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WHOSE JEWS? WHOSE BOSNIA? WHOSE EUROPE?

Beginnings

Most chroniclers of Sarajevo Jewish Community begin by noting that Jews expelled from Spain at the end of the 15th century were greeted with tolerance and granted refuge when they arrived in Ottoman Bosnia (Levy 1996; Malcolm 1996; Schwartz 2005; Serotta 1994). A Sephardic Jewish community of merchants, artisans and laborers, and rabbis and physicians prospered in Sarajevo for over 400 years, until their synagogues, businesses, homes and lives were brutally destroyed during the Nazi occupation of 1941-1945. Many of those who survived the camps, or fought as partisans, or hid in the homes of Muslim and Christian neighbors left for the new Jewish State of Israel in 1948. The thousand or so Jews who re-situated themselves in Sarajevo picked up the threads of their lives and wove them back into the multiply textured cultural pattern of socialist Yugoslavia.

That is one way to begin. Here is another:

In the postwar present continuous of the 21st century, Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereafter B-H) depends on a constitution that was uncomfortably born in Dayton, Ohio during November 1995 (see Holbrooke 1999). The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) that ended the 1992-1995 wars fought for and against ethnic cleansing confirmed the independence and territorial integrity of B-H, while clarifying and making legible its mixed-up people(s) through the establishment of two self-governing „entities” – the Bosniac-Croat Federation and the Serbian Republic – and three constituent nations. These nations, the Bosniacs, the Croats and the Serbs (hereafter B-C-S), are guaranteed collective rights to their own language, culture, history and territory.

At the end of the preamble of the DPA, which declares the Bosniacs, the Croats and the Serbs the country’s constituent peoples, is a parenthetical addition;

these nations comprise the state (along with Others). B-H's Others, or *Ostali*, are endowed with individual liberties, but they do not possess the B-C-S group rights from which many of these liberties derive (see, e.g. McMahon 2004: 202; Mulaj 2005: 8). Eligibility requirements for the tri-person presidency, many government posts, state and entity positions, and university places reflect the ongoing importance of maintaining a balance of power among the constituent nations. In newspaper articles and population tables; on job applications and university registration forms the B-C-S-(O) constitutional order constantly repeats itself, sending the unremitting message that the *Ostali* are an afterthought, a residual category of citizens who cannot or will not assert national belonging as Bosniacs, Croats or Serbs (see Markowitz 2010: 92-96)¹.

During the 1992-1995 wars, Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs fought each other for and against the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sarajevo's small Jewish Community refused to ally itself with any one group and asserted its neutrality by providing sorely needed aid to all (see Serotta 1994). After the war, Bosnia's Jews have been officially amalgamated into the *Ostali*. At the same time, however, as „one of the old and formative components of the Bosnian pattern (...) that had shaped [Sarajevo's – F.M.] urban culture and entire ambience” (Lovrenović 2001: 170), the Jews of Sarajevo and their institutions linger in popular discourse. This contradiction raises questions about how Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs perceive Sarajevo's Jews as a cultural category, a social group and political constituency. Whose Jews are they? The ambiguous and multiple answers that Sarajevans provide are connected to the ever vexing issues of citizenship and nationhood in postwar, ethnically divided Bosnia and are at the root of B-H's shaky position in 21st century Europe.

That Europe has taken the lead role in ensuring the Dayton peace through the establishment of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), a supra-governmental institution that oversees implementation of the civilian aspects of the accords. The unelected, EU-appointed High Representative holds absolute authority to overturn state and entity legislation deemed by his office as unconstitutional. Originally slated to close at the end of 2006, the OHR continues to pursue its mission, „to work with the people of B-H and the international community to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a peaceful, viable state on course to European integration”². In other words, the European Union has the final word in determining if, and if so, how the B-C-S-(O) people of B-H will (re)join the continent of which it is intrinsically part.

And here is the third beginning:

¹ This Dayton-born B-C-S-(O) scheme of categorizing the population conflicts with and overrides the multiplicity that for centuries characterized Sarajevo's ethnoscapes where Albanians, Hungarians, Jews, Macedonians, Roma, Slovenians and Yugoslavs were named and noticed. Twenty five categories were listed in Yugoslavia's last census of 1991. Now only Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs are listed in official documents; all others have been unnamed and amalgamated into *Ostali*.

² *Office of the High Representative*, <http://www.ohr.int> (19.01.2012).

Most of this special issue contributions posit and wrestle with an anthropology of Europe from the dual perspectives of home and abroad. My essay blurs those categories. I am not Bosnian, and I am not a former Yugoslav. I was born and spent most of my life in the USA. Curiously, though, throughout fieldwork, my positionalities – I hesitate to say „identities” – as an American, a Jewess, and an Israeli brought me directly into the fulcrum of the overlapping issues that connect the Jews of Sarajevo to the B-C-S constituent nations; and all of them to the unsettled and unsettling future of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a tri-nation-state in the heart of Europe. The meanings that my hosts attached to my ethno-religious belongings and national citizenships played critical and decisive roles in this research. How I was included and excluded by Sarajevans while taking part in events, interviews and conversations reveals much about the heterogeneity and hybridity of Bosnia’s „third space” (after Bhabha 1990; Karahasan 1993) where the questions, „Whose Jews? Whose Bosnia? and Whose Europe?” converge.

My involvement in these questions began on a hot, humid day in bombed-out Sarajevo during August 1997. As I made my way to the Sarajevo Jewish Community on the northern bank of the Miljacka River I thought back to my first visit to that Community fourteen years earlier. At that time, the Ashkenazi Synagogue was filled with lively, little children, middle-aged men engrossed in chess and backgammon games, and people of all ages stopping by to chat. Much had changed in Sarajevo since then. Eight years after triumphantly hosting the 1984 Winter Olympic Games, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared independence. But instead of prospering in postsocialist Europe, the country erupted into a vicious war, and Sarajevo was held under the longest siege in 20th century history (see Andreas 2008; Maček 2009). At the war’s end, thousands of civilians had fled, been wounded or killed; many cultural landmarks were destroyed, and the country’s economic and social infrastructure was demolished. In August 1997 the people I met seemed to repeat mechanistically, *Bilo je rat. Biće bolje* („There was a war. Things will be better”).

I approached the synagogue unsure of what to expect: Would there still be men engaged in chess games surrounded by eager kibitzers? Would I find any gangly youths or parents with little children? Would my ears once again catch the strangely familiar phrases of Judeo-Spanish intermeshed with local Slavic syllables? Mindful of wartime evacuations and other losses I wondered, as I reached the building, if there would be anyone at all in the lobby.

I entered the synagogue and the lobby was quite full. It was early afternoon, and lots of older people were working their way toward the exit. The air was heavy with lingering odors of cooked meat and vegetables, and I saw some young men hauling out crates of apple peels and cabbage leaves. I took in the scene and then found my way to an office where framed photographs and certificates of appreciation covered the walls. That was where Dragica Levi, the Community’s secretary general, explained to me that hot lunches, funded by the government of

Germany and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, were served daily to the mostly Muslim and Christian aged and poor of the neighborhood. I asked about the middle-aged and young people I had seen and blurted out that I thought that the Jews of Sarajevo had been evacuated during the first years of the war. Dragica gave me a long, cold stare, took a deep pull on her cigarette and told me, as she slowly let out the smoke, that she and many others never left their city. They stayed to organize medical care, pharmacies, a short-wave radio communication station, hot lunches, and more, „Don't you know about the Jewish Community's war efforts?“. After a pause she continued, „Many did leave, and many returned – from Israel, from Spain, Switzerland, and Canada“. Dragica called in a young man who had been to Israel and back again. We set a time to meet later that week, and when we sat together he narrated to me the reasons for his family's decision to send him to Israel, and why, after six years there, he returned to Sarajevo. When I inquired about him again first in 2002 and then in 2004, Alex was long gone. But drifting in and out of the synagogue, living their lives and telling their tales were several other young people along with those at the peak of their adulthood.

The Jewish Community of Sarajevo is as diverse as the city itself. It is comprised of *čisti jevreji* („pure Jews“) and those of mixed heritage. They are Sephardim, the Ladino-speaking descendants of Jews expelled in 1492 from Spain, and Ashkenazim, Jews who hailed from Germanic, Hungarian and Slavic lands; those who spent their entire lives in Sarajevo, those who lived abroad and returned, and some, like me, whose peregrinations have not come to an end. Several are employed in the liberal professions within various businesses and governmental agencies; some hold jobs in the Jewish Community; most others are on pensions. Many participate in holiday services, social activities and commemorative events, take their no-longer free lunch in the synagogue's restaurant, and drop by to see who is around and what is going on. No one is an Orthodox practitioner of Judaism and it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish Sarajevo's Jews from their B-C-S-(O) neighbors.

After providing sketches of the people who come and go in the Jewish Community, I will take a more political turn by exploring how Jews participate in multi-ethnic Sarajevo, and how their neighbors cognize and constitute them as individuals, a people of history, and a political constituency. We will hear Jews narrate their history and identity, as well as how various Christians and Muslims classify the Jewish Ostali in their midst. What follows are debates and dialogues that occurred between 1997 and 2008 as Jewish Sarajevans, their interlocutors and I interacted in postwar urban space under the influence of historically salient cultural categories and contemporary governmental schemes³.

³ Thanks to IREX for a Short-Term Travel Grant that brought me to Sarajevo in August 1997, a grant from the Dean's discretionary funds of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Ben-Gurion University that underwrote two weeks of fieldwork in the summer of 2002, and to IREX again, which awarded me a 2003/04 IARO (Individual Advanced Research Opportunity) grant for the long-term fieldwork I conducted in 2004.

The Jevrejska Zajednica in Sarajevo and beyond

In 1997, 2002, 2004 and 2008, most days when I came to the Jewish Community for a meeting, an interview or to lunch in the restaurant, business was brisk. During the summer, there are many returnees from abroad who meet up with friends over coffee. At other times certain guests will pay a visit: the Israeli ambassador makes a yearly call as does the European representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Sometimes foreign rabbis, scholars and tourists will drop by; sometimes it is university students from Slovenia or Sweden; or staff from the shrinking array of humanitarian organizations in Sarajevo. Teams from local television stations regularly arrive at the synagogue to chronicle holiday services; less frequently, film crews come from abroad to document the only operating synagogue in Sarajevo, which during the 1992-1995 siege served as a citywide relief and communications station (see Serotta 1994).

All that notwithstanding, most of the people who congregate in the synagogue's lobby are locals. I met Moric Albahari there in the summer of 2002. As a teenager he had fought as a partisan, and as an adult he served as a pilot in the Yugoslav air force. Moric, who is fluent in five languages, was an official of the synagogue and looked up to as a role model by the younger generations.

During our first meeting, Moric was sitting with a colleague who had served with him in the air force, and together they described Yugoslavia as a great country based on socialist humanism. By way of introduction Moric's friend told me, „I am a Muslim, who has a Catholic wife. But what's the difference? All people are one under God; all people were one in Yugoslavia”. He continued,

During the war, this place, the Jewish Community, was the only place that gave food and medicine to anybody. Go to Merhamet [a Muslim charitable organization – F.M.] and they ask your religion. If you're not Muslim, then go away. I wanted to change my religion to become Jewish because of the way that they treated everybody equally.

He did not change his religion; he does not have to. He can sit in the synagogue lobby with his friend, drink coffee-with a shot of *rakija* (brandy) on the side-remember about the glory days of Yugoslavia and share regrets about the ethnically divided aftermath of Bosnia's tragic war.

Most days two well-appointed receptionists meet and greet those who enter the synagogue. Early in 2004 one told me:

I work here. Philanthropic work. There are old people who are sick, isolated, and cannot leave their houses. Their pensions are very small. We send a young woman to shop and to cook for them. From La Benevolencija, the charitable arm of the Jewish Community. And their nationality doesn't matter. We offer services to all

people. I myself am from a Muslim family. My husband was half-Jewish, half-Catholic. That's how I got here. I've been here since 1992.

Nadja's story of involvement in the Jewish Community through intermarriage was but one of many. And reports of children living abroad repeat over and again.

In March 2004 I began to attend the meetings of La Bohoreta, the women's group that prepares the synagogue's social hall for Sabbath dinners and holiday feasts, arranges visits to the sick; makes condolence calls, keeps in phone and mail contact with members abroad, sends representatives to multi-confessional welfare organizations and provides a reason to get together. The first meetings I attended were officiated by Zlata, who after living eight years in Israel returned to Sarajevo with her husband. A few weeks later, after returning from a visit to her family in Canada, Nela, the group's president, resumed her duties. At the end of the business part of the meeting, photo albums showing smiling adults with their young children against the backdrop of broad Canadian vistas, London city scenes, and sun-drenched Israel, changed hands.

At one of my first Bohoreta meetings I met 70-year-old Nada who, in her cheerful pastel outfits, looks so much younger than her years. She is the mother of four children but lives alone in Sarajevo. One of her sons is in Serbia, the other two went to Israel, and her daughter is an art teacher in Croatia. During the war Nada volunteered at the synagogue where everyday she oversaw the distribution of clothing, blankets and foodstuffs. These days she spends most time in her favorite living-room corner where she reads and writes essays and poems. When the weather is fine, Nada cultivates fruits and flowers in her garden. She tells me the amount of her meager monthly pension and shows me her household accounts book. „How do we live?“ you ask. *Moramo da živimo* – „we must live“.

Branko, a widower and the Jewish Community's informal security guard, sits right inside the entrance to the synagogue. I stopped to chat with him one day in May 2004 when he told me that he is the father of two grown children, a son in Israel and a daughter who lives in North Dakota. I asked Branko if he has ever visited:

No, I've never been there. I have no desire. There's nothing for me there, and I have no connection with that place. Now Israel is another thing. I like that country very much. It has its own soul, its spirit. There is always something going on there, something to do. My son lives there; he, his wife – she is also a Sarajevan – and their two sons. My eldest grandson is 8, the youngest is 5 and a half... They are very happy there. No, none of them wants to return, except of course to visit. I've been there twice, and I'd go again. But to live there, no. It's too hot for me! Besides, I have my mother here. And my pension, and my job, and my community, my friends.

Unlike my experiences with Jewish parents in post-Soviet Russia (Markowitz 1994), I rarely if ever heard Bosnian parents complain of the hardships of life

alone without their children. Most people told me matter-of-factly about their transnational families. They often added a positive note about their children's jobs and living conditions while stressing their own reasons for staying in Sarajevo. Perhaps Greta put it best: the younger generation has the opportunity to lead good, happy and productive lives abroad is something to celebrate. And she should know for as a young woman no such opportunity had been offered to her.

Greta Weinfeld Ferušić was born and raised in Novi Sad in the Vojvodina region of Serbia, until that fateful autumn day in 1944 when the Nazis deported her entire family to Auschwitz. After the war, Greta, the only surviving member of that family, resettled in Belgrade where she enrolled in the university and studied architecture. She also met the man who was to become her husband, a secular Bosnian Muslim. They moved to his hometown of Sarajevo in 1952 where an engineering job awaited him along with an appointment at the university. Greta then entered a competition and she too landed a position at Sarajevo University. When Sarajevo was shelled and war broke out in 1992, Greta and her husband resolved to stay put but insisted that their son, his wife, and their two children flee. She explained, „I left once with two suitcases and did not find anything when I came back. And I was 21 years old then. A second time, no. Not by my own will. I stayed here the whole time with my husband, but the children we sent out. They have their own lives to live”.

Several young people who were children or teenagers when they „were sent out” of Sarajevo told me that although they understand now that their parents acted to save their lives, or to give them lives to live, remember feeling scared, alone and abandoned as they rode the bus away from their city and their homes. Renata was one of those children. In August 2002, within seconds of introducing ourselves, Renata, who was then 24, narrated in one breath, „The war broke out in April 1992. I left in August 1993. I spent four years in Israel at a boarding school. Then I came back to Sarajevo”. Over the course of several meetings in 2004 Renata expanded on her story, confiding that the experience of being on her own was terribly difficult. After returning to her parents' home, Renata worked as a nanny for an American diplomat, and then enrolled in the criminology program of Sarajevo University. She has made a few trips back to Israel and participated in the „Walk for Life” which begins at Auschwitz and ends in Tel Aviv. Renata has also organized an intensive Hebrew class for the young adults of the Community, and when Israeli delegations come to Sarajevo she serves as a guide and translator. In May 2004, Renata was one of four young people who organized and presented the Holocaust Memorial Day commemoration service in the synagogue.

Jovan was another. When in 2002 I first met him, Jovan, known to everyone as Joja, was a 22-year old law student, volunteering at the Sarajevo Film Festival. Joja's mother is from a distinguished Sephardic Jewish family, but he carries the distinctly Serb first and last names of his deceased father. Here's how he described his family:

My father died in 1988. My mother is Jewish, but we were a communist, atheist Yugoslav family. My grandfather went to Prague in the 1930s, studied architecture and joined the Communist Party. That was the end of our being Jewish as a religion! During the (Second World) War, grandfather was a partisan, he and his brothers and uncles. Everyone else died in concentration camps – in Jasenovac, in Auschwitz. We grew up knowing we were Jewish: we went to the *kehillah* [Hebrew: community – F.M.] for celebrations, but we didn't do anything at home for Passover or Chanukah. We went to the Jewish Community summer camps and winter camps. Since 1988 it's been me, mother, her mother and my little brother. My grandmother on my father's side was a diplomat for Yugoslavia all of her life.

When the shelling of Sarajevo began Jovan's paternal grandmother insisted that his mother send him and his younger brother to live with her. „To cut a long story short, we went to Belgrade on the last flight out of Sarajevo and lived there for two years with our two cousins”. And here the story got murky. Joja was fidgety; he moved around a lot and chain-smoked as he talked. He told me in Hebrew that things were so *dafuk* [screwed up – F.M.] in Belgrade – weapons and tanks in the streets, propaganda day and night, „But what did I know? I went to school, had a roof over my head, there were no bombings”. He continued the chronology and noted that he and his brother were able to meet up with their mother in Budapest during a cease-fire. After some discussion, they all returned to Sarajevo. But then:

In less than two weeks I was out again. My name and my accent, both 100% Serbian, didn't promise me much here. We got in touch with the Kehillah, and 20 hours later, I got out to Mostar, Split and then Zagreb. I spent a week in Zagreb, five days in Budapest, and then on to Israel. I was there in a boarding school until 1999, four years... I've returned to Israel six times. I don't stay two months in one place! After all these years, I am very connected to Israel, very.

I saw Joja several times during my stay in 2004. His hopes were to become a diplomat for Bosnia-Herzegovina so that he can continue traveling, especially to Israel and the Middle East. As Renata put it, „All of us who were in Israel see ourselves as the future of the Jewish Community. We're a small community and we all need to join efforts to survive”.

The Jews of Bosnia-Herzegovina are no strangers to dispersal and disruption. Nonetheless, from 1530 until 1941 they found there a haven and made it their home. And although their community was ravished and reduced in the Holocaust, Sarajevo's Jews rebounded in socialist Yugoslavia. During the 1992-1995 war some fought for the independence of multi-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina; many left, some to return; others to eke out new lives in different places. Families have separated and reunited, and separate and reunite again.

Although people come and go, the pink brick Ashkenazi synagogue on the northern bank of the Miljacka River remains solidly in place for the Jewish Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The synagogue endures as a mainstay of Jewish life in an unpredictable world, but it cannot and does not exist as an island unto itself. It is part of the Sarajevo cityscape, and its constituents are residents of the Canton of Sarajevo in the Bosniac-Croat Federation, and Ostali-citizens of the ethnically trisected Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Jews of „multi-culti” Sarajevo: performances, perceptions and politics

Bosnia’s Jews may be classified as Ostali, but every spring they come together as a community in the Ashkenazi Synagogue to celebrate the holiday of Passover. Passover is the yearly festival that commemorates the liberation of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt. It begins in the evening with a Seder [*seder* means order in Hebrew – F.M.], which is a special gathering and festive meal based on the ritual objects, prayers, stories and songs that are detailed in the Haggadah, the Passover prayerbook. On April 5, 2004, I took a seat next to Klara at the Community Seder. I met her daughter and a friend as we became reacquainted. Klara was giving me an overview of the people of the Community when she suddenly declared that in Sarajevo during the Ottoman reign,

There was a very mean ruler here who for no reason hated the Jews. Maybe it was because they had some of the wealthiest shops in the Baščaršija. Like in the story of Purim that happened in Persia, he was planning to murder the Jews of Sarajevo. So he took his soldiers into the Baščaršija and asked all of the merchants and artisans to come out of their shops and line up. Then he commanded, „All the Jews, step forward!”. And *every* one of the men – Jews and non-Jews – took a step forward. That way, he would have had to kill them all or none of them. That is the kind of tolerance and solidarity that Sarajevo is known for⁴.

For Klara, who is the daughter of a Jewish father and a Croat mother and married to a Bosniac, the Jews of Sarajevo are part of the city’s unique multiplicity that must persist in spite of the perversions of the recent war.

⁴ Noel Malcolm (1996:112) offers a different version: „One intriguing story from the early nineteenth century involves the fate of a Jew from Travnik, Moses Chavijo, who converted to Islam, took the name of Derviš Ahmed, and began to rouse the local Muslims against the Jews. In 1817 the leaders of the Bosnian Jews complained to the next governor of Bosnia, Ruždi-paša, who seized the opportunity to squeeze some money out of the Jews: he commanded that they pay a recompense of 500,000 *groschen*, and seized ten leading Sarajevo Jews, including the rabbi, threatening to kill them if the payment were not made. The end of the story, however, is that a crowd of 3,000 Muslims took up arms and demanded the Jews’ release – which was promptly done”.

After a few hours of prayer, prose, food and song – all against the backdrop of ongoing conversations – the Community Seder drew to a close with a lively and lovely song in Ladino. Most people left for home, but some of us stayed to join the young people who were playing rock music in an adjacent hall. When I finally turned to leave I bumped right into Jakob Finci, president of the Jewish Community of B-H. That was fortuitous because in the midst of introductions he invited me to „see multicultural Sarajevo in action”, to return in two days for the Community’s mini-Seder that is staged for diplomats, representatives of Sarajevo varied cultural societies and Christian and Muslim clergy.

Like all the other guests, upon arrival at the synagogue I shook hands with the presidents of the Jewish Community of B-H, of Sarajevo and of Mostar who stood formally dressed in a reception line. Most of the guests were similarly dressed diplomats from the international community; others were locals, including an Orthodox priest in long black robes, a Franciscan Catholic monk in a brown cassock, and the Reis-ul-ulema, Bosnia’s highest Muslim cleric in a cylindrical white fez. I talked with a woman who introduced herself as a representative of the EU; she repeated over and over what a wonderful man Finci is and how much he has been doing for the city of Sarajevo.

I entered the social hall, looked around and saw a woman of about my age seated alone at one of the tables. I walked over to her and introduced myself. In return she told me that she was the President of the Slovenian Cultural Center of Sarajevo. A moment later, we were joined by another smartly dressed and outgoing woman, Greta Weinfeld Ferušić. The three of us immediately engaged in a lively conversation until the ceremony began.

In Bosnian and in English, Jacob Finci welcomed the „multi-culti” audience „to this celebration of Pesach in the year 5764, the world’s oldest continually observed holiday”. He noted that Passover

commemorates a historical event, the liberation of the Jews from slavery in Egypt, but freedom is not won once and for all. There is an ongoing process of self-liberation, not only for the Jews but for every human being to live out his freedom. This is not only a holiday with meaning for the Jews but for every citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Jakob then introduced a „young rabbi from Israel”, who took over. „Every year we read the Haggadah and explain every symbol on the table. In Bosnia and Herzegovina every symbol of freedom is very important”. He explained the meaning of three key symbols and continued, „During the Seder we drink four cups of wine to remind ourselves of the four verbs that come before salvation. But today, we will drink only one”. He recited in Hebrew the blessing over the wine. Everyone raised their glass, sipped the wine, and ate their lunch.

The president of the Slovenian Cultural Center left shortly after lunch. Greta and I continued to talk, and several people joined us as the afternoon turned to

dusk. When the representative of the Mostar Jewish community sat with us Greta told me that during the war he saved a Muslim woman by saying that she was Jewish and got her out from the Croat-Herzegovinian side where she would have been killed. Later when we were joined by Danilo I asked him, „What’s it like to be the president of the Sarajevo Jewish Community these days?”. He shrugged his shoulders and said, „Before the war, *sve mi smo bili zajedno* – We were all together”.

Danilo’s ambiguous answer echoed several replies I had already received to the more broadly framed question, „What’s it like to be a Jew in Sarajevo these days?”. A month earlier one of the synagogue’s receptionists told me, „It used to be wonderful, but now, well, there’s not much to look forward to”. Branko’s answer was more involved:

All kinds of people come in here; our doors are open to all. During the war we had much to give, and we helped everyone – with food, medicine, convoys. And everyone loved us. Now we have nothing to give, and, let’s put it like this, the love for us has fallen. No anti-Semitic demonstrations or manifestations, no, not here, not against us. But without the interest, the love has fallen.

A few months later I asked Dragica, „How are things going these days for Jews in Sarajevo?”. She replied:

I’m afraid to say that they are not getting any better. I believe it is because of what is happening in the Middle East, yes, in Israel-Palestine. I heard on a TV program not long ago, „No matter where they live, no matter where they are born, Jews are always the enemy of Islam”. No, not on a news program; I can’t remember exactly, but nothing like this was ever before broadcast on TV.

„Have you received any letters to that effect or seen such graffiti?”. I asked.

On the steps outside the Old Temple there was graffiti: Swastika = Magen David. There are not many of these but I think it’s because of the Middle East and all the influence of Saudi Arabia here. It’s a different version of Islam, one that we’ve never had. Have you seen the young women in their long dresses and covering their heads? I think it’s a little less now than immediately after the war. But I understand them. During the war there were many humanitarian organizations that would only give help to those who went to the mosque, who grew their beards, who put on the dress. Those were desperate times, and I understand anybody who did that. And now there is still a strong influence from Saudi Arabia, have you seen those huge mosques built in the new sections of the town? Who knows what they are saying in there.

Dragica moved the conversation away from what was a painful topic: anti-Jewish sentiments in a city where Jews had never been confined to ghettos, in

a city known for its religious tolerance, a city that, although under siege, celebrated its Jews in „Sepharad 1992”, the 500 year anniversary of the Spanish expulsion. Yet Sarajevo is also a city where the Holocaust struck with all its venom and reduced the Jewish population from 10-12,000 to less than a thousand souls.

On Sunday evening, April 18, 2004, the Community was about to begin its *Yom ha-Shoah*, or Holocaust Memorial Day, commemoration. On a long table in the synagogue's social hall stood dozens of small white candles neatly lined up behind white cards with family names printed on them in black. Six large white candles draped in black crepe dominated the stage behind the table. People drifted in and lit their family candles.

A disembodied voice was reading off name after name and their ages – from tiny children to the very old, with every age in between. Four young people entered the hall and sat in the front row. One mounted the stage, said a few words to the audience, led an opening prayer and lit the six large candles. Then the congregation president stood and stated that *Yom ha-Shoah* commemorates the six million who perished during the Holocaust. „We and the Jewish people throughout the world remember the pogroms and the Holocaust that happened, and the anti-Semitism that takes place still throughout the world. We are here to remember the tragedy of six million civilians who suffered only because they were Jews”. He called for a moment of silence.

The young people took turns reading from documentary accounts of the deportation of the Jews of Sarajevo and their interment in camps, and of Jewish armed resistance to the Nazis in the Partisans. I asked Greta if Sarajevo's Jews were deported to Jasenovac. She said she was not sure, but to some place in Slavonia in central Croatia, reminding me that she was not originally from here.

Jakob Finci, who certainly was, preferred not to dwell on the Holocaust. During a pleasant lunch in June 2004 he told me that unlike most other places in Europe, the Jews of Bosnia have been objects not of anti-Semitism but of philosemitism:

The Serbs say, look, we are brothers. Both of us were victims during World War II of the Nazis and Ustaše, and today we are both victims of the Muslims. The Croats came to me and asked for a copy of the by-laws of the World Jewish Organization; they talk about their diaspora and say that like the Jews, they have been persecuted and spread out all over the world. And the Muslims, they say, look, we have been living here together in Sarajevo for the last 500 years. And every time I go on radio or TV people call in to remember that our Community gave them this or that medication, took their children out on the convoy, or provided them or their parents with food. No one has forgotten, and we still have our good name in Sarajevo.

But Jakob is not naive and after a pause he added:

In the last two years, with the last Intifada, there are now bad feelings about Israel. I don't know how many times I've gone on TV and radio and explained that we

Jews have been here in Sarajevo for 500 years – that „ethnic cleansing” was not invented by the Serbs in the last war but 500 years ago in Spain. That Israel was created in November 1947 by a U.N. vote that gave one part of the land for a Jewish state and another part for a Palestinian, Arab state, but that the Palestinian part was controlled and occupied by Egypt and Jordan until 1967. Why did nobody talk about occupied Palestine then?

There is no Israeli embassy in Sarajevo. Through 2005 the Israeli ambassador to Hungary, stationed in Budapest, also held the title of ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the past few years, one ambassador, who is based in Jerusalem represents Israel in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro. In 2008 that ambassador participated in the mini-Seder for the multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and international community where she delivered a speech celebrating Israel’s 60th anniversary.

The „State of Palestine”, however, is represented by an embassy and an ambassador in Sarajevo. Just about every evening on FB-H-TV (the government-sponsored station of the Bosniac-Croat Federation) there is a report from the Middle East. Most of these reports show Israeli soldiers firing on Palestinian civilians.

One evening Amila, who is from a secular Bosniac family, invited me, a native speaker, to attend her English conversation class and tell something about life in America. I thought that I would talk about the vastness of the country, its different geographical regions and the diversity of the population. But we never did get to that. As part of my introduction I told the six women students and their teacher that I haven’t been living full-time in America for a while because I teach at Ben-Gurion University in Israel. The teacher interrupted, „And what do you think of the poor Palestinian people?”. Before I could answer, she continued, „I see the facts on TV every night – and not just our TV, but BBC and CNN – of poor Palestinian people with no weapons, completely defenseless except for stones being attacked by the Israelis and supported by Bush. This reminds us of what we went through, and can you please tell me how the Israeli people react to this suffering?”.

Just a little while earlier, when I told the class that I was an ethnographer researching ethnicity and multiculturalism in post-war Sarajevo, the teacher interjected that it was not worthwhile to speak about the war and wartime experiences to anyone who was not here because it is impossible to understand what happened. I told her that the same could be said about Israel, and brought her attention to the Qassam rockets shot from Gaza to explode on the civilians of Sderot, and the innocent people – Jews, Christians and Muslims – riding buses, food-shopping, sipping coffee and dancing in discotheques who were blown up by suicide bombers. But on that warm evening in 2004, this particular teacher told me that she had never seen Palestinians with weapons on TV. She repeated

her allegations and tried to rally her Bosniac students to agree that the Palestinians fired on by Israeli soldiers were in the same abominable situation as they had been in when their city was under siege and radical Serb aggressors fired down upon them.

The students did not join with her, but I wondered if this is what Dragica and Jakob were referring to when they intimated that things are not as they used to be for the Jews of Sarajevo. Is the logic that this teacher proposed more widespread? Might it be influencing government policy among the Bosniac majority in the FB-H?

Igor, known to everyone as Grga, told me about the problems he has been having with the government:

They want to get me into army service here... I went and told them that I did the IDF in Israel. [The clerk – F.M.] asked if I had killed any Palestinians... [Grga was a cook in the army and killed no one – F.M.]. And I said, „You should organize a Jewish component of the Federation, and then you can call me to serve in that Jewish army. Look, there’s the army of the Republika Srpska, and in the Federation you have two armies de facto, the Muslim one and the Croat one. If there was one army for the entire state of Bosnia-Herzegovina then maybe I would serve. In the meantime, when you make a Jewish component, then you can call me”. If they call me again, I don’t know what to do. I can go to Israel and study... and return as clergy. They don’t call those religious guys. And besides I’ll tell them that they must provide me with kosher food and that I’m *shomer shabbes* [Sabbath observant – F.M.]!

It is not only among Bosniacs that the blurred boundary between (Bosnian) Jews and Israel provokes reassessment of Sarajevo philosemitism and the Jews’ neutral Ostali status. If in the Muslim majority Federation sympathies rest with Palestinian civilians and against the Israeli Defense Force, in the Republika Srpska, Serbs have tried to rally Jewish support and express frustration when solidarity is not forthcoming.

In 2002, in response to my question as to why she and her family left Sarajevo for the semi-rural surroundings of the Serbian Republic, Gordana, an attorney turned café-owner told me of her fear of Muslim brutality and added, „You should know; it’s the same as you in Israel”. In June 2004, much the same thing happened when I met with two spokesmen from the SDS, the ruling Serbian Democratic Party in Pale. I began our conversation by asking R and B to explain their party’s platform. They replied by describing the barbarism of the Muslims. Instead of describing their party’s platform they drew analogies between my people and theirs:

R: You’re a Jew. You must know then that we Serbs and you Jews are very much alike. Your people lost six million during the Second World War. One and a half million Serbs were killed in the Second World War. Serbs and Jews are very much

alike; we have both suffered a lot, and we are both European civilizations surrounded by enemies.

I suggested that the problems of the Serbs and Israel are not the same because the Jews faced a different population living on the land, using it and claiming it as its own when they returned, as some say, or colonized, as others say, during the 19th and 20th centuries. In contrast, Serbs have always lived in Bosnia along with other ethno-religious groups.

R: You are an old people with a new state. We are an old state with new people: mixed languages, mixed peoples [here he grimaces – F.M.]. And you have a strong diaspora to help Israel. In America alone there are 15 million Jews, the richest group in America.

FM: 15 million? 5 million!

R & B: 15 million, yes, 15 million. And the most influential. And the richest, Kissinger, Rockefeller.

FM: Rockefeller? He was Protestant!

„Shut up”, I silently tell myself. „This is an ethnographic moment!”

[...]

FM: (again) Would you now tell me about the party platform of SDS?

B and/or R (exasperated): How can it be that you as a Jew do not understand? How many we lost in the First World War and then in World War II, in Jasenovac during the fascist [Croat – F.M.] state! The Ustaše, that’s who killed these Serbs. In Jasenovac, 700,000 Serbs from B-H, and 50,000 of them children, children! And this was only 50 years ago. Serbs need the Republika Srpska as our security, for protection. It is our only security against this aggression. You are a Jew. In 1940 there were 12,000 Jews in Sarajevo. And how many are there today?

FM: Maybe a thousand.

B/R: And do you know who killed them? Croats and Muslims. This was a catastrophe. Our peoples have shared together in suffering!

And so, while there is truth to Jakob Finci’s point that the Serbs invoke common suffering with the Jews, they also – or at least these particular Serbs – express frustration that the wealthier, more powerful Jewish nation has not supported their side.

This frustration can find expression in more traditional, anti-Semitic ways. On April 9 2004, which was Good Friday and the first Sabbath after the Passover Seders, David, announced that on B-H Radio-1 he heard an Orthodox priest state in his explanation of their Easter holiday that the Jews killed their God, Jesus Christ. „We must not remain quiet! This is our public radio station of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must write a letter to send to the general editor of the radio station and to the Minister of Culture. We must not remain quiet!”. A heated dis-

cussion followed; agreeing that silence was out of the question everyone present told David to write the letter and they will sign. One man remembered that two years ago there was a discussion on a public B-H television program that went like this: „During the 1930s, there was Catholic fascism in Spain and in the 1940s in Croatia. Our last war was due to the Orthodox fascism of those Serbs. And today Israel is an example of Jewish fascism”. David pounded his fist on the table and ended the discussion as he announced, „Now we must pray!”.

But the conversation resumed over dinner. David asked me if I had heard of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a notorious forgery, originally published in 1905 in Russia as an authoritative document that describes secret meetings of Jewish rabbis conspiring to take over the world. He told me that it was recently re-published in Belgrade. A few days later I saw that libelous book prominently displayed in one of Sarajevo leading bookstores.

In his latest book, Arjun Appadurai delineates a seemingly universal *Fear of Small Numbers* (Appadurai 2006). He claims that in contemporary nation-states the „movements, mixtures, cultural styles and media representations [of ethnic minorities – F.M.] create profound doubts about who exactly are among the «we» and who are among the «they»” (Appadurai 2006: 5). Similarly, Zygmunt Bauman (1998) looks specifically at the uncertain position of European Jews, strangers who came and stayed. By the late nineteenth century, those Jews became part of the citizenry but they remained outside the nation, representing an irritating in-between-ness that provoked the question: Are they with us, or against us, and how will we know for sure?

During the 1992-1995 Bosnian wars, many Jewish men took up arms to fight on the side of independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. The official stance of the Jewish Community, however, was neutrality, a commitment to assist everyone in need of food, medical care, medicines and communication with the outside world. Over a decade after the war ended the Community’s neutral stance is being reassessed. Some, like Moric’s friend, continue to laud the Jews for their humanitarian even-handedness. Others, however, may be interpreting that neutral stance negatively, as a statement of non-commitment. Kemal Bakaršić, who was B-H’s leading authority on the medieval Sarajevo Haggadah, told me in 2004 that the Jewish Community’s biggest mistake was in declaring that „this war was not our concern. The Jews ought to have declared their allegiance to independent, Bosniac-led Bosnia and publicly condemned the bigger evil of the other side”.

The Jews’ neutral stance, even in times of peace, can cause anxiety; it can be read not as neutrality at all but as a cover for duplicity. While Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs each claim connections to Bosnia’s Jews, the refusal of those Jews to stand exclusively with them triggers the question: Who are you really? Are you indeed Ostali, beyond the pale of B-C-S categorization? And if so, whose Jews will you be if forced to choose?

Endings

Conclusion 1: the Jews of Sarajevo belong to us all

Just about every time my young friend, Amar and I got together, he rued the fact that „almost all [of Bosnia’s Jews – F.M.] who left during the war stayed in Israel or went to the US. There isn’t even a rabbi in Sarajevo, and it shouldn’t be like that. Jews have been a part of Sarajevo for 500 years. Lots of Jews survived World War II, hidden by their Croatian and Muslim neighbors”. One day in 2004 while in the midst of these declarations, Amar interrupted himself to ask if I knew the story of the Sarajevo Haggadah. „Go ahead and tell me”, I responded, and this is what he said:

I like this story very much because to me it is typical of everything good in Sarajevo. The Sarajevo Haggadah was not printed here in Sarajevo but was brought here from Spain by a Jewish family. For centuries it was in the home of a rich Jewish Sarajevo family. Somehow it ended up at the beginning of the 20th century at the shop of a Muslim merchant in the Čaršija who did not know its value. The Austrians bought it up for a cheap price for the new museum that they were building. They sent it off to Vienna to assess its worth. For years it went missing, misplaced somewhere among all the artifacts until it was found years later in some cupboard where it had been placed. Then it was sent back to Sarajevo to the museum. Then the Nazis came, and they heard about the Haggadah, and they, who were stealing all valuables, wanted it. The director of the museum, who was a Croat, said to the Nazi that came demanding it that another German had already come for it and took it. Meanwhile, he had given it to a Muslim friend who buried it under the floor of a mosque, and that’s where it was all during World War II. Then it was returned to the museum. Two days before the bombardment of Sarajevo it was put in the safe of the National Bank, and it spent all the war years there. Now it is back in the museum. I love that story because to me it expresses the spirit of the Balkans, the spirit of Bosnia.

With this story, Amar is suggesting that the Sarajevo Haggadah, a unique illuminated manuscript, and the Jews of Sarajevo, one community among the Others, belong to all of us, to the city of Sarajevo and to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The narrative demonstrates that, despite the nationalist parties and B-H’s ethnically overdetermined governmental structure, all the people(s) of the region are united in a pan-ethnic unifying Bosnian way that involves mutual responsibility, a bit of trickery, a lot of tolerance, and respect.

The story of the Sarajevo Haggadah meshes with that told to me by Klara of „Sarajevo Purim”: In every age there are mean and powerful people who wish to

bring harm on the Jews, but most Bosnians, be they Catholic, Muslim or Orthodox; Bosniac, Croat or Serb, will rally to protect the Jews because they contribute to the common heritage; they are part of the Bosnian „us”. Toward the end of July 2004 one of the older men of the Jewish Community expressed to me that very sentiment:

I just want you to know that I was here during the entire war. Bosnia is my homeland. Sarajevo is my homeland. The Bosnian people are my people. During the Second World War, Muslim neighbors hid me and my family, and three other Jewish families as well. When the war came, I volunteered to serve in the B-H army. It's my land; it's my people. Yes, my children are in Austria, in Graz. It's better for them there. Not for me. This is my land, my people.

Conclusion 2: Bosnia belongs to its constituent nations (along with Others)

Over fifteen years after Dayton, Bosnia-Herzegovina may be one internationally-recognized state, but in reality it is more a wary coalition of rival nation-statelets where citizens' rights accrue more through the B-C-S nations than as state-guaranteed individual liberties (McMahon 2004; Mujaj 2005). The republic's constitution stipulates a tri-person, tri-national presidency and that the members of the upper house of parliament come solely from among the constituent peoples. In that B-C-S scheme of things, the ambiguous Ostali status makes of Jews and other Others second-class citizens.

During the summer of 2006 Jakob Finci, who is an attorney as well as the president of the Jewish Community of B-H, challenged these constitutional measures by initiating a lawsuit against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the European Court of Human Rights. Dervo Sejdić, who identifies as a Rom, joined him in the suit. Together they argued that the B-C-S eligibility requirements for the Republic's presidency and election to the upper house of parliament were discriminatory. After prolonged hearings, in December 2009 the two men were granted a favorable ruling.

Be that as it may, the governing structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina includes no direct channel or mandate for implementing the European Court's decision. In fact, its implementation would require amending the republic's constitution, which, given current conditions, is highly unlikely. The leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina's major nationalist parties are not eager to alter the Dayton-born B-C-S balance of power that has been at the core of government for 15 years. Every so often liberal voices can be heard that suggest overhauling B-H's governing structure to eliminate the ethnically based entities in favor of a unitary state of all citizens. These voices, however, are weak and easily squelched by the officially

recognized and rights-possessing B-C-S constituent nations who jealously guard their bailiwicks.

Even if it were possible to bend these legal structures, ethnic mistrust remains strong and grassroots support for the tri-national balance of power persists. Despite repeated messages from the Office of the High Representative urging B-H's citizens to forge a „sea change” in their nationalist attitudes, Bosnia's nationalist parties have consistently won the popular vote since the first multi-party elections in 1990 (Hayden 2007).

In April 2008 a history lecturer at Sarajevo University told me about a discussion she held with her class on these issues. She asked the students, „Why not identify inclusively as Bosnians rather than exclusively as Bosniacs?”. They replied, „Because Serbs and Croats always put the nation before the whole state, if we didn't insist on our Bosniac identity, we would be ignored and exploited”. Likewise it is not uncommon for Croats and Serbs who vote for their nationalist parties to express fear of a Muslim-Bosniac takeover, as they hark back to the onerous minority status that their ancestors bore when Bosnia was part of the Ottoman Empire. And given the violent end to Yugoslavia, political parties advocating non-ethnic or pan-ethnic socialist solutions to Bosnia's woes have difficulty recruiting adherents. Thus, fifteen years after the end of the war, the question, „Whose Bosnia?” must be answered with the same ambiguous statement as that written in the DPA: the Bosniacs, the Croats and the Serbs as constituent nations (along with Others). The Ostali, as represented by Jewish Jakob Finci, and the Rom Dervo Sejdić, may have won their case for equal rights and representation in Strasbourg, but not in Sarajevo where the governing structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina remains solidly in the tri-national hands of its constituent nations.

Conclusion 3: Noncompliance with EU demands places Bosnia-Herzegovina on the (non) European borderline of the baffling Balkans

Clive Baldwin, senior legal advisor at Human Rights Watch declared on December 22, 2009 that, „The European Court has made it clear that race-based exclusion from political office, such as that suffered by Jews and Roma in Bosnia, has no place in Europe”. If one were to read that statement positively, it would mean that as a European country Bosnia-Herzegovina must and will remedy its discriminatory practices. Conversely, a negative reading of that statement concludes that with a constitution that stipulates the exclusion of Jews and Roma from political office, Bosnia is outside of Europe. Europeans (i.e. those persons and institutions representing the EU) thereby have the right and responsibility to pressure B-H to change its non-European ways which would enable the country to join the continent of which it is geographically part.

The Office of the High Representative has been endowed with that mission since it was established in 1996. Although many inside B-H as well as outside agree that EU membership is the country's only viable path, Bosnia continues to confound it overseers by failing to comply with the EU's stringent and often contradictory demands. During his term in office the fifth High Representative, Miroslav Lajčak (2007-2009) reminded the citizenry that to join Europe they must undergo a sea change in their nationalist attitudes, and comply with the terms of Dayton. Citing frustration with the post, Lajčak resigned as High Representative in February 2009⁵.

In April 2008 while participating in the Jewish Community's mini-Seder, the Italian ambassador surveyed the joyful „multi-culti” scene and convivially remarked to me that, „The EU is the only way for Bosnia to go! It will take some time, but it will come about. People will see what EU membership did for Ireland and Portugal. They will pressure their government to make a change so they can join Europe”.

A few days later, Elvir, a Bosniac in his early 30s who had served from 1992 through 1995 as a front line soldier in the Army of B-H echoed the ambassador's sentiments. Agreeing with HR Lajčak that the Serbian Republic must not be allowed to secede from Bosnia-Herzegovina he said, „No one should be rewarded for his or her aggression. I think it will take a long time, but people here must change their mentality, and we will enter Europe as a united country”. Despite their very different circumstances, both men concurred that Bosnia is not and will not be part of democratic, modern, and prosperous Europe until Bosnians change their mentality and their government.

Over the years, ever hopeful that the European Union would support the political and economic reconstruction of their country, I heard similar statements from most of my conversation partners in Sarajevo. But in 2008 some expressed doubt about Europe's goodwill. Melisa, a young researcher of Bosnian prehistory asked, „Why is B-H in such a mess?” and then provided an answer: „It must be good for the EU to have us this way. They can point to us as a problem and take the problem away from themselves. It must be good for someone to have us as a place of dirty laundry-trade in crime, drugs and women, I'm sorry to say. Someone is profiting from this”. Likewise, Mustafa, a carpet vendor in the Old City, asked,

Who is responsible for the situation here in Bosnia? I'll tell you who, Europe! And when will things get better? When Europe finishes her work here and leaves... Europe is no friend of the Bosniac people. A unified Europe is what they want, a Christian unified Europe. Europe is a *stara kurva* [an old whore – F.M.] and

⁵ According to the *RFE/RL Balkan Report* of March 12, 2009, his replacement, Valentin Inzko, „is likely to be the last high representative appointed”. As of this writing in January 2012, Inzko remains in office as the High Representative.

a very smart and wily one at that. Europe could have ended our war, and now they could just lay down the law and be done with it.

Accusations of EU arrogance and profit-making notwithstanding, Melisa, Mustafa and dozens of other Sarajevans are hard-pressed to suggest alternative routes for their country. Saudi Arabia and Iran are not even considered viable patrons. Pointing to former president Bill Clinton as someone who understands the liberal nature of Bosnian Muslims, many stated a preference for American leadership. But since there is no going back to Tito's Yugoslavia, and because the US has insisted that the European Union take on the primary problem-solving role for a country situated in the heart of Europe, EU supervision might be the country's only option. Bosnia-Herzegovina thereby remains (in) a maddening state, defying EU demands and frustrating its High Representative, placing it on the precarious border and making it undeserving of a place at the EU-table.

As B-C-S Bosnians continue to struggle with their country's uncertain transitions, the number of parenthetically rights-vested Ostali dwindles; some simply choose to identify with one or another constituent nation, while other Others opt to forge their future as citizens of nearby Europe, or further afield in Israel, Australia, Canada and America (see Markowitz 2010: 82-83, 93-102, 111). Although their numbers are small, Sarajevo's Jews in their practices and politics attract the attention of their neighbors by performing communal rituals of solidarity, raising a voice of resistance to tri-national divisiveness, and providing a meeting place for „multi-culti” Bosnians. The Ashkenazi synagogue and the Jewish Community that it houses thereby continue on as cultural mainstays of Sarajevo, even if they are precariously perched on unsettling configurations of rights and power.

Whether posed from the perspective of „home” or „abroad” or by foreign anthropologists or natives, this essay has shown that the intricately interrelated questions, „Whose Jews? Whose Bosnia? Whose Europe?” have no neat, finite answers. Instead, I have demonstrated that Bosnia-Herzegovina, its constituent nations and its parenthetically rights-vested Others remain entangled in an uncertain present continuous of postwar and postsocialist transitions that test the mettle of politicians and the analytical abilities of those of us striving to formulate an Anthropology of Europe.

Key words: multiculturalism, ethnic conflict, Bosnia-Herzegovina, violence, ethnicity, identity, Europe.

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Fran Markowitz

WHOSE JEWS? WHOSE BOSNIA? WHOSE EUROPE?

(Summary)

Bosnia-Herzegovina's governance depends on a constitution that was drafted in Dayton, Ohio. It designates the Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs (along with Others) the country's constituent peoples. Although Jews have been residents of Bosnia-Herzegovina for 500 years, with the country's new constitution they have disappeared from official records into the residual category of Others. This article considers how, nonetheless, the Jews of Sarajevo persist as an active community and a named group even as its identity is being defined by others. The interrelated questions, „Whose Jews? Whose Bosnia? Whose Europe?“ have no neat, finite answers while Jews-as-Others and Bosnia as an ethnically divided and overdetermined, EU-supervised country remain precariously perched on unsettled and unsettling configurations of rights and power.

Key words: multiculturalism, ethnic conflict, Bosnia-Herzegovina, violence, ethnicity, identity, Europe