For the New Year's feast sweets must be prepared as omens of „sweet life“ in the coming year. *Barhes* was customarily dipped in honey, *slatko* and sugar. Next to the bowl with honey and *slatko* there was fruit, usually the fruit of the season, eaten for the first time that year: pomegranate³, grapes, apples... The Ashkenazim typically prepared *cimes*. The Sephardim from Bitolj recall: „A benediction for *dulse di kalbasa*, *dulse di mansana* and for *mangrana*“.

The Ashkenazim did not consume the apple *slatko*. However, they ate apples dipped in honey and even carrots, as was customary in Subotica.

Head of fish, lamb or fowl was usually eaten for *Rosh Hashanah*, after the following benediction: „Let us be the head and not the tail!“ It was also customary not to eat salad, pickled or spicy foods.

For the New Year's dinner, the Sephardim traditionally ate *kalda di gajina*, *gajina kum verduras*, *pastel*, *sungata*, *mina*...

Yom Kippur – the Day of Reconciliation, but also the day of atonement, forgiveness, the day without any evil thoughts and the day of total devotion to God. This holiday is marked by very strict fasting – abstention from food and drink during 24 hours.

The fast begins after dinner on the eve of *Yom Kippur* and lasts over the next 24 hours, until the evening on the next day. There were many ways to end it. In most families a cup of coffee and a piece of cake – *patispan* among the Sephardim and a *kuglof* among the Ashkenazim – marked the end of fasting. Others would have a glass of spirit – cognac or brandy. Our survey showed that in Macedonia, Prishtina and Belgrade fasting was ended with *slatko* and a glass of water or lemonade. Some Sarajevan families took a piece of bread with apple *slatko* and a glass of brandy, and in Zvornik a piece of freshly baked bread with plums or grapes. In some places, fasting was ended with a cup of black coffee or *tishpishti*.

The custom known as *kapara* – transferring someone's sins to poultry – is associated with *Yom Kippur*. It comes from ancient times, as far back as the Babylonian period, and it has survived in spite of numerous arguments and strong opposition among the rabbis.





A day before *Yom Kippur*, a white han was turned three times above a woman's head and a white rooster above a man's head and a special prayer was pronounced: „This is my ransom, my replacement, my sacrifice. It will die, and I shall continue on the path of good, peaceful life”. In German, a similar invocation said: *Mir zum Leben ihm zum Tod* (to me for life, to it for death).

• **Was the custom of *kapara* observed in your congregation (p. 76)**

97	- Yes	(67%)
40	- No	(28%)
7	- N/A	(5%)
144		(100%)

After the ritual, the birds were taken to the *shohet*. It was customary in many congregations to offer the meat to poor families after the *kasher* slaughtering. Some would give the meat to the woman who was coming on the *Sabbath* to keep the fire. A Jewish woman from Sarajevo says that her mother used to cook the meat and invite ten poor Jews over for lunch (Questionnaire 41). Many families used half of the meat to make a soup eaten before the fast, and gave the other half to the poor. This soup was very savoury and usually with *kreplah*, dumplings stuffed with meat. The poorest families kept poultry for food.

Hanukkah is observed to commemorate the struggle of the Jewish people against the Hellenic conquerors during the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes from the Seleucid dynasty. A Hebrew word, *Hanukkah* means *dedication*, and the name of a holiday is probably an abbreviation of *hanukkat habayit* – dedication of the home, the Temple.

Dishes prepared for *Hanukkah* are inspired with legends about oil. Hence so much fried foods. The Jews of eastern Europe prepared *latkes* – grated potato fritters, in Yemen – *zalaviye*, in Tripoli – *spanzes*, and in modern Israel *sufganiyot* and *levivot* – batter and potato fritters. In the Middle Ages there was a custom to eat various kinds of cheese cakes to commemorate the legend about Judith, who offered cheese to Holofernes so that he would ask for more wine⁴.

The Sephardim in the territory of the former Yugoslavia used to prepare various kinds of halvah – *halva di Hanuka*, *halva de kučara*, *halva preta*, *tišpišti*.

In her study *The Jews of Vardar Macedonia*, Ženi Lebl writes that it was customary in those parts to fatten geese for *Hanukkah*. „They would eat one half and dry the other. *Halva di Hanuka* was prepared at home. They cooked a kind of *zaprška* – wheat flour browned in oil and poured over with dark, boiled sugar – which was then poured into various „moulds”. The more af-





fluent families also prepared *baklava* and *kadaif* and the others *tišpištil*, the so-called poor man's baklava" (1990:393).

The festival of *Tubishvat* is known among the Yugoslav Sephardim under the name of *Hamišoši* or *Frutas*, and *Hamišoser* among the Ashkenazim. In the *Mishna* it is described as the New Year of the Trees and is one of the most joyous. It is observed at home, with the family, in the congregational home or at any of the cultural, art, youth or women's associations. The celebrations organized by „Matatja” or „Omladinsko kolo” in Sarajevo, „Wizo” in Belgrade and „Jarden” in Split, were well-known.

The children were particularly fond of this festival. It was celebrated in the winter, and one had to provide as many kinds of fruit as possible. It was held that each family should come up with at least 15 to 18 kinds of either fresh or dried fruit. Bearing in mind the seasonal restrictions and a very meager winter offer, that was not an easy task. Therefore, it was not uncommon to wrap the fruit in straw during the Autumn or pack it in some other way to make it last until the Winter (Questionnaire 27; according to Bošković, 1985:55-56).

Purim is the day of joy and merriment observed on the 14th and 15th day of the month of Adar (March – April) to commemorate the survival of the Jews from the massacre prepared, according to the legend, by Haman, a minister of the Persian king Ahasuerus. The name *Purim* derives from Hebrew word *pur* – lots, dice, because Hainan set the day for massacre by throwing dice (Danon, 1974:43).

The five *Mitzvot* – deeds pleasing to God – to be performed on *Purim* include: fasting before the holiday, attending the public reading of the *Megilles* (Hebr., *Megillot*) at the temple, sending gifts to relatives and friends, the children and the poor, and attending the *Purim* celebration...

„Sending gifts to relatives and friends is the most popular *Purim* custom. The Sephardim called it *platikus di Purim*, after *platikus*, a large plate in which the gifts were sent around. The Ashkenazim called it *šlahmones*, from the Hebrew words *mishloah manot* – sending gifts. The rule says that the gifts have to be sent, not presented in person. Usually the children did that and took much joy in it. Some families sent their gifts by a servant or even by mail. Gifts were exchanged among close relatives, especially in-laws, known among the Sephardim as the *kunsvergus*.

There are more examples. In the orthodox family of Jichak Engl, a merchant from Subotica, it was customary to send gifts – not just money but fabrics too – to the rabbi and the *shohet*. The gifts were wrapped in napkins and carried on plates. The persons receiving the gifts would take them from the plate and put the return gifts in their place. Thus the plates were always full of presents for the children to carry them around, and they were rewarded





for their effort with small coins and sweets. Most frequently, the sweets were exchanged as gifts. No rules applied to what could be sent as a gift and this varied from one congregation to another. Crescents with walnut, *roskitas di alšahu*, were compulsory, and so were macaroons – *čaldikas*, eggs in flaky dough – *fularis*, *patišpanj* with sugar coating – *tišpišti*, nut and honey sweets – *juzlima*, baklava, sweet bread, etc.

In Vojvodina, it was customary to send *hamantašne* (*hamantaschen*) – three-cornered pastries with poppyseeds and nuts, and even more popular was dough with poppyseed and raisins filling, in a form of a child on a cushion and hence called *kindle* and *flodne...* Some would send tropical fruit, a bottle of wine or even a small present” (Bošković, 1985:61-2).

Pesah is observed to commemorate the exodus from Egypt and the servitude that preceded it. It is celebrated from the 15th to the 22nd day of the month of Nisan – eight days in the Diaspora, and seven days in Israel and among the Reform Jews. *Pesah* is also called *Hag ha-aviv* – the Festival of Spring, and *Hag ha-matzot* – the Festival of Unleavened Bread.

The preparations for the festival included searching the home thoroughly – *las Hdras di Pesah*, as the Sephardim called it – for any trace of leaven⁵. This ritual cleaning of the home, known under the names of *bediqat hametz*, *akužer il hamec*, *boškar bokados* or *hamec batlenen*, was performed by the head of the family before the festival. After the evening prayer, feather duster and cone-shaped paper bag in hand, he would tour the house looking for *hametz*, i.e. the remains of food with leaven. He was followed by his wife, carrying a candle, and children, who found it all very entertaining. Since the house had already been searched and cleaned of all *hametz*, and the ritual still had to be observed, the mother would leave pieces of bread with leaven (usually ten of them) in obvious places and the father would find them and put them in his paper bag using the duster.

Hametz thus „found” was burned in the furnace the following morning or destroyed in a fire lit in a schoolyard or in the court of a synagogue. This ritual was called *bi’ur hametz* – burning the *hametz*. „In Belgrade before the First World War, the *hametz* was burned on *Erev Pesah*, and children went from one Jewish home to another from early morning chanting, „A kimar hamec” (We burn hametz). They would then bring bags full of the remains of bread to the synagogue court for the *shamash* (the sexton) to burn them after pronouncing a special benediction. This meant that the homes were clean for the next eight days of the holiday and that bread or any other food with leaven would not be consumed in them. The *Talmud* prescribes that during *Pesah* one must not possess anything *hametz*. Observant merchants, bakers, brewers... symbolically sold their goods to non-Jews. This custom was known as *mehirat*





hamec (selling out *hametz*). In every town there was a non-Jew willing to buy up *hametz*. In rabbi's presence, a fictitious contract was signed temporarily dispossessing the owner of the illicit goods. After the holiday was over, the contract was annulled and the owner free to reclaim his belongings.

„*Matza* is a special kind of bread eaten for *Pesah*. It is also called *Lehem oni* – the Bread of Affliction (*The Fifth Book of Moses*, 16:3). The dough for *matza* is made very quickly, without leaven or any other additives, in order to prevent fermentation (...) In the old days, *matza* was a primitive bread. When people realized that dough can ferment, they started making tastier breads. *Matza* remained the bread of the poor, who could not afford to wait for the dough to ferment. It was also suitable for emergency situations, when an unexpected guest would drop by and bread had to be made very quickly” (Danon, 1978:38-9).

During the Talmudic period, *matza* was made every day. It was approximately four fingers thick. In the Middle Ages, its thickness was reduced to one finger. In time, *matza* was getting ever thinner and more brittle (...)

In the beginning of this century, with the invention of the baking machine, the process of making *matzot* was simplified. Still, a small number of pious Jews think that only a hand-made *matza* is *kosher*.

The making of *matzot* occupied an important place in the preparations for *Pesah*. The use of manufactured *matzot* is a recent practice. Historically, *matzot* is made by hand and many authorities in religious matters think to this day that only hand-baked *matzot* is ritually pure, i.e., *kasher shel Pesah*. *Matzot* is made entirely of wheat flour and water. Wheat had to be checked over to make sure that it was completely free of contact with humidity, which causes fermentation. The purest and ritually most suited for the first two festive nights is *matza shemura* or *shmire matzes*. This kind of *matzot* is made of wheat checked over from the moment of harvesting to the actual preparation of the bread. Ordinary *matzot*, which was made of wheat checked over from the moment of milling, was also used, but during the rest of the festive days. Its ritual purity was believed to be slightly lower” (Bošković, 1985:71-2).

Isak Sion wrote that in Štip „*matzes* was baked in volunteer communal work groups. Several Jewish families had small built bakeries at home, just for baking *matzes*. Ten to twenty or more housewives, often related to each other, gathered to collectively bake *matzes*. Every one would supply the necessary quantity of flour *paskual*, milled especially for *Pesah*. They kneaded and baked the *matzes* for ten or more days before the *Pesah*. Apart from *matzes* they also baked *bojus*, small thicker breads made of the same dough” (Sion, 1985).

According to the ritual laws, each household had to have separate utensils for *Pesah* and they also had to be prepared in advance. Since many





households could not afford to abide by this rule, the utensils had to be cleaned of *hametz* in a special manner. The cooking utensils were soaked in boiling water, glass dishes in cold water and fire-resistant utensils were exposed to flames. This procedure was called *kašerovanje* and it was done at home or in public. In the Jewish part of town in Belgrade it was called *skaldar el kovri* (washing in boiling water). „In the yard of the Sarajevo temple, called *Kal grandi*, fires used to be made and housewives used to bring their cooking dishes and the *shamash* turned them inside a cauldron with big wooden spoons. Afterwards, the dishes were rinsed with boiling water. For best washing results, melted lead, caustic soda, red-hot stones or ashes were added to the water in the cauldron. The Ashkenazim had the same custom called *kašern*, and they put red-hot bricks in the cauldrons.

The custom of public *kašerovanje* of the dishes was gradually abandoned. In the period between the two world wars, most housewives fulfilled this obligation at home by boiling the dishes in hot water. In Bihać, for instance, this was called *skaldar los tepsinas*. In some observing families it was not unusual to clean the stove every day before *Pesah* by first scouring it with lye and only when it was completely clean could the fire be lit in it. When the first smoke had come out from it, the stove was considered to be *kasher*” (Bošković, 1985:75).

In Žepče the utensils were tied together with rope before they were soaked in the cauldron, and each utensil was soaked three times.

The main celebration during the *Pesah* is the *seder* evening. It is a moment of family gathering. It is observed according to a very strict ritual prescribed in the *Haggadah*, which explains why *Pesah* and *seder* are celebrated, and describes the ritual. During the ritual, verses from *Haggadah* are read. It was customary in the old days for each family member to have a copy of the book, and the head of the family or any other person acting as the master of the *seder* had to have his copy of the *Haggadah*.

To observe the ritual, a big plate called *kearat Seder* with all the prescribed articles in it has to be on the table. These included:

- *Shalosh matzot* – three pieces of *matzot* covered with white napkin, a symbolic representation of Koen, Levy and Yisrael.
- Two dishes: *zeroa* (chicken wing) and *betza* (egg boiled in onion leaves).
- *Maror* – bitter herbs to remember the bitter life of the ancestors in bondage.
- *Haroset* – to sweeten the bitter herbs, and serve as a symbolic reminder of the mud out of which the Jews made bricks for buildings – *zeher letit*.





- *Karpas* – celery or parsley.
- *Hazareth* – horse radish to be eaten with meat or fish, and vinegar to dip the herbs in.

„*Seder* is guided through by the head of the family. He first reads the usual benediction *Kiddush* which marks the beginning of every festive dinner. After that, all drink from the first of the four glasses of wine prescribed for the evening. The head of the family then washes his hands over a specially prepared washbowl, and that is the so-called *urhatz*. He presents celery or parsley dipped in salt water or vinegar to all participants and they later eat them up while a special benediction is pronounced. The head of the family takes the middle piece of *matzos* from the *seder* plate and breaks it in two pieces, and that is called *yahatz*. One half is returned under the napkin which covers the plate, and the other called *afikoman* is put on the side to be used towards the end of the dinner. *Maggid* marks the beginning of the reading of the *Haggadah* and its commentaries to everyone present. It was not unusual to read it passage by passage, in several languages. The head of the family would start reading in Hebrew, and someone would follow in Ladino, German, Hungarian, Yiddish or Serbo-Croat, depending on the language spoken in the family. The *seder* plate was lifted over the table and the first passage of the *Haggadah*, known as *Ha lahma anya* (This is the bread of misery) was recited. It was customary in many families to then open the front door and keep it open during the *seder*, for it was held that any visitor was welcome to join the celebration on that night.

Ma nishtana (Why does this night differ from all other nights) is the common name for the four standard questions, commonly asked by the youngest participant in the *seder*. Their purpose is to explain why the symbolic foods are eaten on than night only, and what the ritual means. The head of the family gives answers to the questions by reading the relevant passages from the *Haggadah*.

The story about the four sages, the parable of four sons and the story about the birth of Moses and the Exodus from Egypt are read. The latter ends with a list of ten plagues that God afflicted upon the Egyptians. At that, it is common to dip a finger in a glass of wine and shake off the drops, as if wanting to say, *Perish the thought!* It is customary in some parts to pour a bit of wine and water in the washbowl at the mention of each of the ten plagues (Papo, 1983:11).

After that, everybody drinks from the second glass of wine. Several other ritual acts precede the serving of the festive dinner.





Firstly, the host washes his hands reciting a benediction, and after him all men at the table do the same. This is called *rahtza*. Then two more benedictions – *motzi* and *matza* – are pronounced over the *matzot*. *Motzi* and *matza* are the names for the upper and the middle piece of *matzot* on the *sefer* plate. The host takes a piece of both, passes them around the table and they are eaten while another benediction is pronounced.

Maror is a piece of bitter herb, celery or horse radish dipped in sweet *haroset*. This is eaten before *Hilel's sandwich* – two pieces of *matzot* with horse radish or lettuce. Before the dinner everyone takes a piece of hard-boiled egg dipped in vinegar or salted water – the so-called *shulhan oreh*" (Bošković, 1985:76-7).

What kind of unleavened bread was eaten for Pesah (p. 130)

- 130 – Matzot, matzes (90%)
- 59 – Bojus (41%)
- 1 – Matza shemura (10%)
- 2 – N/A (1%)

How was unleavened bread supplied? (p. 131)

- 69 – Through Jewish community (48%)
- 47 – Purchased from a Jewish bakery (33%)
- 27 – Home-produced (19%)
- 4 – N/A (3%)

How was kosher wine supplied? (p. 132)

- 49 – Through Jewish community (34%)
- 38 – Purchased from a shop (26%)
- 1 – Home-produced (11%)
- 41 – N/A/(28%)
- 144 (100%)

Hag ha-Shavuot is Festival of Weeks. It is also known as *Hag ha-Qazir* – Harvest Festival, and *Yom ha-Bikkurim* – Day of the First Fruits. In our country it is known as *Šavuot*, *Ševuot*, *Sivo*, *Ševues* or *Švies*. Nowadays it is celebrated for two days, on the 6th and 7th day of the month of Si van, and in Israel on the 6th day only. The Talmudic scholars counted that precisely on that day Moses received the *Torah* and the Ten Commandments on the Mount Sinai, and proclaimed that to be the main content of this festival.

In order to mark the original agricultural character of this holiday, the inside of the synagogues are decorated with green leaves, while food and





pastries with milk and dairy products are prepared. It is said that so much milk is used to prepare the festive meal because *Shavuot* is also celebrated in the glory of the *Torah*, compared to „milk and honey” in the *Song of Songs*.

The Sephardim customarily prepared delicacies with rice: *ličikas* (ground rice pudding), *sulač* (sutlijaš, rice pudding), *aroz di leči* (*Magen David*-shaped rice pudding sprinkled with cinnamon). The Ashkenazim made cheese cakes called *milhikes*, *kasedolken* or *delkli*.

Two kinds of pastry prepared for *Shavuot* deserve special mention: *La manu di Moše rabenu* and *Montis di Sinaj* or *Montis di Šavuot*. The first – Hand of Moses – was made in special molds in the shape of a hand. The second – Mount Sinai – looked like a round-shaped bread or a roll with decorative coating, or ornamented with incised designs. They were made of sour dough, often with raisins. The decorations were made of the same dough and had different forms: a staircase, to commemorate Moses’ climbing to Sinai; the tablets with the Commandments; tiny cylinder-shaped rolls to represent the *Torah* scrolls, since *Shavuot* is the festival of the *Torah*, and the magical rod with which Moses divided the waters of the Red Sea. And many different birds, the Star of David and so on” (Bošković, 1985:85-6).

A.D.

¹Rabbis performed several duties, especially in small congregations. They circumcised male children, i.e., acted as mohels, were present at prayers and acted as cantors (Yiddish term among the Ashkenazim) or hazana (a term used by the Sephardim). Finally, they also performed the ritual slaughtering.

²Apart from the Ladino language, romances and proverbs, the Sephardi Jews also imported some dishes.” (Pinto, 1987, p. 30)

³Pomegranate is eaten for its numerous seed. The rabbis counted that each pomegranate has 613 seed, which is the exact number of laws to be observed by all practicing Jews – Tairag Mitzvot.

⁴Judith is a Jewish heroine who with courage and ruse helped her people at a crucial moment. Assyrian king Nabuchadnezzar, after conquering Medes, set war upon the Jews. His commander in chief, Holofernes, laid siege to the fortified city of Bethulia. Because of a long siege the city awaited conquest and destruction. Judith, a widow, went to Holofernes’ tent and seduced the Assyrian with her beauty and with ruse and made him drink more wine than ever before. Holofernes’ inability to resist beauty and wine cost him his head. The Assyrian army, left without the leader, withdrew, and Judith sang a hymn of victory in the glory of the Lord and with her people went to Jerusalem where for three months they celebrated their liberation at the foot of the Temple.

⁵“*Hametz* (Hebr., leaven) is the name used for all food or cooking utensils that are not kosher eshl *Pesah* (kosher for Passover), such as any old dough. According to the *Torah*, it is forbidden to eat or use hametz during the festival. The word *hametz* also designates anything dirty. Any evil drive in man was called *hametz* by the rabbis. Similar terms are also used by medieval Cabalists” (Danon, 1978:44).



OBSERVANCE OF TRADITION AMONG THE YUGOSLAV JEWS

The Jews settled in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in different periods in the course of 2,000 years. At different times they lived in different territories. Nonetheless, they have always organized their lives according to their religious regulations, and set up institutions which have enabled them to observe all the ritual laws. In ancient times, under the Romans, the Jews lived in the territory of Macedonia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Remnants of material culture, such as inscriptions on tombstones, show that Jewish communities existed in ancient Mursa near Osijek, in Salona near Split and in Stobi in Macedonia.

Apart from the remains of material culture (synagogues, houses, streets), the Jewish community that existed in the territory of Slovenia in the Middle Ages has left behind written sources which give us insight into how the life of this community was organized.

The early written sources are actually a specific rabbinical literature, called „*responsa*“. These are books written in the form of questions and answers. They first appeared when the learned rabbis collected and printed the questions coming from numerous towns on different legal and religious issues and their replies. Thus, these books are in fact anthologies of discussions on observing Jewish religious tradition in a particular region and they represent excellent sources for research. We can use these sources as a basis for studying the history and life of the Jews in the whole territory of former Yugoslavia.

For instance, the Maribor rabbi Isrlein wrote about the Jews in Maribor, and many years later his *responsa* were edited by the regional rabbi from Dakovo, Schulsinger; the Bosnian Jews were described by Sarajevo chief rabbi Dr. Morh Levi, on the basis of the extant municipal records and ample lit-





erature; a journalist from Israel, Ženi Lebl, wrote about the Macedonian Jews on the basis of a great number of existing *responsa* which give details about the Jews in Skopje, Bitolj, Štip and other places in Macedonia ; Belgrade rabbi Ignjat Slang wrote about the Belgrade Jews in his book *Jews in Belgrade*1-apart from the *responsa* written by famous rabbis from big Jewish centres, such as rabbi Shmuel da Medina from Thessaloniki, he used *responsa* collected and published by Belgrade rabbis in the 17th century. A book of *responsa* referring to the Jews from Split is kept in the Jewish Historical Museum. It was printed in Livorno in 1884.

Apart from the oldest Jewish inhabitants of the Balkans, called Romaniot, there were those who came to these parts in later periods and who differed in terms of their historical and cultural heritage. The arrival of the Romaniot in the Balkans was followed by that of the Ashkenazim, Central European Jews who settled in the Mediterranean and other European countries after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD. The Ashkenazim were named after the Hebrew word *Ashkenaz*, which designates the territory of today's Germany. These Jews are the bearers of Central European culture and their language is called Yiddish. Yiddish is a mixture of old German and Hebrew with noticeable traces of Slavic (Polish and Russian) words. Later on, Yiddish spread particularly among the Eastern European Jews. The Ashkenazim came to the Balkans from the Habsburg Empire. They founded their communities in the territory of Slovenia in Ljubljana, Maribor, Ptuj, and other towns. However, they were driven away from these regions at the beginning of the 16th century, and never again did they inhabit these parts in greater numbers. Most Ashkenazim lived in the territory of Vojvodina, Slavonia and Croatia where they settled towards the end of the 18th century and in greater numbers during the 19th century. Despite their comparatively late arrival, their economy prospered very quickly and they left a remarkable trace in the towns where they lived. They were in trade, entrepreneurship and the professions.

The other group of Jews are the Sephardim, who lived for ages on the Iberian peninsula, where they created an important culture. Following their expulsion from Spain in 1492, they scattered across the Mediterranean countries, the majority of them settling in the Ottoman Empire. They reached the territory of the former Yugoslavia via Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece and came to Split, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo from Venice over the Adriatic Sea. They founded their communities in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Dubrovnik and Split. The Sephardim were tradesmen and craftsmen. They spoke Ladino, a language based on old Spanish, with a great number of Turkish and Slavic words.





The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim lived in separate communities in the Balkans, with separate synagogues and other institutions. They had different costumes, customs and attitudes towards their living environment. The environment, on its part, treated the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim differently. As the Sephardim started inhabiting these regions as early as the 16th century, they had lived here longer than the Ashkenazim who came mainly in the 19th century. This is why the Sephardim were better accepted by society, and were considered to be the native population, whereas the Ashkenazim were regarded as newcomers and foreigners. Nonetheless, the Balkan nations' treatment of Jews was very tolerant, especially if compared to the treatment of Jews in other European countries, where they were persecuted. Due to their life style and the need to observe their customs, the Jews usually lived in specific streets in all the towns they inhabited, and such a street would later on be known as Jewish Street. There still exist Jewish (Žudioska, Jevrejska) streets in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Dubrovnik. In some towns these were actually districts, while there were real Jewish ghettos in Split and Dubrovnik. Consequently, a street in Split is called „In the middle of the ghetto”, and Žudioska Street in Dubrovnik was a ghetto as it was closed at both ends. Living in such a small space was partly due to the necessity for all Jewish institutions to be concentrated in a restricted space. In Sarajevo, for example, a synagogue was built within Siavush-Pasha's Daira, a space allotted to Jewish inhabitants. As on the *Sabbath* Jews are not allowed to walk too far to reach the synagogue, these were built within the bounds of Jewish districts. Such examples are numerous in many towns inhabited by Jews. Next to the synagogue there was usually a ritual bathhouse, along with a school, a flat for the rabbi, and chambers of different societies. There was a similar regulation regarding graveyards, which were also built near Jewish districts. One of the most famous examples of such graveyards is the Jewish Cemetery in Prague, which still fits perfectly into its urban environment. There are a few old Jewish graveyards in the territory of the former Yugoslavia too, which, admittedly, are not shrouded in such a veil of mystique as the one in Prague, since they are not as compact and incorporated into the everyday living space. On the other hand, there are graveyards, such as the old Sephardi cemetery in Kovačići in Sarajevo, which are extremely significant on account of their uniquely shaped tombstones. The origin of this shape has not been explained yet.

Jewish societies played a big role in keeping tradition and fulfilling tasks set by the Jewish religion. Humanitarian societies for taking care of the sick are among the oldest Jewish societies. Particularly important was the *Hevra Qaddisha* society which looked after the dying and organized funer-





als. In many towns, this society is as old as the Jewish district itself. A great part in maintaining tradition was also played by religious societies where Jews gathered on holidays which involved various morning prayers or midnight gatherings. In these societies the *Talmud* and the *Torah* were studied on Saturdays, and special ritual meals were arranged, too. The building of the Jewish society *Oneg Shabbat*, dedicated to preserving traditions, still exists in Belgrade. Sarajevo still boasts the building of the Jewish society *La Benevolencia* which is a symbol of a totally different type of society. These were humanitarian societies founded at the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century, and engaged in humanitarian work in a more modern way. Their primary goals were financial support and education of pupils and students and assisting cultural work. In big Jewish communities different kinds of societies developed. Besides those which dealt with traditional tasks such as taking care of the sick and the poor, there were also women's societies primarily focused on providing dowry for poor girls.

There was a very strong Sephardi movement in Sarajevo in the twenties and the thirties. As part of this movement, various cultural events were organized by a number of Sephardi societies, as well as evening gatherings where amateur theatre performances were put on. These depicted different customs, which incorporated many romances and other folklore elements. In 1924 *La Benevolencia* published a memorial edited by Stanislav Vinaver and printed in Belgrade. Many texts from this rare book are classics nowadays, above all the text by Avram Altarac „Wedding customs of the Bosnian Sephardim” and the text by Dr. Atijas, „The Atmosphere in Bosnian synagogues”. This is one of the most beautiful depictions of Yugoslav Jews.

Here follows an extract describing a synagogue which was arranged by Maći Bohor in his house in Sarajevo, on Banjski Brijeg: „With such warmth were Selah prayers said in Maći Bohor's temple once, next to kerosene lamps and slim tapers on the teva! Late Sor Leon, very pious, of a somewhat sloppy appearance, but exact and taking the lead when it came to God-fearing and God-pleasing things, his face radiating a peaceful smile, would say the *eleuna sebasamayaim* sighing in such a way that your soul would be touched. He would say the words in a moved prayer, which sounded like crying, and which brought back to you distant secrets of remote times from the darkness of the early mornings in Elul through the windows of that temple. How big was this ceremony when the temple extended to another room! To the Jews from Banjski Brijeg it was as if their property had doubled. Maći Bohorin's family with him as the head were scattered across the big yard of the temple, as if they were consecrated on Banjski Brijeg. Maći Bohor, precise, devout, quick and always equally gentle, of a short stature, wearing a fez and Bosnian





slacks, was never idle. When he was not praising God in his prayers, he was putting his yard in order, building *sukkot* or making kosher cheese.”

In 1986 an exhibition entitled *Jewish holidays* was staged in the Jewish Historical Museum. It covered the annual cycle of holidays and included an introductory explanation of the Jewish calendar. The exhibits and photographs from the Jewish Museum were displayed, as well as those from the collections kept in Jewish municipalities and synagogues in different towns of former Yugoslavia.

This exhibition was the last one in a row of exhibitions which presented the collections of the Jewish Historical Museum: an exhibition of metal ritual objects, an exhibition of embroidered fabric, an exhibition of old Jewish books and manuscripts, and a display of the Jewish press in the territory of Yugoslavia. The exhibition regarding Jewish holidays, unlike the earlier ones, had an ethnographic character, and the exhibits were only an illustration of the objects used on holidays. The organization of this exhibition gave rise to the conclusion that the study of Jewish customs would be continued by presenting „the life cycle”, that is the customs related to birth, wedding and death.

In the meantime it became possible for a big exhibition entitled *The Jews in the Territory of Yugoslavia* to be organized in the Museum Showroom in Zagreb. The exhibition was put on in Zagreb in 1988 and during 1989 it was staged in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Novi Sad, travelling to New York and Toronto in 1990. This huge project brought about changes in the plans made by the Jewish Historical Museum in the following few years. Other factors which caused changes in these plans were undoubtedly the breakup of the country, the war and poor working conditions. As a result, staging of the exhibition relating to „the life cycle” was put off time after time for over ten years, but this subject matter was included in the mentioned exhibition „The Jews in the Territory of Yugoslavia”. Namely, birth, *B’rith Milah*, *Bar Mitzvah*, and *Bat Mitzvah*, as well as the wedding rite were included in the chapter *Religious rites and customs* presented by Professor Vidosava Nedomački, Ph.D. Mourning rites and customs were presented as a separate unit and a specific subject matter.

A catalogue offering explanations on how Jewish holidays had been celebrated in these parts accompanied the exhibition dedicated to holidays. Apart from the existing literature related to this issue, the main source of data for the contributions in the catalogue was a short survey of the celebration of Jewish holidays by Yugoslav Jews. This survey was initiated by sociologist Srećko Mihailović, who helped Milica Mihailović and Hedviga Bošković, authors of the exhibition and the texts in the catalogue, to conduct the sur-





vey. As the introductory part of the questionnaire made for the purposes of this survey contained a few general questions regarding the observance of tradition, we will touch upon some of the findings here.

The questionnaire on the celebration of Jewish holidays by Yugoslav Jews was published in *The Jewish Review* for November/December 1984. One hundred thirty nine Yugoslav Jews filled in the questionnaire. Seventy of those surveyed were male, sixty nine female, and the average age was 73. The oldest participant was born in 1892 whereas the youngest one was born in 1943. The replies came from 38 towns of former Yugoslavia, and 53 of those 139 polled Jews were Sephardim, 81 were

Ashkenazim, while 5 of them were Jews from mixed marriages. The questionnaire contained 158 questions related to observing the tradition on holidays, nine of which were of a general character and so they could give us an insight into the family in general.

The answers to the questions in the questionnaire on Jewish holidays demonstrate that almost all families who attached importance to tradition possessed different kinds of candelabra (for *Sabbath*, *Hanukkah*) and other ritual objects. The Yugoslav Jewish community was not one of the economically powerful and rich communities, and some details on what the members of poor Sephardi families had to do in order to meet the requirements of tradition are very touching. There were rich families who owned silver hanukkah lamps, but on the other hand, there were families where the mother would scoop out potatoes, pour oil and place wicks in the holes to make them look like eight lit candles. In some families candles were replaced by straws from a broom, which were wrapped in cotton and dipped into oil. Some families had special, artistically decorated little boxes for scents used in the *Habdalah* rite following *Sabbath* (some respondents were so happy to be reminded of those little boxes that they drew them in the questionnaire), but there were those from poor families who said that at *Habdalah* members of their family would smell coffee or lemon, as they had no boxes.

This small-scale survey helped us find out how much importance Jewish families (prior to the Second World War) attached to their tradition. When asked, „Was your family religious, partly religious, or not religious at all?“ most Sephardim answered that their family had been religious, a small number said their family had been partly religious, whereas only four said they had not considered tradition important. The majority of Ashkenazim said their families had been partly religious, while no one said tradition had not been considered important.

The answers to the question, „Did any members of your family go to the ritual bathhouse (*mikveh*), and on which occasions?“ made us conclude





that this custom had been observed only in more religious families, that it had been obeyed more by the Ashkenazim than the Sephardim, that „the regulations” had been observed, and that it had been done mainly by women following their menstrual cycle, prior to their wedding, before *Sabbath* and other holidays, and by men before the beginning of *Yom Kippur* or other holidays. Some stated in the questionnaire there had been no such bathhouses in their neighbourhood (Zemun, Murska Sobota, Novi Sad, Sivic, Niš, Zavidovići, Derventa, Bihać), but even some Belgrade Jews gave this answer although Belgrade had two ritual bathhouses, a Sephardi one and an Ashkenazi one.

When asked, „Did any of your family wear or use *tefillin*, *tsitsith*, large *talliths*, *tallith* shawls, *kittel*, *kappel*, *shatl*, *tukado*...” a great majority of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim said their fathers and grandfathers had worn *tefillin* and *tallith* shawls. Seventeen Sephardim and 16 Ashkenazim said their forefathers had used *tsitsith*. The *kittel* had been used more by the Ashkenazim, while the *tallith* had been predominantly used by the Sephardim.

This survey also showed to what extent the Jews living in this territory observed the regulations regarding ritual diet – *Kashruth*. Sixty percent of the polled observed these regulations, whereas 37% did not (3% did not answer this question).

A new questionnaire, referring only to the life cycle, was published in 1995, in the February issue of the *Bulletin*, a newspaper of the Jewish community. It contained 37 questions. Unfortunately, the members of Jewish municipalities responded in small numbers, but as all information is valuable, the received answers will be taken into consideration as illustration of how the customs and tradition are observed, especially because some replies are rare descriptions of the wedding rite, or *Bar Mitzvah* and the mourning rites. Collected below are a few interesting depictions of the mourning rites, collected by means of the latest survey:

All the customs were observed in Bački Petrovac: eggs covered in ashes were eaten after the funeral, people sat in the straw on the floor for 7 days, and during these 7 days the mourners did not cook but they ate what their relatives brought.

Margita Ast, Sarajevo: it was customary to eat what the relatives brought.

Aleksandar Demajo, Belgrade: In cases of death in the family, it was customary to tear visibly the front of a shirt. I think this was worn in the first week, when people sat on low chairs and received condolences. Each morning a relative (and there were many relatives in my case), or maybe even a friend, brought breakfast – *dizajuna*. These were mostly cheese or spinach pies, usually ordered in a shop owned by a man called Danon who made





such pies and to whose shop people went if they wanted these specialties. His shop was near the Imperial Cafe close to Studentski trg, approximately in the empty space between today's Faculty of Philosophy and the University Rectorate building. It is very likely that such pies were also made by somebody who had a shop in Dorćol. As far as I remember, the deceased would be buried in the simplest wooden coffin without a lid, covered by a white sheet. Earth would be thrown over the coffin (1939).

Nisim Navonović, Priština: The dead person would be taken to the graveyard in a simple coffin, whereas the actual funeral ceremony was performed without any coffin. The customs of *keri'ah*, *shivah* were observed, the first meal consisted of eggs and bread, and the mirrors were covered. The annual commemoration was called *anju* and until the first year was out a candle was lit each Friday evening.

In Niš the annual commemoration was called *limud*, and during the seven days of mourning only men were supposed to sit together. They were not allowed to shave during this time, while the food was brought by relatives and friends.

Josip Pesah described the customs related to funeral and other mourning customs in Derventa: people in Derventa were buried in simple coffins, there was *no Hevra Qaddisha* society, and the customs of *keri'ah*, *shivah* were observed. The first meal after the burial consisted of boiled eggs and pastry with oil. Nothing was cooked in the house, the food was brought by others, and it was customary to sit on the floor. Mirrors were covered, thirty days of mourning were commemorated, as well as the full year and this annual commemoration was called *limud*. In connection with this latter custom, Josip Pesah explained: „The Temple in Derventa was consecrated in 1911. All local Jews contributed to the building of the Temple, but there were five prominent and wealthy Jews whose contributions amounted to 2,000-5,000 gold crowns, which made them worthy of merit. My grandfather (father's father) Josef Pesah was one of them. For each of them a mortar plate with the appropriate inscription was placed in the Temple (both left and right from the *Ehal*). The municipality accepted to arrange for their names to be read out at *Erev Yom Kippur* after *Kol Nidre* and also for *limud* with the obligatory *minyan* to be held after *tefillin* on each anniversary of their death. Apart from the *limud* dedicated to my grandfather which was held each year in the Temple, a *limud* was held in the evening in our house on each anniversary of my grandparents' death (father's parents). The *limud* was read by the rabbi, in the presence of twenty worshippers. I think my father and his brothers fasted on that day. After the prayer, fruit preserves, rakija (brandy), boiled eggs (*inhaminadus*), lukum and black coffee would be served. The rabbi would be





served first, and he would then say the blessing (*biraha*), followed by all others. Before they left, people would be given a lukum and two boiled eggs to take home so that their family could say the *biraha*.

Dr. Isak Levi, Sarajevo: „*Shivah* was observed. If the funeral of the deceased happened to be on a Friday, *shivah* did not start before Sunday. If a distant family member died before the year was out, the *shivah* would last only for an hour. If a closer member of the family died, or any occupant of a shared building, all water in vessels would be emptied (thrown away) – *vazojat las aguas*. *Yahrzeit-limud* was held after 30 days,

months, and all commemorations of the date of death; (*limud* after 30 days and the one after 11 months were held on the day of funeral, whereas the annual commemoration was held on the day of death). The mourners spent the first seven days at the back of the house, and the remaining days of the first 30 days at the back of the Temple (opposite entrance). In earlier times, this and throwing water away were precautions against catching diseases.

What did the Yugoslav Jews look like at the beginning of the 20th century? At that point, they were already emancipated citizens wearing ordinary town clothes worn by other people in their surroundings. Only a small number of Sephardim wore traditional costumes, that is women wore *tukados*, and men wore *fezzes*. If you look at any old photograph, you will see that at the beginning of the century all elderly Sephardi women wore *tukados*. You also get such an impression after looking at the gravestone photos in the Jewish Cemetery in Belgrade.”

In the questionnaire on holiday customs, 24 Sephardim said their mothers and grandmothers had worn *tukados*. As for Ashkenazim, since they lived in Central European countries, they traditionally wore the European town costume. Their women, like those practicing other religions, covered their heads and wore various kinds of caps. The Orthodox Jewish women were obliged to have short hair and wear wigs called *shatl*. In the same poll nine Ashkenazim stated that their mothers had worn *shatl*-wigs. Some said that long sleeves had been obligatory. In the former Yugoslavia there were Orthodox Jewish municipalities and there is no doubt that the members of these observed the regulations on covering the head (by wearing small caps, which are called differently in different regions – *kappel*, *yarmulka*) and many wore hats, *peyes*, *tsitsith* and other traditional garments. However, to this day not a single photograph showing such Orthodox Jews has appeared in Yugoslavia. Only the Holocaust photos show Orthodox Jews from Senta while they are cleaning the streets and performing other jobs at the Nazis' orders, which was meant to humiliate them. By mistake, there was no ques-





tion in the poll as to whether the men wore *fezzes*, but even without the answer to this question, the photographs prove that up to the Holocaust, older Sephardim in Bosnia and Macedonia wore *fezzes*.

General and obligatory education of children, the emancipation of women and their increasing involvement in the working world were factors leading to changes in the family and to a gradual neglect of tradition. In the years prior to the Second World War there were more and more Jewish families for whom the observance of tradition was reduced to going to the synagogue at particular celebrations and having a more formal dinner on other religious occasions. In all European countries, the Jews were increasingly assimilating into the surrounding culture and in their dress and customs resembled more and more the nations with whom they lived. The most serious blow to the preservation of tradition was the Holocaust which swept away and uprooted the observance of the Jewish tradition from European soil. Today, the sight of traditionally and colourfully dressed Orthodox and Hassidic Jews is a rare one in Europe. Once, the whole territory of Eastern Europe was inhabited by a huge number of very traditional Jews, who had numerous societies, yeshivas, schools, little synagogues, theatres, newspapers and magazines, but all this was devoured by the Holocaust, and what was left behind could not become prominent under the new political conditions.

The Holocaust in the territory of the former Yugoslavia had a particularly ugly appearance, since apart from the German Nazis who initiated the idea of annihilating the Jews, many others took part in this process. This is why Jews joined the Partisans, as the only group openly fighting against Nazism and Fascism. Along with the Partisan movement and its goals, they accepted the communist ideology, too. When the war was over, people were completely changed. The small number of Jews who survived were actually no longer religious. Only a few old people attached to the synagogue survived, while those who wanted to stay loyal to tradition and refused to accept the new life style, moved to Israel in the period between 1948-52.

The Jewish municipalities in the towns where there were Jews took over the task of organizing celebrations, which resulted in the holidays being celebrated in the municipal building instead of people's homes. Performances and gatherings were organized, as well as the *Seder* evenings, whereas the remaining synagogues were usually the venues of holidays such as *Rosh Hashanah* (New Year) and *Yom Kippur*. The *B'rith Milah* or *Bar Mitzvah* rites were performed very rarely and secretly. Wedding ceremonies took place in the synagogue in case of foreign citizens. Naturally, everything changed once again after the 1970s, and at present all the rites and customs, if necessary, are again performed publicly and solemnly.





The Yugoslav Jews have completely broken away from tradition. When in the 1950s they pulled down the old synagogue in Solunska Street in Belgrade, which was one of the oldest buildings in Belgrade, charted in the 18th-century maps of Belgrade, not a single word of protest was uttered by Belgrade's Jews. They did not seem to have even noticed this. Or they may have simply turned a blind eye, hoping this would lead to something better, and at that time, sorely needed.

S.V.

Supervision of English translation: Jelena Filipović

¹Dr. H. Schulsinger, On Legal and Economic Life of the Jews in Štajerska, Koruška and Kranjska between 1371-1496, Jewish Almanac 1925/26, Vršac, 1925

²Dr. Moric Levi, The Sephardim in Bosnia, Belgrade, 1969

³Ženi Lebl, Rise and Fall, Gornji Milanovac, 1990

⁴Dr. Ignjat Šlang, Jews in Belgrade, Belgrade, 1926



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GLOSAR GLOSSARY

Aninut – period žalosti od smrti pokojnika do sahrane

Anju, anjos – godišnji pomen kod Sefarda

Aškava – (počivanje u miru) molitva koja se kod Sefarda čita posle sahrane na groblju i kao pomen u sinagogi. Kod Aškenaza je pandan ovoj molitvi, molitva El male rahamim (Bože koji si pun milosrda)

Badhan – profesionalni zabavljač na svadbama

Bar micva – (sin zakona) versko punoletstvo. Svečanost kojom se obeležava dan kada dečak koji napuni 13 godina i jedan dan, stupa u versko punoletstvo

Bat micva – (kći zakona) svečanost kojom se obeležava versko punoletstvo devojčice kada ona napuni 12 godina i jedan dan

Bet din – rabinski sud, zakonodavno-versko telo koje postoji pri svakoj jevrejskoj opštini

Bet kevarot – groblje

Bikur holim – poseta bolesnika. Postojala su u mnogim jevrejskim opštinama humanitarna društva pod istim nazivom

Biraha, beraha – blagoslov

B'rit mila – obred obrezivanja muškog deteta osmog dana po rođenju

Cedaka – dobročinstvo, dobrovoljni prilog

Cicit – obredne rese koje se vezuju na četiri ugla molitvenog ogrtača

El male rahamim – molitva koja se kod Aškenaza čita posle sahrane i kao pomen u sinagogi

Elul – mesec u jevrejskom kalendaru, avgust-septembar, ima 29 dana

Gabaj – službenik u sinagogi

Galut – dijaspora

Gemara – deo Talmuda u kome se komentariše osnovni deo Talmuda, Mišna

Geniza – mesto na kome se ostavljaju (sahranjuju) stare i oštećene jevrejske knjige i rukopisi. Obično je to na groblju (gde se povodom sahranjivanja tih rukopisa priredi i obred geniza), ili u sinagogi

Get – dokument o razvodu braka

Geto – deo grada u kome su Jevreji morali da žive po naredenju vlasti

Goses – osoba koja je na samrti

Halaha – propis, usmeno predanje

Halica – oslobađanje žene od bračne dužnosti

Hevra kadiša – Sveto društvo, tradicionalno udruženje koje postoji pri svakoj jevrejskoj opštini i koje se brine o ukopu mrtvih

Hupa – baldahin pod kojim se odvija venčanje, deo ceremonije venčanja koji se odvija ispod baldahina

Ičaj keria – sefardski termin za obred keria – cepanje odeće u znak žalosti

Jarcajt – aškenaski termin za godišnji pomen

Jizkor – molitva za dušu pokojnika

Jidiš – govorni jezik aškenaskih Jevreja. Nastao u X veku kao mešavina staronemačkog, hebrejskog, poljskog i ruskog

Jom kipur – praznik, post dug 24 sata. Dan pomirenja, slavi se 10. Tiš-rija

Kadiš – sveti, molitva za pokojnike

Kepele – mala muška kapa koju obavezno nose ortodoksni Jevreji

Keria – obred cepanja odeće ožalošćenih članova porodice

Ketuba – bračni ugovor

Kevod amet – običaj da se telo pokojnika ne ostavlja samo

Kevura – sahranjivanje

Kidušin – veridba

Kit(e)l – beli ogrtač u kome se muškarac venčava, sahranjuje i u kome je na praznik Pesah

Koen, kohen – (množ. Kohanim) sveštenik

Kol nidre – molitva kojim počinje služba na praznik Jom kipur

Ladino – govorni jezik sefardskih Jevreja

Menora – sedmokraki svećnjak, jedan od glavnih simbola jevrejske vere

Micva – (množ. micvot), verska zapovest, dobro delo

Midraš – priče i legende vezane za Bibliju

Mikve – ritualno kupatilo

Minjan – grupa od najmanje deset muškaraca. Da bi se mogla održati služba neophodno je da bude prisutno najmanje deset muškaraca starijih od 13 godina

Mišna – osnovni deo Talmuda

Moel – obrezivač

Levaja – posmrtna pratnja

Maceva – nadgrobni spomenik

Nefeš – spomenik

Nisuin – venčanje

Oneg Šabat – subotnje uživanje. Običaj da se za praznik Šabat pripreme što ukusnija jela. Istoimena društva koja održavaju tradiciju slavljenja praznika Šabat

Peot (hebr.) pejes (jid.) – uvojcji kose koje ortodoksni Jevreji ne šišaju

Pidjon ha-ben – otkup prvorođenog sina

Pirke avot – Izreke otaca, deo jevrejskog molitvenika

Rabin – učitelj, sveštenik

Rehica – pranje pokojnika pre sahrane

Rofe – lekar

Sandak – kum

Sarbal – ogrtač

Selihot – molitve pokajnice u stiho-
vima čitaju se pred praznik Roš ha-
šana (Nova godina)

Seudat havraa – prvi obed koji se
ožalošćenima daje posle sahrane

Sivlonot – pokloni koje razmenjuju
mladenci

Sofer – pisar

Suka – koliba koja se pravi za pra-
znik Sukot

Sabat – glavni jevrejski praznik, sla-
vi se svake subote

Šadhan – posrednik kod sklapanja
braka, „provodadžija”

Šatl – perika koju su bile obavezne
da nose ortodoksne Jevrejke

Šavuot – praznik sedmica (pedest-
nica), slavi se 50 dana posle drugog
dana praznika Pesah, 6. i 7. Sivana

Šemini acaret – osmi dan praznika
Sukot

Šiva – žalobni obred pri kome ožalo-
šćeni sedam dana sede na podu

Šinuj ašem – obred promene imena
u slučaju bolesti

Šomer, (množ. šomerim) – čuvar

Sulhan aruh – Postavljen sto. Naziv
knjige propisa i pravila, koju je prire-
dio Josef Karo u XVI veku.

Taara, tahara, (rehica) – ritualni
obred pranja leša pre sahrane

Talmud – učenje, kodeks pravila
kojima se reguliše način života i ko-
mentara na Bibliju

Tahrihim – bela posmrtna odeća u
koju se umotava pokojnik pre sahrane

Talit – molitveni šal

Talit katan – mali molitveni šal koji
se upotrebljavao za decu

Tanah – Stari zavet, Sadrži tri dela:
Tora, Neviim (Proroci) i Ketuvim
(Spisi)

Tenaim, tanaim – učenjaci koji su
izgradili pravni sistem koji je ušao u
Talmud (Mišnu)

Teva, tiva (bima, bema) – postolje sa
koga se čita Tora u sinagogi

Tevet – mesec u jevrejskom kalen-
daru, decembar-januar, ima 29 dana

Tefila – osnovni deo svake molitve.
Sastoji se iz više blagoslova.

Tefilin – obredni kajiš koji se omo-
tava pri molitvi oko glave i oko leve
ruke

Tora – prvi deo Biblije – Tanaha. Pe-
toknjžje, Pet knjiga Mojsijevih

Tukado, tukadu – ženska sefardska
kapa

KATALOG

CATALOGUE

1. Uvod

1/1 Parohet

1907.

somot, vez pozlaćenom bakarnom
niti dimenzije: 168×215 cm JIM inv.
br. 370

1/2 Tora

pergament, pisano mastilom
dimenzije: 45,5×80 cm
JIM inv. br. 401

1/3 Meil 1913.

somot, vez pozlaćenom bakarnom
niti dimenzije: 43×80 cm
JIM inv. br. 384

1/4 Rimonim (par)

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, cizelirano, gravirano;
ima puncu
dimenzije: 35×34 cm
JIM inv. br. 198

1/5 Tas, (štit) za Toru

Bosna, 1716.
srebro, iskucavano, cizelirano,
gravirano dimenzije: 11×25 cm JIM
inv. br. 216

1/6 Tora

pergament, pisano mastilom
dimenzije: 57×105 cm / duž. 320
cm
JIM inv. br. 397

1/7 Jad

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro,
liveno, cizelirano, gravirano; ima
puncu duž. 31 cm
JIM inv. br. 229

1/8 Jad

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro,
liveno, iskucavano, gravirano duž.
30,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 233

1/9 Mezua

Izrael, XX vek Skola Becalel
dimenzije: 2,5×13 cm
JIM inv. br. 487

1/10 Talmud

izbor tekstova, prevod i
objašnjenja, Eugen Verber
Beogradski izdavačko – grafički
zavod, Beograd 1990.
jezik – srpski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 14,5×20,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 554/i

1/11 Midraš

Frankfurt na Odri, 1693.
jezik – hebrejski, pismo –
hebrejsko
kvadratno i raši
dimenzije: 23×32,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 99/i

1/12 Šulhan aruh

Amsterdam, 1753.
autor Josef Karo, komentari Moše
Iserles jezik – hebrejski, pismo
– hebrejsko kvadratno i raši
dimenzije: 12,5×17,6 cm
JIM inv. br. 98/i

1/13 Libro de Mantenimento dela Alma

Venecija, 1609.
jezik – španski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 18,3×24,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 37/i

1/14 **Aruh Hakacur**

Prag, 1707.

jezik – hebrejski, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno i raši
dimenzije: 15,5×19,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 34/i

1/15 **Molitvenik**

Beč, 1891, štamparija Josifa
Šlezingera povež: emajl, mesingani
okov, aplikacije od slonovače i
mesinga jezik – hebrejski, pismo
– hebrejsko kvadratno i raši
dimenzije: 12,8×19,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 106/i

1/16 **Molitvenik**

Budimpešta, 1901,
štamparija Josifa Šlezingera
jezik – hebrejski i mađarski,
pismo – hebrejsko kvadratno i
latinica
povež: kožni, aplikacije od sedefa
dimenzije: 12×17,6 cm
JIM inv. br. 105/i

1/17 **Molitvenik**

Beč, 1891,
štamparija Josifa Šlezingera
jezik – hebrejski, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno
povež: kožni, aplikacije od sedefa
dimenzije: 13×19 cm
JIM inv. br. 124/i

1/18 **Biblia Hebraica**

Štuttgart, 1950,
izdavač Rudolf Kajtel
jezik – nemački i hebrejski,
pismo – latinica i hebrejsko
kvadratno dimen.: 17,5×24,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 566/i

1/19 **Mizrah**

Palestina, poč. XX veka
papir, štampa
dimenzije: 43×33,3 cm
JIM inv. br. 557

1/20 **Mizrah**

Palestina, poč. XX veka
papir, štampa
dimenzije: 42,3×33 cm
JIM inv. br. 559

2. Rođenje

2/1 **Matica Conscriptionis – Matična knjiga rođenih**

Karlovac, 1825-1939.
papir, štampa,
rukopis, mastilo
jezik – hrvatski, hebrejski,
pismo – latinica, hebrejski kurziv
dimenzije: 30,5×46 cm
JIM inv. br. 4640

2/2 **Matica rođenih za Izraelite grada Osijeka – matična knjiga rođenih, venčanih i umrlih, Osijek, 1882-1896.**

papir, štampa,
rukopis, mastilo jezik – hrvatski,
pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 36×53,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 6137

2/3 **Matica izraelita rođenih, vjenčanih, umrlih u Osijeku, Nadrabinat Osijeka, 1900-1910.**

papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – hrvatski,
pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 36×50 cm
JIM inv.br. 6140

2/4 **Matica rođenih godine 1919. u području izr. bogoštovne općine u gornjem Osijeku – matična knjiga rođenih, venčanih i umrlih Nadrabinat Osijeka, 1919-1927.**

papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – hrvatski,
pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 36×52,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 6138

2/5 **Izvod iz matične knjige rođenih Jevrejske veroispovedne opštine**

na ime Fridrih Brajner
Zvornik, 1933.
papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis,
jezik – srpski, hrvatski,
pismo – ćirilica, latinica,
dimenzije: 21×34 cm
JIM inv. br. 561

2/6 Izvod iz matične službe rođenih Narodnog odbora I rejona u Beogradu

(prema matičnim knjigama Jevrejske veroispovedne opštine u Beogradu, 1889.) na ime Sarlota Horovic Beograd, 1950.

papir, štampa, kucano na mašini
jezik – srpski, pismo – ćirilica,
latinica dimenzije: 29,5×21 cm
JIM inv. br. 562

2/7 Izvod iz matične knjige rođenih kotarskog rabinata u Iloku na ime Emil Klajn Ilok, 1925.

papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis jezik
– srpski, hrvatski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 39,5×24,5 cm vlasnik:
Emil Klajn, Beograd

2/8 Deca iz porodice Isidora Švarca

Foto-album, početak XX veka
dimenzije: 19,5×25,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 563

2/9 Deca iz porodice Erš

Foto-album, Pančevo, od 1950.
dimenzije: 33,5×25 cm
JIM inv. br. 564

2/10 Deca iz porodice Kolonomos

Bitolj, oko 1930. fotografija
5,7×8,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 4548

2/11 Deca iz porodice Demajo

Beograd, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma porodice Labudović,
Beograd
JIM inv. br. 6302/1

2/12 Deca iz porodice Demajo

Beograd, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma porodice Labudović,
Beograd
JIM inv. br. 6302/2

2/13 Deca iz porodice Demajo

Beograd, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma porodice Labudović,
Beograd
JIM inv. br. 6302/3

2/14 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/1

2/15 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/2

2/16 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/3

2/17 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/4

2/18 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/5

2/19 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/6

2/20 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/7

2/21 Deca iz porodice Levinger

Pančevo, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma Jolan Levinger, Pančevo
JIM inv. br. 6303/8

2/22 Deca iz porodice Tajtacaković

Beograd, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija presnimljena iz foto-
albuma porodice Tajtacaković
JIM inv. br. 6304

2/23 Eta Najfeld

Slavonski Brod, oko 1920.
fotografija presnimljena iz
porodičnog foto-albuma dr Ete
Najfeld
JIM inv. br. 6305

2/24 Talit katan

Horgoš, početak XX veka platno
dimenzije: 21,7×57 cm
JIM inv. br. 62

2/25 Talit katan

početak XX veka platno
dimenzije: 17,5×79 cm
JIM inv. br. 63

2/26 Talit katan

prva polovina XX veka pamuk,
heklano dimenzije: 14×63 cm
JIM inv. br. 76

2/27 Talit katan

početak XX veka platno
dimenzije: 21×75 cm
JIM inv. br. 15

2/28 Talit katan

prva polovina XX veka platno
dimenzije: 25×37 cm
JIM inv. br. 546

2/29 Bluzica za bebu

XX vek
pamuk, heklano
dimenzije: 23×24 cm
vlasnik: Drita Tutunović, Beograd

2/30 Kapica za bebu XX vek

pamuk, heklano
vlasnik: Drita Tutunović, Beograd

2/31 Amulet

bakar, gravirano dimenzije:
6,9×9,6 cm JIM inv. br. 344

2/32 Amulet

Prag, XX vek
srebro, liveno duž. 4 cm
JIM inv. br. 351

2/33 Amulet

Palestina, XIX vek srebro,
cizelirano, gravirano dimenzije:
4,6×8,3 cm
JIM inv. br. 316

2/34 Amulet

Maroko, XX vek
mesingani lim, poziaćeno,
gravirano dimenzije: 4,7×5,9 cm
JIM inv. br. 312

2/35 Amulet

Palestina, XX vek metal,
posrebreno, filigran dimenzije:
4,2×4,5 cm JIM inv. br. 308

2/36 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek srebro, cizelirano,
gravirano dimenzije: 6×8 cm
JIM inv. br. 315

2/37 Amulet

Bosna, XX vek srebro, iskucavano;
ima puncu duž. 3,2 cm
JIM inv. br. 352

2/38 Amulet XIX vek

mesing, gravirano duž. 6 cm
JIM inv. br. 313

2/39 Amulet

Bosna, XIX vek srebro, gravirano
dimenzije: 3×3,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 341

2/40 Amulet

Bosna, XIX vek srebro, liveno,
cizelirano duž. 9 cm
JIM inv. br. 345

2/41 Amulet

Bliski istok, XVIII vek
srebro, cizelirano, gravirano
dimenzije: 1,8×8,4 cm
JIM inv. br. 310

2/42 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek srebro, cizelirano,
gravirano dimenzije: 4,7×5,2 cm
JIM inv. br. 339

2/43 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek bakar, cizelirano,
gravirano dimenzije: 5,9×6,4 cm
JIM inv. br. 319

2/44 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek
srebro, iskucano, cizelirano,
gravirano, aplikacije od ćilibara
dimenzije: 4×6,1 cm
JIM inv. br. 317

2/45 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek
srebro, cizelirano,
gravirano
dimenzije: 5,8×7,8 cm JIM inv. br.
307

2/46 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek
srebro, cizelirano, gravirano,
aplikacije od ćilibara
dimenzije: 5,2×7 cm
JIM inv. br. 340

2/47 Amulet

Izrael, XX vek
ahat, gravirano
dimenzije: 6,1×8,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 348

2/48 Amulet

Maroko, XX vek
mesing, pozlaćeno, gravirano
dimenzije: 5×6 cm
JIM inv. br. 311

2/49 Amulet

Maroko, XIX vek
srebro, gravirano, aplikacije od
ćilibara dimenzije: 4×4,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 314

2/50 Amulet

Bosna, XIX vek
srebro, liveno,
cizelirano duž. 10 cm
JIM inv. br. 343

2/51 Nož za B'rit mila

Italija, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, cizelirano,
gravirano duž. 20 cm
JIM inv. br. 346

2/52 Štipaljka za B'rit mila

Italija, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, pozlaćeno,
gravirano duž. 7 cm
JIM inv. br. 342

2/53 Nož za B'rit mila

Italija, XIX vek srebro, liveno,
gravirano duž. 13 cm
JIM inv. br. 441

2/54 Posudica za B'rit mila

Italija, XIX vek srebro, liveno,
cizelirano R 11 cm
JIM inv. br. 442

2/55 Flašica za antiseptik, za B'rit mila

Italija, XIX vek porcelan, tragovi
pozlate vis. 9 cm
JIM inv. br. 440

2/56 Portiklica za bebu

kraj XIX veka platno, vezeno
dimenzije: 18×24 cm
JIM inv. br. 97

2/57 Povoј za Toru XX vek

lan (ukrasni povoj) dimenzije:
15×108 cm
JIM inv. br. 98

2/58 Povoј za Toru XX vek

cvilih (ukrasni povoj) dimenzije:
16×230 cm
JIM inv. br. 101

2/59 Povoј za Toru

srednja Evropa, XIX vek pamuk
(dečje pelene), sa motivima
slikanim vodenim bojama
dimenzije: 19×354 cm
JIM inv. br. 419

2/60 „Obrezivanje”, Amsterdam 1722.

fotografija
reprodukcija iz knjige
„Jewish Art and Civilization”,
str. 182.
izdavač Džefri Vigoder,
Frajburg 1972.

3. Bar micva i Bat micva

3/1 Tora

pergament, mastilo dimenzije:
63×100 cm JIM inv. br. 398/i

3/2 Jad

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro,
liveno, cizelirano, iskucavano,
gravirano; ima puncu duž. 29,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 228

3/3 Molitvenik

Beč, 1853, izdavač Adalbert dela Torre jezik – hebrejski, nemački, pismo – hebrejsko kvadratno, gotica povez: kožni dimenzije: 11×17,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 553/i

3/4 Molitvenik

Beč, 1887, izdavač Josif Šlezinger jezik – hebrejski, pismo – hebrejsko kvadratno, povez: kožni dimenzije: 12,9×19,4 cm
JIM inv. br. 552/i

3/5 Molitvenik

Beč, 1909, izdavač Josif Šlezinger jezik – nemački, hebrejski, pismo – gotica, hebrejsko kvadratno povez: slonovača, mesingani okov dimenzije: 12,2×18 cm
JIM inv. br. 551/i

3/6 Talit

vuna, nedostaju atara i cicit dimenzije: 136×185,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 600

3/7 Talit

vuna, atara od zlatne žičane niti, cicit od svilenog konca dimenzije: 120×174 cm
JIM inv. br. 544

3/8 Talit

svila, atara od svile, cicit od svilenog konca dimenzije: 43×150,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 545

3/9 Talit

svila, atara od zlatne žičane niti sa motivom Magen David, cicit od svilenog konca dimenzije: 20×184 cm
JIM inv. br. 96

3/10 Talit

vuna, atara od metalnih pločica povezanih alkama, ima cicit dimenzije: 58×166 cm
JIM inv. br. 95

3/11 Talit

svila, atara od zlatne žičane niti, cicit od svilenog konca dimenzije: 59×150 cm
JIM inv. br. 83

3/12 Talit XX vek

svila, atara od svile, cicit od svilenog konca dimenzije: 69×160 cm
JIM inv. br. 73

3/13 Aplikacije za talit (4)

Bosna, XIX vek pliž, vez pozlaćenom bakarnom niti dimenzije: 14×14 cm
JIM inv. br. 357

3/14 Tefilin (3)

koža, drvo
JIM inv. br. 112

3/15 Torbica za talit

Subotica, XIX vek pliž, vez dimenzije: 24×37 cm
JIM inv. br. 54

3/16 Torbica za tefilin

Zagreb, XX vek pliž, vez dimenzije: 27×27 cm
JIM inv. br. 58

3/17 Torbica za talit

Beograd, početak XX veka somot, vez dimenzije: 20,5×30 cm
JIM inv. br. 32

3/18 Torbica za talit i tefilin

Beograd, XX vek somot, vez dimenzije: 22×28 cm
JIM inv. br. 47

3/19 Torbica za tefilin i molitvenik

Slavonija, početak XX veka pliž, vez dimenzije: 23×28 cm
JIM inv. br. 50

3/20 Torbica za talit i molitvenik

Maroko, 1950. somot, vez dimenzije: 23×27 cm
JIM inv. br. 30

3/21 Torbica za molitvenik

Horgoš, XX vek pliž, vez dimenzije: 21×28 cm
JIM inv. br. 59

3/22 Simbolični pokloni za Bar micva

torbica za talit, 10×14 cm; talit, 12×32 cm; Tora sa meilom, 3×10 cm Sao Paolo, 1967. i 1974. godina
JIM inv. br. 113

- 3/23 **Zak Levi na Bar micva** Karakas, oko 1950. fotografija, 13,5×8 cm
JIM inv. br. 6301
- 3/24 **Bar micva na Dorćolu, ispred zgrade Oneg Šabat** Beograd, oko 1930. fotografija, 8,8×13,8 cm
JIM inv. br. 6099
- 3/25 **Bat micva**
Novi Sad, 1928.
fotografija, 16×21 cm
JIM inv. br. 6295
- 3/26 **Ivan Šerić na Bar micva** Beograd, 1996. fotografija, 8,5×12,5 cm;
vlasnik: Danijela Danon, Beograd

4. Venčanje

- 4/1 **Knjiga bračnih oglašavanja Jevrejske veroispovedne opštine**
Stari Bečej, 1891 – 1939. papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis jezik – mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 24,5×29,3 cm
JIM reg. br. 2064
- 4/2 **Knjiga bračnih oglašavanja i drugih saopštenja Jevrejske veroispovedne opštine,**
Stari Bečej, 1870 – 1923. papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik – nemački, mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 23×34 cm
JIM reg. br. 2063
- 4/3 **Knjiga venčanih Jevrejske veroispovedne opštine**
Petrovac, 1840 – 1886. papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis jezik – nemački, mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 28×45 cm
JIM reg. br. 1973
- 4/4 **Obaveštenje o veridbi Ane Herman i Mihaela Finklera**
Bosanski Šamac – Brod, 1907.
papir, štampano
jezik – nemački, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 13,5×17,2 cm
JIM inv. br. 6292
- 4/5 **Venčanje Lili Elek i dr Rudolfa Kasovica** Petrograd (Zrenjanin), 1937. fotografija 7,5×13 cm
JIM inv. br. 6286/1
- 4/6 **Venčanje Lili Elek i dr Rudolfa Kasovica** Petrograd (Zrenjanin), 1937. fotografija 8×11 cm
JIM inv. br. 6286/2
- 4/7 **Venčanje Irene Levi, rod. Demajo**
Beograd, 1925.
fotografija 9×14 cm
JIM inv. br. 6287
- 4/8 **Venčanje Edite i Elijasa Derasija**
Beograd, oko 1930.
fotografija 8,5×13,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 6290
- 4/9 **Venčanje Viki i Josifa Derasija**
Beograd, 1935.
fotografija 8,5×13,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 6291
- 4/10 **Svadba na Dorćolu u zgradi „Oneg šabat”**
Beograd, oko 1930.
fotografija 13,8×8,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 6289
- 4/11 **Svadba na Dorćolu (venčanje Pepe Albahari)**
Beograd, oko 1930.
fotografija 11,5×8,8 cm
JIM inv. br. 935
- 4/12 **Venčanje Najmanovih** Beograd, oko 1930. fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6144
- 4/13 **Venčanje Samuila Tajtacakovića**
Beograd, sinagoga Bet Israel, oko 1935. fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6145/2
- 4/14 **Solomon Šabetaj Isak sa nevestom iz porodice Kalderon**
Bitolj, 1941.
fotografija 10,7×17 cm
JIM inv. br. 4548
- 4/15 **Hupa**
Zemun, 1911. somot, vez
dimenzije: 167×170 cm
JIM inv. br. 375

4/16 **Stubovi za hupu (4)**

Novi Sad, početak XX veka
drvo, bojeno, lakirano, metalne
aplikacije vis. 274 cm
JIM inv. br. 540

4/17 **Molitvenik**

Bee, 1911, izdavač Josif Šlezinger
jezik – hebrejski, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno povez: kožni
dimenzije: 13,5×19,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 550/i

4/18 **Čaša za venčanje**

Italija, početak XX veka
Murano (?), bojeno staklo,
slikano vis. 19 cm
JIM inv. br. 433

4/19 **Čaša za venčanje**

Italija, početak XX veka
Murano (?), bojeno staklo,
slikano vis. 21 cm
JIM inv. br. 434

4/20 **Pehar za venčanje**

Mađarska, XIX vek
srebro, iskucavano, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 8,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 287

4/21 **Pehar za zlatnu svadbu**

Osijek, 1894.
posrebreno, liveno, cizelirano,
gravirano vis. 47 cm
JIM inv. br. 283

4/22 **Pehar za blagoslove**

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, cizelirano, iskucavano,
gravirano; ima puncu vis. 17,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 324

4/23 **Pehar za venčanje**

Istočna Evropa, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, iskucavano,
gravirano vis. 12 cm
JIM inv. br. 284

4/24 **Ketuba**

Ankona, 1652. pergament, mastilo,
rukopis, minijaturno slikarstvo
jezik – aramejski, hebrejski, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno dimenzije:
68×100 cm
JIM inv. br. 92

4/25 **Ketuba,**

Zemun, 1862.
priključen: popis miraza i venčani
list overen u Okružnom sudu u
Zemunu 1878. papir, mastilo,
rukopis jezik – nemački, pismo –
latinica dimenzije: 31,2×34 cm
JIM inv. br. 538/i

4/26 **Ketuba**

Zagreb, 1870.
papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
nemački, hrvatski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 21,2×34 cm
JIM inv. br. 16/i

4/27 **Prepis i prevod ketube**

Požarevac, 1882.
papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
srpski, pismo – ćirilica dimenzije:
21×34 cm
JIM inv. br. 500/i

4/28 **Ketuba**

Vukovar, 1853.
papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
nemački, pismo – gotica dimenzije:
21,4×34,1 cm
JIM inv. br. 17/i

4/29 **Ketuba**

papir, mastilo,
rukopis, štampana ornamentika
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
sefardsko kurzivno
dimenzije: 29,5×46 cm
JIM inv. br. 539/i

4/30 **Ketuba**

Dunapetaj, 1890.
papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
aramejski, pismo – hebrejsko, raši
dimenzije: 34×42 cm
JIM inv. br. 13/i

4/31 **Ketuba**

Leskovac, 1936.
papir, serijski štampan obrazac,
mastilo, rukopis
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
hebrejsko, raši
dimenzije: 34,8×50 cm
JIM inv. br. 536

4/32 **Ketuba**

Sarajevo, 1746.
papir, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
sefardsko
kurzivno
dimenzije: 33,8×49,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 14/i

4/33 **Ketuba**

Beograd, krajem XIX veka
papir, serijski štampan obrazac,
mastilo,
rukopis
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
sefardsko kurzivno
dimenzije: 51,5×68 cm
JIM inv. br. 493/i

4/34 **Ketuba**

1893.
papir, serijski štampan obrazac
u Beču, štampana ornamentika,
mastilo, rukopis jezik – aramejski,
pismo – sefardsko kurzivno
dimenzije: 47,6×62,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 15/i

4/35 **Obrazac za ketubu**

Sofija, XX vek papir, štampa
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno
dimenzije: 45×63 cm
JIM inv. br. 499/i

4/36 **Ketuba**

Smederevo (?), XX vek
papir, štampana ornamentika,
mastilo, rukopis
jezik – aramejski, pismo –
hebrejsko, raši
dimenzije: 51,7×69 cm
JIM inv. br. 560/i

4/37 **Ketuba**

papir, mastilo, rukopis,
ornamentika slikana vodenim
bojama, amaterski rad jezik –
aramejski, pismo – sefardsko
kurzivno
dimenzije: 68×49 cm
JIM inv. br. 496/i

5. **Položaj žene u jevrejskom društvu**

5/1. **Jevrejsko žensko društvo u Beogradu, 1874–1924.**

Spomenica povodom
pedesetogodišnjice od osnivanja
Beograd, 1924; izdavač: Uprava
Jevrejskog ženskog društva papir,
štampa, jezik – srpski, pismo –
ćirilica dimenzije: 19,3×23,8 cm
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294

5/2 **Spomenica gospođe Estire Š. Ruso, učiteljice**

proslava tridesetdvo godišnjice
prosvetnog, nacionalnog i humanog
rada Beograd, 1924; štamparija M.
Karića papir, štampa
jezik – srpski, pismo – ćirilica
dimenzije: 15,2×23 cm
JIM reg.br. 101

5/3 **Megilat Rut**

Solun, 1883. papir, štampa
jezik – hebrejski, ladino, pismo –
hebrejsko kvadratno
dimenzije: 13×18,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 542/i

5/4 **Gracija Mendez Nasi**

Lisabon – Antverpen, XVI vek
reprodukcija iz knjige „Jewish
Civilization”, str. 139 izdavač:
Dr Becalel Narkis, Masada Ltd.
Jerusalim – Tel Aviv

5/5 **Estira Š. Ruso, učiteljica**

Beograd, rod. 1873. fotografija
presnimljena iz Spomenice
Estire Š. Ruso, Beograd 1924.
JIM reg. br. 101

5/6 **Ester B. Pinto,**

osnivač JŽD Beograd,
1840-1899. fotografija presnimljena
iz Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294

5/7 **Sara J. Alkalaj,** osnivač JŽD

Beograd, 1841-1917. fotografija
presnimljena iz Spomenice
JŽD, 1874-1924, Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294

- 5/8 **Toni Azriel**,
osnivač i prvi predsednik
JŽD Beograd
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/9 **Solči D. Buli**,
drugi predsednik JŽD
Beograd, 1851-1907.
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/10 **Luča Levi**,
treći predsednik JŽD Beograd,
1856-1904. fotografija
presnimljena iz Spomenice
JŽD, 1874-1924, Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/11 **Merkuša Buli**,
četvrti predsednik JŽD Beograd
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/12 **Jevrejsko žensko društvo u
Beogradu**,
1900.
proslava dvadesetpetogodišnjice
od osnivanja
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/13 **Johana I. Levi**,
blagajnik JŽD Beograd,
1863- 1916 fotografija
presnimljena iz Spomenice JŽD,
1874-1924, Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/14 **Neti Z. Leonović**,
peti predsednik JŽD Beograd
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/15 **Neti Munk**,
član JŽD i rtni heroj 1912-1918.
Beograd, 1864 – 1924. fotografija
presnimljena iz Spomenice
JŽD, 1874-1924, Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/16 **Uprava Jevrejskog ženskog
društva u Beogradu, 1924.**
fotografija presnimljena iz
Spomenice JŽD, 1874-1924,
Beograd 1924.
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 1294
- 5/17 **Lela Mevorah**,
sekretar JŽD od 1929. do 1941.
Beograd, 1898-1972.
fotografija 13×18 cm
JIM inv. br. 4128
- 5/18 **Jelena Demajo**,
sekretar, zatim predsednik JŽD,
od 1905. do 1941. Beograd, 1876-
1942. fotografija 11,5×17 cm
JIM inv. br. 4130
- 5/19 **Sofija Almui**,
sekretar, zatim potpredsednik JŽD,
od 1923. do 1941. Beograd
fotografija 13×18 cm
JIM inv. br. 4139
- 5/20 **Aškenasko žensko društvo
„Dobrotvor”, 1910-1941.**
Beograd, oko 1920.
fotografija 23×16 cm
JIM inv. br. 5806
- 5/21 **Regina Flajšer**,
sekretar, zatim potpredsednik
aškenaskog ženskog društva
„Dobrotvor” od 1910. do 1941.
Beograd fotografija presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 4142
- 5/22 **Odbor Doma staraca i starica
mojsijeve vere**
Beograd, oko 1930.
fotografija 23×17,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 5805
- 5/23 **Rašela Demajo**,
predsednik Odbora jevrejskog
Doma staraca Beograd, oko 1930.
fotografija 6×9 cm
JIM inv. br. 4147

- 5/24 **Estreja Levi**,
osnivač jevrejskog Doma
staraca Beograd, 1920.
fotografija presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 4150
- 5/25 **Dr Ana Tajhner Aladžem**
Beograd
jedan od prvih lekara – volontera
jevrejskog obdaništa u
periodu 1920-1941.
fotografija 11,5×17 cm
JIM inv. br. 5801
- 5/26 **Megilat Ester**
istočna Evropa, 1894.
pergament, srebro, liveno,
iskucavano, cizelirano, gravirano
duž. 32,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 254
- 5/27 **Megilat Ester**
Italija, XIX vek
pergament, srebro, liveno,
iskucavano, cizelirano,
filigranski rad duž. 31 cm
JIM inv. br. 255
- 5/28 **Megilat Ester**
Bagdad, početak XIX veka
pergament, drvo duž. 25 cm
JIM inv. br. 541
- 5/29 **Megilat Ester**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
pergament, srebro, liveno,
cizelirano, iskucavano,
gravirano;
ima puncu duž. 33 cm
JIM inv. br. 257
- 5/30 **Megilat Ester**
istočna Evropa, XIX vek
pergament, srebro, bakar,
cizelirano, iskucavano,
filigranski rad duž. 33 cm
JIM inv. br. 256
- 5/31 **Megilat Ester**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
pergament, srebro, liveno,
iskucavano, cizelirano, gravirano;
ima puncu duž. 34,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 252



- 5/32 **Megilat Ester**
istorčna Evropa, XIX vek
pergament, srebro, liveno,
iskucavano, cizelirano, filigranski
rad duž. 13 cm
JIM inv. br. 253
- 5/33 **Megilat Ester**
Portugalija, XVII vek
pergament, srebro, cizelirano,
iskucavano, gravirano; ima puncu
duž. 31,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 258
- 6. Ishrana**
- 6/1 **Svećnjaci za Šabat (par)**
Izrael, početak XX veka, škola
Becalel bakar, srebro, emajl,
cizelirano, iskucavano, gravirano,
aplikacije od čilibara vis. 10 cm
JIM inv. br. 272
- 6/2 **Svećnjak sa pet krakova**
Poljska, XVIII vek mesing, liveno,
cizelirano dimenzije: 32,5×31 cm
JIM inv. br. 259
- 6/3 **Svećnjaci (par)**
XX vek, mesingani lim, liveno;
ima puncu vis. 26,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 275
- 6/4 **Svetiljka za Šabat**
Poljska, XVIII vek mesing, liveno,
iskucavano duž. 40 cm
JIM inv.br. 196
- 6/5 **Menora**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
mesing, liveno
dimenzije: 35×35,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 194
- 6/6 **Hanukija**
Poljska, XVIII vek mesing,
livenio dimenzije: 29×22 cm
JIM inv.br. 186
- 6/7 **Hanukija**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro,
liveno, cizelirano, iskucavano,
delimična pozlata dimenzije:
28,5×21 cm
JIM inv. br. 189

6/8 Hanukija

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro, cizelirano, iskucavano; ima puncu dimenzije: 21,5×19 cm
JIM inv. br. 171

6/9 Hanukija

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek posrebreno, liveno, cizelirano dimenzije: 26×30 cm
JIM inv. br. 166

6/10 Hanukija

Holandija, XVIII vek mesing, liveno, iskucavano dimenzije: 22×23,5 cm
JIM inv.br. 172

6/11 Komplet za piće:

poslužavnik, R 33 cm bokal, vis. 25,5 cm 6 čaša, vis. 9,6 cm Austro-Ugarska, 1825. srebro, liceno, cizelirano, gravirano
JIM inv. br. 462

6/12 Bokal za pranje ruku

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek bakarni lim, iskucavano vis. 13,6 cm
JIM inv. br. 301

6/13 Pribor za jelo:

dva noža, duž. 25 cm dve viljuške, duž. 21,7 cm Beograd, početak XX veka srebro, (ugravirano ime vlasnika)
JIM inv. br. 115

6/14 Noževi za ribu (5)

Beograd, početak XX veka srebro, kost duž. 20,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 543

6/15 Nožza Šabat

Austrija, XX vek čelik, srebro, liveno, cizelirano, gravirano; ima puncu duž. 12,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 293

6/16 Besamim

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro, liveno, iskucavano, cizelirano, pozlata vis. 16,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 248

6/17 Besamim

Beč, XIX vek srebro, iskucavano, cizelirano, filigran; ima puncu vis. 23,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 250

6/18 Besamim

istočna Evropa, XIX vek srebro, iskucavano, filigran dimenzije: 11×8 cm
JIM inv. br. 242

6/19 Besamim

Galicija, 1817. srebro, iskucavano, filigran, granulacija vis. 18,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 237

6/20 Besamim

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro, iskucavano, cizelirano, filigran; ima puncu vis. 22 cm
JIM inv. br. 235

6/21 Činij a za obred havdale

Beč, 1863. srebro, liveno, gravirano; ima puncu R 15,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 298

6/22 Kutija za etrog

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro, liveno, cizelirano, gravirano dimenzije: 12×13 cm
JIM inv. br. 429

6/23 Činija

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek bakarni lim, liveno, gravirano R 15,3 cm
JIM inv. br. 326

6/24 Činija

Palestina, 1928. mesing, iskucavano, gravirano R 29,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 323

6/25 Činija

Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek mesingani lim, iskucavano, sa aplikacijama dimenzije: 34×8,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 291

6/26 Činija

početak XX veka mesingani lim, iskucavano R 12 cm
JIM inv. br. 325

- 6/27 **Činija za Šabat**
Izrael, XX vek bakarni lim,
iskucavano dimenzije: 26×39 cm
JIM inv. br. 466
- 6/28 **Tepsija**
istočna Evropa, XIX vek
mesingani lim, gravirano
dimenzije: 28,5×44 cm
JIM inv. br. 299
- 6/29 **Tanjir**
Mađarska, XX vek
porcelan, bojeni R 23 cm
JIM inv. br. 438
- 6/30 **Tanjir za Seder**
Karlsbad, kraj XIX veka,
škola: D.F. Čehoslovačka porcelan,
pozлата dimenzije: 24×31 cm
JIM inv. br. 436
- 6/31 **Tanjir**
Austrija, XX vek
srebro, liveno, iskucavano;
ima puncu R 11,2 cm
JIM inv. br. 304
- 6/32 **Tanjir za Šabat**
Grac, 1926.
tuč, liveno, gravirano;
ima puncu R 24,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 294
- 6/33 **Tanjir**
Augsburg, XIX vek
tuč, liveno, gravirano;
ima puncu R 28 cm
JIM inv. br. 295
- 6/34 **Tanjir za Seder**
Pariz, XX vek porcelan,
bojeni R 41 cm
JIM inv. br. 437
- 6/35 **Tanjir**
Poljska, XIX vek
tuč, liveno, cizelirano, gravirano;
ima puncu R 21,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 303
- 6/36 **Tanjir za obred havdale**
XIX vek
porcelan, bojeni, pozлата R 23 cm
JIM inv. br. 431
- 6/37 **Tanjir**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, iskucavano;
ima puncu R 11 cm
JIM inv. br. 338
- 6/38 **Pehar za Šabat**
Poljska, XIX vek
srebro, iskucavano,
cizelirano, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 12 cm
JIM inv. br. 281
- 6/39 **Čaša za Šabat**
Beč, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 6,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 288
- 6/40 **Čaša**
Poljska, 1928.
srebro, liveno, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 9,2 cm
JIM inv. br. 289
- 6/41 **Čaša za Šabat**
Austro-Ugarska, 1841.
srebro, cizelirano,
gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 7 cm
JIM inv. br. 290
- 6/42 **Čaša za Šabat**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
srebro, cizelirano, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 7 cm
JIM inv. br. 286
- 6/43 **Čaša**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek
srebro, liveno, gravirano;
ima puncu vis. 9 cm
JIM inv. br. 328
- 6/44 **Čaša**
Austro-Ugarska,
početak XIX veka
kristal, bojeni, šlifovani
vis. 14 cm
JIM inv. br. 439
- 6/45 **Čaša za Pesah**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek srebro,
liveno vis. 11,3 cm
JIM inv. br. 331

6/46 Pehar

Austro-Ugarska, kraj XIX veka
srebro, liveno, cizelirano,
gravirano vis. 20 cm
JIM inv. br. 282

6/47 Pokrivač za macot

Rumunija, XIX vek pamučni saten,
vez R 35 cm
JIM inv. br. 18

6/48 Pokrivač za macot

XIX vek
pamučno platno, vez
dimenzije: 35×37 cm
JIM inv. br. 20

6/49 Pokrivač za

hleb
Izrael, XX vek, škola Becalel saten,
štampan, mašinski rad dimenzije:
45×39 cm
JIM inv. br. 110

6/50 Pokrivač za subotnji hleb kraj

XIX veka platno, vez
dimenzije: 44×39 cm
JIM inv. br. 27

6/51 Pokrivač za macot

Rumunija, XIX vek platno, vez
dimenzije: 37×37 cm
JIM inv. br. 21

**6/52 Cuisine Judeo – Espagnole
(kuvar)**

autor Ester Benbassa, Pariz, 1984.
papir, štampa
jezik – francuski, pismo –
latinica dimenzije: 17,5×24,7 cm
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 5209

**6/53 Yesterday's Kitchen – Jewish
Communities and Their Food
Before 1939,**

autori Gillian Burr i Marion Cohen,
London, 1993. papir, štampa
jezik – engleski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 19,3×24,8 cm

6/54 Jewish Regional Cooking

autor Richard Haase, Nju Džersi
1985. papir, štampa
jezik – engleski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 20×27,5 cm

6/55 A Zsido No Szakacskonyve

autor Rosenfeld Martonne,
Budimpešta, 1938.
papir, štampa
jezik – mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 16,2×22,5 cm
JIM reg. br. 6293

6/56 Israelitisches Kochbuch

autor Sarah Cohn, Bratislava,
1900. papir, štampa
jezik – nemački, pismo – gotica
dimenzije: 13×19 cm
JIM reg. br. 6294

6/57 Rukopisni kuvar Cecilije Švarc

Vinkovci, 1927. papir, mastilo,
rukopis jezik – nemački, pismo
– latinica dimenzije: 17,5×33 cm
vlasnik: Milica Mihailović, Beograd

7. Odevanje

7/1 Rabinska kravata

Sarajevo, prva polovina XX veka
pamučni saten, mašinski rad duž.
33 cm
JIM inv. br. 39

7/2 Rabinski mantil

Sarajevo, prva polovina XX veka
vuneni štof, somotski paspul,
mašinski rad dimenzije: 70×120 cm
JIM inv. br. 5

7/3 Rabinski mantil

prva polovina XX veka vuneni štof,
mašinski rad dimenzije: 80×130 cm
JIM inv. br. 4

7/4 Muški koporan Bosna, kraj XIX

veka saten, ručni rad dimenzije:
64×160 cm
JIM inv. br. 2

7/5 Muške čakšire

Bosna, kraj XIX veka saten, ručni rad
dimenzije: 80×115 cm
JIM inv. br. 1

7/6 Muška kapa – kipa XIX vek somot,

vez R 19 cm
JIM inv. br. 13

7/7 Muška kapa

Split, prva polovina XX veka
vunena čoja, vez R 28 cm
JIM inv. br. 41

7/8 Muška kapa – kipa

Srbija, prva polovina XX veka
pamučni konac,
heklana R 19 cm
JIM inv. br. 42

7/9 Muška kapa – kipa

Srbija, prva polovina XX veka
pamučni konac,
heklana R 18 cm
JIM inv. br. 44

7/10 Rabinska kapa

početak XX veka svila, obod
dekorisan trakom od pozlaćenog
konca R 27 cm
JIM inv. br. 465

7/11 Rabinska kapa

Bosna, kraj XIX veka saten, vez,
terzijski rad R 14 cm
JIM inv. br. 40

7/12 Rabinska kapa

Subotica, prva polovina XX veka
pliš, vunena kićanka
dimenzije: 18×20 cm
JIM inv. br. 45

7/13 Rabinska kapa

Sarajevo, prva polovina XX veka
pliš, ripsani paspul, vunena
kićanka, fabrički rad
dimenzije: 20,5×11,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 38

7/14 Ženska kapa – tukadu

rekonstrukcija
svileni brokat, po obodu je
„frontera” niska dukata (imitacija),
pozadi „porčul” dugačke erne rese,
mašinski rad dimenzije: 26×11 cm
JIM inv. br. 12

7/15 Ženske cipele

Bosna, XIX vek
somot, vez pozlaćenom i srebrnom
niti, terzijski rad
dimenzije: 17×24,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 14

7/16 Ženski jelek – fermen

Bosna, XIX vek
somot, vez pozlaćenom bakarnom
niti, terzijski rad
dimenzije: 31×79 cm
JIM inv. br. 10

7/17 Ženska košulja

XIX vek
pamuk, vez, čipka duž. 137 cm
JIM inv. br. 9

7/18 Ženska košulja

XIX vek
pamuk, čipka duž. 89,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 547

7/19 Ženska kecelja

prva polovina XX veka taft,
mašinski vez, ručno šivena
dimenzije: 90×113,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 37

7/20 Svečana ženska haljina

Bugarska, XIX
vek somot, vez pozlaćenom
bakarnom niti
dimenzije: 135×292 cm
JIM inv. br. 7

7/21 Ženska anterija

Bosna, XIX vek
somot, vez
pozlaćenom bakarnom niti,
terzijski rad
dimenzije: 144×302 cm
JIM inv. br. 6

7/22 Ženski suncobran

Beograd, kraj XIX veka
platno, drvo duž. 86,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 114

7/23 Sefardsko odevanje

Berta Levi, rod. Pesah,
Doboj, kraj XIX veka
fotografija 8×13,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 6296

7/24 Građanski kostim

Irena Levi, rod. Demajo,
Beograd, oko 1920.
fotografija 13×22 cm
JIM inv. br. 6297

- 7/25 **Građanski kostim**
jevrejski par, Srbija, početak XX
veka fotografija 9×7 cm
JIM inv. br. 6298
- 7/26 **Građanski – sefardski kostim**
Beograd, kraj XIX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6306
- 7/27 **Sefardsko odevanje**
Šabac, kraj XIX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6307
- 7/28 **Sefardsko odevanje**
Beograd, kraj XIX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6308
- 7/29 **Sefardsko odevanje**
Porodica Kalmija Baruha,
Sarajevo, kraj XIX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6309
- 7/30 **Muški građanski kostim**
Beograd, prva polovina XX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6310
- 7/31 **Rabinska odora**
Sarajevo, 1930. fotografija,
presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6311
- 7/32 **Ženski građanski – sefardski
kostim** Beograd, kraj XIX veka
fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6312

8. Žalobni običaji

- 8/1 **Knjiga blagajne Hevra kadiše**
Novi Sad, 1950-1953.
papir, rukopis
jezik – srpski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 18×25,5 cm
JIMreg.br. 4331
- 8/2 **Imenik umrlih Hevra kadiše**
Bačka Topola, 1853-1945. papir,
štampa, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
srpski, mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 23,7×29,3 cm
JIM reg. br. 6284

- 8/3 **Knjiga priloga Hevra kadiše**
Stari Bečej, 1932-1944. papir,
štampa, mastilo, rukopis jezik –
srpski, mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 41×25,5 cm
JIM reg. br. 2053
- 8/4 **Knjiga venčanih i umrlih
Sefardske veroispovedne opštine**
Beograd, 1881-1886. papir, mastilo,
rukopis jezik – hebrejski, ladino,
pismo – hebrejsko dimenzije:
25×38,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 86/i
- 8/5 **Protokoli i zapisnici sa
sednica Hevra kadiš**
Novi Sad, 1881-1905. papir, mastilo,
rukopis jezik – nemački, pismo –
latinica dimenzije: 25,5×39,3 cm
JIM reg. br. 1964
- 8/6 **Knjiga blagajne i zapisnika
Hevra kadiše**
Novi Sad, 1851-1861. papir,
mastilo, rukopis, jezik – nemački,
pismo – latinica, gotica
dimenzije: 25,5×40 cm
JIM inv. br. 10/i
- 8/7 **Knjiga blagajne Hevra kadiše**
Vršac, 1904-1921.
papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 29,5×42,5 cm
JIMreg.br. 1958
- 8/8 **Račun troškova Hevra kadiše
za sahranu Roze Zonenfeld**
Zemun, 1926.
papir, štampan, mastilo, rukopis
dimenzije: 15,4×23,7 cm
vlasnik: Šarlota Đerić, Zemun
- 8/9 **Lista članova Hevra kadiše u
Novom Sadu, 1851.**
snimak iz knjige „A Noviszadi
Zsidok Története”
autori: Rado Imre i Mayor Jozsef,
izdavač: Urania, Novi Sad 1930.
papir, štampa
jezik – mađarski, pismo – latinica /
lista na hebrejskom jeziku
JIM inv. br. 565/i

- 8/10 **Pravila Hevra kadiše**
Zagreb, 1924.
papir, štampa
jezik – hrvatski,
pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 12,3×17 cm
JIM reg. br. 5180
- 8/11 **Statut Hevra Kadiše**
Agram (Zagreb), 1859.
papir, štampa,
jezik – nemački,
pismo – gotica
dimenzije: 13,5×21 cm
JIM inv. br. 61/i
- 8/12 **Molitve zadušnice**
priredio rabin dr Gavro Svarc,
izdavač: Hevra Kadiša,
Zagreb 1922.
papir, štampa
jezik – hrvatski, hebrejski,
pismo – latinica, hebrejsko
kvadratno
dimenzije: 15,7×21,5 cm
JIM reg. br. 6277
- 8/13 **Molitve za pokojnike**
priredio rabin dr M. Engel,
štampanje Gustav Neuberger,
Križevci 1899. papir, štampa
jezik – hrvatski, hebrejski, pismo
– latinica, hebrejsko kvadratno
dimenzije: 13,5×20,7 cm
JIM inv. br. 88/i
- 8/14 **Pravilnik grobljanskog
zavedenja Jevrejske sefardske
veroispovedne opštine**
Beograd, 1937. papir, štampa
jezik – srpski, pismo – ćirilica
dimenzije: 12×15,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 2/i
- 8/15 **Maskir – molitve za mrtve i
godišnji pomeni**
štampanje M. Kunstadt,
Beč, 1934. papir, štampa
jezik – nemački, hebrejski,
pismo – gotica, hebrejsko
kvadratno
dimenzije: 11,5×15 cm
JIM reg. br. 6279
- 8/16 **Trauer Album – žalobni
spomenar** štampanje Josif
Šlezinger, Beč, 1929. papir,
štampa, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – nemački, hebrejski,
pismo – gotica, hebrejsko
kvadratno
dimenzije: 12×16,5 cm
JIM reg. br. 6280
- 8/17 **Trauer Album – žalobni
spomenar** štampanje Ervin
Singer, Bee, 1931. papir, štampa,
mastilo, rukopis jezik – nemački,
hebrejski, pismo – gotica,
hebrejsko kvadratno
dimenzije: 18×25 cm
JIM reg. br. 6283
- 8/18 **Trauer Album -žalobni
spomenar**
štampanje Paul Gerin, Beč, 1928.
papir, štampa, mastilo, rukopis
jezik – nemački, hebrejski,
pismo – latinica, hebrejsko
kvadratno
dimenzije: 17,5×24,5 cm
JIM reg. br. 6281
- 8/19 **Trauer Album – žalobni
spomenar**
štampanje Josif Šlezinger, Beč,
1919. papir, štampa, mastilo,
rukopis jezik – nemački, hebrejski,
pismo – gotica, hebrejsko
kvadratno
dimenzije: 17×25,6 cm
JIM reg. br. 6282
- 8/20 **Statut Hevra kadiše** Stari Bečej,
1908. papir, štampa
jezik – mađarski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 12,8×20 cm
JIM inv. br. 70/i
- 8/21 **J'Kara Dišahve – Počast mrtvima**
molitvenik priredio Jakov S.
Kalderon, Beograd, 1859.
papir, štampa
jezik – aramejski, hebrejski, ladino,
pismo – hebrejsko kvadratno, raši
dimenzije: 13×18,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 520/i

- 8/22 **Molitvenik**
priredio rabin dr Salom M. Frajberger, štamparija Merkantile, Zagreb, 1938. papir, štampa
jezik – hrvatski, hebrejski,
pismo – latinica, hebrejsko kvadratno
diemenzije: 10,5×17 cm
JIM inv. br. 95/i
- 8/23 **Statut Hevra kadiše**
Zemun, 1883. papir, štampa
jezik – nemački, pismo – gotica
dimenzije: 21×34 cm
JIM reg. br. 6278
- 8/24 **Pravila izraelitičke bratovštine za bolničku dvorbu i ukop mrtvacah**
Zemun, 1883. papir, mastilo, rukopis jezik – srpsko – hrvatski, pismo – latinica
dimenzije: 21×34 cm
JIM reg. br. 4514
- 8/25 **Uprava Hevra kadiše aškenaske veroispovedne opštine iz Beograda**
Oplenac, oko 1935.
fotografija 14,5×11 cm
JIM inv. br. 670
- 8/26 **Sahrana Fani Morpurgo**
Split, 1933.
fotografija 14×9 cm
JIM inv.br. 6313
- 8/27 **Sahrana Josefa Arijea**
Skoplje, 1937.
fotografija 13×8,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 6285
- 8/28 **Sahrana Haima Aroestija**
Bitolj, oko 1930.
fotografija 20×14,5 cm
JIM inv. br. 4548
- 8/29 **Bdenje uoči sahrane predsednika društva „Menahem Avelim”**
zgrada „Oneg Sabat”, Beograd, 1934. fotografija, presnimljena
JIM inv. br. 6318
- 8/30 **Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu,**
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- 8/33 **Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu**
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- 8/34 **Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu,**
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JIM inv. br. 3170/5
- 8/35 **Jevrejsko groblje u Beogradu,**
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- 8/39 **Geniza**
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- 8/40 **Jevrejsko groblje u Zemunu**,
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- 8/41 **Jevrejsko groblje u Zemunu**,
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- 8/48 **Predmeti za pripremu i kupanje mrtvaca**
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presnimljene iz knjige „
The Precious Legacy – Judaic
Treasures from the
Czechoslovak State Collections”,
Njujork – Vašington 1983.
izdavač: David Altschuler
Biblioteka SJOJ, inv. br. 5294

- 8/49 **Stalak za jarcajt**
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liveno dimenzije: 32×52 cm
JIM inv.br. 210
- 8/50 **Stalak za jarcajt**
Austro-Ugarska, XIX vek tuč,
liveno, gravirano
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JIM inv.br. 116

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1. **Muške cipele**, 1933, koža, duž. 27,5 cm, UPE 60
2. **Stolnjak**, 1888, platno, dimenzije: 138×138 cm, UPE 130
3. **Ženske cipele**, 1888., koža, svila, dimenzije: 23×6 cm, UPE 403
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8. **Muška košulja**, početak XX veka, platno, dimenzije: 47×45 cm, UPE 919
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