



# GLASNIK

## B'nai B'rith

Gavro Schwartz, Hrvatska

Časopis za židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju i povijest.  
Godina 9, broj 36 Zagreb, December 2024. Izlazi četiri puta godišnje.

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# THE VOICE

## of B'nai B'rith



Gavro Schwartz, Croatia

Magazine of Jewish Culture, Civilization and History.  
Year 9, No. 36 Zagreb, December 2024. Published quarterly.

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## **The Voice of B'nai B'rith**

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Časopis *Glasnik B'nai B'rith* pokrenut je 2016. godine kao digitalni časopis s fokusom na židovsku kulturu, civilizaciju, povijest, kao i aktivnosti židovskih zajednica i pojedinaca te udruge B'nai B'rith u Hrvatskoj. Časopis izlazi četiri puta godišnje u dvojezičnom formatu, na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, a svi su brojevi dostupni na <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. Svrha časopisa je ukazati na doprinos židovstva u razvoju hrvatske te europske kulture i civilizacije, povezati židovsku i opću javnost, kao i osigurati kontinuitet komunikacije između židovskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj i inozemstvu. Današnji suradnici uključuju judaiste, izraeliste, povjesničare, teoretičare umjetnosti i stručnjake za različita područja iz Hrvatske, Austrije, Indije, Izraela, Amerike, Poljske, Brazila i drugih zemalja.

*The Voice of B'nai B'rith* was started in 2016 as a digital magazine focusing on Jewish culture, civilization, history, as well as the activities of Jewish communities and individuals and the B'nai B'rith association in Croatia. The magazine is published four times a year in bilingual format, in Croatian and English, and all issues are available at <https://www.bnibrith.hr/hr/>. The main objective is to point out the contribution of Judaism in the development of Croatian and European culture and civilization, to connect the Jewish and general public, as well as to ensure the continuity of communication between Jewish communities in Croatia and abroad. Today's contributors include scholars from areas of Jewish Studies, Israel Studies, historians, art theorists and experts in various fields from Croatia, Austria, India, Israel, America, Poland, Brazil and other countries.

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Izjava o odricanju odgovornosti: Činjenice i mišljenja zastupljena u časopisu stavovi su pojedinačnih autora i ne predstavljaju nužno stavove uredništva. Tekstualni i slikovni materijali korišteni su uz dopuštenje autora ili pripadaju javnoj domeni. Sva prava na fotografije zadržavaju njihovi autori.

Disclaimer: Facts and opinions expressed in the magazine are solely statements of respective authors and do not necessarily reflect stance of the editors. Textual and visual materials in this issue are used either with permission of the authors or belong to the Public Domain. All rights to the photographs are reserved by their authors.

**Paula Rem, urednica**

## Uz trideset šesti broj **Glasnika B'nai B'rith**



Poštovani čitatelji,  
poštovane čitateljice,

Devetu godinu izlaženja “Glasnika B'nai B'rith” završavamo tematskim prilogom o knjigama. Židovstvo je temeljeno na Tori, najvažnijoj knjizi judeokršćanske civilizacije, pa tako mnogi važni autori imaju židovsko podrijetlo. Dakako da bi svakom od njih trebalo posvetiti i poseban broj. Prošli put bavili smo se Franzom Kafkom, autorom od čijeg je života prošlo već sto godina, a ostaje jednako aktualan. Ovog puta, zadržavamo se na suvremenim autorima. Marija Benić-Penava piše prikaz autorice Naide Michal-Brandl, Narcisa Potežica piše o izraelskom autoru Maximu Billeru, a

također donosimo tekst o Vilmi Vukelić, osječkoj-židovskoj-hrvatskoj-njemačkoj-habsburškoj književnici kojoj je posvećeno predavanje u Muzeju Slavonije, održano 4.10.2024. Zlata Živaković-Kerže piše o židovskim humanitarnim društvima kroz povijest, a Igor Fischer donosi kritički pogled na suvremeni njemački antisemitizam. Na koncu bih također podijelila s vama – da mi je prije dva mjeseca izišao roman “Kad se večernje sjene izdulje” u izdanju Meandar Media, pa ovom prigodom donosim jedan isječak u našem “Glasniku” (<https://meandar.hr/proizvod/rem-kad-se-vecernje-sjene-izdulje/>).

Paula Rem, editor

## Editorial to the 36<sup>th</sup> Issue of *The Voice of B'nai B'rith*



Dear readers,

We end the ninth year of publication of the “Glasnik B'nai B'rith” with a thematic feature on books. Judaism is based on the Torah, the most important book of Judeo-Christian civilization, so many important authors have Jewish origins. Of course, a special number should be dedicated to each of them. Last time we dealt with Franz Kafka, an author whose life has passed a hundred years ago, but he remains just as relevant. This time, we focus on contemporary authors. Marija Benić-Penava writes an account of the author Naida Michal-Brandl, Narcisa Potežica writes about the Israeli author Maxim

Biller, and we also bring a text about Vilma Vukelić, an Osijek-Jewish-Croatian-German-Habsburg writer to whom a lecture at the Museum of Slavonia, held on October 4, was dedicated. In 2024 Zlata Živaković-Kerže writes about Jewish humanitarian societies through history, and Igor Fischer brings a critical view of contemporary German anti-Semitism. In the end, I would also like to share with you - that two months ago a publisher Meandar Media published my new novel “When evening shadows lengthen”, so on this occasion I bring an excerpt in our “Glasnik” (<https://meandar.hr/proizvod/rem-kad-the-evening-shadows-lengthen/>).

Marija Benić Penava

## Prikaz knjige: Naida-Michal Brandl. *Židovi u Hrvatskoj nakon Holokausta.*

Zagreb: Leykam international, 2023., str. 438

Prof. dr. sc. Marija Benić Penava profesorica je na Odjelu za ekonomiju i poslovnu ekonomiju Sveučilišta u Dubrovniku gdje predaje kolegije: Gospodarska povijest Hrvatske, Povijest hrvatskog turizma i Sredozemni prostor u modernosti. Doktorirala je 2011. na Odjelu za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru. Izlagala je na više od 30 znanstvenih skupova u Hrvatskoj, Australiji, Novom Zelandu, Kazahstanu, Slovačkoj, Sloveniji, Portugalu, Rumunjskoj, Grčkoj, Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu i Rusiji. Sudjelovala je na nekoliko međunarodnih i domaćih projekata, te uz brojne znanstvene radove objavila 2 znanstvene monografije u suautorstvu.

U protekloj godini, u izdanju nakladničke kuće Leykam International d.o.o. iz Zagreba, pojavila se knjiga pod naslovom “Židovi u Hrvatskoj nakon Holokausta”, autorice prof. dr. sc. Naide-Michal Brandl. Ova izuzetno vrijedna znanstvena monografija, ističe se svojom tematikom o sudbini židovske zajednice u Hrvatskoj zajedno s ranije objavljenim knjigama poput “Stradanja i Pamćenja: Holokaust u Osijeku i život koji se nastavlja” autorice prof. dr. sc. Zlate Živaković-Kerže, objavljene u Osijeku 2006. godine, te “Kronika nestajanja: Židovi grada Dubrovnika (1900. – 1950.)”, autorice dr. sc. Radmile Šutalo, koja je objavljena u Dubrovniku 2022. godine.

Knjiga “Židovi u Hrvatskoj nakon Holokausta” temelji se na sustavnom istraživanju neobjavljenog gradiva Hrvatskog državnog arhiva, Državnog



Fotografija naslovnice knjige

Izvor: Marija Benić Penava

arhiva u Zagrebu, Državnog arhiva u Splitu, kao i Arhiva Jevrejskog historijskog muzeja u Beogradu, uz korištenje brojnih drugih izvora, novinskih članaka, periodike i relevantne litera-

ture. Autorica je uspješno analizirala položaj Židova u Hrvatskoj, odnosno Jugoslaviji nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata, te prikazala događaje unutar židovske zajednice koje su proizašle iz odluke većine o odlasku u Izrael.

Na prvi pogled, dojmljive korice knjige simbolički najavljuju njezin sadržaj. Njihova tamno smeđa-zelena nijansa ne upućuje na intenzivne boje, već na ozbiljnost, dok se iz pozadine ističu lica koja izražavaju mješavinu osjećaja - od smijeha do zabrinutosti. Ova fotografija privlači čitatelja, najavljujući djelo koje se ne može jednostavno svrstati u povijesnu publicistiku. Autorica svojom prodornom interpretacijom prenosi rezultate dugogodišnjeg istraživanja židovske zajednice u Hrvatskoj nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, posebno fokusirajući se na razdoblje od 1944. do 1952. godine. Ovaj rad proizlazi iz njezine doktorske disertacije obranjene na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu 2015. godine.

Osim istraživačkih pitanja, predgovor i uvodna poglavlja (stranice 9–86) sadrže prikaz povijesti Židova u Hrvatskoj tijekom Habsburške, te kasnije, u vremenu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, Kraljevine SHS i Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Autorica pruža uvid u židovski identitet i aktivnosti Židova u različitim ekonomskom, društvenom i kulturnom prilikama, ističući njihov značaj u povijesti Hrvatske. Također, najavljuje širenje antisemitizma koje

postaje sve izraženije od tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća, što označava prekretnicu u sudbini židovske zajednice u zemlji.

U poglavlju naslovljenom “ŠOA” (stranice 87–120), autorica analizira zakonsku osnovu koju su vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske formirale, uzimajući za uzor slične nacističke i fašističke zakone. Glavni cilj bio je pljačkanje židovske imovine, kako pokretne tako i nepokretne, ograničavanje židovske trgovine i djelatnosti te potpuno uništavanje svih vidljivih obilježja židovstva. Sustavnim progonima, zatvaranjima, prisilnim radom, ubojstvima i deportacijama u logore smrti poput Jasenovca, Stare Gradiške i Auschwitza, vlasti su pokušale potpuno istrijebiti židovsku zajednicu diljem Hrvatske, bez obzira na dob, spol i obrazovanje. Zakonske odredbe su legalizirale genocid i konačno su, tijekom 1943. godine, riješile “židovsko pitanje” u NDH. Unatoč sustavnom pokušaju istrebljenja, neki su Židovi ipak preživjeli, odlazeći tijekom rata u Mađarsku, dijelove Hrvatske pod talijanskom vlašću, Italiju, Švicarsku, Albaniju, dok su pojedinci pristupali Narodnooslobodilačkom pokretu.

Poglavlje “Neposredno poraće” (stranice 121–311) podijeljeno je radi preglednosti na nekoliko dijelova. U njemu se detaljno opisuje povratak malog broja preživjelih Židova iz koncentracijskih logora, te sudbina preživjelih na primjeru Zagreba, posebno onih koji su izbjegli Holokaust zbog



mješovitih brakova ili pripadnosti drugim zaštićenim skupinama. Također se analiziraju repatrijacija, obnova prijeratnih bogoštovnih općina u Zagrebu, Osijeku i Varaždinu, religijski život, vlasnički odnosi u poslijeratnoj Jugoslaviji te sudbina židovske imovine nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata. Posebna pažnja posvećena je Zakonu o konfiskaciji imovine i provedbi konfiskacije, što je ozakonilo nepovratno oduzimanje židovske imovine konfiscirane od strane vlasti NDH, ali je kasnije podržavljena tijekom intenzivnog procesa nacionalizacije u Federativnoj Narodnoj Republici Jugoslaviji (u Hrvatskoj), uz proglašenje Židova kao nacionalnih i klasnih neprijatelja.

U posljednja dva analitička poglavlja, naslovljena "Odnos Jugoslavije prema Židovima u Mandatnoj Palestini" i "Odlazak ili ostanak" (stranice 313–358), autorica analizira različite aspekte. U prvom poglavlju, istražuje odnose između Jugoslavije i Soñnuta, te ulogu Jugoslavije i jugoslavenskih Židova u alijá bet. U drugom poglavlju, fokusira se na emigracije prije 1948. godine i odlazak u Izrael (Alijá 1948. – 1952.), te pruža uvid u razloge koji su potaknuli pojedince i obitelji na iseljavanje u Izrael ili povratak u Jugoslaviju.

U zaključnom razmatranju (stranice 359–364), autorica iznosi rezulta-

te svojih dugogodišnjih istraživanja židovske zajednice u Hrvatskoj. Ova knjiga predstavlja temeljitu studiju jednog izazovnog i teškog razdoblja te predstavlja značajan doprinos saznanjima o povijesti Židova u Hrvatskoj. Dodanu vrijednost knjige predstavljaju biografski podaci o pojedinim članovima židovske zagrebačke zajednice. Ti podaci svjedoče da život te zajednice nisu oblikovale samo organizacije svih vrsta, već i istaknuti pojedinci, danas manje poznati, pa ponekad i zaboravljeni. Za čitatelje, posebno one koji nisu upoznati s hebrejskim i judaističkim terminima i njihovim značenjem, Pojmovnik (stranice 365–396) na kraju teksta bit će od velike koristi.

Autoričin znanstveni doprinos, utemeljen na arhivskom gradivu, pruža dublji uvid u specifičan položaj Židova u Hrvatskoj, odnosno Jugoslaviji nakon ratnih stradanja. Knjiga također donosi nove spoznaje o ovom nedovoljno istraženom razdoblju povijesti židovske zajednice, što predstavlja bitno polazište za buduće historiografske i društvene rasprave o iskustvu Židova u Hrvatskoj. U konačnici, ova knjiga pruža dragocjen uvid u kompleksnu povijest hrvatske židovske zajednice, ističući važnost razumijevanja manje istraženog jugoslavenskog razdoblja.

Marija Benić Penava

## Book review: Naida-Michal Brandl. *Jews in Croatia after the Holocaust.*

Zagreb: Leykam international, 2023, p. 438

Prof. Ph.D. Marija Benić Penava is a professor at the Department of Economics and Business Economics of the University of Dubrovnik, where she teaches the courses: Economic History of Croatia, History of Croatian Tourism and the Mediterranean Area in Modernity. She received her doctorate in 2011 at the Department of History of the University of Zadar. She presented at more than 30 scientific meetings in Croatia, Australia, New Zealand, Kazakhstan, Slovakia, Slovenia, Portugal, Romania, Greece, the United Kingdom and Russia. She participated in several international and domestic projects, and published 2 scientific monographs in co-authorship along with numerous scientific works.

In the past year, a book titled “Jews in Croatia after the Holocaust”, authored by prof. Ph.D. Naida-Michal Brandl was published by the publishing house Leykam International d.o.o. from Zagreb. This extremely valuable scientific monograph stands out for its subject matter on the fate of the Jewish community in Croatia together with previously published books such as “Suffering and Memory: The Holocaust in Osijek and the Continuing Life” by prof. Ph.D. Zlata Živaković-Kerže, published in Osijek in 2006, and “Chronicle of Disappearance: Jews of the City of Dubrovnik (1900 – 1950)”, authored by Ph.D. Radmila Šutalo, which was published in Dubrovnik in 2022.

The book “Jews in Croatia after the Holocaust” is based on a systematic research of unpublished materials of the Croatian State Archives, the

State Archives in Zagreb, the State Archives in Split, as well as the Archives of the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, with the use of numerous other sources, newspaper articles, periodicals and relevant literature. The author successfully analyzed the position of Jews in Croatia, that is, Yugoslavia after the end of the Second World War, and presented the events within the Jewish community that resulted from the decision of the majority to go to Israel.

At first glance, the book’s impressive cover symbolically announces its content. Dark brown-green shade does not suggest intense colors, but seriousness, while faces that express a mixture of feelings - from laughter to concern - stand out from the background. This photograph draws the reader in, announcing a work that cannot simply be classified as histor-

ical nonfiction. With her penetrating interpretation, the author conveys the results of a long-term study of the Jewish community in Croatia after the Second World War, focusing especially on the period from 1944 to 1952. This work stems from her doctoral dissertation defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 2015.

In addition to the research questions, the preface and introductory chapters (pages 9–86) contain an account of the history of Jews in Croatia during the Habsburg period, and later, during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Kingdom of SHS and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The author provides an insight into the Jewish identity and the activities of Jews in different economic, social and cultural situations, emphasizing their importance in the history of Croatia. It also heralds the spread of anti-Semitism, which has become increasingly pronounced since the thirties of the 20th century, which marks a turning point in the fate of the Jewish community in the country.

In the chapter entitled “ŠOA” (pages 87–120), the author analyzes the legal basis formed by the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), taking as a model Nazi and fascist laws. The main goal was the looting of Jewish property, both movable and immovable, the restriction of Jewish trade and activities, and the complete destruction of all visible signs of Judaism. Through systematic persecutions,



**Presentation of another book by Naida-Michal Brandl “Oduzimanje židovske imovine u Hrvatskoj: Zagreb kao studija slučaja” in Osijek, 2024.**

Source: Knjižara Nova

imprisonments, forced labor, murders and deportations to death camps such as Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška and Auschwitz, the authorities tried to completely exterminate the Jewish community throughout Croatia, regardless of age, gender and education. Legal provisions legalized the genocide and finally, during 1943, resolved the “Jewish question” in the NDH. Despite the systematic attempt at extermination, some Jews survived, going during the war to Hungary, parts of Croatia under Italian rule, Italy, Switzerland, Albania, while individuals joined the National Liberation Movement.

The “Immediate Message” chapter (pages 121–311) is divided into several parts for clarity. It describes in detail

the return of a small number of surviving Jews from the concentration camps, and the fate of the survivors on the example of Zagreb, especially those who escaped the Holocaust due to mixed marriages or belonging to other protected groups. Also analyzed are repatriation, restoration of pre-war communities of worship in Zagreb, Osijek and Varaždin, religious life, property relations in post-war Yugoslavia and the fate of Jewish property after the end of World War II. Special attention is paid to the Law on Confiscation of Property and Implementation of Confiscation, which legalized the irreversible confiscation of Jewish property confiscated by the NDH authorities, but was later supported during the intensive process of nationalization in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (in Croatia), with the declaration of Jews as national and class enemy.

In the last two analytical chapters, entitled "Attitude of Yugoslavia towards Jews in Mandatory Palestine" and "Leave or stay" (pages 313–358), the author analyzes various aspects. In the first chapter, he explores the relations between Yugoslavia and Soḥnut, and the role of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav Jews in alijá bet. In the second chapter, he focuses on emigration before 1948 and going to Israel (Alijá 1948-1952), and provides insight into the reasons that motivated individuals and families to emigrate to Israel or return to Yugoslavia.

In the concluding discussion (pages 359–364), the author presents the results of her long-term research on the Jewish community in Croatia. This book represents a thorough study of a challenging and difficult period and represents a significant contribution to knowledge about the history of Jews in Croatia. The added value of the book is represented by biographical information about individual members of the Jewish community in Zagreb. These data testify that the life of that community was shaped not only by organizations of all kinds, but also by prominent individuals, less known today, and sometimes even forgotten. Readers, especially those unfamiliar with Hebrew and Judaic terms and their meanings, will find the Glossary (pages 365–396) at the end of the text very useful.

The author's scientific contribution, based on archival material, provides a deeper insight into the specific position of Jews in Croatia, that is, Yugoslavia after the sufferings of the war. The book also brings new knowledge about this under-researched period of the history of the Jewish community, which represents an important starting point for future historiographical and social discussions about the experience of Jews in Croatia. Ultimately, this book provides valuable insight into the complex history of the Croatian Jewish community, highlighting the importance of understanding the less explored Yugoslav period.

Paula Rem

## Vilma Vukelić kao osječki Krleža?

Vilma Vukelić, osječka književnica rođena krajem 19. stoljeća, osobno je svjedočila razvoju Osijeka u industrijski i politički važan grad, a njezin je temeljni doprinos uvid u misli i osjećaje ljudi njezinog doba. U svojim tekstovima, Vilma oživljava novoindustrijalizirani Osijek, a čitatelji iz autoričine perspektive osobno proživljavaju povijest. Vilma nas vraća u doba Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, kada carska vlast i novouspostavljena kapitalistička ekonomija koegzistiraju, pritom svjedočeći doprinosu različitih pojedinaca te kulturnih i etničkih grupa transformaciji pret hodno feudalnog Osijeka u napredan i značajan grad.

U memoarskoj knjizi “Tragovi prošlosti”, doznajemo mnogo o Osijeku s kraja 19. stoljeća. Vilma navodi faktičke činjenice (kao što je etnička klasifikacija stanovništva), ali važnost njezinog doprinosa prije svega je oživljavanje svakodnevnog života iz tog vremena. U Vilminom memoaru, ljudi iz 19. stoljeća ponovno oživljavaju kao sjećanja u crtiću “Anastazija”. Vilma daje sliku društva sa samog početka industrijalizacije, masovne proizvodnje i velike transformacije iz feudalnog sustava u kapitalistički. Čitajući njezine memoare, vidimo

društvo u kojem koegzistiraju zaostatci dugogodišnje aristokracije i pripadnici posve novog građanskog sloja u nastajanju. U tom bipolarnom poretku, monarhija i demokracija pokušavaju koegzistirati. Na razini države, vlast još uvijek pripada nekom caru u Beču, ali maleni građanski sloj rapidno se uzdiže na ekonomskoj i socijalnoj skali, stječe obrazovanje i bori za vlastita prava. Kako je Kafka u to vrijeme pisao, car je u toj državi toliko udaljen da je gotovo apstraktan, on skoro pa i ne postoji. “Car” je više ideja, simbol koji predstavlja vlast, a realni autoritet imaju zakoni. Međutim, zakoni nemaju realnu vlast, nego ljudska interpretacija tih zakona. Kao što je to pisao Freud, ne vlada Otac, nego “ime oca”, koje opstaje tek u odsustvu vrhovne vlasti.

### “U stješnjenim granicama” vs. “Zastave”

Postoje određene sličnosti između Vilminog romana “U stješnjenim granicama” i Krležinih “Zastava”. Oba romana tematiziraju političke i društvene okolnosti krajem 19. stoljeća, ali čine to na različit način. Vilma tematizira probleme konformizma: protagonist njezinog romana “U stješnjenim granicama” Lavović, činovnik

u Županiji, svjestan je lažnih obećanja bana Khuen-Hedervarya, odlazi u krčmu i prigovara, ali na koncu svojom pasivnošću omogućuje tom kandidatu još jednu priliku za politički mandat. Naravno, Monarhija svejedno puca, s Lavovićeve angažmanom ili bez njega, ali manjak inicijative prisutan je kod Vilminog "malog čovjeka". Za razliku od Vilminih protagonista, Krležini protagonisti "Zastava", smješteni u isto razdoblje, aktivno se bore za revolucionariziranje svojih socijalnih, ekonomskih, političkih uvjeta. Kamilo i Joakim ne samo da ne glasaju za onog tko im je predodređen, nego se organiziraju u političke stranke i pokrete, mijenjajući afilijacije čim posumnjaju da drugi članovi nisu lojalni idealima onako kako su to njih dvojica. Krležini Kamilo i Joakim do kraja se bore za slobodu te ostvarenje svojih privatnih i javnih ciljeva, na taj način predstavljajući ideal aktivnog građanina u doba demokracije. Promjena perspektive o istoj temi može se pripisati činjenici da "Zastave" izlaze nakon 2. svjetskog rata, u doba kad je demokracija i univerzalno biračko pravo već posve normalizirano, a Vilmini memoari nastaju mnogo ranije, bliže stvarnom trenutku odvijanja tih događaja. Kao osoba koja je u to doba živjela, Vilma je svjedočila subjektivnom osjećaju nemoći kod mnogih osoba da promijene vlastite životne uvjete, u stvarnosti nerealnom, zbog povijesne neminovnosti revolucionarnih promjena u društvenoj strukturi nakon ekonom-

ske tranzicije u novi poredak. Premda je Krleža tek sedam godina mlađi od Vilme, njegova je perspektiva znatno drukčija. On se otpočетка aktivira u revolucionarnim krugovima (za razliku od Vilme, koja ih simpatizira, ali tek izdaleka), a u doba nastanka Krležinih "Zastava", situacija se već značajno promijenila: Južni Slaveni već imaju vlastitu državu, koja se progresivno demokratizira, industrijalizira, a sloboda postaje temeljno ljudsko pravo. Ljudi postaju svjesni mogućnosti promjene i važnosti aktivnog djelovanja u društvenoj, ali i privatnoj sferi - zbog toga, Krležini protagonisti, premda su u romanu smješteni u razdoblje kasnog 19.-početka 20. stoljeća, odražavaju revolucionarne stavove prema pojedincu i društvu kakvi su dominirali u razdoblju nastajanja knjige (u širokom rasponu 1962.-1976. godine)."U stješnjenim granicama" i "Zastave" također imaju različitu strukturu. Dok je Vilmin roman sinhrono fokusiran na živote mnogo različitih osoba u jednom povijesnom trenutku, Krležin se bavi odrastanjem i sazrijevanjem malenog broja likova tijekom više desetljeća. Vilmin roman počinje na istom mjestu na kojem je započeo, odražavajući kružnu strukturu iz koje je nemoguće izići, dok Krležini protagonisti linearno napreduju prema svom cilju, uvijek u smjeru napretka, u smjeru kretanja cjelokupne povijesti. U memoaru "Tragovi prošlosti", Vilma navodi da Osječane smatra pasivnijima od stanovnika ostalih gradova te da radije ostaju kod

kuće, nego da se politički aktiviraju i pobune. Vilma smatra da su Osječani bez otpora dopustili Nijemcima / Austrijancima da se nametnu kao vođe i upravitelji te kasnije prihvatili mađarizaciju – za razliku od drugih gradova, gdje je bio izraženiji ilirski pokret.

Zaključno, Vilma ipak nije osječki Krleža. Iako ta dva romana sadrže neke tematske sličnosti i težišta, Krležine “Zastave” su roman, a Vilmini tekstovi značajni su prije svega kao povijesni izvori o svakodnevici tadašnjeg života – u njezinim memoarima, prošlost iznova oživljava pred našim očima, a mi se nalazimo transportirani u Osijek 19. stoljeća. Na jednostavan i pristupačan način, Vilma nas povezuje s našim korijenima, vraćajući nas u svijet koji je posve nestao. Unatoč pesimizmu i pasivnosti Vilminih likova, svijet se promijenio i stalno se mijenja, a današnji ljudi, kako je to Krleža ustanovio iz perspektive 1960-ih i 1970-ih, svjesni su važnosti svoje uloge u privatnom, ali i javnom smislu. Današnji čitatelj bliskiji je Krležinim protagonistima, koji su aktivni i preuzimaju inicijativu u svojim životima, negoli Vilminim običnim malim ljudima – ali upravo u tome je značaj njezinog doprinosa. Dok Krleža u svojem romanu prije svega oslikava stavove vremena u kojemu je pisao roman, dakle kasnog 20. stoljeća, Vilma vjerno dočarava svoje osobne osjećaje i razmišljanja iz 19. stoljeća. Ona se doista u mislima vraća u to razdoblje, prisjećajući se vlastitih mi-

sli iz mladosti i djetinjstva, čuvajući svakodnevicu tadašnjeg života zauvijek dostupnom u tekstu.

### **Zanimljivosti iz Vilminih memoara:**

Suparništvo između Donjeg i Gornjeg grada nalikovalo je suparništvu između donjogradske i gornjogradske Židovske općine. U Županijskoj ulici otvorene su trgovine malih poduzetnika, društvene klase u usponu, a Donji grad ostao je zanemaren. Slično tomu, pripadnici gornjogradske ŽOO bili su asimiliraniji od onih u Donjem gradu, koji su bili ortodoksniji.

Za prijevoz omnibusom koji je vukao jedan stari konj, vožnja od Gornjeg grada (gdje je Vilma živjela s roditeljima) do Donjeg grada (gdje su joj živjeli baka i djed) trajala je sat vremena.

Osijek je tada bio jedan od najvećih i najznačajnijih gradova.

Vilma je osobno svjedočila snažnoj i ubrzanoj industrijalizaciji grada.

### **Smjena generacija**

U knjizi su prisutni Vilmini komentari na različite pedagoške pristupe kojima je svjedočila: pojedini učitelji i guvernante razlikovali su se u pristupu učenicama. Pritom je također vidljiva smjena generacija: kad je njezin otac išao u osnovnu školu, zagovarala se isključivo doktrina strogosti, čak ni imućni roditelji nisu djeci kupovali igračke da ih ne bi previše razmazili, a odjeću su šivali od ostataka stare;

učitelji su dolazili na nastavu pijani te gotovo svakodnevno fizički kažnjavali učenike. Nasuprot tome, Vilma odrasta u svijetu bajki, knjiga za djecu, lijepe odjeće i mnoštva igračaka. Vilmino djetinjstvo bilo je prema tome djetinjstvo modernog djeteta koje odrasta uz sve luksuze konzumerističkog doba. Dok je njezin otac kao dijete učio da treba biti tih i poslušan, Vilma je odgojena kao slobodnomisleća građanska osoba s kritičkim stavovima. Premda su neki smatrali mladu Vilmu bezobraznom zbog otvorenog iznošenja mišljenja, generalno je postalo prihvatljivo, čak i poželjno, izražavati kritički stav. Vilmin prijatelj iz djetinjstva Vlado zaljubio se u Vilmu upravo zbog njezine otvorenosti, obrazovanosti i argumentiranog iznošenja mišljenja – za razliku od mnogih osoba koje su u tom bipolarnom vremenu još uvijek bile “caristički” konzervativne i suzdržane, a time i nezanimljive za razgovor. Njegova ljubav pak ostaje neuzvrćena – možda upravo zbog njezine visoke obrazovanosti, upućenosti u društvena pitanja i argumentiranosti stavova, netko poput Vlade nije joj mogao parirati. Koliko god ona njemu bila zanimljiva, on je njoj bio – nezanimljiv.

Vilmin pradjed Philip izučavao je Talmud. Pišući o njemu, Vilma također piše o Talmudu, objašnjavajući temelje židovskog učenja i rabinske literature, kao i kabale te židovske teozofije. Vilmini memoari stoga su također relevantni kao izvor znanja koje se

prenosilo unutar jedne židovske obitelji – u ovom slučaju s bake na unuku. Ljudima koji znaju malo o židovstvu, na taj se način jednostavnim stilom pisanja približava židovska religija i kultura. Vilma također zabilježava društvene konotacije: na primjer, svatko je bio ponosan imati u obitelji osobu koja temeljito izučava židovske tekstove, ali je to značilo da će drugi članovi morati osigurati izvor prihoda. Učenjaci Talmuda i kabale bili su načelno posvećeni cjeloživotnom učenju uz pomoć učitelja: kako bi to uspjeli, morali su imati dostatan izvor prihoda s neke druge strane jer im to nije ostavljalo dovoljno vremena za obavljanje normalnog posla. Koliko god su se ponosili obrazovanjem, oni su bili u potpunosti uronjeni u studiranje i netko ih je morao uzdržavati, ukoliko nisu imali nasljeđe koje bi im omogućavalo financiranje svakodnevnih troškova. U tom smislu tumači se i Jakovljevi blagoslov braći Zebulun i Issacharu, koji su međusobno suovisni: Zebulun zarađuje novac da bi Issachar mogao “boraviti u šatoru”, odnosno, obrazovati se.

Opisujući stambene uvjete više građanske klase s kraja 19. stoljeća, također je vidljiva bipolarnost: živi se u zgradama blizu centra grada, ali uređenje je još uvijek kičasto nalik nekadašnjem aristokratskom življenju. Ironično: dok aristokracija propada direktno do dna s kojeg se nikad neće uzdići, mala buržoazija nastoji biti nova aristokracija. Stoga se u doba ra-



nog kapitalizma vidi nastojanje imitacije propadajućeg aristokratskog stila življenja: svaki stan više građanske klase ima prostrani salon s mramornim kaminom i golemim kičastim zlaćanim lusterima. Salon je mjesto predviđeno za primanje gostiju, a interijer je inspiriran dizajnom iz carskih palača: na taj način, svatko želi biti “car u malom”. Svatko izgrađuje svoje privatno (poslovno) carstvo – i izgrađuje svoj društveni krug od drugih pripadnika više građanske klase. Tek kasnije, buržoazija će razviti vlastiti životni stil, modu i interijere koji neće nalikovati aristokratskima.

Ako svaki poduzetnik želi biti car u malom, svaka djevojka želi biti princeza u malom: Vilma opisuje šetnje djevojaka do Gradskog vrta, čemu su prethodila šminkanja i dotjerivanja u skupe plišane haljine s čipkama, šeširiće i suncobrančiće, prethodno dostupne samo aristokratkinjama. Modni trendovi više nisu rasprostra-

njeni u aristokratskim krugovima, koji štoviše financijski i politički gube na svakom planu – nego postaju dostupni širim krugovima ljudi. Djevojke iz buržoaskih krugova uče francuski i sviranje klavira, što su prethodno bili pokazatelji aristokratskog načina života, te kupuju odjeću dizajniranu u Parizu. U kontekstu ekonomskog napretka, širenja liberalizma kao temeljne ideologije i napretka građanstva, još uvijek postoje ostatci svijeta koji voli kičasti interijer, krinoline i orkestre koji sviraju na javnim mjestima. Vilma opisuje Gradski vrt kao “osječki Schönbrunn”, prepun cvijeća i mladih djevojaka koje šetaju te namiguju zgodnim mladićima ispod svoje društvene razine. Vilma nije mogla ni pomisliti da će se kasnije bajkoviti park zaglavljnjen u fiktivnom dobu wannabe-princeza i prinčeva – pragmatično transformirati u sportski stadion.

Paula Rem

## Vilma Vukelić as Krleža from Osijek?

Vilma Vukelić, a writer from Osijek born at the end of the 19th century, personally witnessed the development of Osijek into an industrially and politically important city, and her fundamental contribution is an insight into the thoughts and feelings of the people of her time. In her texts, Vilma revives the newly industrialized Osijek, and readers experience history personally from the author's perspective. Vilma takes us back to the era of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, when the imperial power and the newly established capitalist economy coexisted, witnessing the contribution of different individuals and cultural and ethnic groups to the transformation of the previously feudal Osijek into a progressive and important city.

In the memoir "Traces of the Past", we learn a lot about Osijek from the end of the 19th century. Vilma states factual facts (such as the ethnic classification of the population), but the importance of her contribution is above all the revival of everyday life from that time. In Vilma's memoir, people from the 19th century come alive again as memories in the cartoon "Anastasia". Vilma gives a picture of society from the very beginning of in-

dustrialization, mass production and the great transformation from a feudal system to a capitalist one. Reading her memoirs, we see a society in which the remnants of a long-standing aristocracy coexist with members of a completely new emerging class. In this bipolar order, monarchy and democracy try to coexist. At the state level, power still belongs to an emperor in Vienna, but a small bourgeois class is rapidly rising on the economic and social scale, cutting education and fighting for its own rights. As Kafka wrote at the time, the emperor is so distant in that country that he is almost abstract, he almost does not exist. "Emperor" is more of an idea, a symbol that represents power, and real authority is given to laws. However, laws have no real authority, but human interpretation of those laws. As Freud wrote, it is not the Father who rules, but the "father's name", which survives only in the absence of supreme authority.

### **"Within narrowed limits" vs. "Flags"**

There are certain similarities between Vilma's novel "In narrowed borders" and Krleža's "Zastava". Both novels thematize the political and so-

cial circumstances at the end of the 19th century, but they do so in different ways. Vilma thematizes the problems of conformity: the protagonist of her novel "U stješnjem granica" Lavović, an official in the County, is aware of the false promises of ban Khuen-Hedervary, goes to a tavern and complains, but in the end, with his passivity, he allows that candidate another chance for a political mandate. Of course, the Monarchy shoots anyway, with or without Lavović's involvement, but Vilma's "little man" lacks initiative. Unlike Vilma's protagonists, Krleža's protagonists in "Zastava", set in the same period, are actively fighting to revolutionize their social, economic, and political conditions. Kamilo and Joakim not only do not vote for the one who is destined for them, but they organize themselves into political parties and movements, changing their affiliations as soon as they suspect that other members are not loyal to the ideals as they are. Kamilo and Joakim from Krlež are fighting to the end for freedom and the realization of their private and public goals, thus representing the ideal of an active citizen in the age of democracy. The change in perspective on the same topic can be attributed to the fact that "Flags" was published after the Second World War, at a time when democracy and universal suffrage were already completely normalized, and Vilma's memoirs were created much earlier, closer to the actual moment of those

events. As a person who lived at that time, Vilma witnessed the subjective feeling of powerlessness in many people to change their own living conditions, in reality unrealistic, due to the historical inevitability of revolutionary changes in the social structure after the economic transition to a new order. Although Krleža is only seven years younger than Vilma, his perspective is significantly different. From the beginning, he became active in revolutionary circles (unlike Vilma, who sympathized with them, but only from afar), and at the time of Krleža's "Flags", the situation had already changed significantly: the South Slavs already had their own state, which was progressively democratized, industrialized, and freedom becomes a fundamental human right. People become aware of the possibility of change and the importance of active action in the social as well as private sphere - because of this, Krleža's protagonists, although in the novel are set in the period of the late 19th-early 20th century, reflect the revolutionary attitudes towards the individual and society that dominated in period of the creation of the book (in a wide range from 1962 to 1976)."Within narrowed borders" and "Flags" also have a different structure. While Vilma's novel is synchronously focused on the lives of many different people at one historical moment, Krležin deals with the growing up and maturation of a small number of characters over several decades. Vilma's novel begins

in the same place where it began, reflecting a circular structure from which it is impossible to get out, while Krleža's protagonists progress linearly towards their goal, always in the direction of progress, in the direction of the movement of the entire history. In her memoir "Traces of the Past", Vilma states that she considers the people of Osijek to be more passive than the residents of other cities and that they prefer to stay at home rather than become politically active and rebel. Vilma believes that the people of Osijek without resistance allowed the Germans / Austrians to impose themselves as leaders and administrators and later accepted Hungarianization - unlike other cities, where the Illyrian movement was more pronounced.

In conclusion, Vilma is not Osijek's Krleža. Although the two novels contain some thematic similarities and points of emphasis, Krleža's "Flags" is a novel, and Vilma's texts are significant above all as historical sources about everyday life at that time - in her memoirs, the past comes alive again before our eyes, and we find ourselves transported in Osijek in the 19th century. In a simple and accessible way, Vilma connects us with our roots, returning us to a world that has completely disappeared. Despite the pessimism and passivity of Vilma's characters, the world has changed and is constantly changing, and today's people, as Krleža established from the perspective of the 1960s and

1970s, are aware of the importance of their role in the private as well as public sense. Today's reader is closer to Krleža's protagonists, who are active and take the initiative in their lives, than to Vilma's ordinary little people - but this is exactly the significance of her contribution. While Krleža in his novel primarily portrays the attitudes of the time in which he wrote the novel, i.e. the late 20th century, Vilma faithfully portrays her personal feelings and thoughts from the 19th century. She really goes back in her mind to that period, recalling her own thoughts from her youth and childhood, keeping the everyday life of that time forever available in the text.

### **Interesting facts from Vilma's memoirs:**

The rivalry between the Donji and Gornji grads resembled the rivalry between the Lower and Upper Grad Jewish communities. In Županiska Street, shops of small entrepreneurs, rising social classes were opened, and the Lower Town remained neglected. Similarly, the members of the Gornjograd ŽOO were more assimilated than those in Donji grad, who were more orthodox.

For transportation by an omnibus pulled by an old horse, the ride from Gornji grad (where Vilma lived with her parents) to Donji grad (where her grandparents lived) took an hour.

At that time, Osijek was one of the largest and most important cities.

Vilma personally witnessed the strong and accelerated industrialization of the city.

### **Change of generations**

The book contains Vilma's comments on the different pedagogical approaches she witnessed: individual teachers and governesses differed in their approach to female students. At the same time, the change of generations is also visible: when her father went to elementary school, only the doctrine of strictness was advocated, even wealthy parents did not buy toys for their children in order not to spoil them too much, and they sewed clothes from the remains of old ones; teachers came to class drunk and physically punished students almost every day. In contrast, Vilma grows up in a world of fairy tales, children's books, beautiful clothes and lots of toys. According to that, Vilma's childhood was the childhood of a modern child who grows up with all the luxuries of the consumerist era. While her father taught her to be quiet and obedient as a child, Vilma was raised as a free-thinking citizen with critical attitudes. Although some considered young Vilma rude for openly expressing her opinion, it generally became acceptable, even desirable, to express a critical attitude. Vilma's childhood friend Vlado fell in love with Vilma precisely because of her openness, education and well-argued presentation of opinions - unlike many people who, in that bipolar era, were still

“tsarist” conservative and reserved, and thus uninteresting to talk to. His love, on the other hand, remains unrequited - perhaps precisely because of her high education, familiarity with social issues and well-argued positions, someone like Vlada could not match her. As much as she was interesting to him, he was - uninteresting to her.

Vilma's great-grandfather Philip studied the Talmud. Writing about him, Vilma also writes about the Talmud, explaining the foundations of Jewish learning and rabbinical literature, as well as Kabbalah and Jewish theosophy. Vilma's memoirs are therefore also relevant as a source of knowledge that was passed down within a Jewish family - in this case from grandmother to granddaughter. People who know little about Judaism are introduced to Jewish religion and culture in this simple writing style. Vilma also notes the social connotations: for example, everyone was proud to have a person in the family who thoroughly studied Jewish texts, but this meant that other members would have to provide a source of income. Scholars of the Talmud and Kabbalah were in principle dedicated to lifelong learning with the help of a teacher: in order to do this, they had to have a sufficient source of income from some other side because this did not leave them enough time to do a normal job. As much as they were proud of their education, they were completely im-

mersed in studying and someone had to support them, unless they had an inheritance that would enable them to finance their daily expenses. Jacob's blessing to the brothers Zebulun and Issachar, who are mutually dependent, is also interpreted in this sense: Zebulun earns money so that Issachar can "stay in a tent", i.e., get an education.

Describing the housing conditions of the upper middle class at the end of the 19th century, bipolarity is also visible: they live in buildings close to the city center, but the decoration is still kitsch like the former aristocratic living. Ironic: while the aristocracy sinks directly to the bottom from which it will never rise, the petty bourgeoisie strives to be the new aristocracy. Therefore, in the era of early capitalism, one can see an attempt to imitate the decaying aristocratic lifestyle: every apartment of the upper middle class has a spacious living room with a marble fireplace and huge kitsch golden chandeliers. The salon is a place intended for receiving guests, and the interior is inspired by the design of imperial palaces: in this way, everyone wants to be a "little emperor". Everyone builds their private (business) empire – and builds their social circle from other members of the upper class. Only later, the bourgeoisie will develop its own lifestyle,

fashion and interiors that will not resemble those of the aristocracy.

If every entrepreneur wants to be a little emperor, every girl wants to be a little princess: Vilma describes the girls' walks to the City Garden, preceded by make-up and dressing up in expensive plush dresses with lace, hats and parasols, previously available only to aristocratic women. Fashion trends are no longer widespread in aristocratic circles, which moreover lose financially and politically on every front - but become available to wider circles of people. Girls from bourgeois circles are learning French and playing the piano, previously indicative of an aristocratic lifestyle, and buying clothes designed in Paris. In the context of economic progress, the spread of liberalism as a fundamental ideology and the progress of citizenship, there are still remnants of a world that loves kitsch interiors, crinolines and orchestras playing in public places. Vilma describes the City Garden as the "Schönbrunn of Osijek", full of flowers and young girls walking and winking at handsome young men below their social level. Vilma could not have imagined that later on, the fairy-tale park stuck in the fictitious age of wannabe-princesses and princes – would transform into a sports stadium.

Narcisa Potežica

## O romanu Maxima Billera „Šest kovčega”

Mr. sc. Narcisa Potežica (\*1947.) završila je studij hrvatskog jezika i književnosti te knjižničarstva. Od 1977. godine do umirovljenja 2012. radila je u Knjižnicama grada Zagreba. Bila je direktoricom Knjižnice Vjekoslava Majera i voditeljicom Knjižnice Novi Zagreb. Danas je aktivna na raznim područjima kulture te objavljuje književne osvrtne, eseje i članke u raznim časopisima. Također je osnivačica Čitateljskog kluba u Židovskoj općini Zagreb.

„Nevjerojatno pametno, nenadmašivo zabavno, uznemirujuće iskreno”, riječi su kojima je izraelski književnik Etgar Keret opisao ovaj roman.

U romanu Maxima Billera „Šest kovčega” opisana je sudbina jedne obitelji židovskog podrijetla u Rusiji. Neki članovi odlaze u Prag, a zatim u Berlin. Premda ostvaruju djedov san o životu u zapadnoj Europi, sa sobom nose teret njegove tragične sudbine. Njemački pisac Maxim Biller napisao je ovaj roman 2018. godine, kod nas ga objavljuje *Fraktura* 2023., a s njemačkog ga prevodi Patricija Horvat.

Književnik židovsko-ruskog podrijetla Maxim Biller rođen je u Pragu 1960. godine, a veći dio života provodi u Zapadnoj Njemačkoj. Studirao je književnost u Hamburgu i Münchenu, autor je više uspješnih romana i zbirki kratkih priča. Roman „Šest kovčega”, koji je bio i u užem izboru za nagradu *Deutscher Buchpreis* 2023, nailazi na odličnu recepciju publike.

Radnja se zbiva između 1965. i 1985. godine, u doba hladnog rata. Treba

se podsjetiti da je riječ o političkom sukobu između NATO saveza (predvođenog SAD-om) i Varšavskog pakta (predvođenim Sovjetskim savezom) koji se vodio od 1945. do 1991. S nadom u bolji život, mnogi su bježali preko Berlinskog zida s Istoka na Zapad. Kako se politička situacija odrazila na običnog malog čovjeka opisao je Maxim Biller u svom romanu „Šest kovčega”, koji ima mnogo autobiografskih elemenata.

U središtu obiteljske priče o Židovima nalazi se nerazjašnjen slučaj smrti najstarijeg člana.

Radnja počinje smrću Šmila Grigoreviča, čiji su sinovi Dima, Vladimir, Lev i Sjomen. Pripovjedač je Šmilov unuk Maxim koji piše o društvu u kojem su ljudi često praćeni, uhićivani i oštro osuđivani za manje prekršaje. Uhićen zbog nekoliko novčanica dolara i ilegalno prodanih satova, djed je osuđen i 1959. ubijen. Ne zna se tko je prijavitelj: u kriminalističkom zapletu, postavlja se pitanje tko je krivac za djedovu smrt. U toj sagi, pratimo tri generacije: članovi žive

najprije u Rusiji (SSSR-u), pa u Pragu, zatim Berlinu, Švicarskoj, Brazilu. Potomci ostvaruju djedov san o životu na Zapadu te neki od njih iz Praga odlaze u Hamburg, drugi u Zurich, treći čak u Rio... jedna snaha stiže do Montreala, a unuka se naseljava u Londonu.

Unuk Maxim, koji pripovijeda radnju, ostaje zaokupljen pitanjem što je bilo s djedom i tko je kriv za njegovu smrt. Kroz čitav roman, unuk traga za istinom, smatrajući da je više članova obitelji moglo doprinijeti tragičnom kraju djeda, odnosno Tatija, kako su ga svi zvali. Čitatelj upoznaje moguće razloge izdaje kroz pripovijedanje mladića koji sve prati i opisuje. Radnja započinje jednog toplog svibanjskog dana u Pragu 1965. Otac Sjomen, prevoditelj s ruskog, ide po svog brata Dimu koji je pet godina bio u zatvoru, nakon čega zajedno odlaze preko Berlinskog zida na Zapad i naseljavaju se u Hamburgu, a stric Dima odlazi u Švicarsku. Desetak godina kasnije, stric Dima zove svog nećaka tinejdžera u posjet. Opisan je njegov boravak 1976. u Zurichu kod očeva brata, kojemu postavlja pitanje o smrti djeda. Počinje istraživati te pronalazi fascikle i neke papire u ladicama pisaćeg stola strica Dime, pitajući se tko je kriv za djedovo stradanje. Kao odrastao čovjek, po treći put se suočava s obiteljskom tajnom kada 1986. umire stric Dima.

Posebno je u romanu pred čitateljem živ lik lijepe blond-crvenokose Židovke Natalije, Maximove tete, žene nje-

gova strica Dime, koja je za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata bila u konclagoru. Na koncu, Dima i Natalija se rastavljaju te Natalija odlazi u Montreal raditi na filmu, a Maximova majka Rada nakon selidbe na Zapad nastavlja žaliti za životom u Rusiji. Život likova koje upoznajemo odvija se uz tragične događaje, ali u opisima ima mnogo humora i ironije te napetog uzbuđenja u očekivanju otkrivanja istine.

Roman ima svega 160 stranica i u drugom dijelu je neka vrsta epiloga, pratimo završetak života likova koje smo upoznali. Čitatelj doznaje da Natalija izvršava samoubojstvo, a nameće se misao da je riječ o psihičkim posljedicama nakon preživljavanja Holokausta, ali i odlaska iz svog rodnog kraja - život na Zapadu joj donosi niz stresnih i teških situacija. Puno toga saznaje se baš iz Natalijinog pisma, koje je nađeno poslije njene smrti. Pojavljuju se braća Lev i Vladimir, svaki sa svojom sudbinom. Maximov otac pred kraj života živi u dva grada - Hamburgu i Pragu, gdje je sretniji. Na kraju upoznajemo i Maximovu sestru Jelenu koja s mužem živi u Londonu. Zajedno se sjećaju kako su se kao mala djeca bojali dolaska strica Dime, a sestra je čak rekla da ju je strah jer je on ubio djeda! Sada je i ona poznata spisateljica, a njena uspješnica je također roman u kojoj pokušava odgonetnuti obiteljsku tajnu tko je od članova obitelji pridonio smrti najstarijeg člana obitelji Biller, čije ih je stradanje sve obilježilo.



Roman je djelo suvremenog židovskog pisca s puno autobiografskih elemenata. Opis sudbine jedne židovske obitelji uz bolne tragedije donosi i mnogo humora. Čitatelj će saznati

o jednom dobu, vremenu i prostoru koji je bio nedavno i nedaleko nama i Židovima koji su uvijek nosili neki teret - svoje putne kovčege koji su ih sudbinski pratili.

Narcisa Potežica

## About Maxim Biller's novel "Six Suitcases"

Mr. sc. Narcisa Potežica (\*1947) completed her studies in Croatian language and literature and librarianship. From 1977 until her retirement in 2012, she worked in the Libraries of the City of Zagreb. She was the director of the Vjekoslav Majer Library and the manager of the Novi Zagreb Library. Today, she is active in various fields of culture and publishes literary reviews, essays and articles in various magazines. She is also the founder of the Reader's Club in the Jewish Community Zagreb.

"Incredibly clever, unsurpassed fun, disturbingly honest", are the words with which the Israeli writer Etgar Keret described this novel.

Maxim Biller's novel "Six Suitcases" describes the fate of a family of Jewish origin in Russia. Some members go to Prague and then to Berlin. Although they realize their grandfather's dream of living in Western Europe, they carry with them the burden of his tragic fate. The German writer Maxim Biller wrote this novel in 2018, it is published in Croatia by Fraktura 2023, and it is translated into Croatian by Patricija Horvat.

Maxim Biller, a writer of Jewish-Russian origin, was born in Prague in 1960, and spent most of his life in West Germany. He studied literature in Hamburg and Munich, and is the author of several successful novels and collections of short stories. The novel "Six Suitcases", which was also shortlisted for the Deutscher Buchpreis 2023 award, has been well received by the audience.

The action takes place between 1965 and 1985, during the Cold War. It should be remembered that this is a political conflict between the NATO alliance (led by the USA) and the Warsaw Pact (led by the Soviet Union), which was fought from 1945 to 1991. With the hope of a better life, many fled across the Berlin Wall from the East to West. How the political situation affected an ordinary little man was described by Maxim Biller in his novel "Six Suitcases", which has many autobiographical elements.

At the center of the family story about the Jews is the unsolved case of the death of the oldest member.

The plot begins with the death of Smil Grigorevich, whose sons are Dima, Vladimir, Lev and Sjomen. The narrator is Smil's grandson Maxim, who writes about a society in which people are often followed, arrested and severely sentenced for minor offenses. Arrested for several dollar bills and illegally sold watches, the grandfather was convicted and killed in 1959. It is

not known who the reporter is: in the criminal plot, the question arises as to who is to blame for the grandfather's death. In this saga, we follow three generations: the members live first in Russia (USSR), then in Prague, then Berlin, Switzerland, Brazil. The descendants realize their grandfather's dream of living in the West, and some of them go from Prague to Hamburg, others to Zurich, others even to Rio... one daughter-in-law reaches Montreal, and the granddaughter settles in London.

Grandson Maxim, who narrates the action, remains preoccupied with the question of what happened to his grandfather and who is to blame for his death. Throughout the novel, the grandson searches for the truth, believing that several family members could have contributed to the tragic end of his grandfather, or Tati, as everyone called him. The reader gets to know the possible reasons for betrayal through the narration of a young man who follows and describes everything. The plot begins on a warm May day in Prague in 1965. Father Sjomen, a translator from Russian, goes to pick up his brother Dima, who was in prison for five years, after which they go together over the Berlin Wall to the West and settle in Hamburg, while Uncle Dima goes to Switzerland. Ten years later, Uncle Dima calls his teenage nephew to visit. His stay in 1976 in Zurich with his father's brother, to whom he asks about the

death of his grandfather, is described. He begins to investigate and finds folders and some papers in the drawers of Uncle Dima's desk, wondering who is to blame for his grandfather's suffering. As an adult, he faces the family secret for the third time when his uncle Dima dies in 1986.

Especially in the novel, the image of the beautiful blond-red-haired Jewish woman Natalija, Maxim's aunt, the wife of his uncle Dima, who was in a concentration camp during the Second World War, is alive before the reader. In the end, Dima and Natalija break up and Natalija goes to Montreal to work on a film, and Maxim's mother Rada continues to regret life in Russia after moving to the West. The lives of the characters we meet unfold alongside tragic events, but there is a lot of humor and irony in the descriptions, as well as tense excitement in anticipation of discovering the truth.

The novel has only 160 pages and in the second part there is a kind of epilogue, we follow the end of the lives of the characters we met. The reader learns that Natalija commits suicide, and the thought arises that it is a question of psychological consequences after surviving the Holocaust, but also leaving her native land - life in the West brings her a series of stressful and difficult situations. Much can be learned from Natalija's letter, which was found after her death. The brothers Lev and Vladimir appear, each

with their own destiny. Towards the end of his life, Maxim's father lives in two cities - Hamburg and Prague, where he is happier. At the end, we meet Maxim's sister Jelena, who lives with her husband in London. Together, they remember how as small children they were afraid of Uncle Dima's arrival, and their sister even said that she was afraid because he had killed their grandfather! Now she is also a famous writer, and her bestseller is also a novel in which she tries to unravel the family secret of which of the family members contributed to the

death of the oldest member of the Biller family, whose suffering marked them all.

The novel is the work of a contemporary Jewish writer with many autobiographical elements. The description of the fate of a Jewish family brings a lot of humor along with painful tragedies. The reader will learn about an age, time and space that was recently and not far from us and the Jews who always carried some burden - their traveling trunks that followed them with fate.

Zlata Živaković-Kerže

## Kultura sjećanja na osječke Židove u humanitarnim akcijama u prvoj godini Prvoga svjetskoga rata

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (\*1953., Osijek) je u Zagrebu diplomirala povijest i arheologiju, te na istom zagrebačkom Sveučilištu magistrirala i doktorirala. Radila je za mnoge osječke kulturne i prosvjetne ustanove, uključujući današnji Državni arhiv u Osijeku i Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku. Više od dva desetljeća je radila u Podružnici za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Hrvatskog instituta za povijest, u sklopu čega je vodila mnogobrojne projekte. Predavala je na Filozofskom fakultetu u Osijeku kao vanjska suradnica. Bavi se istraživanjem društveno-političkih prilika i gospodarskom hrvatskom povijesti u 19. i u 20. stoljeću, povijesti Židova grada Osijeka i crkvenom povijesti. Napisala je nekoliko knjiga te velik broj znanstvenih radova. Sudjeluje na mnogim znanstvenim i stručnim skupovima. Članica je uredništva mnogih domaćih i inozemnih časopisa za povijest.

Ratne operacije u Prvom svjetskom ratu su uglavnom mimoišle hrvatsko područje, pa tako i Osijek, upravno, gospodarsko, prosvjetno, zdravstveno i vojno središte. Unatoč tomu na bojišta su upućeni brojni hrvatski vojnici mobilizirani u postrojbama austro-ugarske vojske. Poznata je činjenica da je u svakom ratu nasušna potreba mobilizirati narod, pripremiti ga na odricanje, potaknuti na solidarnost i pružanje svake vrsti pomoći potrebitima, ponajprije onima na bojištu. Brojnim humanitarnim akcijama vođenim na državnoj razini ili nekim drugim akcijama prikupljanja novca, duhana, vunениh i drugih odjevnih predmeta, različitih darova za vojnike dokazivana je privrženost domovini. Gotovo svakodnevno se iz osječkog tiska saznavalo o hrabrosti ovdašnjih ljudi, o oduševljenom (!) umiranju za Njegovo veličanstvo, o podmuklosti

neprijatelja i tome slično, a dakako i o svemu što treba da podupre raspoloženje za pobjedonosne borbe i žrtve koje one traže. Međutim, već na samom početku, što je rat odmicao (a južna bojišnica, tj. srpsko bojište – posebiće od bitke na Ceru u kolovozu 1914.) nametnuli su Osječanima ulazak ratne svakidašnjice u grad putem višekratnih, svakodnevnih dolazaka vlakova na osječki gornjogradski kolodvor s brojnim vojnicima i ranjenicima.



Jedna od razglednica iz 1914. godine  
Izvor: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

Iz tih razloga je u gradu osnovan *Odbor za podvorbu putujućih vojnika i ranjenika*, koji je od 31. srpnja do kraja prosinca 1914. posluživao vojnike koji su putovali vlakom na bojišnicu ili s bojišnice kućama, te krijepio brojne ranjenike koji su dopremani u osječke i druge bolnice te dolazili i prolazili kroz osječki kolodvor. Nekolicina učenika Velike kr. realne gimnazije pod vodstvom svojih profesora dijelili su im kruh, ponekad slaninu i kolače, cigarete i bojne dopisnice, krijepili ih čajem i vodom, te im davali priliku da se i operu. Budući da je rad takovog odbora bio potreban brojno građanstvo i stanovništvo okolnih mjesta osiguravalo im je za te potrebe novac i živež. Odbor je za vrijeme svoga djelovanja podvorio tisuće i tisuće vojnika i ranjenika. Predsjednik Odbora bio je odvjetnik i pravni pisac dr. **Mosin Klein** (Zagreb, 1867. – Auschwitz, 1942.), koji je u Osijek doselio 1898. godine i agilno djelovao u Gornjogradskoj Židovskoj bogoštovnoj općini. Tvornica šećera, zahvaljujući potpredsjedniku tog d. d. odvjetniku **Mirku Herrmannu** (1868. – 1927.), darivala je šećer na čemu je redovito zahvaljivao **Klein**. Za potrebe ranjenika i vojnika posjednik ciglane, jedan od prvih pobornika cionističkog pokreta na slavenskim prostorima i prvi predsjednik cionističkog društva *Teodor Herzl* u Osijeku **Ignat Natan Schuhof** (1864. – 1924.) osiguravao je dnevno određene količine leda. Kako je vrijeme odmicalo Odbor se sastojao *od po prilici 80 lica iz otmjениh građanskih obitelji, građana i gospođa, gospođica i đaka*. Popis daro-

vatelja za potrebe Odbora redovito je objavljivan putem dnevnih lokalnih novina. Tako je npr. u listopadu **Pepica Papai** poslije prodaje svoje serije potvrda za čaj (100 komada) predala odboru 14 kruna i 50 filira, dr. **Spitzer** je darovao 20 kruna, **I. N. Schulhof** 10 kruna, a učenici **Lao Baneth** i **Hinko Krausz** po 11 kruna, **Leo Schön** 22 krune i 19 filira, 20 kruna zaprimljeno je od liječnika **Bele Fischera**. **Johana Goldstein** je darovala za vojnike 1.000 cigareta, a u proteklim danima Odbor je primio za svoje djelovanje 10 litara ruma od **Gizele Herrmann**, a kilogram čaja od **Maksa Herzla**. Još se jednom javljalo o sakupljanju i otpremi cigareta za vojnike čime se posebice bavila gđica **Lilly Sorger**. Sve vrste potvrda o donacijama tiskao je *potpuno badava* tiskar g. **Bela Frank**, pa sav utržak pripada odborovoj blagajni. Na temelju *patriotske požrtvornosti i milosrdnosti što u novcu što u naturalijama* Odbor je opskrbljivao vojnike i ranjenike, koji su prolazili željeznicom, sve do siječnja 1915. godine opskrblivši čak 80.000 osoba. (Epidemija kolere u susjednom Srijemu je utjecala na raspuštanje toga Odbora.)

Za prijevoz ranjenika djelovala je *Dobrovoljna ratna bolničarska četa* s pet odjela u kojoj su se dnevno u službu i nadzor uključivali, među inim Osječanima, ovi Židovi: I. odjel – zapovjednik pravnik, židovski aktivist i predsjednik Trgovačko-obrtničke komora za Slavoniju u Osijeku, dr. **Hugo Spitzer** (Osijek, 1858. – Zagreb, 1936.), podzapovjednici veterinar i odvjetnik **Emerich/Mirko Harrmann**, odvjet-



Zaposlenici ispred tvrtke Weisz & Herrmann u Donjem gradu

Izvor: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

nik **Mavro Rein** te ostali istaknutiji građani; III. odjel – podzapovjednici odvjetnik **Mosin Klein**, **Fritz Berger**, **Hugo Weisz**, **Filip Spitzer**, **Josip Weingruber** i drugi; IV. odjel – brojni podzapovjednici među kojima je i bankar **Julio Sorger**, utemeljitelj velike zaklade još iz kraja 19. stoljeća.

Osječke su novine obavještavale svekoliku javnost o potezima koji su se u osječkoj sredini poduzimali da se pomogne Židovima izbjeglim iz Galicije pred strahotama tamošnjih ratnih zbivanja. Tako je npr. osječki dnevni list *Die Drau*, koji je izlazio na njemačkom jeziku, objavio krajem listopada 1914. glede te akcije obavijest predsjednika gornjogradske Židovske bogoštovne općine dr. **Huge Spitzera** i tajnika **Schwartz**a. Tim pozivom, izražena je molba, zbog velikih potreba mnogo-

brojnih izbjeglica iz Galicije, da im se pomogne odjećom, rubljem, kuhinjskim potrepštinama i dr. i unaprijed izražava duboka zahvalnost onima koji će se toj zamolbi odazvati. Mjesec dana potom je Predsjedništvo Židovskog ženskog dobrotvornog društva objavilo zamolbu svim prijateljima plemenitoga srca da za siromašnu židovsku školsku mladež priložima u novcu, odjeći, tkaninama i sličnom pridonesu radi pribavljanja tople zimske odjeće za njih. Naznačeno je da mole da se prilozi pošalju do potkraj studenoga **Fanny Ungar**, supruzi nadrabina dr. **Simona Ungara**.

I u narednim godinama sve do završetka Prvoga svjetskoga rata djelovanje i rad članova i članica osječkih židovskih općina temeljili su se na zajedništvu i solidarnosti.

Zlata Živaković-Kerže

## The culture of remembrance of Osijek Jews in humanitarian actions in the first year of the First World War

Prof. dr. sc. Zlata Živaković-Kerže (\*1953, Osijek) graduated in history and archeology in Zagreb, and received her master's and doctoral degrees from the same University of Zagreb. She worked for many Osijek cultural and educational institutions, including today's State Archives in Osijek and the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek. For more than two decades she worked in the Branch for the History of Slavonia, Srijem and Baranja of the Croatian Institute of History, within which she led numerous projects. She lectured at the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek as an external associate. She researches socio-political circumstances and Croatian economic history in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the history of the Jews of the city of Osijek and church history. She has written several books and a large number of scientific papers. She participates in many scientific and professional conferences. She is a member of the editorial board of many history journals.

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War operations in the First World War mostly bypassed Croatian territory, including Osijek, the administrative, economic, educational, health and military center. Despite this, numerous Croatian soldiers mobilized in the units of the Austro-Hungarian army were sent to the battlefields. It is a well-known fact that in every war there is an urgent need to mobilize the people, prepare them for renunciation, encourage solidarity and provide all kinds of help to those in need, especially those on the battlefield. Numerous humanitarian actions conducted at the state level or some other actions to collect money, tobacco, woolen and other clothing items, and various gifts for soldiers proved their attachment to the homeland. Almost

every day, the Osijek press reported about the bravery of the local people, about the enthusiastic (!) dying for His Majesty, about the treachery of the enemy and the like, and of course about everything that should support the mood for victorious battles and the sacrifices they require. However, already at the very beginning, as the war progressed (and the southern front, i.e. the Serbian front - especially since the Battle of Cer in August 1914), the people of Osijek were forced to enter the everyday life of the war into the city through multiple, daily arrivals of trains at the Osijek Gornji grad station with numerous soldiers and wounded.

For these reasons, the Committee for the Support of Traveling Soldiers and the Wounded was established in the



city, which from July 31 to the end of December 1914 served soldiers who traveled by train to the front or from the front to their homes, and supported numerous wounded who were transported to Osijek and other hospitals and came and passed through the Osijek station. A few students of Velika kr. real gymnasiums under the leadership of their professors gave them bread, sometimes bacon and cakes, cigarettes and battle stationery, cheered them up with tea and water, and gave them the opportunity to wash themselves. Since the work of such a committee required a large number of citizens and the population of the surrounding towns, they provided money and livelihood for these needs. During its activities, the committee sheltered thousands and thousands of soldiers and wounded. The Chairman of the Committee was a lawyer and legal writer dr. Mosin Klein (Zagreb, 1867 – Auschwitz, 1942), who moved to Osijek in 1898 and worked agilely in the Upper Town Jewish Worship Municipality. The sugar factory, thanks to the vice president of that d. d. lawyer Mirko Herrmann (1868 – 1927), she gave sugar as a gift, for which Klein regularly thanked. Ignat Natan Schuhof (1864 – 1924), owner of a brickyard, one of the first supporters of the Zionist movement in Slavic areas and the first president of the Teodor Herzl Zionist Society in Osijek, provided certain amounts of ice daily for the needs of the wounded and soldiers. As time progressed, the Committee consisted of approximately 80 persons from noble bourgeois fami-

lies, citizens and ladies and gentlemen. The list of donors for the purposes of the Committee is regularly published through daily local newspapers. So, for example, in October, after the sale of her series of tea certificates (100 pieces), Pepica Papai handed over 14 crowns and 50 filars to the board, dr. Spitzer donated 20 kroner, I. N. Schulhof 10 kroner, and students Lao Baneth and Hinko Krausz 11 kroner each, Leo Schön 22 kroner and 19 filar, 20 kroner was received from doctor Bela Fischer. Johana Goldstein donated 1,000 cigarettes for the soldiers, and in the past days the Committee received 10 liters of rum from Gizela Herrmann and a kilogram of tea from Max Herzl for its activities. Once again, it was reported about the collection and shipment of cigarettes for the soldiers, which was especially done by Miss Lilly Sorger. All types of donation receipts were printed by Mr. Badava printer. Bela Frank, so all proceeds belong to the board's treasury. On the basis of patriotic self-sacrifice and charity, both in money and in kind, the Committee supplied soldiers and wounded, who were passing by railway, until January 1915, supplying as many as 80,000 people. (The cholera epidemic in neighboring Srijem influenced the dissolution of that Committee.)

The Voluntary War Hospital Company with five divisions operated for the transport of the wounded, in which the following Jews, among them Osijek residents, took part in daily service and supervision: First Division - command-



#### Work of the Committee

Source: Zlata Živaković-Kerže

er, a lawyer, Jewish activist and president of the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts for Slavonia in Osijek, Ph.D. Hugo Spitzer (Osijek, 1858 – Zagreb, 1936), deputy commanders veterinarian and lawyer Emerich/Mirko Harrmann, lawyer Mavro Rein and other prominent citizens; III. department - deputy commanders lawyer Mosin Klein, Fritz Berger, Hugo Weisz, Filip Spitzer, Josip Weingruber and others; IV. department - numerous sub-commanders, including the banker Julio Sorger, the founder of a large foundation from the end of the 19th century. Osijek's newspapers informed the general public about the steps taken in the Osijek area to help the Jews who had escaped from Galicia in the face of the horrors of the war there. So, for example, The Osijek daily Die Drau, which was published in German, published at the end of October 1914 the notice of the president of the Gornji Grad Jewish Religious Mu-

nicipality dr. Huga Spitzer and Secretary Schwartz. With this call, a request was expressed, due to the great needs of numerous refugees from Galicia, to help them with clothes, linen, kitchen utensils, etc. and expresses deep gratitude in advance to those who will respond to this request. A month later, the Presidency of the Jewish Women's Charitable Society announced a request to all friends with a noble heart to donate money, clothes, fabrics and the like to the poor Jewish school youth in order to obtain warm winter clothing for them. It is indicated that they are asking for the contributions to be sent by the end of November to Fanny Ungar, the wife of Dr. Simon Ungara. And in the following years until the end of the First World War, the activities and work of the members of Osijek's Jewish municipalities were based on togetherness and solidarity.

Paula Rem

## Solaris – fragment romana “Kad se večernje sjene izdulje”

*Ured, Centar, Europa Inc., 2200.*

Zgrada je izgledala kao ledeni dvorac, okružen s nekoliko staklenih utvrda koje su činile zgrade Centra. Građevine su bile kružno postavljene, a u njihovom centru nalazio se Ured Direktora, ponosno izdignut u najvišem neboderu. Ovom strogo zaštićenom području nitko nije imao pristupa, osim nekoliko izabраниh sigurnosnih agenata.

Oči Direktora izgledale su kao komadić mračnog neba otrgnut sa svoda i smješten direktno u Centar, mirne i staložene, premda često percipirane kao hladne i bezosjećajne. Njegovo visoko čelo ostavljalo je dojam intelektualnog autoriteta kojem se malotko usuđivao proturječiti. Uvijek dostojanstvenog izraza lica i gracioznih kretnji, nikad nije gubio osjećaj svrhovitosti, čak ni u kriznim situacijama. Pod stresnim okolnostima trudio se zadržati hladnu racionalnost. Čak i tržišna konkurencija morala bi priznati kako kretnje Direktora *Europe Inc.* odišu elegancijom. Svaki pokret bio je odmjerjen i umjeren, a istovremeno odlučan, kao da je neki nevidljivi mehanizam matematičkom preciznošću odredio balans između predvidljivosti i arbitrarnosti. Koraci su bili posve si-



Naslovnica romana “Kad se večernje sjene izdulje”, Meandar Media

Dizajn: Božidarka Brnas / Bestias

metrični i jednaki jedan drugome, a njihova duljina uvijek jednaka u milimetar. Balans je narušavala samo asimetričnost između dvije ruke: dok se lijeva slobodno njihala, desna je uvijek stajala uz bok, mirno ali posve kontrolirano, spremno po potrebi dohvatiti oružje skriveno ispod odjeće.

“Funkcija korporacijskog vođe je sakriti da ima dušu, a pokazati da ima glavu”, pomislio je, silno nastojeći umanjiti pokazivanje osjećaja koji su nerijetko progurali njegov želudac. Predstavljao je savršen primjerak hu-

manog procesora, programiranog za uvijek efikasno obavljanje poslova. Činilo se da je cijeli njegov život vodio upravo do ove pozicije. Smatrao je svojom dužnošću osigurati sve najbolje konzumirajućim osobama. Godinama je pokušavao ostvariti interese *Europe Inc.* na civiliziran način, razgovorima i pregovorima, ali iskustvo ga je podučilo da korporacijski vođe razumiju samo jezik oružja – i zveckanje Kapitala koji bi im mogao biti uskraćen.

U prostoriji za sastanke na jednom kraju duguljastog stola već su sjedili korporacijski Savjetnici i Utjecajnici. U toj nekoliko stoljeća staroj prostoriji kroz povijest su se održavali sastanci vlada iz nekoliko različitih ekonomsko-političkih poredaka. Svjetlo je prodiralo odozgo, osvjetljavajući prostoriju kroz stakleni krov. Svježe obojeni jonski stupovi izgledali su kao električni kabeli napunjeni svjetlošću koje održava čitavu strukturu stabilnom. Zahvaljujući stabilnosti stupova, zgrada je uspijevala opstati snažnom tijekom više tisućljeća, odolijevajući različitim promjenama sustava.

Menadžerov kapitalički um nikako nije shvaćao Direktorovu staromodnu opsesiju temama poput sigurnosti i zaštite. Život u postdržavnom sustavu je morao biti zabavan, rizičan, nepredvidljiv. *Transparentan kao staklo*, kako kaže slogan korporacije.

– Direktore – ustao je Savjetnik za

ekologiju, jedan od najvažnijih u postdržavnom svijetu. Njegov govor više je bio nalik na mumljanje, ali svaka rečenica nosila je sadržajnu težinu i važnost.

Ovaj sitni, ali odrješiti Savjetnik *Europe Inc.*, najstariji u firmi, ali čiju točnu dob se nitko nije usudio pretpostaviti, uvijek je uspješno izbjegavao konflikte: nastupe o kontroverznim temama prepuštao je drugim Savjetnicima, sklonijima svađi. Njegove izjave nikad nisu bile agresivne, ali je u načinu govorenja bilo nečeg implicitno prijetećeg. U tihoj mirnoći Savjetnika za ekologiju nerijetko se iščitavao radikalizam. Premda je bio jedan od najlojalnijih Direktorovih suradnika, ili možda upravo *zato* što je to bio, dopuštao je sebi iznošenje vrlo kontroverznih stavova na potpuno nekontroverzan način.

Dok je Menadžer volio pozornost medija, pogotovo Utjecajnica, koje su uvijek bile voljne posvetiti mu barem nekoliko minuta, Savjetnik za ekologiju uvijek bi mudro stajao sa strane, skrivajući se u sjeni drugog Savjetnika, paralelno osmišljavajući možebitno prijeteće scenarije. Menadžerove senzacionalističke i konfliktne izjave imale su vrlo malo uporišta u stvarnosti, a Savjetnik za ekologiju operirao je iza scene, ne privlačeći pažnju.

– Molim vas, recite – prihvatio je Direktor popravljajući sako, ne trudeći se pogledati u smjeru sugovornika.

– Trava raste preko granice – rekao

je Savjetnik, nastojeći prenijeti informaciju koju će Direktor razumjeti, ali Utjecajnici neće.

Lice Direktora na trenutak je poprimilo izraz nelagode. Jedva pokretnim mikropokretom stisnuo je usne i pogledao nalijevo.

– Govorite izravno, Savjetniče – naložio je mekim tonom.

Savjetnik za ekologiju često je zaboravljao na slogan *Transparentni kao staklo*.

– Govorim izravno – nastojao je objasniti Savjetnik – toksični korov *heracleum mantegazzianum* počeo se približavati granici *Europe Inc.*

Savjetnik za ekologiju pokunjeno je spustio glavu, a Direktor ga je prostrijelio pogledom. Bio je to svojevrsni *show*, trebalo je odglumiti strogost, isto kao što je trebalo odglumiti da Direktor sad prvi put čuje za tu informaciju. Također je trebalo iskoristiti prisutnost Utjecajnika da se kaže kritika na račun tržišnih konkurenata.

– Nikakva trava, koliko god toksična, ne snosi odgovornost za nestanak ljudi u *Zoni*. *Sjedinjena Asocijacija Dioničara* ne brine o tom teritoriju već godinama. Bilo je puno političkih i ekonomskih promjena koje su otjerale građane, odnosno, konzumente, drugih riječima, konzumirajuće osobe.

Utjecajnica, koja je unatoč kontra-indikacijama svog jednokratnog ljubavnika došla medijski popratiti

sastanak, podsmjehnula se čuvši da Direktor koristi zastarjelu riječ. Uskomešala se i šapnula Menadžeru, koji je stajao u blizini:

– Rekla sam vam da je *Europa Inc.* za pravo država, a ne korporacija!

– Zar opet? Vi i ne znate što je država. Propale su prije vašeg rođenja!

– Nije istina, imala sam tri godine kad se to dogodilo!

Pogledi svih prisutnih okrenuli su se prema Utjecajnici i Menadžeru, koji su shvatili da su na prijenosu uživo oni, a ne Savjetnik za ekologiju, koji je upravo iznosio kompleksne probleme. Menadžer je osjetio nalet adrenalina.

– Moramo nastaviti s ovom predstavom – šapnuo je Menadžer Utjecajnici, čije se lice izduljilo u grimasu – gledanost raste.

Ekranom su prošla slova: “Sjednicu Upravnog odbora *Europe Inc.* donosi vam *CoolEx Clean*®.»

Direktor je shvatio da Menadžer pokušava odvući pozornost Utjecajnika. “Neću ga još otpustiti”, pomislio je, “dok ne pronađem odgovarajuću zamjenu”. Manjak poslušnosti izluđivao je Direktora, ali upravo to je bio *faktor x* zbog kojeg je korporacija ostvarila značajan uspjeh. Menadžer je savršeno razumio hiperliberalizam, kapitalizam, vjerovao je u načela Tržišta – i savršeno se snalazio u ovom sustavu. Direktor je postdržavni sustav

prezirao – nikako nije mogao otpustiti tajnu težnju o povratku državnog sustava.

Vrlo mirnim i neupadljivim tonom, Savjetnik za ekologiju je konstatirao:

– Trebali bismo djelovati.

Nakon predstave koju je uzrokovao Menadžer, sve kamere sad su okruživale Utjecajnicu i njega, a teme od korporacijske važnosti diskutirale su se daleko od interesa Utjecajnika.

– Korov još nije na našem teritoriju i nije na nama da se njime bavimo – rekao je Direktor mirno i hladno – *Sjedinjena Asocijacija Dioničara* odgovorna je za održavanje zdravstveno ispravnih uvjeta na području *Zone*.

– Oni tvrde da korov ne utječe negativno na zdravlje – nastavio je sitni Savjetnik za ekologiju, mrmljajući u široku sijedu bradu – a mi nemamo dokaz da nije tako.

Trostruka negacija zbunila bi svaku konzumirajuću osobu.

“Savršeno”, zadovoljno je pomislio Direktor, “pokazujemo svijetu da smo odgovorni.”

– Veoma nam je stalo do međukorporacijskih ugovora... što se za njih ne može reći – ustanovio je Direktor – *Dioničari* su se obvezali brinuti o ekonomskom i ekološkom stanju u *Zoni*, a umjesto toga su je opustošili.

Izjava je uzrokovala pljesak velikog broja prisutnih, a ona drska Utjecajnica i dalje se svađala sa Menadžerom

vezano uz kapitaličku terminologiju.

– Primljeno je još nekoliko dojava o trovanju konzumirajućih osoba *Europe Inc.* na granici sa *Zonom* – konstatirao je Savjetnik za ekologiju.

Izjava je štreknula Direktora, koji je dobro znao da “nekoliko” znači “nekoliko stotina”. Dosad je već desetak konzumirajućih osoba s granice *Zone* umrlo u sumnjivim okolnostima, ali nije postojao dokaz da je trovanje uzrokovano korovom s tog područja.

Direktor je slavodobitno nastavio govor.

– Čekamo rezultate istraživanja. Prije šest dana poslali smo skupinu Znanstvenika u *Zonu* da dokažu toksicitet *heracleuma mantegazzianuma*.

Disanje se nije čulo, tako da je razgovor izgledao kao susret nadbioloških bića kojima kisik nije potreban. Pa ipak, to je bila iluzija: replici je pretihodio dubok i prominentan uzdah, koji je raskrinkao biološku nesavršenost tijela.

– Direktore, što se toga tiče... – rekao je mekim i nenametljivim glasom Savjetnik, izbjegavajući pogledati u svog šefa – izgubili smo kontakt s njima.

Kako se nervoza Savjetnika za ekologiju stala prelijevati na ostale korporacijske Savjetnike, ali i Utjecajnike, čija se pozornost u trenutku vratila u središte prostorije, svi prisutni su gledali pred sebe, pazeći da ne proizvedu nijedan nepotreban zvuk. Čelo Direk-

tora lagano se naboralo, što je obično bio znak intenzivnog promišljanja.

– Kad se to dogodilo?

– Već pet dana bezuspješno pokušavamo uspostaviti kontakt.

Nije vjerovao da će Savjetnik za ekologiju izreći novu informaciju u prisutnosti Utjecajnika. Očigledno mu je Menadžer dao takvu uputu, može bitno čak tvrdeći da je riječ o Direktorovoj naredbi! Takvo što zahtijevalo bi hitru smjenu u nekim normalnim okolnostima! Bila je riječ o pukotini u sustavu, o krhotini koju je trebalo što brže slijepiti. Je li Menadžer samo neodgovoran – ili je može bitno počeo raditi za konkurentsku korporaciju? Njegove se menadžerske vještine ne mogu poreći, no već mnogo puta Direktor je morao zataškavati skandale koje bi Menadžer uzrokovao, namjerno ili nenamjerno.

Zbog toga je, najzad, i postavljen na poziciju Direktora: da bi rješavao tuđe greške; ne samo rješavao, već kapitalizirao ih. Udaljio se na drugi kraj prostorije, a svi Utjecajnici napeto su promatrali zbivanja, čekajući njegovu reakciju.

– Što će sada biti? Kao i uvijek, Menadžerovu vatrenu nepromišljenost s okusom ljute karamele Direktor će ugasiti ledenohladnom odlukom limuna uz aromu đumbira – prošaptala je Utjecajnica u Uređaj mekim, ugodnim glasom – osvježite se uz piće *Le-*

*monEx*<sup>®</sup>, velikodušnog sponzora ovog prijenosa.

“Prilika je izvrsna”, zaključio je Direktorov poduzetnički um, “mogu iskoristiti negativnu situaciju za reklamu *Europe Inc.*”

– *Europe Inc.* znanost je uvijek na prvom mjestu. Ove godine povećali smo budžet *Odjelu za znanost* za 10% u odnosu na prethodnu godinu.

Direktor je zastao, a Savjetnik za ekologiju dao je signal za pljesak. Nakon nekoliko sekundi pljeskanja, koje je bojkotirala samo ona podsmješljiva Utjecajnica, nastavio je:

– Zaposlenici *Instituta za prirodu i društvo* ključni su za napredak naše *Europe Inc.* Osobno krećem u akciju spašavanja – rekao je Direktor, osmjevujući se ponosno u kameru. Njegove riječi odjeknule su društvenim mrežama u samo nekoliko minuta:

– Direktor *Europe Inc.* osobno u misiji spašavanja nestalih Znanstvenika! Pogledajte njegove fotografije pripreme **ovdje!**

Dakako, fotografije iz avanturističkog *settinga* bile su pripremljene unaprijed, ali su savršeno poslužile svrsi. U tom trenutku, svaka osoba u *Europe Inc.*, a i šire, poželjela je biti nestala Znanstvenica koju će Direktor izvući iz trnovitog korova kao Trnoružicu.

Paula Rem

## Solaris - fragment of the novel "When the evening shadows lengthen"

*Office, Center, Europa Inc., 2200.*

The building looked like an ice castle, surrounded by several glass fortresses that made up the buildings of the Center. The buildings were placed in a circle, and in their center was the Director's Office, proudly erected in the highest skyscraper. No one had access to this strictly protected area, except for a few selected security agents.

The Director's eyes looked like a piece of dark sky torn from the vault and placed directly in the Center, calm and composed, although often perceived as cold and unfeeling. His high forehead gave an impression of intellectual authority that few dared to contradict. Always with a dignified facial expression and graceful movements, he never lost his sense of purpose, even in crisis situations. Under stressful circumstances, he tried to maintain a cool rationality. Even the market competition would have to admit that the actions of the Director of Europe Inc. they exude elegance. Every movement was measured and moderate, and at the same time determined, as if some invisible mech-

anism had determined the balance between predictability and arbitrariness with mathematical precision. The steps were completely symmetrical and equal to each other, and their length was always equal to a millimeter. The balance was disturbed only by the asymmetry between the two hands: while the left swung freely, the right always stood by the side, calm but completely controlled, ready to reach for the weapon hidden under the clothes if necessary.

"The function of a corporate leader is to hide that he has a soul and show that he has a head," he thought, trying hard to minimize the feelings that often gnawed at his stomach. It represented a perfect example of a human processor, programmed to always perform tasks efficiently. His whole life seemed to lead to this very position. He considered it his duty to provide the best to consumers. For years he tried to realize the interests of Europe Inc. in a civilized way, with talks and negotiations, but experience has taught him that corporate leaders understand only the language of guns - and the rattle of Capital that could be denied them.



In the meeting room, at one end of the oblong table, corporate Advisors and Influencers were already sitting. Throughout history, meetings of governments from several different economic and political orders have been held in that centuries-old room. Light came in from above, illuminating the room through the glass roof. The freshly painted ionic columns looked like electric cables charged with light that kept the entire structure stable. Thanks to the stability of the columns, the building has managed to remain strong over several millennia, resisting various system changes.

Manager's capitalist mind did not understand the Director's old-fashioned obsession with topics like safety and security. Life in the post-state system had to be fun, risky, unpredictable. Transparent as glass, as the corporation's slogan says.

– Director – the Advisor for Ecology, one of the most important in the post-state world, stood up. His speech was more like a mumble, but each sentence carried meaningful weight and importance.

This diminutive but free-spirited Advisor of Europe Inc., the oldest in the company, but whose exact age no one dared to guess, always successfully avoided conflicts: he left speeches on controversial topics to other Advisors, more prone to quarrels. His statements were never aggressive, but there was something implicitly

threatening in the way he spoke. Radicalism was often read in the quiet calm of the Advisor for Ecology. Although he was one of the Director's most loyal associates, or perhaps precisely because he was, he allowed himself to express very controversial views in a completely non-controversial way.

While the Manager loved the attention of the media, especially the Influencers, who were always willing to devote at least a few minutes to him, the Ecology Advisor would always wisely stand aside, hiding in the shadow of the other Advisor, simultaneously devising possibly threatening scenarios. The manager's sensationalist and conflicting statements had very little basis in reality, and the Environmental Advisor operated behind the scenes, not attracting attention.

– Please, speak – accepted the Director fixing his jacket, not bothering to look in the direction of the interlocutor.

– Grass grows across the border – said the Advisor, trying to convey information that the Director will understand, but the Influencers will not.

The Director's face took on an expression of discomfort for a moment. With a barely moving micro-movement, he pursed his lips and looked to the left.

– Speak directly, Counselor – he ordered in a soft tone.

The ecological adviser often forgot about the slogan *Transparent as glass*.

– I am speaking directly – the Counselor tried to explain – the toxic weed *heracleum mantegazzianum* began to approach the border of *Europa Inc*.

The advisor for ecology lowered his head tentatively, and the Director shot him a look. It was a kind of show, it was necessary to feign severity, just as it was necessary to feign that the Director was now hearing about this information for the first time. It was also necessary to use the influencer's presence to criticize market competitors.

– No weed, no matter how toxic, is responsible for the disappearance of people in the *Zone*. The United Association of Shareholders has not taken care of that territory for years. There were a lot of political and economic changes that drove away citizens, that is, consumers, in other words, consuming people.

The Influencer, who, despite the contraindications of her one-time lover, came to cover the meeting with the media, sneered when she heard that the Director was using an outdated word. She stirred and whispered to the Manager, who was standing nearby:

– I told you that *Europa Inc*. is actually a state, not a corporation!

– Again? You don't even know what a country is. They failed before you were born!

– It's not true, I was three years old when it happened!

The eyes of all present turned towards the Influencer and the Manager, who realized that they were on the live broadcast, and not the Ecology Advisor, who was just presenting complex problems. The manager felt a rush of adrenaline.

– We have to continue with this show – the Manager whispered to the Influencers, whose face became elongated in a grimace - the viewership is growing.

The letters flashed across the screen: "*Europa Inc*. Board of Directors meeting brought to you by *CoolEx Clean*®."

The Director realized that the Manager was trying to distract the Influencer. "I won't fire him yet," he thought, "until I find a suitable replacement." The lack of obedience drove the Director crazy, but it was precisely the x-factor that made the corporation so successful. The manager perfectly understood hyperliberalism, capitalism, believed in the principles of the Market - and managed perfectly in this system. The director despised the post-state system - he could not let go of his secret desire for the return of the state system.

In a very calm and inconspicuous tone, the Advisor for Ecology stated:

– We should act.

After the show caused by the Manager, all cameras now surrounded the

Influencer and him, and topics of corporate importance were discussed far from the interests of the Influencer.

– The weed is not yet on our territory and it is not up to us to deal with it – said the Director calmly and coolly – the United Association of Shareholders is responsible for maintaining healthy conditions in the area of the Zone.

– They claim that weeds do not have a negative effect on health – continued the petite Advisor for Ecology, muttering into his wide gray beard – and we have no proof that this is not the case.

A triple negation would confuse any consuming person.

“Perfect,” thought the Director with satisfaction, “we are showing the world that we are responsible.”

– We care a lot about inter-corporate contracts... which cannot be said for them – stated the Director – The shareholders undertook to take care of the economic and ecological situation in the Zone, and instead they devastated it.

The statement caused applause from a large number of those present, and the brazen Influencer continued to argue with the Manager regarding capital terminology.

– Several more reports were received about the poisoning of persons consuming Europe Inc. on the border

with the Zone - stated the Advisor for Ecology.

The statement startled the Director, who knew very well that “several” meant “several hundreds”. So far, a dozen consuming people from the border of the Zone have died under suspicious circumstances, but there was no evidence that the poisoning was caused by weeds from that area.

The director triumphantly continued his speech.

– We are waiting for the results of the research. Six days ago we sent a group of Scientists to the Zone to prove the toxicity of *Heracleum mantegazzianum*.

Breathing was not heard, so the conversation looked like a meeting of supernatural beings that do not need oxygen. And yet, it was an illusion: the line was preceded by a deep and prominent sigh, which exposed the body’s biological imperfection.

– Director, as far as that is concerned... – said the Advisor in a soft and unobtrusive voice, avoiding looking at his boss – we lost contact with them.

As the Ecology Advisor’s nervousness began to spill over to the other corporate advisors, as well as the influencers, whose attention instantly returned to the center of the room, everyone present looked in front of them, making sure not to make any unnecessary noise. The Director’s

forehead wrinkled slightly, which was usually a sign of intense thought.

– When did it happen?

– We have been unsuccessfully trying to establish contact for five days.

He did not believe that the Advisor for Ecology would utter new information in the presence of the Influencer. Apparently, the Manager gave him such an instruction, possibly even claiming that it was the Director's order! Something that would require a quick shift under some normal circumstances! It was about a crack in the system, a splinter that needed to be patched up as quickly as possible. Is the Manager just being irresponsible – or has he possibly started working for a competing corporation? His managerial skills cannot be denied, but many times the Director has had to cover up scandals caused by the Manager, intentionally or unintentionally.

This is why, finally, he was appointed to the position of Director: to solve other people's mistakes; not only solved, but capitalized on them. He moved away to the other end of the room, and all the Influencers watched the events tensely, waiting for his reaction.

– What will happen now? As always, the Manager's fiery recklessness with the taste of hot caramel will be extinguished by the Director with an ice-cold decision of lemon with the aroma of ginger – whispered the Influencer

in the Device in a soft, pleasant voice – refresh yourself with a drink of *LemonEx*<sup>®</sup>, the generous sponsor of this broadcast.

“The opportunity is excellent,” concluded the Director's entrepreneurial mind, “I can use the negative situation to advertise *Europa Inc.*”

– Europe Inc. science always comes first. This year, we increased the budget of the Department of Science by 10% compared to the previous year.

The Director paused, and the Ecology Advisor signaled for applause. After a few seconds of applause, which was boycotted only by the mocking Influencer, he continued:

– Employees of the Institute for Nature and Society are key to the progress of our *Europa Inc.* I am personally starting a rescue operation – said the Director, smiling proudly into the camera. His words resonated on social networks in just a few minutes:

– Director of *Europa Inc.* personally on a mission to rescue the missing Scientists! Check out his preparation photos [here!](#)

Of course, the photos from the adventure setting were prepared in advance, but they served the purpose perfectly. At that moment, every person in *Europa Inc.* and beyond wanted to be the missing Scientist that the Director would pull out of the thorny weeds like Sleeping Beauty.