

ČUDO U ČIBU  
MIRACLE IN CIB



# ZAR NIJE LEPŠE VEKOVAT U TE

(ISTORIJA KAO POZORNICA)



# SO MUCH LOVELIER THE ETERNAL REST

(HISTORY AS THE STAGE)

## ZAR NIJE LEPŠE VEKOVAT U TE

## SO MUCH LOVELIER THE ETERNAL REST

Svaka mladost izgleda bajkoliko. To važi i za gradove, države... O teritoriji koju danas nazivamo Vojvodinom postoji bezbroj činjenica, a još više mitova i legendi u kojim svako može prepoznati ono što želi. Vojvodinom su lutali, jahali, voleli, ratovali: Iliri, Hazari, Tračani, Kelti, Rimljani, Sarmati, Goti, Huni, Gepidi, Langobardi, Stari Sloveni, Avari, Franci... Imena zaboravljenih naroda danas nam zvuče poput razbrajalice, a nekada su se iza njih krili moćni ratnici, nošeni olujama svojih bogova, sahranjivani na konjima koje su za života jahali. Iščezli svet budi našu maštu!

A zapravo, čim stupimo na čvrsto tlo, gde je maglu prošlih vremena zamenila pisana istorija kojoj se može ući u trag, stvarnost ne izgleda toliko idilično. Naprotiv.



Na arheološkom nalazištu u blizini Čelareva, pronađene su pločice sa urezanim menorama (sedmokraki svećnjaci tipični za judaizam). Oni svedoče o životu Hazara na ovim prostorima.

Izvor: Muzej Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Catalogo 22, Edizione cataloghi delle esposizioni del Museo cittadino, autor Radovan Bunardžić, foto Mitar Trninić.

Tiles with menorah engraving (seven-branched candelabrum, typical of Judaism) found at the archeological site near Čelarevo. They testify to the life of Khazars in this area. Source: Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Catalogo 22, Edizione cataloghi delle esposizioni del Museo cittadino, author: Radovan Bunardžić, photo: Mitar Trninić.

Čaša za pivo iz VII veka, napravljena od terakote. Ekspонат se nalazi u Muzeju piva u Čelarevu.

A beer glass from the 7th century, made of terracotta, Čelarevo Beer Museum.

Današnja Vojvodina, sva ispresecana njivama, obrađenim poljima, kanalima i rekama, liči na evropsku baštu. A pre samo tri veka bio je to prostor ni nalik ovom poznatom. Još početkom 18. veka 54 odsto teritorije južne Bačke bilo je pod vodom. Plavno područje Tise bilo je oko 70 kilometara pa se između retkih naselja uglavnom išlo čamcima. Polovinom 18. veka na području sadašnje Vojvodine živelo je manje od 200.000 stanovnika. Na jednoj strani bolest i glad, na drugoj neprijatelj čijoj se vladavini nije video kraj. Još od 1526. godine, nakon Mohačke bitke, prostor današnje

Any youth is like a fairy tale. This also holds true for cities, countries... There are countless facts, and even more myths and legends about the territory we now call Vojvodina, in which everyone can recognise what they want. Roaming, riding, loving, warring across Vojvodina were Illyrians, Khazars, Thracians, Celts, Romans, Sarmatians, Goths, Huns, Gepids, Lombards, Old Slavs, Avars, Franks... Today, the names of forgotten peoples sound like counting rhymes to us, but once they were synonymous for powerful warriors, riding on the storms of their gods, buried on their horses they had ridden while alive. The bygone world stirs our imagination!



Bitka kod Sente, autora Franza Eisenbuta, godina 1896. Izvor: hu.wikipedia.

Battle of Zenta, Franz Eisenbut, 1896. Source: hu.wikipedia.

However, as soon as we touch the solid ground, where the mist of the times forgone is replaced by the written history that can be traced, the reality does not seem so idyllic. Quite the contrary.

Today's Vojvodina, crisscrossed by arable and cultivated fields, canals and rivers, resembles a European garden. Only three short centuries ago, it was an area not even remotely similar to this. At the start of the 18th century, 54 percent of the territory of South Bačka was still under water. The Tisa flood plain covered around 70 kilometres, so people mostly travelled by boat between scattered settlements. In the mid-18th century, fewer than 200,000 inhabitants lived in the territory of today's Vojvodina. Caught between disease and famine, and the enemy, the end of whose rule was nowhere in sight. The area of today's Vojvodina was under Turkish rule since 1526, after the Battle of Mohács. The data shows that there were 598 Muslim and 18 Christian households in Sremska Mitrovica in 1572. At that time, this town had 17 mosques and no Christian churches.

Finally, after reaching the Vienna walls for the last time in history, the Turks started to retreat. The event after which changed was the battle near Senta, on 11 September 1697, when Eugene of Savoy



Eugen (1663-1736), Savojski princ, ulje na platnu, 1718, autora Jacoba van Schuppena. Slika se nalazi u muzeju Rijksmuseum u Amsterdamu.

Eugene (1663-1736), Prince of Savoy, oil on canvas, 1718, Jacob van Schuppen, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

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*Kompozicija seoba Srba, 1908, heliografija, autora Paje Jovanovića.  
Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.*

*Migration of the Serbs, painting, 1908, Paja Jovanović, heliography.  
Source: Belgrade City Museum.*

Vojvodine bio je pod Turcima. Podaci kažu da je u Sremskoj Mitrovici 1572. godine bilo 598 muslimanskih i 18 hrišćanskih domova. U to vreme ovaj grad je imao 17 džamija i nijednu hrišćansku crkvu.

Konačno, nakon što su se poslednji put u istoriji našli pod zidinama Beča, Turci su počeli da se povlače. Događaj posle koga se sve promenilo bila je bitka kod Sente 11. septembra 1697. godine. U njoj je Eugen Savojski porazio sultana Mustafu II. Dve godine kasnije, po odredbama Karlovačkog mira, Turci napuštaju veći deo Vojvodine, a posle Požarevačkog mira (1718) i Banat.

Gotovo nenaseljen prostor, umoran od bolesti, ratova i gladi, trebalo je pretvoriti u uzoran deo svetog Rimskog carstva. Najpre je valjalo dovesti ljude. Prvi talas kolonizacije Nemaca počinje 1712. godine. Iz tog vremena ostala je izreka: „Prvog smrt, drugog

defeated Sultan Mustafa II. Two years later, under the provisions of the Karlovci Peace Treaty, the Turks retreated from most of Vojvodina, and from Banat after the Požarevac Peace Treaty (1718).

The almost uninhabited area, weary of diseases, wars and famines, needed to be transformed into an upstanding part of the Holy Roman Empire. First of all, people needed to be brought in. The first wave of German colonisation started in 1712. A saying remained from that time: “Death to the first, blood to the second, bread to the third.”

Death awaited the first generation. A bloody battle with harsh nature and indigence awaited the second generation. Only the third generation could expect to get bread.



*Austrijska vladarka, Marija Terezija, ulje na platnu 1759, autora Martina van Meytensa. Originalna slika izložena je u Akademiji lepih umetnosti u Beču.  
Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, oil on canvas, 1759, Martin van Meytens, Vienna Academy of Fine Arts.*

krv, trećeg hleb.“ Prvu generaciju čekala je smrt. Drugu krvava borba sa surovom prirodom i nemaštinom. Tek je treća generacija mogla da računa da će stići do hleba.

Srbi u dva velika talasa stižu 1690. i 1739. godine. Zatim mađarski kolonisti 1745. godine dolaze u Sentu, a u Beždan tri godine kasnije.

Svaki doseljenik dobijao je 24 lanca oranica, šest lanaca livade, građu za kuću i seme, a tokom šest godina bio je oslobođen plaćanja poreza i kuluka. Neženje su se morale obavezati da će se oženiti u roku od tri meseca. Period najmasovnije kolonizacije dogodio se u vreme Marije Terezije, koja je vladala punih 40 godina, sve do 1780. godine.

Problem beskrajnih močvara, koje su život činile nemogućim, rešen je izgradnjom Velikog bačkog kanala. Dugačak 118 kilometara, kanal je povezo Dunav kod Beždana sa Tisom kod Bečeja. Širok 17 metara, dubok tri metra – prokopan je ručno. Bio je to najveći graditeljski poduhvat u tadašnjoj Evropi. Pušten je u upotrebu 1802. godine. Tog trenutka mogla je da počne naša današnja istorija...

The Serbs arrived in two great waves in 1690 and 1739. Afterwards, the Hungarian colonists arrived in Senta in 1745 and in Beždan three years later.

Each immigrant was given 17 hectares of arable land, 4 hectares of meadow, house building material and seeds, and was exempt from paying taxes and forced labour for six years. Bachelors had to commit to marry within three months. The period of most intense colonisation took place at the time of Maria Theresa, who ruled for 40 full years until 1780.

The problem of endless swamps, which made life impossible, was solved by building the Great Bačka Canal. The canal, 118 kilometres long, connected the Danube near Beždan with the Tisa near Bečej. Seventeen meters wide and three meters deep, it was excavated manually. It was the largest construction endeavour in Europe at the time. It was put into service in 1802. At that moment, our today's history could begin...



**JADE PA SLADE,  
ČEMER PA MED**

(ČIB – RAĐANJE ČUDA)

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**SORROWS AND SWEETNESS,  
GALL AND FRESH SPICE**

(ČIB – THE BIRTH OF A MIRACLE)

## JADE PA SLADE, ČEMER PA MED

# SORROWS AND SWEETNESS, GALL AND FRESH SPICE

Mora da ima nečeg posebnog u ovom tlu što ga od pamtiveka čini privlačnim osvajačima. Prvi tragovi naseobine u blizini današnjeg Čelareva datiraju iz 8. veka. Iskopavanja rađena sedamdesetih godina 20. veka, otkrila su da se na lokalitetu Ciglane nalazi oko 500 grobova. Keramika, nakit, oružje, ponekad rađeni u zlatu ili bronzi, govore o moći zajednice koja ih je stvorila.

U nekim grobovima pronađene su rimske opeke, na kojima su urezane sedmokrake minore. Nekropola je očigledno pripadala mističnom narodu koji je prihvatio zakone Izrailja. Otkriće je razbukvalo strast arheologa i stručnjaka svih profila koji su pohrlili u Čelarevo.

Malo Čelarevo postalo je svetski značajno kao matični prostor istraživanja Hazara, naroda o čijem poreklu, istoriji, teritoriji, veri i jeziku ni danas ne znamo dovoljno. Vlast Hazarskog kaganata, čija se prestonica nalazila u delti Volge, protezala se na zapadu do Kijeva, a na istoku sve do nepreglednih stepa. Hazari su bili intrigantni i u svoje doba. S vremenske distance, u situaciji kada se nit njihovog postojanja i delanja jednog trenutka izgubila, postali su još privlačniji za istraživače. Možda se moguće razrešenje tajni nalazi baš u hazarskim nekropolama kod Čelareva. Veo tajni privukao je i Milorada Pavića da napiše svoje remek-delo Hazarski rečnik.



*Avarska nekropola svedoči o životu Avara, Hazara i Slovena u blizini Dunava kod Čelareva, krajem VIII i početkom IX veka. Detalj iz nekropole: glava ptice.*

*Izvor: Muzej Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Catalogo 22, Edizione cataloghi delle esposizioni del Museo cittadino, autor Radovan Bunardžić, foto Mitar Trninić.*

*Avar necropolis testifies to the life of the Avars, the Khazars and the Slavs in the vicinity of the Danube near Čelarevo in the late 8th century and early 9th century. Detail of the necropolis: a bird's head.*

*Source: Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Catalogo 22, Edizione cataloghi delle esposizioni del Museo cittadino, author: Radovan Bunardžić, photo: Mitar Trninić.*

Ime naselja prvi put se pominje 1292. godine. Vek i po kasnije, 1448, sačinjen je zapis u kome se govori o Čibu u Bačkoj županiji, imanju Andraša i Đerđa Šuljoka. Ali čitav ovaj „srednji“ period u istoriji današnjeg Čelareva mogao bi da stane u reči molitve mudraca koji je rekao: „O, bože veliki! Neprestano koračam, a sve sam dalje. Čim se približim onome što mi je cilj, on se uplašići. Čim

There must be something particular in this soil making it attractive to invaders since time immemorial. The first traces of settlement near today's Čelarevo date back to the 8th century. The excavations in the 1970s revealed around 500 graves at the Brick Factory site. Pottery, jewellery and weapons, sometimes made of gold or bronze, talk about the power of the community that produced them.

Roman bricks with seven-branch menorahs engraved in them were found in some graves. The necropolis obviously belonged to a mystical people that had accepted the laws of Israel. The discovery fuelled the passion of archaeologists and experts of all profiles, who flocked to Čelarevo.

The small Čelarevo became globally important as the central area for research of the Khazars, a people about whose origin, history, territory, religion and language we do not know enough even today. The rule of the Khazar Khaganate, whose capital was in the Volga delta, extended to Kiev in the west, and all the way to the vast steppes in the east. The Khazars were intriguing even in their time. From a time distance, in a situation where the thread of their existence and action was eventually lost, they became even more attractive to researchers. Perhaps a possible solution to the secrets lies at the Khazar necropolises near Čelarevo. The veil of secrets also inspired Milorad Pavić to write his masterpiece Dictionary of the Khazars.



*Zgrada biblioteke „Petar Kočić“ u Čelarevu, ogranka Narodne biblioteke „Veljko Petrović“, Bačka Palanka, osnovana 1977. godine.*

*The building of the Petar Kočić Library, Čelarevo, a branch of the Veljko Petrović Public Library, Bačka Palanka, founded in 1977.*

The name of the settlement was first mentioned in 1292. A century and a half later, in 1448, a record was made mentioning Čib in Bačka County, an estate of András and György Sulyok. But this entire “middle” period in the history of today's Čelarevo could fit in the words of the prayer of a wise man, who said: “Oh,



*Portret Andraša Hadika (1710-1790), mađarskog plemića i generala, autora Johanna Georg Weikerta, 1783, izložen u Nacionalnom muzeju Mađarske.*

*Portrait of András Hadik (1710-1790), Hungarian nobleman and general, Johann Georg Weikert, 1783, Hungarian National Museum.*

poželim da iskoristim što sam izgradio, on sve poruši. Moj posao nema završetka!”

Brzo se život rađao, još brže urušavao. Neki bi to nazvali sudbinom. A onda se pojavio neko ko je u sebi nosio misao da je u životu teško samo dok ne doneseš odluku. Do tada su sve prepreke neprelazne, a sve teškoće nesavladive. Onoga časa kada savladaš neodlučnost i pobediš samog sebe, otvore se pred tobom neslućeni putevi. Andraš Hadik je smišljao smeđe podvige i pripremao lukavstva kojima neće odoleti ni oni najoprezniji. Već sa svojih 20 godina postao je husar. Sin plemića nižeg ranga, sanjao je o velikoj slavi. Postao je omiljeni general kraljice Marije Terezije i vodio nekoliko uspešnih ratova za bečki dvor. Konačnu slavu dosegao je u pruskom ratu, kada je sa svojim husarima porazio kralja Fridrika II i osvojio glavni grad Berlin. Postao je feldmaršal i dobio orden Velikog krsta.

Ipak, nama je od svega najvažnije da je Andraš Hadik od Marije Terezije dobio dva vlastelinstva, jedno u Galiciji i drugo u Vojvodini – Futog, kojem je pripadao i Čib. Grof Hadik je, kao i sve što je dotad radio, svoj novi posao shvatio kao izazov koji je morao savladati. Unapredio je privredu na svom vlastelinstvu, uzgajao kvalitetne sorte ječma i rasne konje. Pomagao je crkvi u obrazovanju. Kada je Čelarevo u pitanju, Andraš Hadik je stajao tačno na razmeđu dva sveta. Onog mitskog, skrivenog iza jedva prozirnog vela prošlosti i ovog – u kojem i mi danas jesmo.

Jer, kao i nekoliko puta ranije, nakon grofa Hadika Čib je nestao... da bi se, poput feniksa, iznova rodio. Ostavši bez zakonskog vlasnika ili naslednika, imanje na kojem se nalazio stari Čib pripalo je „upravi vladarskih i državnih imanja i prihoda“. Bilo je tako sve dok ga 1791. godine od Komore nije otkupio Leopold (Lipót) Marfi, ugledni plemić, glavni beležnik Županije Bačke.

great God! I keep walking, but I keep getting further and further away. As soon as I get close to my goal, it gets frightened. As soon as I wish to use what I have built, it destroys everything. My job never ends!”

Life was born fast and ruined even faster. Some would call this fate. And then someone came along who harboured the thought that your life was difficult only until you made a decision. Until then, all obstacles are insurmountable and all difficulties unnegotiable. The moment you overcome your reluctance and defeat yourself, unimaginable roads will open before you. András Hadik devised bold ventures and conceived guiles that not even the most cautious would resist. Already at the age of 20 he became a hussar. Born to a lower ranked noble family, he dreamt of great glory. He became a favourite general of Queen Maria Theresa and waged several successful wars for the Viennese Court. He achieved final glory in the Prussian War, when he and his hussars defeated King Frederick II and conquered the capital city of Berlin. He became a field marshal and received the Grand Cross medal.

However, most importantly for us, András Hadik got two estates from Maria Theresa, one in Galicia and another in Vojvodina – Futog, to which Čib belonged as well. As in all his previous endeavours, Count Hadik took his new job as a challenge he had to overcome. He improved the economy at his estate, grew quality varieties of barley and purebred horses. He supported the church and education. When it comes to Čelarevo, András Hadik stood on the very border between two worlds: a mythical world, hidden behind the barely transparent veil of the past, and this world – in which we are today.

Because, as several times before, Čib disappeared after Count Hadik... only to be reborn, like the phoenix. Left without a legal owner or heir, the estate where the old Čib was located went into the hands of the „Administration of Royal and State Estates and Revenue“. It was so until it was purchased from the Chamber in 1791 by Leopold (Lipót) Márffy, a prominent nobleman, Chief Notary of Bačka County.

He would build a spacious house, located on the left side of the entrance to the present park. The Old Manor building was completed in 1798. This building is the oldest structure in Čelarevo as we know it today. Interestingly, at the time of its construction, the house was outside the village, on the estate. It is this house that would be the cornerstone of the “Čib miracle“.

It was not all plain sailing from there. On the edge of the mighty empire, where his estate was located as well, serfs were often treated cruelly. Márffy was no exception; he turned cruelty to peasants into a rule. The serfs decided to sue their lord, which was uncommon,

## JADE PA SLADE, ČEMER PA MED

### SORROWS AND SWEETNESS, GALL AND FRESH SPICE

On će izgraditi prostranu kuću, koja se nalazi sa leve strane ulaza u današnji park. Zgrada Starog dvorca dovršena je 1798. godine. Ovo zdanje je najstarija građevina u Čelarevu kakvog ga danas znamo. Interesantno je da se u vreme kada je izgrađena kuća nalazila izvan sela, na imanju. Upravo ona biće kamen temeljac za „čudo u Čibu“.

Bez problema ipak nije moglo. Na rubu moćnog carstva, na kome se i njegovo gazdinstvo nalazilo, sa kmetovima se često postupalo okrutno. Marfi nije bio izuzetak, on je surovost prema seljacima pretvorio u pravilo. Kmetovi su, što nije bio čest slučaj, odlučili da tuže svog vlastelina i traže dozvolu da napuste imanje. Oko sto porodica se 1801. godine odselilo iz Čiba i osnovalo selo Nadalj.

Na imanje Lipota Marfija stigli su novi kmetovi. Ali on iz svoje kože nije mogao. Pri povratku iz Pešte, kada se kolima približavao selu, ubijen je iz zasede 12. septembra 1812. Županijske vlasti i sveštenstvo iz Novog Sada priredili su Marfiju sahranu o kojoj se pričalo. Pokopan je usred stare čibske crkve, ali... ni od nje, ni od njegovog groba nije ostalo ni traga.

Posle Marfijeve smrti imanje je kupio Josip Polimberger, veleposednik i industrijalac iz Stonog Beograda. Njegova ćerka, Karolina Šarlota, udala se za Nikolu Brzačanina. Da bi se njom oženio, morao je da primi katoličku veru i promeni ime u Mikloš (Nikola) Bezeredi. Karolina je u miraz donela imanje sa Starim dvorcem u Čibu i plemićku titulu. Novi vlasnik, upamćen kao veliki dobročinitelj, u početku je živeo sa svojom porodicom u Starom dvorcu, ali je odlučio da izgradi veću zgradu.

Današnju zgradu, u neposrednoj blizini Starog dvorca, izgradio je Nikola Bezeredi između 1834. i 1837. godine. Projekat je naručen u Beču, a izgradnjom su rukovodili graditelji Aman i Hofman. Nikola Bezeredi je umro 1865. godine, a njegova deca, sin Bela i kći Hermina, zapali su u velike dugove. Zajedno sa dugovima, imanje je 1882. godine kupio Lazar Dunderški.

Niko nije ni slutio da će ovaj dvorac u srpskoj književnosti odigrati ulogu koju su spahijski dvorci imali u delima Puškina i Čehova.

and ask for permission to leave the estate. In 1801, about one hundred families moved from Čib and founded the Nadalj village.

New serfs arrived at the Lipót Márffy's estate. But he could not change his nature. When returning from Pest on 12 September 1812, he was killed in an ambush while he was approaching the village in his carriage. The county authorities and priests from Novi Sad organised a funeral for Márffy, which would be widely talked about. He was buried in the middle of the old Čib church; however... not a single trace of this church or of his grave remains.

After Márffy's death, the estate was purchased by Josip Polimberger, a landowner and industrialist from Stoni Beograd. His daughter Karolina Šarlota married Nikola Brzačanin. In order to marry her, he had to convert to Catholicism and change his name to Miklós (Nikola) Bezeredi. Karolina brought as her dowry the estate with the Old Manor in Čib and a title of nobility. At first the new owner, remembered as a great benefactor, lived with his family in the Old Manor, but subsequently decided to build a larger building.

The present building, in the immediate vicinity of the Old Manor, was built by Nikola Bezeredi between 1834 and 1837. The project was commissioned in Vienna and the construction was managed by builders Aman and Hoffman. Nikola Bezeredi died in 1865 and his children – his son Béla and his daughter Hermina – ran into large debts. In 1882, the estate, together with the debts, was bought by Lazar Dunderški.

No one suspected that this manor would play a role in the Serbian literature akin to that of the manors of Russian landowners in the works of Pushkin and Chekhov.



*Dvorac u Čelarevu, sagrađen od strane Nikole Bezerdija, u periodu od 1834-1837. godine. Dvorac je 1882. kupio Lazar Dunderški, novosadski veleposednik.*

*Manor in Čelarevo built by Nikola Bezeredi between 1834 and 1837. The manor was bought by Lazar Dunderški, a landowner from Novi Sad, in 1882.*



# TO TEK U ZANOSU PROROCI SLUTE

(OD AVRAMA LOZA)



**IT'S WHAT RAPTUROUS  
PROPHETS HAVE EXPRESSED**

(AVRAM'S LINEAGE)

## TO TEK U ZANOSU PROROCI SLUTE

### IT'S WHAT RAPTUREOUS PROPHETS HAVE EXPRESSED

Kao i svaka velika porodična hronika, i ova o porodici Dunderski počinje onim čuvenim: „Pričalo se jednom da je...”

Ono što se zasigurno zna jeste da je rodonačelnik loze Avram iz sela u okolini Gacka u današnjoj Hercegovini došao u vojvođansku ravnicu. E sad... Pričalo se da je Avram bio potomak nekog tesara – dundera i da su po njemu dobili prezime. Pretpostavlja se da su zbog verske netrpeljivosti napustili okolinu Subotice. Odani svojoj porodičnoj pravoslavnoj veri nastanjuju se u Srbobranu, tadašnjem Sentomašu.



*Gedeon Dunderski, Portreti časnika i dobrotvora, autora Stevana Todorovića, Umetnička zbirka Matice srpske, Panteon Matice srpske\_GMS\_MS 69\_28.*

*Gedeon Dunderski, Portraits of Dignitaries and Benefactors, Stevan Todorović, Art Collection of Matica Srpska, Pantheon of Matica Srpska\_GMS\_MS 69\_28.*

Dalje se pričalo i to da je Avram na dan Svetog Đorđa dobio sina Gedeona, kasnije zvanog Geda ili deda Geca. Sama crkva u kojoj je kršten poznatija je po događaju iz revolucije 1848–1849. godine. Pričalo se da je u toku službe kroz prozor crkve uletela kumbara, ispaljena iz mađarskog topa. Bomba se kotrljala levo-desno dok je paroh nije svojim rukama zgrabio i bacio daleko, gde je eksplodirala, i mirno nastavio sa službom. To je bilo dovoljno da u narodu krene predanje o ovom svetom mestu i posebnom, od boga pomilovanom soju ljudi koji se u njemu krsti.

O poreklu njihovog bogatstva, baš kao i o nastanku porodice, postoje razne legende od kojih se najčešće spominju dve. Prema

As any major family chronicle, this one about the Dunderski family begins with the usual phrase: “The story goes that ...”

What is known for sure is that the lineage founder Avram arrived in Vojvodina plain from a village near Gacko in today's Herzegovina. Now, the story goes that Avram was a descendant of a carpenter – a dunder and that they got their surname after him. It is assumed that they left the vicinity of Subotica because of religious intolerance. True to their family's Orthodox faith, they settled in Srbobran, then Szenttamás.

The story also goes that, on St. George's Day, Avram got a son, Gedeon, later called Geda or Old Man Geca. The church itself in which he was baptised is better known for an event from the 1848–1849 revolution. The story goes that a kumbara fired from a Hungarian cannon flew in through a church window during service. The bomb rolled left and right until the priest grabbed it with his hands and flung it far away, where it exploded, while he calmly proceeded with the service. This was sufficient to start a tradition among the people about this holy place and the special kind of people baptised there, living under the grace of God.

There are various legends about the origin of their wealth, as well as about the origin of the family, with two of them being most often cited. According to the first legend, Avram Dunderski, ploughing the Sirig heathland as a day labourer, found a pot of gold, which he invested in a profitable business and thus became rich.

According to the other legend, during the Austro-Turkish war of 1711, he unknowingly transported a Turkish nobleman across the Tisa and saved his life. The Turk rewarded him with a bag of gold, so Avram acquired great wealth through successful trade. His son Gedeon – Geca Dunderski thus inherited several hundred hectares of fertile land.

The first recorded event concerning the family is the baptism of Avram's son Gedeon. He was born in Srbobran in 1807. Here again we come across the “providence” associated with the Dunderski family in many town stories. The name Gedeon entered the family by a strange coincidence. Gedeon Petrović, Archimandrite of the Krušedol Monastery, was appointed Administrator of the Bačka Eparchy after the death of Jovan, Bishop of Bačka in 1805. Two years later, he would become bishop, just when a son was born to Avram Dunderski. On the occasion of his own appointment and consecration of the local church of the Holy Epiphany of the Lord, now Bishop Gedeon Petrović wanted to baptise one male child and one female child from “an ordinary peasant family”. By God's providence, Avram's son was chosen to carry the bishop's name.

prvoj, Avram Dunderski je kao nadničar, orući po siriškoj pustari, pronašao ćup sa zlatom koji je uložio u unosan posao i tako se obogatio.

Prema drugoj legendi, za vreme austro-turskog rata 1711. godine, on je ne znajući prevezao nekog turskog velmožu preko Tise i spasao mu život. Turčin se odužio kesom zlata, a Avram je uspešnom trgovinom stvorio veliko bogatstvo. Njegov sin Gedeon, Geca Dunderski, nasledio je tako nekoliko stotina jutara plodne zemlje.

Prvi zabeleženi događaj u vezi sa porodicom jeste krštenje Avramovog sina Gedeona. Rođen je 1807. godine u Srbobranu. I tu ponovo nailazimo na „providenje“ koje se u brojnim varoškim pojavljuje uz porodicu Dunderski. Ime Gedeon ušlo je u familiju jednim čudnim slučajem. Arhimandrit manastira Krušedol, Gedeon Petrović, nakon smrti episkopa bačkog Jovana 1805. godine, postavljen je za administratora eparhije Bačke. Dve godine kasnije postaće vladika, upravo kada se Avramu Dunderskom rodio sin. U čast svog postavljenja i osveštenja mesne crkve Svetog Bogojavljenja Gospodnjeg, sada vladika Gedeon Petrović, poželeo je da krsti jedno muško i jedno žensko dete iz „obične paorske porodice“. Izbor je, po božjoj promisli, pao na Avramovog sina koji će poneti vladikino ime.

Gedeon Dunderski (deda Geca) već sa 16 godina oženio se Persidom Letić iz Čeneja, sa kojom će izroditi šestoro dece: Aleksandra (Šandora), Novaka, Elenku, Lazara, Macu i Stanu. Ubrzo nakon ženidbe umire mu otac i Gedeon je postao starešina kuće. Od oca i strica, Geca i brat Nestor nasledili su 60 lanaca zemlje i „nužni paorski alat“. Gedeon je, po rečima sina Lazara, bio vredan i štedljiv, ali neobrazovan čovek. Do kraja života ostaće nepismen. Osim zemljoradnjom, počeo se baviti prodajom stoke i poljoprivrednih proizvoda. Ostalo je upamćeno da je promenu u njegovom shvatanju poslovanja uneo događaj iz 1847. kada su trgovačku robu lađama odvezli za Đur. Mađarske vlasti oduzele su im tovar bez ikakve naknade. Tada je Gedeon video da su ulaganja u zemlju mnogo isplativija i manje rizična.

U vreme Lazarevog rođenja, Gedeon je već bio bogat i ugledan zemljoposjednik. Pre revolucije 1848–1849. godine on i njegov brat posedovali su 400 lanaca zemlje. Porodica je i dalje, na njegovo insistiranje, skromno živela, a svi njeni članovi morali su da rade na imanju i u domaćinstvu. Gedeon je decu strogo vaspitavao i od malena ih navikavao na težak rad i poslušnost. Sinovi su posle ženidbe dobijali zasebne kuće, ali je zemlja još dugo bila zajednička. Tek je u starosti, na insistiranje najstarijeg sina Aleksandra, podelio imanje. Lazar je u svom dnevniku opisao svoje roditelje ovako: „Moja Mati, dobra duša, svakom



*Lazar Dunderski, Portreti časnika i dobrotvora, autora Stevana Todorovića, Umetnička zbirka Matice srpske, Panteon Matice srpske\_GMS\_P.*

*Lazar Dunderski, Portraits of Dignitaries and Benefactors, Stevan Todorović, Art Collection of Matica Srpska, Pantheon of Matica Srpska\_GMS\_P.*

Already at the age of 16, Gedeon Dunderski (Old Man Geca) married Persida Letić from Čenej, with whom he had six children: Aleksandar (Šandor), Novak, Elenka, Lazar, Maca and Stana. His father died shortly after his wedding and Gedeon became the head of the household. Geca and his brother Nestor inherited 43 hectares of land and “requisite agricultural tools” from their father and uncle. According to his son Lazar, Gedeon was a hardworking and frugal but uneducated man. He remained illiterate until

## TO TEK U ZANOSU PROROCI SLUTE

### IT'S WHAT RAPTUROUS PROPHETS HAVE EXPRESSED



*Lenka Dunderski, ćerka Lazara Dunderskog, preminula 1895. godine u dvadeset i šestoj godini života. CXXXVII-1 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Lenka Dunderski, daughter of Lazar Dunderski, died in 1895, aged 26. CXXXVII-1 Source: ROMS.*

detetu svom sve je na volju činila. Svaku žrtvu pak i dušu svoju rado bi dala za boljitak svoje dece. No, naprotiv, moi Otac bio je strog, uprav reći despot u kući svojoj, no sve je nas neizmerno ljubio.“



*Milka Dunderski, ćerka Lazara Dunderskog, snimljena kao devojčica. Snimak je nastao 1875. godine. CXXXVII-15 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Milka Dunderski, daughter of Lazar Dunderski, photographed as a girl in 1875. CXXXVII-15 Source: ROMS (Manuscript Department of Matica Srpska).*

the end of his life. In addition to agriculture, he started trading in cattle and agricultural products. It was remembered that his understanding of business had been changed by an event in 1847, when they transported merchandise by boats to Győr. The Hungarian authorities confiscated their goods without any compensation. Then Gedeon realised that investment in land was much more profitable and less risky.

At the time of Lazar's birth, Gedeon was already a rich and respectable landowner. Before the 1848–1849 revolution, he and his brother owned 290 hectares of land. At his insistence, the

Za vreme revolucije Gedeon je bio predsednik Odbora za odbranu grada. Novak je bio narodni kapetan i učestvovao u odbrani kao zapovednik kod feketičke ćuprije. Najstariji Aleksandar takođe je učestvovao u odbrani Sentomaša. Kada je postalo jasno da će protivnik osvojiti grad, Gedeon je natovario kola sa nešto malo stvari i pobjegao. Videvši da je Lazar, koji je tada imao samo 16 godina, ostao da pomogne braći, uzjahao konja i vratio se nazad. Uspeo je da ga pronađe i ubaci u kola jednog seljaka, koji ga je u poslednjem trenutku odveo iz grada. Kasnije će neznani nam spasilac biti bogato nagrađen uzornim spahilukom.



*Stara razglednica, Sentomaš.*

*An old picture postcard of Szenttamás.*

Gedeon je sa porodicom izbegao u Golubince. Po povratku u Srbobran Dunderski su zatekli spaljenu kuću. Iz njihove šire familije u ratnim sukobima su stradala 32 člana. Ponovo su Gecini zasejali njive i počeli da obnavljaju domaćinstvo. Mladom Lazaru ovi događaji ostaće u duši za čitav život. Mnogo godina kasnije će „korpulentni, dostojanstveni i bogati Laza Gecin rado dolaziti u novosadsku kafanu 'Kamila' na skupocenim karucama sa sjajnim četvoropregom čilaša, vitkih lipicanera iz najčვენijih evropskih ergela“. Kafana je bila „prizemljuša“, na uglu današnje Miletićeve i Ulice Jovana Subotića, u kojoj su redovni gosti bili i Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić, Đura Jakšić, dok je živeo u Novom Sadu, Svetozar Miletić, dramski pisac Kosta Trifković, i mnogi drugi. Elem, kada bi se Lazar u pratnji pomalo zbunjenog vlasnika našao na vratima „Kamile“, kafanom bi se prvo razlila tamburaška melodija, a zatim ju je ispunjavala pesma Sentomašu, lazu, hej, u to vreme jedna od najboljih i najslušanijih u Vojvodini. Sentomašu... je bila omiljena pesma Laze Dunderskog. Nastala je pedesetih godina 19. veka posle pada i tragedije Sentomaša 3. aprila 1849. Posvećena je upravo tom potresnom trenutku njegove istorijske prošlosti. „Laz“ iz naziva pesme, mogao bi da upućuje i na Lazarevo ime, ali je „laz“, zapravo – raskršćeno zemljište i proplanak, na kom čovekovom voljom i mukom počinje da se rađa novi život. Baš onako kako se i zbilo sa Srbobranom. Sa Dunderskima.

family still lived modestly and all its members had to work on the farm and in the household. Gedeon brought up his children strictly and introduced them to hard work and obedience from their early childhood. After getting married, his sons got houses of their own, but the land remained under joint ownership for a long time. He only divided the estate in his old age, at the insistence of his eldest son Aleksandar. Lazar described his parents in his diary as follows: “My mother, a kindly soul, did everything that each of her children wanted. She would gladly have made any sacrifice and would even have given her own soul for the benefit of her children. Unlike her, my father was strict, or more precisely a despot in his house, but he loved us all immensely.”

During the revolution, Gedeon was the Chairman of the Town Defence Committee. Novak was a people's captain and took part in the defence as commander at the Feketić Bridge. The eldest son Aleksandar also took part in defending Szenttamás. When it became clear that the enemy would conquer the town, Gedeon loaded his carriage and fled. Seeing that Lazar, who was then only 16, stayed to help his brothers, he mounted his horse and came back. He managed to find him and put him on the waggon of a peasant, who took him out of the town at the last moment. The saviour unknown to us was later richly rewarded with a respectable estate.

Gedeon fled with his family to Golubinci. After returning to Srbobran, the Dunderski family found their house burnt to the ground. Thirty-two members of their extended family were killed in the conflict. Geca's family sowed the fields again and began rebuilding the household. These events would remain etched in young Lazar's mind for life. Many years later, the “corpulent, dignified and rich Geca's Laza would frequent the Novi Sad café Kamila in his expensive carriage, a shiny four-in-hand with slender Lipizzans from the most famous European stables.” The café was a ground-floor building on the corner of today's Miletićeva Street and Jovana Subotića Street, where regular guests were also Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Laza Kostić, Đura Jakšić (while he was living in Novi Sad), Svetozar Miletić, the playwright Kosta Trifković and many others. So, when Lazar was at the Kamila's door, accompanied by a somewhat confused café owner, first the café would be flooded by tamboura melody, and then filled with the song Szenttamás, lazu, hej, at that time one of the most beautiful and popular songs in Vojvodina. Szenttamás... was Laza Dunderski's favourite song. It was composed in the 1850s after the fall and tragedy of Szenttamás on 3 April 1849. It was dedicated to that devastating moment of its historical past. The “laz” in the song's title could indicate Lazar's name, but, in fact, “laz” is a cleared land and a glade where new life starts to grow owing to man's will and toil. Just as it happened with Srbobran and with the Dunderski family.

## TO TEK U ZANOSU PROROCI SLUTE

### IT'S WHAT RAPTUROUS PROPHETS HAVE EXPRESSED



*Srbobranska crkva, osnovana 1787. godine.  
Srbobran Church, founded in 1787.*

Poučen nevoljama, starešina porodice Gedeon znao je da mudar domaćin nikada ne stavlja „sva jaja u istu korpu“. U ortakluku sa kasapinom Kostom Đarakovićem uložio je novac u mesaru. Zakupio je i pravo na ribolov, koji je donosilo velike godišnje prihode. Zbog bolesti koja mu se povremeno vraćala, sve više poslova Gedeon je prepuštao sinovima, ali je u maniru patrijarhalnog oca sve nadgledao i o svemu odlučivao. Lazar nikad nije tražio svoj deo, ali je Gedeon podržavao njegove poslove i pozajmio mu novac za prvi veliki trgovački poduhvat. Ubrzo su kupili osam lađa za prenos robe.

Sećajući se svojih početaka, ali i vremena rata kada su u Golubincima spavali na podu, u sobi bez nameštaja, Gedeon je osećao da mora da pomogne svima koji to svojim trudom zaveđuju. Preko sina Lazara davao je velik novac Crvenom krstu i slao pomoć za ustanike u Hercegovini. Testamentom je zaveštao 20.000 forinti za osnivanje „Stipendijske zaklade Gedeona Dunderskog“. Za toliki novac moglo se tog časa kupiti 50 jutara plodne srbobranske zemlje. Nažalost, posle Prvog svetskog rata fond je izgubio vrednost i nije više mogao obavljati osnovnu namenu – pomagati u školovanju siromašne srpske dece.

Još za života, Gedeon je srbobranskoj školi poklonio vrt u kom su se nalazili vila i voćnjak. Stipendija i vrt „Gedanka“ više ne postoje, ali se njegovo ime nalazi na spisku dobrotvora Matice srpske. Sahranjen je u porodičnoj grobnici u srbobranskoj crkvi koju je sagradio sin Lazar.



Taught by hardship, Gedeon, the head of the family, knew that a wise head of the household would never put “all eggs in the same basket”. In partnership with Kosta Đaraković, butcher, he invested money in a butcher shop. He also acquired a finishing lease, which brought large annual income. Due to his relapsing illness, Gedeon delegated more and more tasks to his sons, but, in the manner of a patriarchal father, he supervised and decided on everything. Lazar had never demanded his share, but Gedeon supported his activities and lent him the money for his first major trading venture. They soon bought eight boats for goods transport.

Remembering his beginnings, but also the time of war when they slept on the floor in Golubinci, in a room with no furniture, Gedeon felt that he had to help everyone whose efforts deserved it. Through his son Lazar, he gave large donations to the Red Cross and sent aid to insurgents in Herzegovina. He bequeathed in his will 20,000 forints to the establishment of the Gedeon Dunderski Scholarship Fund. At that moment, that amount of money could buy 29 hectares of fertile Srbobran land. Unfortunately, the Fund lost its value after World War I and could not perform its basic purpose anymore – supporting the education of poor Serbian children.

While still alive, Gedeon donated a garden with a villa and an orchard to the Srbobran school. The scholarship and the Gedanka garden no longer exist, but his name is on the list of Matica Srpska benefactors.

He was buried at the Srbobran church in the family grave built by his son Lazar.

*Kapela na srbobranskom groblju (grobnica porodice Dunderski).  
Chapel at the Srbobran Cemetery (sepulchral church of the Dunderski family).*



**PAMET ME STEGNU,  
JA SRCE STISNU**

(ŠKOLSKI DANI – IZMEĐU JAVE I SNA)

IV

**MY MIND CONSTRICTED,  
COMPRESSED MY OWN HEART**

(SCHOOL DAYS – BETWEEN DREAM AND REALITY)

## PAMET ME STEGNU, JA SRCE STISNU

### MY MIND CONSTRICTED, COMPRESSED MY OWN HEART

U Sentomašu su polovinom 19. veka postojala dva učitelja i oni su brinuli o svoj seoskoj deci. Dečaci se ni po čemu nisu izdvajali. Imali su široke, dugačke „gaće“, koje su se nosile umesto pantalona i košulje od istog platna. Od vune ispletene prsluke, a oko vrata crne mašne. Na noge su obuvali grube čizme ili opanke. Preko odeće su nosili bele kožuhe od prevrnute ovčije kože, koji su im padali sve do stopala. Strogo vaspitanje teralo ih je da prođu putem kojim prolaze sva deca. Međutim, jednog od njih sudbina je ipak pripremala za nešto sasvim posebno.

Kada je Lazar napunio 11 godina, otac ga je odveo u obližnji Vrbas i upisao u latinsku školu. Tu su ga čekali ozbiljni problemi. Nije znao latinski, tako da mu je učenje postalo pravo mučenje. Učio je tekstove napamet, skoro pa ne znajući šta čita. Veliki napor, a gotovo bez rezultata. Na kraju godine dobio je pozitivne ocene zbog velikog truda koji je uložio, ali latinski nije naučio. U svoj dnevnik je zapisao: „... ja ne poznavajući ni sva pismena latinska, mučeći se trudio sam se da ne propadnem, i kao papagaj ne razumevajući ni šta učim, s trudom koji je u obzir uzet, položim ispit...“ U sledeće dve godine promenio je još dve latinske škole u istom gradu. Školovanje je prekinuo zbog revolucije 1848. godine i vratio se u Sentomaš.

U početku je Lazaru izgledalo da dolaze nova, uzbudljiva vremena. Radost zbog prekinute školske godine pretvorila se ubrzo u najgori košmar. Po završetku sukoba i povratku u Sentomaš, Lazar je na njivu išao noseći jedan opanak i jednu cipelu, pošto mu je od obuće samo to ostalo. Pomagao mu je sluga „Trivun anarhista“, koji je dečaka plašio svojim revolucionarnim idejama. Lazar je do kraja života mrzeo ratove, revolucije i politiku. Kasnije je imao prijatelje iz različitih političkih stranaka, iako se politikom nikad nije bavio. Jedno vreme bio je član Ugarskog parlamenta, kao ugledan i bogat čovek, a ne kao politički aktivista. Jedino je želeo mir i zakone koji omogućavaju poštenom čoveku da se bavi svojim poslovima.

Posle dve izgubljene školske godine, porodica je odlučila da Lazara vrati u školu. Brat Novak ga je odveo u Karlovce. Mnogi gimnazijalci nisu imali svedočanstva, pošto su izgorela u ratu. Kada su Lazara pitali koji razred upisuje, on je izračunao da bi po godinama trebalo da upiše peti. Nije smeo da kaže da je treći razred napustio pre završetka godine (u maju je škola prestala sa radom zbog vojnih sukoba, a učenicima nisu podeljena svedočanstva za tu godinu). Četvrti razred je odlučio da preskoči i upisao je peti. Nastavu je slušao na srpskom jeziku i mogao je da se posveti učenju. Gradivo je učio lako i dve godine je bio jedan od najboljih učenika. Svedočanstvo sa pohvalom potpuno je Lazaru zavrtilo glavu. Bio je ponosan na svoj uspeh.

There were two teachers in Szenttamás in the mid-19th century and they took care of all village children. The boys did not stand out in any way. They had wide, long “drawers”, worn instead of trousers, and shirts made of the same fabric, wool knitted vests, and black ties around the neck. They wore sturdy boots or opanci. Over their clothes, they wore white sheepskin vests that reached all the way to their feet. Strict upbringing made them take the same road as all other children. However, fate had something quite special in store for one of them.

When Lazar turned 11, his father took him to nearby Vrbas and enrolled him in the Latin school. Serious problems awaited him there. He did not know Latin, so learning turned into a real ordeal to him. He learnt the texts by heart, practically not knowing what he was reading. A great effort, but almost no results. At the end of the year he got passing grades for the great effort he invested, but he did not learn Latin. He wrote in his diary: “... without even knowing all Latin letters, struggling, I tried not to fail, and like a parrot, without understanding what I was learning, I passed the exam owing to my effort that was taken into account...” In the next two years, he changed two more Latin schools in the same town. He interrupted his education because of the 1848 revolution and returned to Szenttamás.

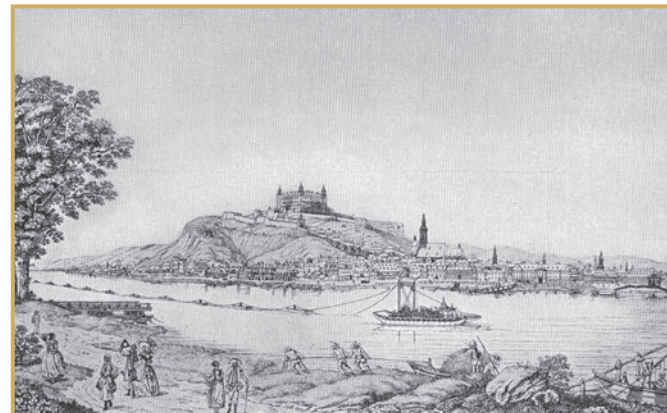
At first it seemed to Lazar that new, exciting times were coming. The joy from interrupted school year soon turned into the worst nightmare. After the end of conflict and his return to Szenttamás, Lazar went to the field wearing one opanak and one shoe because that was the only footwear he had left. He was helped by a servant called Trivun the Anarchist, who frightened the boy with his revolutionary ideas. Lazar hated wars, revolutions and politics until the end of his life. Later in life he had friends from different political parties, although he never engaged in politics. He was a member of the Hungarian parliament for a while, as a respectable gentleman of means, not as a political activist. He just wanted peace and laws that allow an honest man to do his own business.

After two lost school years, the family decided to send Lazar back to school. His brother Novak took him to Karlovci. Many high school students had no school certificates because they had been burnt in the war. When Lazar was asked in what grade he was enrolling, he calculated that, based on his age, he should enrol in fifth grade. He could not say that he had left third grade before the year end (the school had closed in May due to the military conflict, and the students had not been given school certificates for that year). He decided to skip fourth grade and enrolled in fifth grade. He received instruction in Serbian and was able to devote himself to learning. He easily learnt the material and was one of



Sedmi razred je želeo da upiše u Gracu. Pošto Karlovačka gimnazija u to vreme nije bila javna škola, Lazar je morao da polaže prijemni na nemačkom jeziku i potvrdi svoje poznavanje gramatike. Nije se proslavio i pao je na ispitu. Sedmi i osmi razred gimnazije završio je u Požunu (današnjoj Bratislavi).

Po završetku gimnazije upisao je studije na Pravnom fakultetu u Beču. Sve manje su ga zanimale knjige, a sve više različiti trgovački



*Graz, 1681, autora Georga Matthäus Vischera. Izvor: Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*

*Graz, 1681, Georg Matthäus Vischer. Source: Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*

the best students during the following two years. The certificate with merits made Lazar's head spin. He was proud of his success. He wanted to enrol in seventh grade in Graz. Since the Karlovci High School was not a public school at the time, Lazar had to take an entrance exam in German and confirm his knowledge of grammar. It was not his finest hour and he failed the exam. He completed seventh and eighth grades in Pozsony (today's Bratislava).

After finishing high school he enrolled in the School of Law in Vienna. His interest in books was declining, while his interest

*Panorama Bratislave (Požun), 1787, autora J. i P. Schaffera. Sken iz knjige Václava i Dobroslava Mencil, Bratislava – Stavební obraz města a bradu (1936), strana 107.*

*View of Bratislava (Pozsony), 1787, J. and P. Schaffer. Scan from a book by Václav and Dobroslava Mencil, Bratislava – Stavební obraz města a bradu (1936), Prague, p. 107.*

PAMET ME STEGNU, JA SRCE STISNU

MY MIND CONSTRICTED, COMPRESSED MY OWN HEART

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Beč, pogled sa palate Belvedere, 1758, ulje na platnu. Slika se nalazi u muzeju Kunsthistorisches, u Beču.

Wien, vom Belvedere aus gesehen, 1758, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

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## PAMET ME STEGNU, JA SRCE STISNU

### MY MIND CONSTRICTED, COMPRESSED MY OWN HEART

poduhvati. Počeo je da se razboljeva, sebe nije video kao čoveka koji će se baviti naukom. Neko vreme proveo je na lečenju i oporavku u Karlsbadu, a zatim je odlučio da prekine studiranje i vrati se kući. Ostao je u prijateljskim odnosima sa mnogim studentima koji su kasnije bili istaknuti pravnici, lekari ili političari.

Ipak, ako bi neko na osnovu ovih redova pomislio da je period školovanja tek usputna, manje-više neuspešna fusnota u životopisu Lazara Dunderskog – prevario bi se. Grac, Požun, Beč, gradovi u kojima se školovao, svojom srednjoevropskom otmenošću i raskošnim šarmom neizbrisivo su se urezali u svest dečaka pristiglog iz austrougarske provincije. Ulice na koje su stizala najnovija čuda tehnike, ljudi u blistavoj garderobi i besprekornih manira, monumentalne građevine... otvoriće Lazaru Dunderskom prozor jednog novog, drugačijeg sveta, po svemu različitog od onog na koji je navikao. Taj će svet, uz očevo vaspitanje, ostaviti na njega presudan uticaj.

Fascinirali su ga znanje, držanje, otvorenost za nove ideje, koje je sretao kod ljudi u evropskim gradovima. Sa druge strane, bio je ponosan što pripada svom narodu, jeziku, svojoj veri. Nasuprot mnogima, video je da ove dve sfere mogu odlično da se dopunjuju. Držeći se vrednosti koje mu je davalo njegovo poreklo, Lazar je čitavog života bio otvoren za nove vizije, drugačija znanja, svakog časa spreman da uđe u rizik i svoje ponašanje i poslovanje učini modernijim. Zapravo, moglo bi se reći da Lazaru Evropa nije donela formalnu diplomu, ali je on u njoj završio najvišu, mnogo važniju školu. Školu života.

San o sopstvenom neostvarenom obrazovanju, odsanjaće kroz karijeru sina Gedeona. U Budimpešti, u svojoj 21. godini, Gedeon stiče zvanje doktora pravnih nauka. Osam godina biće član Peštanskog parlamenta. Od 1910. do 1920. godine obavljao je

in various commercial enterprises was on the rise. He started getting sick and did not see himself as a man who would engage in science. He spent some time in treatment and recovery in Carlsbad and then decided to terminate his studies and return home. He remained on friendly terms with many students who later became prominent lawyers, doctors or politicians.

However, an impression based on these lines that the schooling period was just a peripheral, more or less unsuccessful footnote in the biography of Lazar Dunderski would be mistaken. Graz, Pozsony, Vienna – the cities where he was educated, with their Central European elegance and opulent charm – were indelibly engraved in the mind of the boy that had arrived from the Austro-Hungarian backwater. The streets where the latest wonders of technology were displayed, people in shiny clothes and with impeccable manners, monumental buildings and so on would open for Lazar Dunderski a window to a new, different world, not at all like the one to which he had been accustomed. This world, along with the upbringing by his father, would leave a decisive impact on him.

He was fascinated by the knowledge, attitude and openness to new ideas he found in people in European cities. On the other hand, he was proud to belong to his people, language and his religion. Unlike many, he saw that these two spheres could be perfectly complementary. Adhering to the values given to him by his origin, all his life Lazar was open to new visions, different knowledge, and ready at any moment to take risks and modernise his behaviour and business. In fact, it could be said that Europe did not bring a formal diploma to Lazar, but he completed the highest, much more important school in it. The school of life.

He would make the dream of his own incomplete education a reality through the career of his son Gedeon. In Budapest, at the age of 21, Gedeon received a PhD degree in law. He was a member of the Pest Parliament for eight years. He served as Chairman of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad from 1910 until 1920. He received important decorations: Medal of the Yugoslav Crown of II degree, Medal of St. Sava of III degree, the French Legion of Honour medal and many others.

The circle was closed. And the last dream of Lazar Dunderski became a reality.

*Izgled stare učionice.*  
*An old classroom.*

dužnost predsednika Matice srpske u Novom Sadu. Dodeljena su mu značajna odlikovanja: orden jugoslovenske krune II stepena, orden Svetog Save III stepena, francuski orden Legije časti i mnoga druga.

Krug se zatvorio. I poslednji san Lazara Dunderskog, pretvorio se u javu.



*Školska klupa.*  
*A school desk.*





**TAD MOJA VILA  
PREDA ME GRANU**

(LEPA PAROŠKA KĆI)



**THEN MY SECRET NYMPH  
STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE**

(BEAUTIFUL DAUGHTER OF A PARISH PRIEST)

## TAD MOJA VILA PRED A ME GRANU

### THEN MY SECRET NYMPH STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE

Mudri kažu da se sve one silne studije posvećene tome da prepoznaju u čemu je razlika između uspešnih i neuspešnih ljudi, mogu svesti na jednu jedinu rečenicu: „U svakom porazu gubitnik vidi priliku za izgovor, a pobednik u svakom svom porazu vidi novu šansu!“

Gedeon Dunderski je bio rođeni pobednik. Neuspešno Lazarevo studiranje u Beču i povratak u Sentomaš, za Gedeona su bili nova prilika. Lazara je trebalo uključiti u porodično poslovanje. Po očevom mišljenju, tome je morala da prethodi ženidba. Gedeon je smatrao da je porodica motivacija za posvećenost poslu i uslov za ličnu sreću.

Lazar u prvi mah nije delio očevu mišljenje, a onda se predomislio i prihvatio očev savet. Izabrao je devojkicu koja će mu postati supruga. Bila je to Sofija Georgijević. Poticala je iz ugledne srpske građanske porodice. Čerka sveštenika, paroha sentomaškog, obrazovana i lepo vaspitana. Roditelji su bili presrećni. Da su je sami birali, teško da bi bolje ispalo. I Sofijini roditelji su smatrali da boljeg zeta nisu mogli dobiti.

Prvi dogovori oko sklapanja braka između očeva mladog bračnog para tekli su u znaku galantnih poklona. U svojim sećanjima Lazar kaže: „Ja sam se oženio i venčao u jesen 1855, sa Sokom Georgijević, mesnog paroha kćerom. Moj imetak vrlo je skroman bio, nešto više od miraza žene moje... Moi Otac Geca i mila Mati, kao paori, paorsku kuću vodili su, a naprotiv, žene moje Otac, pod imenom obšte poznatim Varga, inteligentan, više jezika u vlasti im'o je, i ne samo u rođenom mestu Sentomašu prvi građanin bio.“

Gedeon je posedovao mnogo više zemlje od oca buduće neveste, ali je sinu poklonio deo imanja koji nije bio mnogo veći od imanja koje je Sofija donela u miraz. Iako je Lazar od oca dobio i odvojenu kuću, jer je Gedeon želeo da pokaže da razume običaje koji su vladali u građanskim porodicama, najveći deo imanja i dalje je bio zajednički.

Svadba Lazara i Sofije bila je takva da bi se o njoj i danas moglo pričati. Tri dana je trajala. I za sve to vreme gosti su bez prestanka služeni naboljijim jelima i pićem. Stolovi su bili namešteni u kući, a u dvorištu su postavljeni veliki poslužavnici za sve seljane koji su želeli da se počaste i provešale. Bila su tu i velika burad sa slavinama iz kojih je svako mogao da pije koliko želi.

Među uglednim gostima bili su Lazarevi prijatelji: dr Mihajlo Polit Desančić, Jovan Bošković, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Aleksandar

Wise men say that all those numerous studies intended to identify the difference between successful and unsuccessful people can come down to a single sentence: “In every defeat, a loser sees an opportunity for an excuse, while a winner sees a new opportunity!”

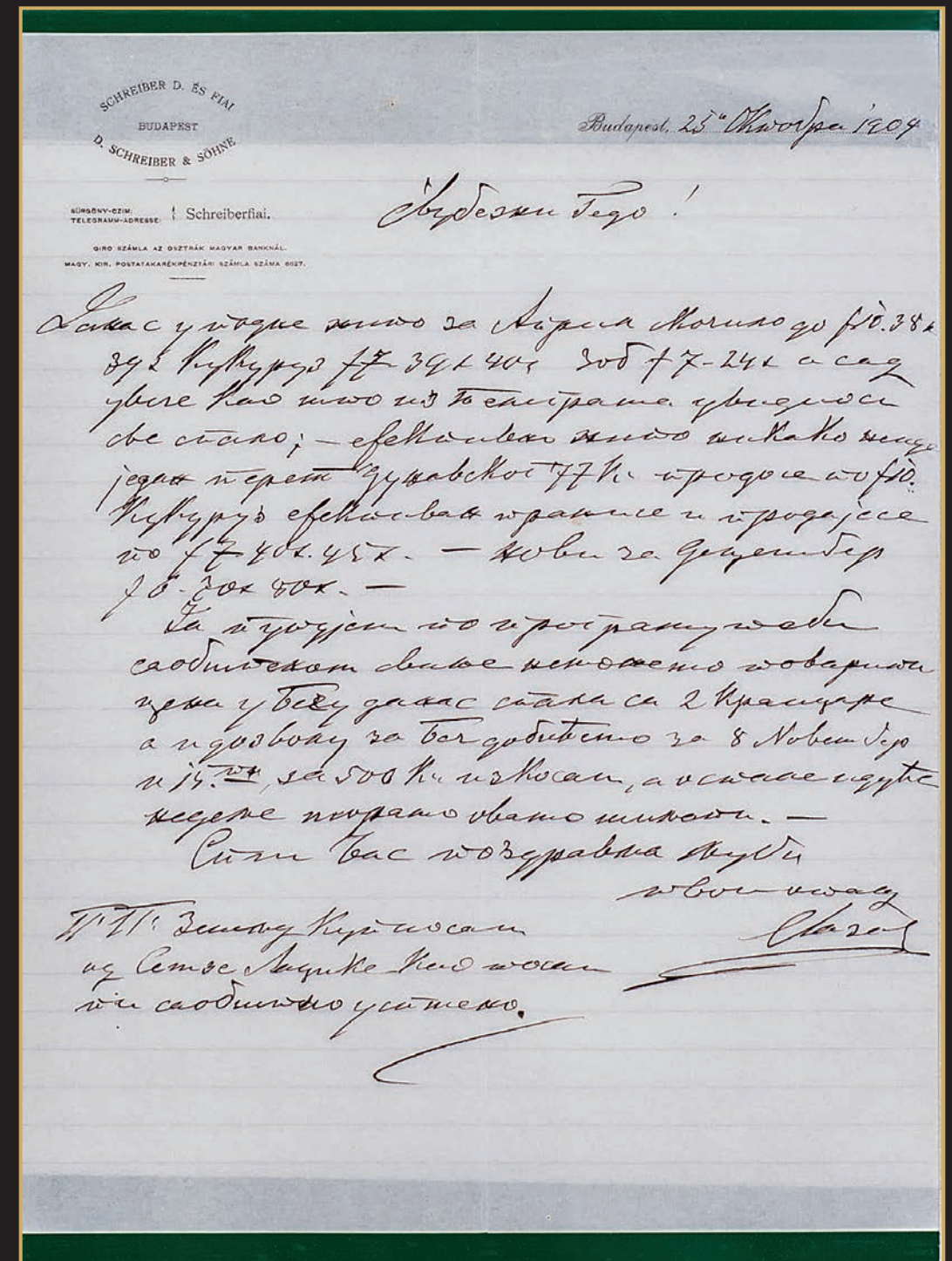
Gedeon Dunderski was a born winner. Lazar's unsuccessful studies in Vienna and his return to Szenttamás were a new opportunity for Gedeon. It was necessary to involve Lazar in the family business. In his father's opinion, this had to be preceded by marriage. Gedeon thought that family was a motivation for dedication to work and a prerequisite for personal happiness.

At first, Lazar did not share his father's opinion, but then changed his mind and accepted his father's advice. He chose a girl who would become his wife. It was Sofija Georgijević. She came from a prominent Serbian urban middle-class family. The daughter of a priest – the parson of Szenttamás, she was educated and well-bred. His parents were overjoyed. It could have hardly worked out better had they chosen a girl themselves. Sofija's parents also thought that they could not have gotten a better son-in-law.

The first marriage arrangements between the fathers of the young couple were marked by generous gifts. In his memoirs, Lazar says: “I got married and had a wedding in autumn 1855 with Soka Georgijević, the daughter of the local parish priest. My possessions were very modest, somewhat greater than my wife's dowry... My father Geca and my dear mother, as farmers, managed a farmer's homestead, but my wife's father, commonly known as Varga, was intelligent, proficient in several languages, and the first member of the urban middle classes in his native place Szenttamás and beyond.”

Gedeon owned much more land than the father of the future bride, but gave his son as a gift a portion of the estate that was not much larger than the estate brought as dowry by Sofija. Although Lazar also got a separate house from his father, because Gedeon wanted to show that he understood the customs prevailing in urban middle-class families, still the largest part of the estate was jointly owned.

The wedding of Lazar and Sofija was such that stories could be told about it even today. It lasted for three days. And all the time the guests were continuously plied with the finest food and drinks. The tables were placed in the house, while big platters were put in the yard for all villagers to feast and enjoy themselves. There were also big barrels with taps from which everybody could drink to their heart's content.



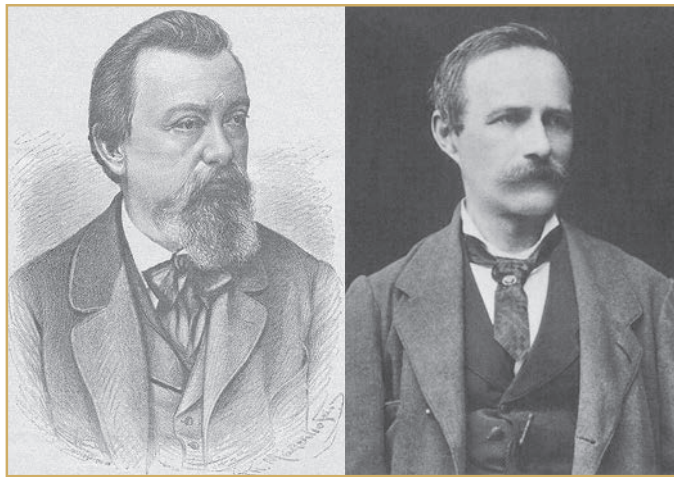
Porodična prepiska između Lazara Dunderskog i oca Gedeona. Poklon Lazareve prauunike Teodore Dunderske Muzeju piva.

Family correspondence between Lazar Dunderski and his father Gedeon. Gift by Lazar's great-granddaughter Teodora Dunderski to the Beer Museum.

## TAD MOJA VILA PRED A ME GRANU

### THEN MY SECRET NYMPH STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE

Teodorović i drugi. U zoru četvrtog dana, Lazarev prijatelj Stevan Bošković pozvao je u kolo sve žene koje su spremale i posluživale hranu. Zatim je uzeo perjani jastuk, pocepao ga i „sve perjem uperjisao u znak kraja svatovima“.



*Jovan Bošković, pisac, 1887. Izvor: Stražilovo: list za zabavu, pouku i umetnost – 1887, Univerzitetska biblioteka grada Beograda.*

*Jovan Bošković, writer, 1887. Source: Stražilovo: list za zabavu, pouku i umetnost; University of Belgrade Library.*

*Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, jedan od najvećih liričara srpskog romantizma (1833-1904). Slika nepoznatog autora.*

*Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, one of the greatest lyric poets of Serbian Romanticism (1833-1904). Painting by unknown author.*

Bilo je to slavlje upravo zamišljeno tako da se o njemu priča i da se prepričava. Zašto ga je skromni i duboko patrijarhalni Gedeon takvog želeo? Odgovor se možda može naći u jednoj činjenici koja se najčešće previđa.

Kroz čitav 19. vek, širom Evrope postojala je praksa kupovine plemićkih titula. Najčešće onih nižih, titula barona i grofova. Svako ko je imao dovoljno novca, a uz to uticaj i moćne prijatelje, mogao je titulom potvrditi sigurnost porodice u tim nemirnim vremenima. Privilegija je u praktičnom smislu bila veoma značajna, od neplaćanja poreza do izuzeća pri krivičnom gonjenju. Obavezujuća je bila samo vernost monarhu. Time su austrijsko-mađarski suvereni kupovali mir u svojim provincijama. Primera je bilo mnogo. Recimo, u porodici Jagodić, petorica braće počeli su kao sapundžije, abadžije i trgovci u Pančevu. Potom su kupovinom zemlje postali spahije, a onda i grofovi. I danas se čuva njihova grofovska povelja.

Zanimljivo je da od njih još bogatiji, uticajniji i brojnim društvenim zaslugama ovenčani Dunderski – to nisu želeli! Njima

Among the distinguished guests were Lazar's friends: Dr. Mihailo Polit-Desančić, Jovan Bošković, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Aleksandar Teodorović and others. At dawn on the fourth day, Lazar's friend Stevan Bošković invited all the women who prepared and served food to join the circle dance. Then he took a feather pillow, tore it and "covered them all with feathers as a sign of the end of the wedding".

That celebration was conceived so as to provide a topic for endless stories. Why did the modest and deeply patriarchal Gedeon want it that way? Perhaps the answer may be found in one fact that is most often overlooked.

There was a practice of buying titles of nobility throughout the 19th century across Europe, most frequently the lower ones, the titles of baron and count. Everyone who had enough money, as well as influence and powerful friends could ensure family security in those turbulent times by a title. In practical terms, the privilege was very important, from tax exemption to immunity from criminal prosecution. Only the loyalty to the monarch was binding. The Austro-Hungarian sovereigns thus bought peace in their provinces. There were many examples. For example, in the Jagodić family, five brothers started as soap boilers, tailors and merchants in Pančevo. By buying land, they then became landowners and later counts. Their Letter Patent for the title of a count is still preserved today.

Interestingly, the Dunderski family, even richer and more influential than the Jagodić family, and with numerous contributions to society – did not want that! They simply did not need this kind of recognition. They wanted to remain what they were – landowners. And, in fact, in the world of the true values that they carried inside, they wanted to be something even more important – respectable heads of households! This was the title of which they were most proud. The title that nobody could take away from them and that they reaffirmed with pride over and over again. Lazar Dunderski himself would write that everything he had done, he had done "inspired by the faith of my forefathers". And the reputation and dignity of "respectable heads of households" is the title above all other titles in the forefathers' value system. The landed estate was more important to the Dunderski family than any purchased title of a count.

That was why Gedeon ordered that Lazar's wedding last for three days. Therefore, on St. George's Day, the patron saint's day of the Dunderski family, poor people stood in a double row in front of the church and a plate was passed between them from which gold coins were taken and put on their palms, one for each person. The



*Sofija Dunderski udajom je postala mađarska grofica Dežefi. Posle očeve smrti postala je jedna od suvlasnika čelarevske pivare. Devojčica na slici je Teodora Dunderski, Lazareva praunuka, ćerka njegovog unuka Lazara (Sofjinog brata). Slika je pripadala privatnoj zbirci Teodora Dunderski.*

*Sofija Dunderski became Hungarian Countess Deseffy by marriage. She became one of the Čelarevo Brewery co-owners after her father's death. The girl in the photo is Teodora Dunderski, Lazar's great-granddaughter, daughter of his grandson Lazar (Sofija's brother). The photo belonged to the private collection of Teodora Dunderski.*

## TAD MOJA VILA PRED A ME GRANU

## THEN MY SECRET NYMPH STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE



*Sofija Dunderska na konjičkim trkama u Beogradu, 11. avgusta 1940. godine.  
12/1\_759 Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.*

*Sofija with a horse, painting.*

ova vrsta priznanja naprosto nije bila potrebna. Oni su želeli da ostanu ono što su bili – veleposednici.

I zapravo, u svetu iskonskih vrednosti koje su nosili u sebi, nešto još mnogo važnije – domaćini! To je bila titula na koju su bili najponosniji. Titula koju im niko nije mogao oduzeti i koju su uvek iznova sa ponosom potvrđivali. Sam Lazar Dunderski zapisaće da sve što čini radi „zadahnut verom praotaca“. A u praotackom sistemu vrednosti, ugled i dostojanstvo „domaćina“ jeste titula iznad svih ostalih. Dunderskima su njihovi spahiluci bili važniji od bilo kakve kupljene grofovije.

I zato je Gedeon naredio da se Lazareva svadba proslavlja tri dana. Zato je o Svetom Georgiju, krsnoj slavi Dunderskih, siromašan svet u špaliru stajao ispred crkve, dok je između njih išao tas, sa kojeg im je skidan i u dlan stavljan po dukat. Slava je to Dunderskih! Ej! Svadba Lazara i Sofije bila je jedan od najlepših događaja u istoriji sentomaškoj.

E sada, sasvim je nešto drugo to što je ubrzo nakon svadbe Lazar uvideo da Sofija ne može i ne želi da prihvati njegovu porodicu. Seoski život nije joj odgovarao. Želela je da se presele u Novi Sad ili Budimpeštu. Lazar joj je učinio toliko da je u oba grada kupio po kuću. Ipak, Sofiji to nije bilo dovoljno.

Posle mnogo trzavica i godina razdvojenog života, u kojima će Lazar živeti rastrzan između oca i supruge, porodica će na kraju naći svoj mir na imanju u Čelarevu.

patron saint's day of the Dunderski family, hey! The wedding of Lazar and Sofija was one of the most beautiful events in the history of Szenttamás.

Now, on a different note, soon after the wedding Lazar realised that Sofija could not and would not accept his family. The village life did not suit her. She wanted them to move to Novi Sad or Budapest. Lazar did so much for her as to buy a house in each of the cities. However, it was not enough for Sofija.

After a lot of tension and years of living apart, during which Lazar lived his life torn between his father and his wife, the family finally found their peace at their estate in Čelarevo.



**SPOMEN JE NJEZIN  
SVETI MI HRAM**

(SINOVI, ČERKE I... LENKA)

VI

**I HOLD HER MEMORY  
A HOLY SHRINE**

(SONS, DAUGHTERS AND... LENKA)

## SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM

### THEN MY SECRET NYMPH STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE

Loza Dunderskih je kroz čitav 19. vek znala kako da sa čokota satkanog od svetova skinje najkrupnije i najslasnije grožđe. Čemu god su prilazili, na neki volšeban način, uspevalo im je da dobiju i više od onoga što se smatralo mogućim. Kažu da „čovjek uvek treba da teži preko svog domašaja, jer čemu bi inače služila nebesa“. Dunderski ne samo da su težili nečemu većem – njima su nebesa zaista otvarala vrata.

Ipak, 19. vek imao je i svoju manje romantičnu stranu, koju je obilno pokazivao onima koji su njime hodali. Jedna su bile mnoge dečje bolesti, koje su nemilosrdno odnosile novorođenčad, ne razlikujući bogate od siromašnih. Tuga nesrećnih roditelja u svim porodicama bila je ista: beskrajna i neutješna. Sofija i Lazar imali su jedanaestoro dece. Rane godine preživelo je tek petoro, tri ćerke i dva sina.

Najstarija ćerka zvala se Olga. U porodici su obožavali crnokosu devojčicu, lepih crta lica, koja će nekoliko godina biti jedinica i centar sveta svojih roditelja. Sofiji je bilo zadovoljstvo da novi svet u koji je stupila, svet vlastite porodice, organizuje po sopstvenom nahođenju. Kupovala je Olgi haljine po najnovijoj modi i pravila joj frizure kakve su tada nosile gospođice u Budimu i Beču. Nekoliko godina kasnije rodila se Emilija. Plavokosa i plavih očiju, Milka je bila prava Dunderska. Za razliku od mnogih domaćina toga vremena, koji su nestrpljivo iščekivali sinove, Lazar se radovao i voleo svoje devojčice. Kuća je blistala od čistoće i orila se od dečjih glasova. Neko bi pomislio da će treća ćerka dobiti manje pažnje od starijih sestara, ali upravo ona, Jelena, koju će od milošte svi zvati Lenka, postala je ne samo ljubimica porodice, nego i neko ko će porodici Dunderski pomoći da nadživi vekove. Iako je od sve Lazareve dece koja su umakla najranijem detinjstvu, ona živela najkraće, njen talenat, ali i okolnosti, učiniće da upravo zarad nje priča o porodici Dunderski na jedan sasvim poseban način živi i danas.

„Lako je bilo vaspitati i voleti devojčice, šta raditi kada se rodi dečak?“, pitao se verovatno Lazar kada mu se rodio sin Đorđe. Devojčice je gledao kako rastu i Sofiju kako im ugađa. Znao je da će imati bezbrižan život i udobnost, trudio se da ispuni svaku njihovu želju. Za njih nije planirao samo velik miraz. Želeo im je nešto što se retko ko u onom vremenu usuđivao i da pomisli za žensku decu – da o svom životu odlučuju same. Ali u času u kojem je ugledao ručice svog tek rođenog sina Lazara, umesto radosti uhvatio ga je strah. Naslednik! Dečaka je morao vaspitavati drugačije. Trebalo ga je naučiti da sačuva i uspešno vodi sve što je godinama sticano. Setio se Lazar svih prevaranata i gramzivih ortaka, teških odluka i rizika koji ga čekaju. Sofija, dadilje, učitelji stranih jezika i klavira, nisu bili od velike pomoći. Morao je sam da preuzme vaspitanje dečaka.

Throughout the 19th century, the Dunderski family knew how to take the biggest and most delicious grapes from the vine of different interwoven worlds. No matter what they tackled, they managed in some mysterious way to get even more than was thought possible. There is a saying: “But a man’s reach should exceed his grasp, or what’s a heaven for?” The Dunderski family not only strove for something greater, but the heavens did open their doors for them.

Nevertheless, the 19th century had its less romantic side as well, which it showed abundantly to the ones who lived in it. One side of it were numerous child diseases, which mercilessly took away newborns, not distinguishing between the rich and the poor. The grief of the unfortunate parents in all families was the same: infinite and inconsolable. Sofija and Lazar had eleven children. Only five of them – three daughters and two sons – survived the early years.



Na slici su Lazareva deca (s leva na desno): Milka, Olga i Đorđe. Slika je pripadala privatnoj zbirci Teodore Dunderski.

A photo of Lazar’s children (from left to right): Milka, Olga and Đorđe. The photo belonged to the private collection of Teodora Dunderski.



Unuke Lazara Dunderskog, a ćerke Olge i Steva Jovanovića. S leva na desno: Jelena-Cica, Milka-Biba, Marija-Muca, Sofija-Koka. CXXXVII-18 Izvor: ROMS.

Granddaughters of Lazar Dunderski and daughters of Olga and Steva Jovanović. From left to right: Jelena-Cica, Milka-Biba, Marija-Muca, Sofija-Koka. CXXXVII-18 Source: ROMS.

Njegov otac, Gedeon, bio je strog roditelj. Disciplina, odricanje, podređivanje, tako je Lazar pamtio svoje detinjstvo. To je svakako bilo nešto što nije želeo svom sinu, ali još nije znao kako da ga najtežim lekcijama nauči na jednostavniji način.

The name of the eldest daughter was Olga. The family adored the black-haired girl with a beautiful face, who would be the only child and the centre of the world for her parents for several years. Sofija found pleasure in organising at her own discretion the new world that she had entered, the world of her own family. She bought Olga dresses in latest styles and had her hair cut after the styles worn at that time by young ladies in Buda and Vienna. A few years later, Emilija was born. With blond hair and blue eyes, Milka was a real Dunderski. Unlike many heads of households of that time, who eagerly awaited sons, Lazar rejoiced and loved his girls. The house was spotlessly clean and echoed with children’s voices. One would have thought that the third daughter would have gotten less attention than her elder sisters, but Jelena, whom everyone affectionately called Lenka, was the one who became not only the family’s pet, but also the one who helped the Dunderski family live for centuries. Although she had the shortest life of all Lazar’s children who survived their earliest childhood, her talent, but also the circumstances, will cause the story about the Dunderski family to live even today in a quite special way, owing to her.

“It was easy to bring up and love girls, but what should one do when a boy is born?” Lazar probably asked himself this when his son Đorđe was born. He watched the girls grow and Sofija pamper them. He knew that they would have a carefree life and comfort, and he sought to fulfil their every wish. He not only planned a large dowry for them, but wished for them something that few people at that time even dared to think about for their female children – he wished them to make their own decisions about their own life. However, at the moment he saw the small hands of his newborn son, Lazar was gripped by fear instead of joy. An heir! He had to bring the boy up differently. The boy had to be taught how to keep and successfully manage what had been acquired for years. Lazar remembered all the swindlers and greedy partners, hard decisions and risks that awaited him. Sofija, nannies, teachers of foreign languages and piano teachers were not of great help. He had to take the boy’s upbringing into his own hands. His father Gedeon had been a strict parent. Discipline, self-denial, subordination – that is how Lazar remembered his childhood. This certainly was something that he did not wish for his son, but he did not yet know how to teach him the hardest lessons in a simpler way.

Two years later, another boy was born, and got his name after his grandfather: Gedeon. Now everything seemed easier. Lazar taught his elder son how to be a good merchant and head of the household, and filled his younger son’s head with the dreams of his own youth. Đorđe was educated for serious business and learnt everything about estate management and trade, while Gedeon proceeded from where Lazar had once left off. He graduated from

# SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM

## THEN MY SECRET NYMPH STOOD THERE AT MY SIDE

Dve godine kasnije rodio se još jedan dečak, dobio je ime po dedi: Gedeon. Sada je sve izgledalo lakše. Starijeg sina Lazar je učio kako da bude dobar trgovac i domaćin, mlađem je punio glavu svojim mladalackim snovima. Đorđe se školovao za ozbiljne poslove, učio je sve o vođenju imanja i trgovini, a Gedeon je nastavio tamo gde je je Lazar nekada stao. Završio je pravni fakultet i doktorirao. Đorđe je išao njegovim životnim stopama, a Gedeon je ispunio njegove neostvarene snove.

Vreme je prolazilo. Najstarija ćerka Olga izrasla je u sposobnu i samostalnu ženu. Ličila je na oca. Dopadljivih crta lica, odlučna,



Ćerke Milke Dunderski i Ivana Ivanovića. CXXXVII-22 Izvor: ROMS. Daughters of Milka Dunderski and Ivan Ivanović. CXXXVII-22 Source: ROMS.

the school of law and got his PhD. Đorđe walked in the footsteps of Lazar's life, while Gedeon fulfilled his unrealised dreams.

Time passed. The eldest daughter Olga grew into a capable and independent woman. She resembled her father. With attractive features and strong will, she was far ahead of her time. She got



Dvorac u Sokolcu: Lazar ga je poklonio svojoj ćerki Milki. Manor in Sokolac: Lazar gave it to his daughter Milka as a gift.

daleko ispred svog vremena. Od porodice je dobila imanje i dvorac u Hajdučici. Rodila je četiri devojčice od kojih će tri udajom postati grofice, a četvrta supruga čuvenog srpskog industrijalca Vlade Ilića. Rano je postala udovica i odlučila da sama preuzme brigu o imanju, što je u ono vreme bilo krajnje neobično. Milka, srednja Lazareva ćerka, najviše od sve dece volela je tradicionalan način života. Udala se, rodila dve ćerke i posvetila porodičnom životu. Otac joj je poklonio dvorac „Sokolac“ kod Novog Bečeja, gde je živela daleko od gradske vreve.

Đorđe i Gedeon su opravdali očeva očekivanja. Obojica su bili ugledni ljudi svog vremena, u statusu koji se za Dunderske

land and a manor in Hajdučica from her family. She gave birth to four girls, of which three would become countesses by marriage, while the fourth would become wife of the renowned Serbian industrialist Vlada Ilić. She became a widow early and decided to take care of the estate by herself, which was extremely unusual at the time. Milka, Lazar's middle daughter, liked the traditional way of life more than any of his other children. She married, gave birth to two daughters and devoted herself to family life. Her father gave her the Sokolac manor near Novi Bečej, where she lived far from city hustle and bustle.

Đorđe and Gedeon lived up to their father's expectations. Both were prominent people of their time, enjoying the status that



Vlada Ilić, čuveni srpski industrijalac (1882-1952), dodatak iz dnevnog lista „Politika“. Vlada Ilić, a well-known Serbian industrialist (1882-1952), supplement of the Politika daily newspaper.

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naprosto podrazumevao. Đoka je bio oženjen Olgom Martinović, čija je rođaka i zaštitnica bila italijanska kraljica Jelena, ćerka crnogorskog kralja Nikole Petrovića. Preko Petrovića, Olga je bila u srodstvu i sa srpskom kraljevskom kućom Karađorđevića. Đoka je od oca nasledio velike zemljišne posede u Baču i Kulpinu. Osnovao je dva velika preduzeća: „Kulpin“, za preradu i konzerviranje voća, povrća, mesa i ribe, te „Kamendin“, koji je proizvodio serume za lečenje ljudi i stoke. Ostao je upamćen po još nečemu. Vašari na kojima su vekovima prodavani zanatski i poljoprivredni proizvodi, početkom 20. veka zamenjeni su sajmovima na kojima su prikazivana najveća dostignuća iz različitih oblasti života. Đoka Dunderski, na čelu uglednih novosadskih privrednika, organizovao je 1931. godine prvi Međunarodni novosadski sajam, koji živi i danas.

Gedeon Dunderski je, da bi se njegovo ime razlikovalo od dedinog, čitavog života isticao oznaku titule doktorskog zvanja. S punim pravom. Studirao je u Budimpešti, završio pravni fakultet i postao doktor nauka sa svojih 25 godina. Po povratku sa studija oženio se Teodorom Vlahović iz Bečeja. U periodu između dva svetska rata Dora je imala važnu ulogu u radu humanitarnih ustanova koje su finansirale ugledne Novosađanke. Bila je predsednica Dobrotvorne zadruge Srpkinja i predsednica Oblasnog i Banovskog odbora Crvenog krsta u Novom Sadu. U Novom Sadu i Čelarevu ugostila je mnoge ugledne ljude svoga vremena: Lazu Kostića, Mihajla Pupina, Paju Jovanovića, kneginju Olgu, princa Pavla, kraljicu Mariju, princa Andreja, kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića i mnoge druge. Od Lazara je Gedeon nasledio imanja u Čelarevu i Srbobranu, pivare, kudeljare, ciglanu i mlin, a njegovo ime se vezuje i za dve velike fabrike „Ikarus“ i „Rakovicu“. Bio je manje uspešan od svog brata, ali jedan je od prvih privrednika koji su uložili kapital u tešku industriju i proizvodnju avionskih motora. Bio je predsednik Matice srpske, doživotni predsednik novosadske Produktne berze; nalazio se u upravnim odborima mnogih banaka.

A šta je sa Lenkom? Braća i sestre bi se složili i priznali da njoj mora pripasti posebno mesto.

Izgleda da je našoj kulturi bio potreban jedan mit nalik onom koji je vrlo rano počeo da se ispreda o Lenki i Lazi. Svi elementi su od samog početka bili tu. Talentovana, vesela devojka, naklonjena umetnosti. Devojka koju je bog milostivo nagradio vitkim stasom, besprekornim obrazovanjem; bistroomo devojke koje peva, svira, crta, piše pesme, govori svetske jezike, jaše i apsolutno nikoga u svojoj blizini ne ostavlja ravnodušnim. Oličenje fatalne i produhovljene lepote. Ona, Lenka Dunderski (1870–1895).

was simply taken for granted for the Dunderski family members. Đoka was married to Olga Martinović, whose cousin and patron was the Italian Queen Jelena, daughter of the Montenegrin King Nikola Petrović. Via the Petrović family, Olga was also related to the Serbian royal family of Karađorđevićs. Đoka inherited from his father large landed estates in Bač and Kulpin. He founded two large companies: Kulpin, for processing and canning of fruits, vegetables, meat and fish, and Kamendin, which produced sera for the treatment of humans and livestock. He was also remembered for something else. The fairs where handicrafts and agricultural products had been sold for centuries were replaced in the early



*Teodora Dunderski, rođena Vlahović (1887-1965), supruga dr Gedeona Dunderskog, industrijalca i veleposednika, a ćerka dr Ivana Vlahovića, advokata u Starom Bečeju. Za Teodoru je važno mišljenje da je najlepša žena u Vojvodini, pa i u ondašnjoj Jugoslaviji. CXXXVII-25 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Teodora Dunderski née Vlahović (1887–1965), wife of Dr. Gedeon Dunderski, an industrialist and landowner, and daughter of Dr. Ivan Vlahović, a lawyer in Stari Bečej. Teodora was considered the most beautiful woman in Vojvodina and even in Yugoslavia of that time. CXXXVII-25 Source: ROMS.*



*Portret kraljice Marije Karađorđević, ulje na platnu, autora Paje Jovanovića. Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.*

*Portrait of Queen Marija Karađorđević, oil on canvas by Paja Jovanović. Source: Belgrade City Museum.*

Da bi legenda bila potpuna, pored nje se našao, ni manje ni više, poslednji romantičar srpske poezije, veliki pesnik, prevodilac Šekspira, član Srpskog učenog društva i Srpske kraljevske

20th century by fairs where the greatest achievements in various areas of life were presented. In 1931, Đoka Dunderski, leading prominent businessmen of Novi Sad, organised the first Novi Sad International Fair, which still exists today.

In order to differentiate his name from his grandfather's, all his life Gedeon Dunderski emphasised his PhD title. And rightly so. He studied in Budapest, graduated from the school of law and got his PhD at the age of 25. After returning from his studies, he married Teodora Vlahović from Bečej. In the period between the two World Wars, Dora played an important role in the work of the humanitarian institutions financed by prominent women from Novi Sad. She was the Chairwoman of the Charitable Cooperative of Serbian Women and the Chairwoman of the County and Regional Red Cross Committees in Novi Sad. She hosted many prominent people of her time in Novi Sad and Čelarevo: Laza Kostić, Mihajlo Pupin, Paja Jovanović, Duchess Olga, Prince Pavle, Queen Marija, Prince Andrej, King Aleksandar Karađorđević and many others. Gedeon inherited from Lazar estates in Čelarevo and Srbobran, breweries, hemp rope factories, a brickyard and a mill and his name is also linked to two large factories: Ikarus and Rakovica. He was less successful than his brother, but he was one of the first businessmen who invested capital in heavy industry and manufacture of airplane engines. He was the Chairman of Matica Srpska and the lifetime president of the Novi Sad Commodity Exchange. He sat on the boards of numerous banks.

And what about Lenka? Her brothers and sisters would have agreed and acknowledged that she deserved a special place.

It seems that our culture needed a myth like the one that started to be spun very early about Lenka and Laza. All the elements were there from the very beginning. A talented, joyful girl fond of art. A girl whom God graciously rewarded with slender stature and impeccable education; a bright-eyed girl who sang, played instruments, drew, wrote poems, spoke foreign languages, rode horses and left absolutely no one around her indifferent. A personification of fatal and spiritual beauty. That was her, Lenka Dunderski (1870–1895).

To complete the legend, by her side was no less than the last Serbian Romantic poet, a great poet, translator of Shakespeare, a member of the Serbian Learned Society and the Serbian Royal Academy, one of the greatest figures of Serbian national history – Laza Kostić! After seven years of exile in Cetinje, poor and disappointed in the times and people to whom fate had condemned him, he stayed at the Dunderski manor in Čib. He had seen Lenka only once until then, as a little girl aged 13. Now a grown-up girl, beautiful and enchanting, raised in silk and touched by earthly paradise, Lenka

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Lenka Dunderski u damskom jahaćem kostimu. CXXXVII-3 Izvor: ROMS.  
Lenka Dunderski in lady's riding suit. CXXXVII-3 Source: ROMS.

akademije, jedna od najvećih figura srpske nacionalne istorije: Laza Kostić! Nakon sedmogodišnjeg izbjivanja na Cetinju, siromašan, razočaran u vreme i ljude na koje ga je sudbina osudila, odseo je u dvorcu Dunderskih u Čibu. Lenku je do tada video samo jednom, kao devojčurka od svojih 13 godina. Sada već devojka, lepa i zanesena, odnegovana na svili i doticajima sa ovozemaljskim rajem, Lenka Dunderski našla se u društvu



Laza Kostić, 1867, fotografija. Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.  
Laza Kostić, 1867, photograph. Source: Belgrade City Museum.

Dunderski found herself in the company of a charismatic, thirty years older poet, composed of torments by hostile reality and dreams that accompanied the genius that he was. They endlessly talked, walked, went to exhibitions and visited monasteries. They talked about Lenka's suitors, whom she rejected saying that, if she were to wish for herself something like that, it would have to be someone like the poet himself.



Venecijanska crkva, Santa Maria della Salute.  
Venecijanska crkva, Santa Maria della Salute.

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harizmatičnog, trideset godina starijeg pesnika, svog satkanog od muka neprijateljske zbilje i snova koji prate genija kakav je bio. Beskrajno dugo su razgovarali, šetali, išli na izložbe, obilazili manastire. Pričali su o Lenkinim proscima, koje je ona odbijala govoreći da kada bi sebi tako nešto poželežala, to bi morao biti neko poput pesnika samog.

Morali su se poštovati. Ali kada bismo se time zadovoljili, to bi bila samo velika priča. Ali ovo je mit. Poetski mit o Lazi i Lenki. A on podrazumeva ljubav.

Da li je nje uistinu bilo? Razum kaže da nije. Lenka je zvanično bila zaljubljena u sebi podobnog Stevana Adamovića, kojeg su savremenici opisivali kao najpoželjnijeg mladića u Novom Sadu. Osim toga, sve se događa u poslednjoj deceniji, još apsolutno patrijarhalnog 19. veka. Lenkin otac Lazar Dunderski bio je dugogodišnji zaštitnik, prijatelj i kum Laze Kostića. Deca Dunderskih odrastala su pred očima čuvenog pesnika. Čini li se iole razumnim verovanje da bi Sofija i njen suprug aminovali ljubav svoje najmlađe ćerke i vremešnog pesnika, uz to bez prihoda i za ono vreme poprilično skandaloznog ponašanja? Uostalom, prijateljstvo dvojice imenjaka bilo je tako veliko da je pesnik bio kum dece Lazara Dunderskog, a ovaj će biti Kostićev venčani kum, kada se već ostareo bude venčao sa Julkom Palanački. Lazar i Sofija znali su da Laza Kostić obožava njihovu Lenku, ali priča o romantičnoj ljubavi nastala je kasnije. Posle Lenkine smrti.

Ipak, mnogo toga hrani priču o ljubavi koja bi bila jedinstvena u srpskoj literaturi. Tu je i činjenica da je pesnik pokušao da posreduje u sklapanju braka između svoje muze i možda najumnijeg predstavnika svog i svih potonjih vremena, naučnika Nikole Tesle. Ponuda koju će Tesla ljubazno odbiti izjavljujući da je on već venčan za nauku, a da „sveća ne može da gori sa oba kraja“. Nakon Lenkine smrti u Beču, Laza će Tesli poslati njen posmrtni list i napisati: „Evo, to je vaša nesuđenica. Kao što vidite, neće vaša biografija biti bez romantike, najlepše i najžalosnije.“ Pesme Gospođici L. D. u spomenicu i, pre svih, najlepša srpska ljubavna pesma Santa Maria della Salute, upućuju svojim intenzitetom, strašću i dubokom proživljenošću na činjenicu da se njihova inspiracija nije mogla izmisliti, da nije bila tek puki plod piščeve uobrazilje. Laza Kostić jeste voleo Lenku. Cvet, koji je toliko voleo, da nije smeo da mu naudi ubrvaši ga. Cvet za kojim je ostao da čezne.

Da li je i Lenka volela njega? Ostaćemo u neznanju. Možda u želji da dobijemo autentičan poetski mit, bićemo skloniji potvrdnom odgovoru. Zapravo, on nije ni važan. Sasvim nam je lepo i ovako. Bez rešenja misterije, koje bi nam istinom sputalo maštu. Maštu koja je vek i četvrt, tu negde – među javom i med snom.

They must have respected each other. But if we satisfied ourselves with this, it would be just a great story. But this is a myth. A poetic myth about Laza and Lenka. And it entails love.

Was there truly love? Reason says no. Lenka was officially in love with Stevan Adamović, an appropriate suitor, who was described by his contemporaries as the most desirable young man in Novi Sad. Besides, all this was happening in the last decade of the still highly patriarchal 19th century. Lenka's father Lazar Dunderski was Laza Kostić's long-time patron, friend and best man. The Dunderski children grew up before the eyes of the famous poet. Does it seem even remotely reasonable to believe that Sofija and her husband would have approved of the love between their youngest daughter and the aged poet, who also had no income and behaved in a quite scandalous manner for that time? After all, the friendship of the two namesakes was so great that the poet was the godfather to the children of Lazar Dunderski, and the latter became Kostić's best man when he, already aged, married Julka Palanački. Lazar and Sofija knew that Laza Kostić adored their Lenka, but the story about their romantic love emerged later. After Lenka's death.

Nevertheless, many things fuel the story about love, which would have been unique in the Serbian literature. There is also the fact that the poet tried to mediate in the marriage between his muse and possibly the most brilliant representative of his and all later times, the scientist Nikola Tesla. The offer was kindly turned down by Tesla saying that he was already married to science and that “a candle cannot burn at both ends”. After Lenka's death in Vienna, Laza sent her death certificate to Tesla and wrote: “Here, this is the one not destined to be your bride. As you can see, your biography will not be without romance, the most beautiful and the most sorrowful.”

The poems In Memory of Miss L. D. and, above all, the most beautiful Serbian love poem Santa Maria Della Salute, point with their intensity, passion and depth of emotion to the fact that their inspiration could not have been invented, that it was not just a mere figment of the writer's imagination. Laza Kostić was in love with Lenka – a flower which he loved so much that he dared not harm it by picking it. A flower that left him yearning.

Did Lenka love him back? We shall never know. We shall be inclined to an affirmative answer, perhaps wishing for an authentic poetic myth. In fact, it is of no consequence after all. We are perfectly fine as it is. Without a solution to the mystery whose truth would have hampered our imagination. The imagination that has, for a century and a quarter, been somewhere – between reality and a dream.



*Dr Laza Kostić u gostima kod svog kuma dr Gedeona Dunderskog u Čibu u leto 1904. godine. S leva na desno, prisutni su: Teodora, supruga Gedeona Dunderskog, dr Gedeon Dunderski, dr Laza Kostić, Đorđe Đoka Dunderski, Kosta Georgijević i dr Radivoj Simonović. CXXXVII-10 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Dr. Laza Kostić visiting his godfather Dr. Gedeon Dunderski in Čib in summer 1904. There were, from left to right: Teodora, wife of Gedeon Dunderski, Dr. Gedeon Dunderski, Dr. Laza Kostić, Đorđe Đoka Dunderski, Kosta Georgijević and Dr. Radivoj Simonović. CXXXVII-10 Source: ROMS.*



**Za čim sam čezn'o,  
čemu se nad'o**

(LAZAR DUNĐERSKI, NAJBOGATIJI SRBIN 19. VEKA)

VII

**ALL THAT I YEARNED FOR, ALL  
HOPE MY YOUTH BOUGHT**

(LAZAR DUNĐERSKI, THE RICHEST SERB OF THE 19TH CENTURY)

## ZA CIM SAM CEZN'O, CEMU SE NAD'O

### ALL THAT I YEARNED FOR, ALL HOPE MY YOUTH BOUGHT

Priča o porodici Dunderski, sva lična, „od krvi i mesa“, pretvorila se decenijama kasnije u legendu, koja se među narodom interpretirala po sopstvenoj volji i nekoj sebi svojstvenoj unutrašnjoj logici. Naročito u selima u kojima su Dunderski imali svoja imanja, ali i u čitavoj Vojvodini, i danas ćete naići na ljude koji pamte priče i anegdote o ovoj porodici. Slušali su ih od starijih, a o njima govore toliko strasno kao da su u i sami učestvovali. Naravno, legenda je legenda, pa se u nebrojeno puta ponovljenim pričama događa da se pomešaju imena junaka (najčešće se neka zbivanja iz života Bogdana Dunderskog pripisuju Lazaru, ili obrnuto). Stvarna mesta dešavanja u interpretaciji se obično premeštaju tamo gde živi onaj ko o njima govori (u godinama kasnije sve je teže preko narodnih kazivanja utvrditi da li se nešto zbilo u Srbobranu, Bečeju ili Čelarevu možda), dopisuje se, dograđuje, preuveličava, ali – legenda o Dunderskima i danas živi i služi kao uzdanica svima koji se sa njima mogu dovesti u vezu.



*Sofija i Lazar sa ćerkama Olgom i Milkom (Olga je starija i stoji između roditelja). Privatna zbirka Teodore Dunderski.*

*Sofija and Lazar with their daughters Olga and Milka (Olga is older and stands between their parents). Private collection of Teodora Dunderski.*

Recimo, i dan-danas ćete čuti priču kako je Lazar Dunderski, videvši raskoš bečkih i peštanskih dvorova, rešio da pod u svojoj rezidenciji obloži dukatima, umesto klasičnim parketom. Tražio je dozvolu od vlasti koje su ga, sa vrlo razlozima obrazloženjem odbile. Na jednoj strani dukata, nalazio se lik cara. Na drugoj je bila carska kruna. Koju god stranu da okreneš, ljudi će gaziti ili po caru ili po carevini. A to ne ide! Onda je Lazar rešio problem tako što je patos obložio dukatima – koje je slagao uspravno, „sečimice“!

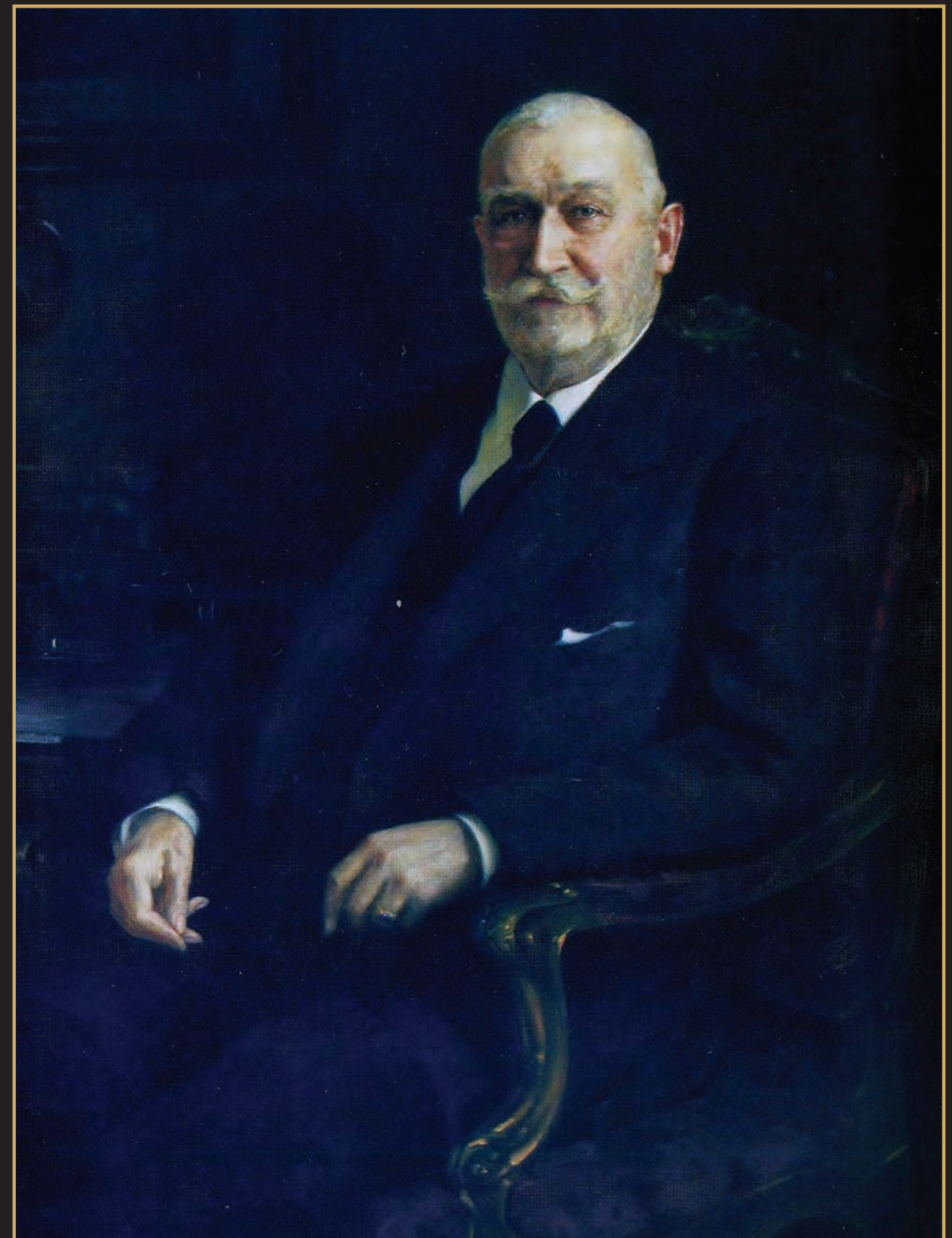
Naravno da je u ovo teško poverovati, jer je reč o istom onom čoveku koji je akter verodostojnije anegdote u priči sa skeledžijom... Krenuo Lazar kočijom na neko od svojih putovanja. Put je vodio

Decades later, the story about the Dunderski family, personal, of “flesh and blood”, turned into a legend, which was widely interpreted as one saw fit and according to some intrinsic, internal logic. You can come across people, particularly in the villages where the Dunderski family had estates, but also in the entire Vojvodina, who remember the stories and anecdotes about this family. They heard them from their elders, and talk about them so passionately as if they themselves had taken part in them. Of course, a legend is a legend, and so on occasion the names of heroes get mixed up in the stories recounted countless times (most often some events in the life of Bogdan Dunderski are attributed to Lazar or the other way round). In the interpretations, the real locations of events are usually moved to the place where the storyteller lives (in later years, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine from folk narratives whether something happened in Srbobran, Bečej or perhaps Čelarevo), there are additions to the story, embellishments, exaggerations, but – the Dunderski legend still lives on and serves as an anchor to all who can be brought into connection with them.



*Unuke Laze Dunderskog, a ćerke Olge i Steva Jovanovića. S leva na desno: Marija-Muca i Sofija-Koka (sedi). CXXXVII-19 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Granddaughters of Lazar Dunderski's and daughters of Olga and Steva Jovanović. From left to right: Marija-Muca and Sofija-Koka (seated). CXXXVII-19 Source: ROMS.*



*Lazar Dunderski (1833–1917), portret koji je 1916. u Čelarevu uradio čuveni slikar Paja Jovanović. Nalazi se u Gradskom muzeju Vršac.*

*Lazar Dunderski (1833–1917), portrait made by famous painter Paja Jovanović in Čelarevo in 1916. Vršac City Museum.*

## ZA CIM SAM CEZN'Ó, CEMU SE NAD'Ó

### ALL THAT I YEARNED FOR, ALL HOPE MY YOUTH BOUGHT



*Unuke Lazara Dunderskog, ćerke Olge i Steva Jovanovića. S leva na desno: Jelena-Cica i Milka-Biba. CXXXVII-20 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Granddaughters of Lazar Dunderski, daughters of Olga and Steva Jovanović. From left to right: Jelena-Cica and Milka-Biba. CXXXVII-20 Source: ROMS.*

preko reke koju je morao da pređe skelom. Kada je silazio sa skele, galantan, kao i uvek, dao je skeledžiji bakšiš. Ovaj je nezadovoljno pogledao novac i prokomentarisao: „Vaš sin, Đoka, uvek da više!“ Lazar se iznenađeno okrenuo, ali se brzo snašao i uzvratio: „E, pa Đoki je lako! On ima za oca Lazara Dunderskog, a ja nemam!“

Ovakvih priča o porodici Dunderski ima bezbroj. Razlozi njihove popularnosti kriju se u njihovom dostojanstvu, dobročinstvima, druženju sa umetničkom i kulturnom elitom onog vremena... Ipak, na prvom mestu, u neverovatnoj moći koju su posedovali. Moći koja je Lazaru Dunderskom donela epitet najbogatijeg Srbina 19. veka. I dan-danas ući ćete negde po Vojvodini u kafanu u kojoj se peva: „Od Mohača pa do Ade, to Dunderski sve imade. Od Budima do Mohola, Dunderskoga škripe kola... Eeej, ko Dunderskog ne voli, nek u očin izvoli!“

A sve je istinski počelo onog momenta kada se Lazar vratio iz Beča i kada je shvatio da želi da unese novine u porodične poslove. Ono što su radili otac Gedeon i brat mu Novak bilo je unosno, ali je previše zahtevalo težak rad na zemlji. Lazar je u Evropi video da se, beskrajno poštujući zemlju, može raditi i tako da se poslovi umnože, a samu „hasnu“ višestruko je uvećao.

Još jedan događaj biće presudan. Otac mu je dao novac i kao prvi posao poverio prodaju velikog tovara zobi. Lazar se kao neiskusni dvadesetogodišnjak nije snašao i izgubio je četiri hiljade forinti. Umesto da se kao strog i patrijarhalan roditelj obruši na sina i zabrani mu svako dalje učestvovanje u porodičnim poslovima, Gedeon je povukao potez koji će možda odrediti buduću sudbinu čitave familije. Objasnio je sinu da se nije dogodilo ništa strašno:

For example, even now you will still hear the story about how Lazar Dunderski, having seen the splendour of Vienna and Pest courts, decided to cover the floor of his residence with gold coins instead of the classic parquet. He asked for permission from the authorities, and was denied with a very reasonable explanation. The emperor's image was on one side of the gold coin. The imperial crown was on the other. Whichever side was up, people would trample on either the emperor or the empire. And this would not do! Then Lazar solved the problem by covering the floors with gold coins – which he arranged vertically!

This is, of course, hard to believe, because it is the very same man who is a protagonist of a more credible anecdote involving a ferryman... Lazar set out in his carriage on one of his journeys. The path led across a river that he had to cross by ferry. As he got off the ferry, generous as always, he gave a tip to the ferryman. The latter looked at the money with distaste and commented: “Your son Đoka always gives me more!” Lazar turned around, surprised, but quickly found an adequate response: “Well, it's easy for Đoka! He has Lazar Dunderski as his father, while I don't!”

There are countless stories like these about the Dunderski family. The reasons for their popularity lie in their dignity, charitable deeds, socialising with the artistic and cultural elite of the time, but, above all, in the incredible power they possessed – the power that brought Lazar Dunderski the title of the richest Serb of the 19th century. Even now, you will enter a café in some places across Vojvodina where this song is heard: “From Mohács all the way to Ada, Dunderski owns it all. From Buda to Mohol, Dunderski's carriage creaks... Heeey, may he who doesn't like Dunderski go to hell!”

And everything really began when Lazar returned from Vienna and realised that he wanted to introduce innovations in the family business. What his father Gedeon and brother Novak did was lucrative but required too much hard work on the land. Lazar had seen in Europe that, while infinitely respecting the land, the work could be done so that the business multiplied, and he multiplied the profit itself many times.

Another event would be decisive. His father gave him money and, as his first task, entrusted him with the sale of a large cargo of oats. Being an inexperienced 20-year-old boy, Lazar did not handle it well and lost four thousand forints. Instead of coming down hard on his son as a strict and patriarchal parent and forbidding him from any further participation in the family business, Gedeon made a move that would perhaps determine the future fate of the whole family. He explained to his son that nothing terrible had



*Zgrada nekadašnjeg hotela „Sloboda” u Novom Sadu, koji je bio u vlasništvu porodice Lazara Dunderskog.*

*Building of the former Sloboda Hotel, Novi Sad, owned by the family of Lazar Dunderski's family.*

## ZA CIM SAM CEZN'O, CEMU SE NAD'O

### ALL THAT I YEARNED FOR, ALL HOPE MY YOUTH BOUGHT

„Izgubio si novac. Idi potraži ga! Tamo gde si ga ostavio, tamo ćeš ga ponovo naći.“ Ohrabren, Lazar se u potpunosti posvetio trgovini, a njegova ulaganja znatno su uvećala porodično bogatstvo.

U jednom trenutku Lazar Dunderški obrađivao je 42.000 katastarskih jutara zemlje, koju je najvećim delom i posedovao. Imao je osam lađa, kojima je prenosio robu i žitarice. Godišnje je isporučivao jedanaest hiljada vagona hrane. Berze u Austrougarskoj drhtale su iščekujući poslovne odluke koje je povlačio Lazar Dunderški, znajući da im od njih zavisi mnogo toga.

Novac je ulagao u kupovinu zemljišnih poseda i pokretanje prerađivačke proizvodnje. Otvarao je mlinove i kudeljare, otpočeo je proizvodnju špiritusa i alkohola. Posedovao je fabriku tepiha i akcije u fabrikama tekstila. Kupio je nekoliko spahiluka: Crnu Baru u Banatu od Marcibana, Čib od Bezeredija, Kulpin od Samzea, Turski Bečej od Bišica, Kamendin od Gourjupa, Hajdučicu od Damaskina, pustaru Kirt u Solnočkoj županiji od braće Đerđei. Osim svojih poseda, Lazar je uzimao u zakup i obrađivao i druga imanja: pustaru Sirig, imanje srpskih pravoslavnih vladika, posed srpskog pravoslavnog manastira Krušedol u Sremu, od mađarskog plemića Rudića imanje u Bačkom Almašu, od Zagrebačkog kaptola imanje u Modošu i posede od katoličkog nadbiskupa u Baču.

Za njegovo ime vezano je i osnivanje više srpskih novčanih zavoda: Srpske banke u Zagrebu i Prve sentomaške štedionice u Srbobranu, kao i Centralnog kreditnog zavoda u Novom Sadu i Opšte privredne banke u Somboru.

Naravno, nikad nije zaboravio očev savet: „Kupimo našoj deci tepsiju, pa nek iz nje jedu gibanicu. Gibanice će i biti i neće – ali tepsija će im uvek ostati!“ Ta tepsija bila je zemlja.

happened: “You lost your money. Go look for it! You will find it again where you left it.” Encouraged, Lazar fully devoted himself to trade and his investments significantly enlarged the family wealth.

At one time, Lazar Dunderški worked 24,000 hectares of land, the largest part of which he owned as well. He had eight boats, by which he transported goods and grain. He delivered 110,000 tons of food annually. The commodity exchanges in the Austro-Hungarian Empire trembled expecting business decisions made by Lazar Dunderški, knowing that a lot depended on them.

He invested money in the purchase of land and in the start of manufacturing production. He opened mills and hemp cord factories and started the production of denatured alcohol and alcohol. He owned a carpet factory and shares in textile factories. He bought several landed estates: Crna Bara in Banat from Marciban, Čib from Bezeredi, Kulpin from Samze, Turski Bečej from Bišic, Kamendin from Gourjup, Hajdučica from Damaskin, and the Kirt heath in Szolnok County from the György brothers. In addition to his estates, Lazar also leased and worked other estates: the Sirig heath, an estate of Serbian Orthodox bishops, the estate of the Serbian Orthodox monastery Krušedol in Srem, an estate in Bački Almaš from Hungarian nobleman Rudić, an estate in Modoš from Zagreb Kaptol and estates of the Catholic Archbishop in Bač.

His name is also linked to the establishment of several Serbian financial institutions: Serbian Bank in Zagreb and the First Szenttamás Savings Bank in Srbobran, as well as the Central Credit Office in Novi Sad and the General Commercial Bank in Sombor.

Of course, he had never forgotten his father's advice: “Let's buy our children a baking pan, and let them eat cheese pie from it. There will be cheese pie, or there won't – but they will always have the baking pan!” That baking pan was land.



*Hotel „Vojvodina” u Novom Sadu (raniji nazivi „Carica Jelisaveta” i „Kraljica Marija”). U dvorištu ovog hotela Lazar Dunderški je izgradio pozorište.*

*The Vojvodina Hotel, Novi Sad (former names: The Empress Elisabeth and The Queen Mary). Lazar Dunderški built a theatre in the courtyard of this hotel.*



**IZ NIŠTAVILA U  
SLAVU SLAVA**

(OD SPAHILUKA DO FABRIKE)

VIII

**FROM NOTHINGNESS  
INTO GLORIOUS GRACE**

(FROM LANDED ESTATE TO FACTORY)

## IZ NIŠTAVILA U SLAVU SLAVA

### FROM NOTHINGNESS INTO GLORIOUS GRACE

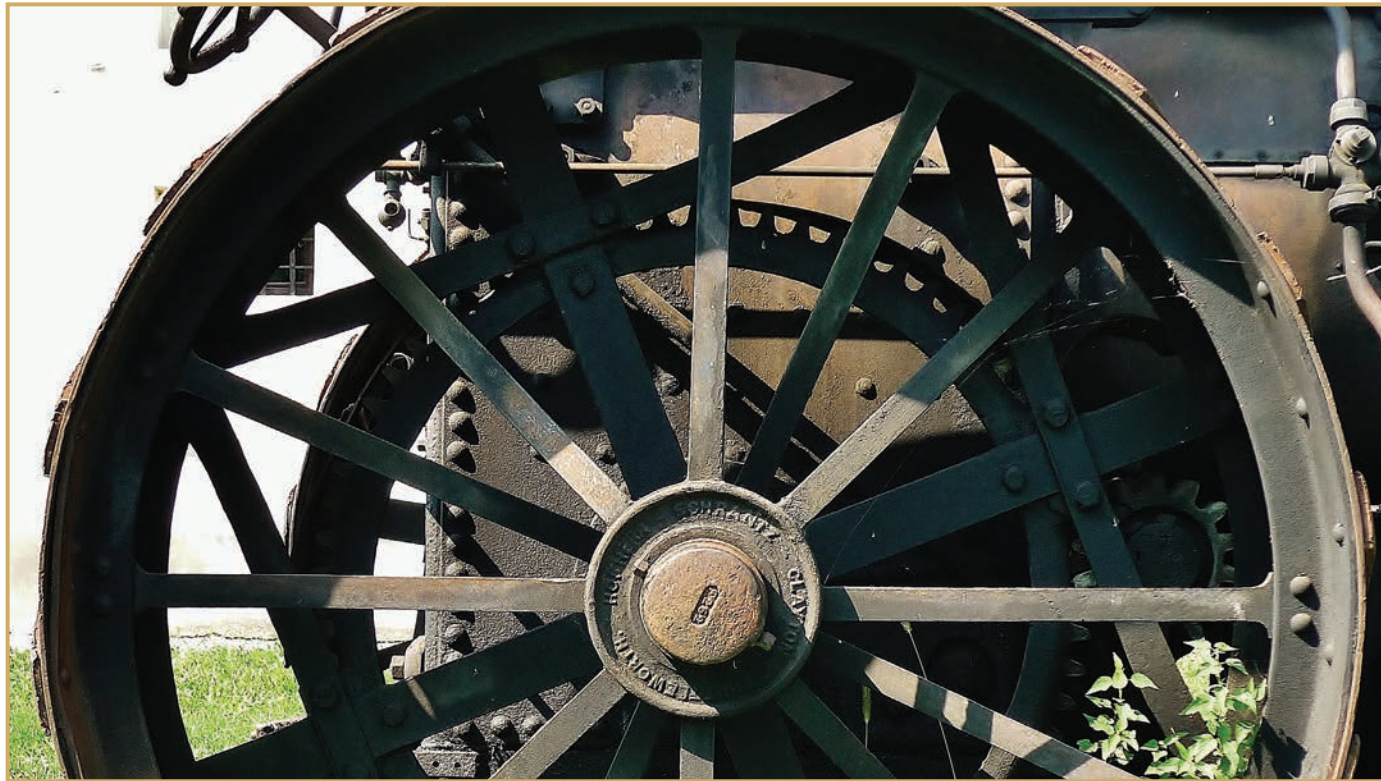


*Parna mašina koja je korišćena u kudeljari Olge Dunderski na njenom imanju u Hajdučici.*  
*A steam engine used in the hemp cord factory of Olga Dunderski on her estate in Hajdučica.*

Vojvodanskom ravnicom, u decenijama druge polovine 19. veka, širila se priča o moćnom gazdi silne zemlje koji njivama hoda obučen u beli mantil, nalik kakvom kulaku iz Tolstojevih romana. Legenda je bila utemeljena na jednom velikom Lazarevom lukavstvu. On je, naime, rado kupovao žito „na zeleno“, dakle u vreme kada je tek počelo da klasa. Cena mu je tada bila daleko povoljnija nego u vreme žetve. S druge strane, on bar nije morao da se boji grada ili kakvog nevremena koje bi mu ugrozilo rod. Ono što bi drugoga finansijski upropastilo, za njega je bio neznan

In the decades of the second half of the 19th century, a story spread across Vojvodina plains about a powerful owner of vast land, who walked the fields wearing a white coat, like some kulak from Tolstoy's novels. The legend was based on Lazar's very shrewd tactic. Namely, he gladly purchased grain while "green", that is, at the time when it just started earing up. Its price was far more favourable than at the time of harvest. On the other hand, he at least did not have to be afraid of hail or any storm that would endanger his crops. What would financially ruin someone else was an insignificant risk for him. Thus, when buying young grain, Lazar made sure to wear a white coat. He walked through green ears in that coat. In fact, it rarely crossed people's mind that it was the landowner's shrewd tactic. If, by any chance, the grain had been diseased, infected by a pest, the grime would have stuck to the white coat and Lazar would have easily noticed it and desisted from purchase.

And then the time came for him to climb the next step as one of the greatest landowners in the empire. He became an industrialist. It will be remembered that he built two breweries, two distilleries and a factory for processing rape, which was used to produce axle grease. He also purchased the largest mills and hemp rope factories



*Muzej poljoprivrede u Kulpinu. Parna mašina – detalj.*  
*Kulpin Agricultural Museum. A steam engine – detail.*

rizik. I tako bi, kupujući mlado žito, Lazar na sebi obavezno nosio beli mantil. Provlačio bi se u njemu kroz zeleno klasje. Zapravo, retkima je padalo na pamet da je reč o gazdinskom lukavstvu. Ako bi, kojim slučajem, žito bilo bolesno, zaraženo nekom štetocinom, garež bi se zadržavala na belom mantilu i Lazar bi je sa lakoćom uočio i odustajao od kupovine.

A onda je došao trenutak da se kao jedan od najvećih veleposednika u carevini popne na sledeći stepenik. Postao je industrijalac. Ostaće upamćeno da je podigao dve pivare, sazdao dve fabrike alkohola i fabriku za preradu repice od koje se pravila kolomast. Takođe je kupio i najveće mlinove i kudeljare po Vojvodini. Ono što bi za drugog bio statusni simbol i dokaz velikog bogatstva, za Lazara je bio tek deo imperije. Fabrike i razna industrijska preduzeća imao je u Novom Sadu, Srbobranu, Petrogradu (Zrenjaninu), Čibu, Indiji, a u Beogradu je svojim velikim akcijskim udelom pomogao da se podignu i razgranaju fabrička preduzeća „Kosta Ilić i sinovi“.

Koliki je uistinu bio njegov značaj za tadašnji ekonomski život u Austrougarskoj, govori možda bolje od drugih primer fabrike tepiha u današnjem Zrenjaninu. Reč je o fabrici koja je u tom trenutku predstavljala pravi raritet. Njeni proizvodi su bili cenjeni u čitavoj Evropi. Kralj Franja Josif je u nekoliko navrata unikatne tepihe poželeo za svoj dvor. A opet, kada je fabrika došla u ozbiljnu nevolju, spas je zatražen od Lazara Dunderskog. Kolika je morala biti njegova moć, kada su najuticajnijii ljudi ondašnje države podršku tražili od njega, Srbina iz provincijalnog Sentomaša.

Počelo je tako što je Udruženje za domaću radinost Torontalske županije, 1893. godine, donelo odluku o osnivanju deoničarskog društva koje će se baviti proizvodnjom tepiha. Fabrika tepiha u Velikom Bečkereku zamišljena je kao „preduzeće za umetničku privredu“ i izradu smirne i persijskih tepiha. Zapošljavala je više od 200 radnica različitih nacionalnosti, a najviše Srkinje, Rumunke i Bugarke, koje su u svojoj tradiciji nosile prirodnu sklonost prema izradi tepiha. Fabrika je imala sopstvenu predionicu i radionice za bojenje vune. Izgrađena je pored Begeja, čime je rešen problem snabdevanja vodom.

Porudžbine su stizale sa svih strana: celokupnu prvu zalihu tepiha otkupila je firma Lapersonne & Petreano iz Pariza. Fabriku je 1895. godine obišao ministar trgovine Erne Danijel, potomak čuvene porodice Kiš. Iste godine primljeno je još 213 učenica, ali je naprasno ustanovljeno da i pored velikih porudžbina fabrika posluje sa gubicima. Ministarstvo trgovine odobrilo je beskamatni kredit kako bi fabrika opstala.

O njenom značaju govori i to da su tepisi za veliku proslavu 1000. godišnjice dolaska Mađara u panonsku niziju izrađeni u ovoj fabrici. Dva velika tepiha poručena su za dvor Franje Josifa i

across Vojvodina. What would have been a status symbol and proof of great wealth to someone else was just a part of an empire for Lazar. He owned factories and various industrial companies in Novi Sad, Srbobran, Petrograd (Zrenjanin), Čib, Indija, while in Belgrade, with his large share, he helped the growth and expansion of the Kosta Ilić & Sons enterprises.

His major importance for the economic life of the time in the Austro-Hungarian Empire is perhaps best demonstrated by the example of the carpet factory in today's Zrenjanin. It was a factory that was a true rarity at the time. Its products were recognised throughout Europe. King Franz Joseph wanted unique carpets for his palace on several occasions. And yet, when the factory got into serious trouble, Lazar Dunderski was asked to save it. How great his power must have been when the most influential people of the former state sought support from him, a Serb from the provincial Szenttamás.

It all started with the Association for Cottage Industry of Torontál County making a decision in 1893 on the establishment of a joint stock company that would engage in carpet production. The carpet factory in Veliki Bečkerek was conceived as an "enterprise for artistic industry" and the production of myrrh and Persian carpets. It employed more than 200 female workers from different ethnic groups, mostly Serbs, Romanians and Bulgarians, traditionally inclined towards carpet making. The factory had its own spinning mill and wool dye-houses. It was built near the Begej river, which solved the water supply problem.

Orders came from everywhere: the entire first batch of carpets was purchased by the Lapersonne & Petreano company from Paris. The factory was visited in 1895 by the Minister of Commerce Erno Daniel, descendant of the famous Kiss family. Another 213 apprentices were admitted in the same year, but it was unexpectedly



*Zgrada starog mlina u Srbobranu.*  
*Old mill building, Srbobran.*

## IZ NIŠTAVILA U SLAVU SLAVA

# FROM NOTHINGNESS INTO GLORIOUS GRACE

kraljice Elizabete, a još nekoliko njih za novu zgradu Parlamenta. Istovremeno, pojavili su se novi finansijski problemi. Već 1897. godine fabrika je bila pred finansijskim slomom i doneta je odluka o sanaciji. Ministarstvo je insistiralo da se pokuša sa prodajom koja će produžiti rad fabrike. Holandska firma Henrik van Royen otkupila je tepiharu i nastavila proizvodnju. Kralj Franja Josif naručio je ponovo tepih za dvor, ali i jedan za svetsku izložbu koja je održana u Parizu 1901. godine. Tepisi iz Bečkereka otišli su i u kraljevsku palatu u Budimu. Ministar trgovine odlikovao je 1901. godine fabriku državnom medaljom. Izložba tepiha u Velikom Bečkereku 1892. godine opisana je kroz pera najpoznatijih kritičara kao vrhunski umetnički doživljaj. Posle svih ovih pohvala, poslovnih uspeha, podrške Ministarstva i stranih ulaganja, fabrika je ponovo bila pred zatvaranjem.



*Vajdahunyad dvorac u Budimpešti, sagraden za proslavu hiljadugodišnjice doseljavanja Madara u Panonsku niziju. Prvobitno je izgrađen od kartona i drveta, ali zbog velike popularnosti kasnije je sazidan od kamena i cigle. Autor fotografije: Bojan T. Jovanović.*

*Vajdahunyad Castle Budapest, built for the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the settlement of the Hungarians in the Pannonian Plains. It had originally been built of cardboard and wood, but due to its great popularity, it was later built of stone and bricks. Photo by Bojan T. Jovanović.*

A onda je došao spas, jer potegnut je najjači adut...

Lazar Dunderški je 1903. godine uložio u fabriku 190.000 kruna i posle dobijanja subvencija od države obavezao se da će održavati fabriku 20 godina, bez obzira na to da li dobija ili gubi, da će stalno zapošljavati 300 radnica i da će uložiti u fabriku oko milion kruna.

Lazar je uspeo da izvrši obećano, a godine 1906. dobio je za rad fabrike državnu medalju od ministra trgovine. Fabrika je od samog

established that the company operated at a loss despite large orders. The Ministry of Commerce approved an interest-free loan in order for the factory to survive.

Its importance is also indicated by the fact that the carpets for the grand celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the arrival of the Hungarians in the Pannonian Plain were made in this factory. Two large carpets were ordered for the palace of Franz Joseph and Queen Elisabeth, and several more for the new building of the Parliament. At the same time, new financial problems emerged. Already in 1897, the factory was on the brink of financial collapse and a decision on its resolution was made. The Ministry insisted on an attempt to sell the factory, which would enable the continuation of operations. The Dutch company Henrik van Royen purchased the carpet factory and continued the production. King Franz Joseph once again ordered a carpet for his palace, but also one for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle. Carpets from Bečkerek also went to the royal palace in Buda. In 1901, the Minister of Commerce decorated the factory with a state medal. The 1892 Carpet Exhibition in Veliki Bečkerek was described as the ultimate artistic experience by the best known critics. After all these praises, business success, Ministry support and foreign investment, the factory was about to be closed again.

And then came the salvation, because the trump card was played... In 1903, Lazar Dunderški invested 190,000 kronas in the factory and, after receiving subsidies from the state, committed to keep the factory in operation for 20 years, regardless of profitability, to employ 300 permanent workers and to invest around one million kronas in the factory.

Lazar managed to keep his promise and in 1906 was awarded a state medal from the Minister of Commerce for the factory operation. Since its establishment, the factory hired the best designers for carpet patterns, and Lazar continued this tradition. Some of its designers won state scholarships for advanced training abroad, which shows how important the factory was for the whole country. The start of World War I brought a collapse of big business dreams. After Lazar's death, the factory was purchased by the well-known industrialist Kosta Ilić.

The Serbian carpet factory Lazar Dunderški in Veliki Bečkerek started to operate on 27 May 1922. The major shareholders were the uncles of Ilić's wife, Gedeon and Đoka Dunderški, as well as his mother-in-law Olga Jovanović née Dunderški. What followed was history.

The story about Lazar Dunderški as an industrialist, with two breweries as the brightest feathers in his cap, is important because it shows his incredible ability to see further than others. He was 23

osnivanja uzimala najbolje dizajnere za projektovanje kartona za tepihe, a Lazar je nastavio ovu tradiciju. Neki od njenih dizajnera dobijali su državne stipendije za usavršavanje u inostranstvu, što pokazuje koliki je značaj fabrika imala za čitavu državu. Početak Prvog svetskog rata značio je krah velikih poslovnih snova. Nakon Lazareve smrti, fabriku je kupio čuveni industrijalac Kosta Ilić.

Srpska fabrika tepiha „Lazar Dunderški“ u Velikom Bečkereku počela je sa radom 27. maja 1922. godine. Glavni akcionari bili su ujaci Ilićeve žene, Gedeon i Đoka Dunderški, kao i njegova tašta Olga Jovanović, rođena Dunderški. Sve što je sledilo, postalo je istorija.

Priča o Lazaru Dunderskom kao industrijalcu, koja je krunu doživela poslovanjem dve pivare, značajna je jer pokazuje njegovu neverovatnu sposobnost da vidi dalje od drugih. Imao je 23 godine kada je prvi put u svetu pronađen postupak za proizvodnju čelika iz rastopljenog sirovog gvožđa. Biće to početak razvoja teške industrije. Za ovim je usledio niz novih naučnih otkrića. Sve je počelo preko noći da se menja. Naravno, „tamo negde u velikom svetu“. Lazar je nekim šestim čulom sve to pratio i uključio se u vagon koji će čovečanstvo uvesti u drugu epohu.

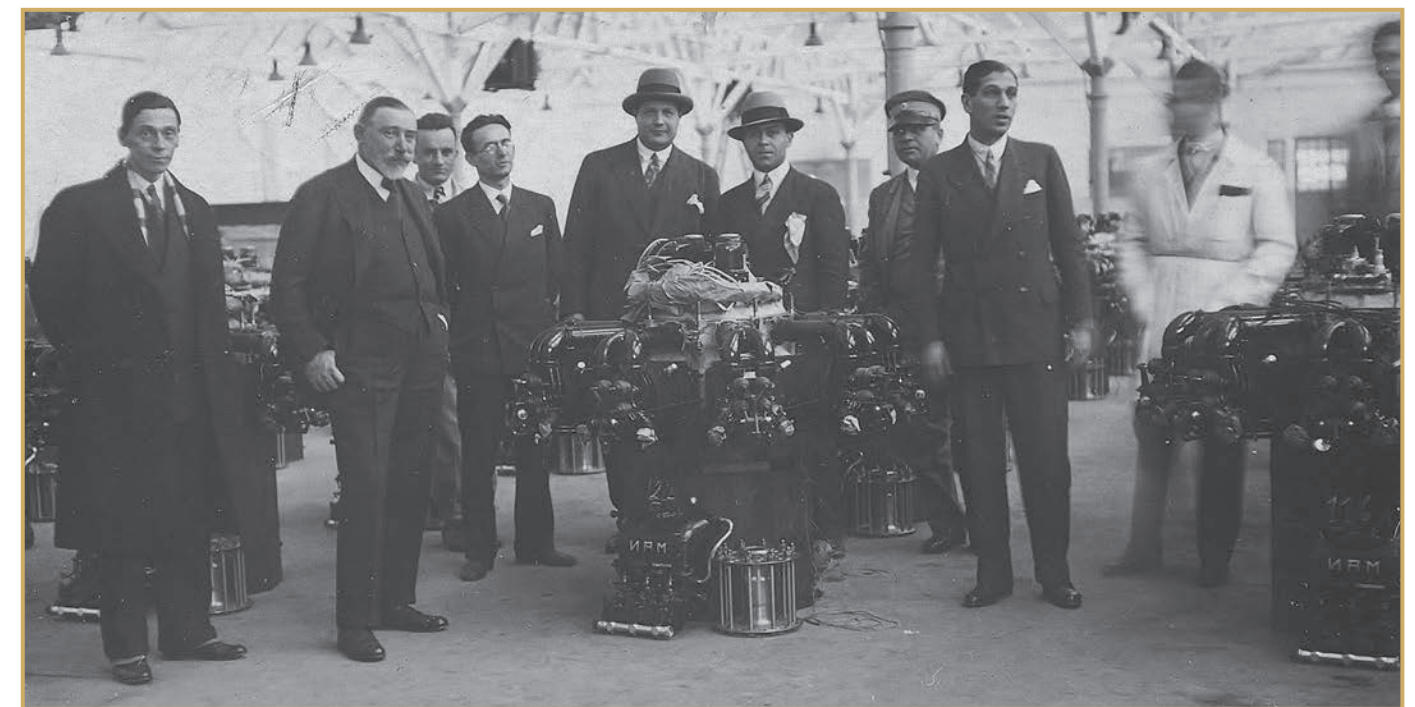
when the process of steel production from melted pig iron was first discovered abroad. It would be the start of the development of heavy industry. This was followed by a series of new scientific discoveries. Everything started to change overnight. Of course, “out there in the big world”. Lazar followed all this with some kind of sixth sense and jumped on the bandwagon that would take mankind to another era.



*Zgrada špiritane Lazara Dunderskog u Srbobranu. Lazar Dunderški's denatured alcohol plant, Srbobran.*

*Vlasnik fabrike aviona u Rakovici, dr Gedeon Dunderški sa bradom u jednoj od fabričkih hala, okružen grupom službenika, 27. januara 1930. godine. I2/1\_954 Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.*

*Owner of an airplane factory in Rakovica, Dr. Gedeon Dunderški (with beard) in one of the plants, surrounded by staff, 27 January 1930. I2/1\_954 Source: Belgrade City Museum.*





# SAMO ŠTO DUŠOM PROBIJE ZRAK

(SVOM NARODU NA POLZU)

IX

ONLY THE SOUL'S  
RAY'S PENETRATION

(FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS PEOPLE)

## SAMO ŠTO DUŠOM PROBIJE ZRAK

### ONLY THE SOUL'S RAY'S PENETRATION

Najbolje prijatelje Lazar Dunderski stekao je za vreme svojih školskih dana u Požunu, a zatim u Pešti i Beču. Ti dečaci bili su potonji nosioci srpskog građanstva koji su ga zbog njegovog bogatstva smatrali sebi ravnim. Njemu je to imponovalo, ali je uvek bio svestan te činjenice. Znao je da njegova sklonost ka umetnosti, obrazovanju, njegovo saosećanje sa bolesnima i uniženima, njegova čvrsta vera... podrazumevaju da on bude taj koji će čitavog života finansirati umetnike, učenike i škole, bolnice i crkve. Bez mnogo samilosti, podrazumevalo se da onaj ko najviše ima, treba najviše i da daje.

Voleo je Lazar prijatelje, obrazovane ljude, trudio se da bude okružen političarima, pravnicima, umetnicima. I sve ih je pomagao. Njih, i organizacije i udruženja koje su oni podržavali. Neki od njih bili su mu iskreni prijatelji, mnogi su mu se divili, ali bilo je i onih koji su iza ljubaznog osmeha skrivali samo zavist.

Najbolji prijatelj bio mu je Jovan Bošković, odličan đak, omiljeni sagovornik svih umnijih ljudi tog vremena, političar i reformator, ministar prosvete u Beogradu, rado viđen u Novom Sadu. Zbog njega je Lazar ostavljao svoje poslove i žurio u Novi Sad da ga vidi makar samo na nekoliko sati. Bio mu je omiljen gost koji je često boravio u Čibu. Jovan je ponekad imao nedovoljno vremena za Lazareve priče i znao je u žurbi, bez prevelikog razumevanja, samo da ostavi poruku o novim akcijama Crvenog krsta na čiji račun je Lazar trebalo da uplati novac. Ovaj se nije ljutio. Plaćao je i radovao se svakoj prilici da vidi prijatelja. Slomio se bio u trenutku kada je sa Lazom Kostićem išao u Beograd, čuvši za Jovanovu smrt.

Sa suprugom Sofijom osnovao je Zadužbinu za više stručno obrazovanje srpskih devojaka, štitenica Srpske pravoslavne prosvetne ženske zadruge Sv. majke Angeline. U centru Pešte, preko puta Srpske pravoslavne opštine, još se nalazi velelepna zgrada sa četvrtastim centralnim dvorištem. U zgradu je uloženo



*Pozorište koje su Novosađani zvali „Dunderskovo pozorište“ (Srpsko narodno pozorište koje je podigao Lazar Dunderski).*

*The theatre the citizens of Novi Sad called the Dunderski's Theatre" (The Serbian National Theatre built by Lazar Dunderski).*

Lazar Dunderski acquired his best friends during his school days in Pozsony, and then in Pest and Vienna. Those boys later became leaders of the Serbian urban middle class, who considered him equal to them due to his wealth. This impressed him, but he was always aware of this fact. He knew that his inclination towards art and education, his compassion for the sick and disenfranchised, his unwavering faith... imply that he should be the one to finance artists, students and schools, hospitals and churches all his life. Without much sentimentality, it was presumed that he who had the most should give the most.

Lazar liked his friends, educated people, and tried to be surrounded by politicians, lawyers and artists. And he supported all of them. Them and the organisations and associations they supported. Some of them were his true friends, many of them admired him, but there were also those who were only hiding envy behind their friendly smiles.

His best friend was Jovan Bošković, an excellent student, a favourite interlocutor of all learned people of the time, a politician and reformer, Minister of Education in Belgrade, who was welcome in Novi Sad. Because of him, Lazar would leave his affairs and hurry to Novi Sad to see him if only for a few hours. He was his favourite guest, who often stayed in Čib. Jovan sometimes did not have enough time for Lazar's stories and would just leave him a message, in a hurry and without much consideration, about new activities of the Red Cross, to whose account Lazar was to make a payment. Lazar was not upset. He paid and looked forward to every opportunity to see his friend. He was devastated when, on his way to Belgrade with Laza Kostić, he heard about Jovan's death.

With his wife Sofija, he established the Foundation for Higher Vocational Education of Serbian girls, protégés of the Serbian Orthodox Women's Education Cooperative of the Holy Mother Angelina. At the centre of Pest, opposite the Serbian Orthodox Parish, there still is a magnificent building with a square central courtyard. Four hundred thousand kronas were invested in the building and another 100,000 kronas in the operation of this institution.

When the building of the Serbian National Theatre burned down in 1891, the Hungarian authorities did not allow it to be reconstructed in the same location. Lazar decided to build a new theatre building in the courtyard of his hotel Empress Elisabeth in the centre of Novi Sad. The new building of the Dunderski Theatre housed film and theatre performances and concerts. Especially in winter days, the posters at the time emphasised the fact that the theatre would be heated. This theatre building burned down as well in 1928 due to poor installations.

400.000 tadašnjih kruna, a izdvojeno je još 100.000 kruna za rad ove ustanove.

Kada je 1891. godine izgorela zgrada Srpskog narodnog pozorišta, mađarske vlasti nisu dozvolile da se zgrada obnovi na starom mestu. Lazar je odlučio da novu zgradu pozorišta izgradi u dvorištu svog hotela „Carica Jelisaveta“ u centru Novog Sada. U novoj zgradi „Dunderskovog pozorišta“ prikazivani su filmovi, predstave, održavani su koncerti. Na plakatima iz tog vremena posebno je u zimskim danima isticano da će pozorište biti zagrejano. Zbog loših instalacija i ova zgrada pozorišta je izgorela 1928. godine.

Za vreme balkanskog rata Srpskom crvenom krstu priložio je 150.000 kruna, koliko i ceo Srbobran zajedno. Budimskom „Jelisavetinom sanatorijumu“ za lečenje tuberkuloznih darivao je 100.000 kruna. Trgovačko udruženje „Privrednik“, Pevačko društvo „Neven“, Dom staraca u Novom Sadu... i mnogi drugi koji su zatražili, dobili su pomoć od Lazara Dunderskog.

Poput oca, biće i sin Gedeon. Njegove aktivnosti u vezi su sa postojanjem i radom Matice srpske. Bio je njen predsednik u periodu od 1911. do 1920. godine. Opstanak Matice bio je doveden u pitanje. Zbog zloupotreba unutar institucije, ukazala se povoljna prilika za intervenciju mađarskih vlasti. Matica je sačuvana, kao i veći deo njene imovine, upravo zahvaljujući Gedeonu Dunderskom i novosadskim intelektualcima. U tom trenutku bio je poslanik u mađarskom saboru i svoj položaj iskoristio je da otkloni opasnosti po opstanak Matice. Borio se za očuvanje njenih zemljišnih poseda i stipendijskih fondova.

Gedeon je, kao član Upravnog odbora zagrebačke Srpske banke, koristio svoj uticaj da Maticu postavi na noge. Zemljišni posedi izdavana su u zakup, a studenti su ponovo mogli da računaju na Maticine stipendije za školovanje. Sirotište Marije Trandafil, dovršeno teškom mukom, služilo je posle rata za smeštaj francuskih ranjenih vojnika. Gedeon Dunderski pokušavao je na sve načine da ispuni želju dobrotvorke. Zgrada je ustupljena Oblasnom odboru Državne zaštite dece za smeštaj ratne i druge siročadi. Kada je 17. juna 1919. godine Mihajlo Pupin posetio Novi Sad, u Gradskoj kući pozdravio ga je Gedeon Dunderski, koji mu je, kao predsednik Matice, govorio o uslovima u kojima Matica radi. Pupin je tom prilikom ugošćen u domu Dunderskih.

Kada je sakupljen novac, kako bi nakon rata Srpsko narodno pozorište ponovo otvorilo vrata, i sam regent je pozdravio ovaj događaj. Svi učeni ljudi i rodoljubi pojavili su se 25. januara 1919. godine na otvaranju nove pozorišne sezone. Pozorište su Novosađani još zvali „Dunderskovo“. Ipak, Dunderski su sa svih

During the Balkan War, he donated 150,000 kronas to the Serbian Red Cross, as much as the entire Srbobran together. He donated 100,000 kronas to the Elisabeth's Sanatorium in Buda for treating tuberculosis. The Privrednik Merchants' Association, the Neven Singing Society, the Home for the Elderly in Novi Sad and many others that requested help from Lazar Dunderski received it.



*Gedeon Dunderski, kao maturant novosadske gimnazije. Snimak je nastao u Novom Sadu 1892. godine. CXXXVII-11 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Gedeon Dunderski, as a graduate of Novi Sad Grammar School. The photo was made in Novi Sad in 1892. CXXXVII-11 Source: ROMS.*

## SAMO ŠTO DUŠOM PROBIJE ZRAK

### ONLY THE SOUL'S RAY'S PENETRATION



*Naučnik Mihajlo Pupin (1854 - 1935), fotografija. Izvor: Muzej grada Beograda.*

*Scientist Mihajlo Pupin (1854–1935), photograph. Source: Belgrade City Museum.*

strana dobijali samo upozorenja da su oni ti koji treba najviše da daju. Zaboravljeno je da su Dunderski davali i pomagali uvek, i kad se nije moralo razmetati rodoljubljem.

Gedeon Dunderski je to učinio i onda kada je beogradskoj Univerzitetskoj biblioteci poklonio jednu od najznačajnijih privatnih zbirki srpskih rukopisa i knjiga. Zbirka Petra Stojadinovića, pored osam hiljada knjiga, sadrži i oko 160 pisama znamenitih ljudi. Ministarstvo prosvete 1929. godine nije odobrilo potrebna sredstva za otkup. Upravnik biblioteke sve nade polagao je u Mihajla Pupina, ali on u tom trenutku nije imao dovoljno novca za otkup zbirke. Pošto je shvatio značaj akcije, Pupin je predložio da desetorica imućnih ljudi priloži novac za knjige. Prijavio se da bude jedan od donatora. Tada se umešao Gedeon. Bez pompe i bilo kakvih uslova, sam je otkupio čitavu zbirku i poklonio je biblioteci. Legat i danas postoji i predstavlja jednu od najznačajnijih zbirki Univerzitetske biblioteke.

His son Gedeon took after his father. His activities were related to the existence and work of Matica Srpska. He was its Chairman in the period 1911–1920. Matica's survival was in jeopardy. Abuse within the institution gave an opening for an intervention of the Hungarian authorities. Matica was preserved, as well as a large portion of its assets, owing to Gedeon Dunderski and the Novi Sad intellectuals. At that time he was a member of the Hungarian Parliament and used his position to eliminate the threats to Matica's survival. He fought to preserve its landholdings and scholarship funds.

As a Board member of Serbian Bank in Zagreb, Gedeon used his influence to get Matica on its feet. Its land was leased and students could once again count on Matica's scholarships. Marija Trandafil's orphanage, completed with great difficulty, served to accommodate the wounded French soldiers after the war. Gedeon Dunderski spared no efforts to fulfil the benefactor's desire. The building was handed over to the Regional Committee for the State Protection of Children for the accommodation of war and other orphans. When Mihajlo Pupin visited Novi Sad on 17 June 1919, he was welcomed at the City Hall by Gedeon Dunderski, who, as Matica's Chairperson, told him about the conditions in which Matica operated. On that occasion, Pupin was a guest at the Dunderski home.

When the funds were collected for the Serbian National Theatre to reopen its doors after the war, the regent himself greeted this event. All learned men and patriots appeared on 25 January 1919 at the opening of the new theatre season. The people of Novi Sad called the theatre "Dunderski's". However, the Dunderski family got only warnings from all sides that they were the ones who should give the most. It was forgotten that the Dunderski family had always given back and helped, even when there was no need to flaunt one's patriotism.

Gedeon Dunderski also did that when he gave one of the most important private collections of Serbian manuscripts and books to the Belgrade University Library. Petar Stojadinović's collection included around 160 letters of eminent people in addition to eight thousand books. In 1929, the Ministry of Education did not approve additional funds for the purchase. The Library Manager put all his hopes in Mihajlo Pupin, but at that moment he did not have enough money to purchase the collection. Realising the importance of that initiative, Pupin suggested that ten wealthy people contribute the money for the books. He enlisted as one of the donors. Then Gedeon stepped in. Without any pomp and any conditions whatsoever, he bought the entire collection by himself and donated it to the library. The legacy still exists today and is one of the most important collections of the University Library.



*Stari plakat koji najavljuje koncert sestara Černječkih u Novom Sadu, a koji se održao u „Dunderskovom pozorištu” 1906. godine (privatna zbirka).*

*An old poster announcing a concert of the Chernetsky sisters in Novi Sad, which was held at the "Dunderski's Theatre" in 1906 (private collection).*



**NA KOM SE,  
USTUK SVAKOJE ŽLOSTI,  
BLAŽENOJ TEBI PODIŽE DVOR**

(DVORAC DUNĎERSKIH, SALON JEDNE EPOHE)

X

**THOSE WOODS THAT BECAME,  
DESPITE OUR DARK DAY,  
PART OF YOUR MANSION**

(THE DUNĎERSKI MANOR, A SALON OF AN ERA)

## NA KOM SE, USTUK SVAKOJE ŽLOSTI, BLAŽENOJ TEBI PODIŽE DVOR

### THOSE WOODS THAT BECAME, DESPITE OUR DARK DAY, PART OF YOUR MANSION



*Dvorac Dunderskih u Kulpinu.*

*Dunderski manor, Kulpin.*

Istorija ovih prostora pamti Dunderske, Karačonjije, Bezeredije, Špicerove, Čarnojeviće... koji su svoje kapitale pretočili u vile i dvorce, pa ih rasuli po Vojvodini kao da su pšenicu iz ruke sejali. Građeni počev od 18. veka, oni odavno više nisu samo rezidencijalna zdanja koja svetu treba da predstave moć svojih vlasnika. Mnogo više od toga, oni su danas deo našeg identiteta. U vreme kada je vrhunac majstorstva bilo nabijanje zemlje u čerpić, oni su pogled punili prizorima zdanja koji kao da se takmiče sa onima duž reke Rajne ili brda Toskane. Kolika je samo snaga i volja morala iza toga stajati. „Optimizam ili pesimizam jednog čoveka ne zavise od njegove sitosti ili gladi, nego od broja i kvaliteta svetova koje doseže svojom vizijom“, govorio je vladika Nikolaj. A onda tako osvojen svet postane i naš. Pa dođu nove generacije kojima se čini da je svet u koji su ušli, takav kakav jeste, oduvek postojao.

Kada živiš u ravnici, onda ti je svaka građevina, svaki čovek na horizontu, tačka prema kojoj se upravljaš. A tek dvorci... vrata nekog drugog sveta.

The history of this region remembers the families Dunderski, Karácsonyi, Bezeredi, Spitzer, Čarnojević and others who turned their capital into villas and manors and scattered them across Vojvodina as if sowing wheat from their hands. Built starting from the 18th century, they long ago stopped being mere residential buildings intended to demonstrate the power of their owners to the world. Much more than this, today they are a part of our identity. At the time when the peak of mastery was earth pressing to make adobe, they filled people's eyes with the sights of buildings that looked like they were competing with those along the Rhine or the hills of Tuscany. How much power and will must have been behind this. "A man's optimism or pessimism does not depend on his satiation or hunger, but on the number and quality of the worlds he reaches by his vision," said Bishop Nikolaj. And then the world thus conquered becomes our world as well. Then come new generations to which it seems that the world they entered has always existed as such.

When you live in the plains, every building and every man on the horizon is your orientation point. And the manors... they are the doors to another world.



*Kip lava u prirodnoj veličini, koji se nalazi na ulazu u park čelarevskog dvorca.*  
*Life-sized sculpture of a lion, located at the entrance to the Čelarevo Manor park.*

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THOSE WOODS THAT BECAME, DESPITE OUR DARK DAY, PART OF  
YOUR MANSION

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*Dvorac u Čelarevu, koji je 1882. kupio Lazar Dunderski.  
Čelarevo manor bought by Lazar Dunderski in 1882.*

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## NA KOM SE, USTUK SVAKOJE ŽLOSTI, BLAŽENOJ TEBI PODIŽE DVOR

### THOSE WOODS THAT BECAME, DESPITE OUR DARK DAY, PART OF YOUR MANSION

Nikola Bezeredi je u početku stanovao u „starom dvorcu“, koji je podigao još „grešni“ Lipót Márffy. U proleće 1834. godine počeo je sa zidanjem novog, koji će do septembra 1837. godine biti završen. Do dvorca se dolazi kroz dve simetrično raspoređene kapije, koje pošljunčanim stazama vode do ulaza. Pored leve i desne kapije od kovanog gvožđa nalazi se na postamentu po jedna figura lava u prirodnoj veličini i u ležećem položaju. Lav je smatran idealnom predstavom snage, moći i hrabrosti. Čuvar doma i kućnog praga. Bezerediju se pripisuje i uređenje parka oko dvorca. Na mestu idealne sredine parka podignuta je zimska bašta. Sam park je u prvo vreme bio dvostruko veći nego danas. Desna polovina raskršćena je tek posle 1882, kada je dvorac sa imanjem prodat Lazaru Dunderskom. On će na tom prostoru podići pivaru i zasaditi hmeljarnike. Ostala je priča da su gosti na brojnim okupljanjima i zabavama koje je priređivao Lazar bili u nepisanoj obavezi da donesu sadnicu kako bi se ovaj dragulj prirode neprestano obogaćivao.

Park je podignut u pretežno engleskom, pejzažnom, vrtnom stilu, sa elementima francuskog stila, koji je dominirao u vrtnoj arhitekturi tokom prve polovine 19. veka. Stavljeno je pod zaštitu 1968. godine, kao značajno prirodno dobro treće kategorije. Jedan je od vrednijih predstavnika vrtne umetnosti 19. veka na teritoriji Srbije. Park je bio pod upravom Muzeja Vojvodine, potom Poljoprivredno-industrijskog preduzeća „Podunavlje“ iz Čelareva, da bi krajem 2007. godine status staratelja nad parkom pripao kompaniji Carlsberg Srbija.

Iako je dvorac Lazaru prodat kao već poluvekovno klasicističko zdanje, nama se iz sadašnje perspektive, onih koji znaju sva potonja događanja, čini da je upravo za njega i sazdan. Toliko mu se radovao, da je u svoj dnevnik zapisao: „24. januara kupili, pogodba bila do 1. maja isplatiti, te ranu moradosmo prodati, i to prodadosmo po najboljoj ceni, te u istoi godini sa spekulacijom kukuruza na kojim smo takođe do 4 po m. c. zaslužili, gotovo celi Čeb zaslužismo. Moi mili Otac zdravo je bojažljiv bio, a ja sam za kupovinom Čeba ludovao, šta više mojoj Soki naglašavao sačuvajme Bože da mi dete umre, samo to ću većma zažaliti od Čeba ako ga ne kupim...“

Lazar će od dvorca napraviti salon jedne epohe, nezaobilazno mesto kulturne istorije na ovim prostorima. Slikari Uroš Predić i Paja Jovanović u njemu će naslikati neka od svojih najznačajnijih dela. Zauvek je ostala fotografija načinjena ispred dvorca. Jedan pored drugog sede Uroš Predić i Laza Kostić. U nedrima im dečaci, unuci Lazara Dunderskog, sinovi doktora Gedeona Dunderskog – Dušan i Lazar. Gorostasi umetnosti, obojica ostareli i bez vlastite dece, u ozračju Dunderskih. Slika na kojoj se ujedinjene nalaze dve najveće tajne čovekove: volja za rađanjem i volja za smislom.

At first, Nikola Bezeredi lived in the “old manor”, built by the “sinful” Lipót Márffy. In the spring of 1834, he started building a new manor, which was completed by September 1837. The manor is accessed through two symmetrically positioned gates, which lead to the entrance down gravel paths. Near both the left and the right wrought iron gates there is a life-sized sculpture of a lying lion on a pedestal. The lion was considered the ideal representation of strength, power and courage – the guardian of home and doorstep. The design of the park around the manor is attributed to Bezeredi. A winter garden was built in the ideal centre of the park. At first, the park itself was double the size it is today. Its right half was not cleared until after 1882, when the manor with its land was sold to Lazar Dunderski. He built a brewery and planted hops in this area. A story says that the guests at numerous gatherings and parties organised by Lazar had an unwritten obligation to bring a seedling in order to constantly enrich this jewel of nature.

The park was built in predominantly English landscaping garden style with elements of French style, which dominated in garden architecture during the first half of the 19th century. It was put under state protection in 1968 as an important natural asset of the 3rd category. It is one of the valuable examples of the 19th century garden art in the territory of Serbia. The park was managed by the Museum of Vojvodina, then by the Agro-Industrial Company Podunavlje, Čelarevo, and towards the end of 2007 the Carlsberg Serbia company was assigned the status of the park steward.

Although the manor was sold to Lazar as already a half-a-century-old classicist building, it seems to us with hindsight that it was built just for him. It made him so happy that he wrote in his diary: “We bought it on 24 January, the agreement was to pay by 1 May, so we had to sell food, and we sold it at the best price, so in the same year, with the speculation on corn where we also earned up to 4 per quintal, our profit was equal to almost the entire value of Čeb. My dear father was very apprehensive, but I was so eager to buy Čeb; what is more, I pointed out to my Soka that the only greater regret than not buying Čeb would for me be if, God forbid, I lost a child.”

Lazar turned the manor into a salon of an era, an unavoidable place of cultural history in this region. The painters Uroš Predić and Paja Jovanović would paint some of their most important works in it. A photograph made in front of the manor is here for eternity. Uroš Predić and Laza Kostić sitting next to each other, holding boys, grandsons of Lazar Dunderski, sons of Dr. Gedeon Dunderski – Dušan and Lazar. The giants of art, both old and with no children of their own, in the Dunderski realm. The picture uniting two of man's greatest secrets: the desire to procreate and the desire for meaning.

It is interesting that three great Hungarian writers also stayed at the manor: Sándor Brody, Sándor Hunyady and the best known among



*Klavir za koji se veruje da je pripadao Lenki Dunderski. Prvobitno se nalazio u čelarevskom dvorcu, a trenutno se nalazi u Kulpinu.*

*The piano believed to have belonged to Lenka Dunderski. It was initially at the Čelarevo manor and is currently in Kulpin.*

Zanimljivo je da su u dvorcu boravila i tri velika mađarska pisca: Šandor Brodi, Šandor Hunjadi i najpoznatiji među njima Deže Kostolanji. Njegov boravak u Čibu vezuje se za Prvi svetski rat i nekoliko kasnijih godina.

Među brojnim pričama i legendama o dvorcu u Čibu, najlepšom nam se čini ona koju je sačuvao Milan Belegišanin u „Snovima zatravljenih kula“. U legendi se pripoveda kako je Nikola Bezeredi, prodajući Lazaru Dunderskom dvorac, novom vlasniku poklonio i klavir koji je nekada davno i sam dobio za mali novac od jednog razalovanog ruskog grofa koji je na kocki sve izgubio. „Klavir je stavljen u salon čekajući bolje dane, a Lazar Dunderski se dao u posao... Jednoga popodneva je, šetajući se salonom, slučajno zastao ispred klavira i počeo da razmišlja o tome da bi zamku trebalo udahnuti dušu. Sam nije bio vičan umetnosti, što ne znači da je nije i voleo. Zapuštenost dirki, koje su već bile zaboravile dodire



*Nameštaj za koji se veruje da je pripadao Lenki Dunderski. Prvobitno se nalazio u čelarevskom dvorcu, a trenutno se nalazi u Kulpinu.*

*Furniture believed to have belonged to Lenka Dunderski. It was initially at the Čelarevo manor and is currently in Kulpin.*



*Nameštaj za koji se veruje da je pripadao Lenki Dunderski. Prvobitno se nalazio u čelarevskom dvorcu, a trenutno se nalazi u Kulpinu. Oba letnjikovca su pripadala Lazaru Dunderskom.*

*Furniture believed to have belonged to Lenka Dunderski. It was initially at the Čelarevo manor and is currently in Kulpin. Both summerhouses belonged to Lazar Dunderski.*

them, Dezső Kosztolányi. His stay in Čib is linked to World War I and several subsequent years.

The most beautiful story among the numerous stories and legends about the manor in Čib seems to be the one preserved by Milan Belegišanin in the Dreams of Grass-covered Towers. The legend tells us how Nikola Bezeredi, when selling the manor to Lazar Dunderski, also gave as a gift to the new owner a piano that he himself had bought a long ago for little money from a demoted Russian count who had gambled away his entire fortune. “The piano was placed in the drawing room to wait for better days, and Lazar Dunderski got down to work... One morning, walking across the drawing room, he happened to stop in front of the piano and started to think that the manor needed some soul to be instilled to it. He himself was not adept at art, which did not mean that he did not enjoy it. The

## NA KOM SE, USTUK SVAKOJE ŽLOSTI, BLAŽENOJ TEBI PODIŽE DVOR

### THOSE WOODS THAT BECAME, DESPITE OUR DARK DAY, PART OF YOUR MANSION

tankih prstiju grofa kockara, nagnala ga je da vrata svoga zamka otvori najviđenijim umetnicima Srbije s kraja 19. i početka 20. veka. Bilo je slikara, pesnika, vajara, ali klavir je ćutao. Poneko od gostiju bi neobavezno prelazio po dirkama i to je bilo sve...“

Dalje: „interesantno je da je Lenka bila prva koja je intenzivno počela da svira na tom klaviru. Dešavalo se da posluga iznese, kada je vreme lepo, klavir napolje i postavi ga između dva kamena lava na ulazu u zamak. Lenka bi sedala i počinjala da svira. Iz dirki poklon-klavira bi izlazili zvuci koji bi prvo smirivali kamene lavove, a zatim do bola i nemoći pogađale dušu ostarelog pesnika Laze Kostića. Lenka nije imala posebnu tehniku, ali su njena čednost i sudbina već odavno umrlog kockara, bivšeg vlasnika klavira, stvarali sazvučje koje je odisalo slatkim tugom umiranja... I danas poneki put iz odaje zamka se začuju akordi prokockanog klavira, a lavovi bodro riču priznavajući da su deo pesnikovog sna. Nastaje jedan ukleti harmonijum, i tada pod zvezde Čelareva stupaju ostali ukleti pesnici Jesenjin, Edgar Alan Po, a parkom zamka ruku pod ruku u belim pohabanim venčanicama hodaju Lenka Dunderski, Anabel Li, Isidora Dankan.“

disrepair of the keys, which had already forgotten the touch of the gambling count's thin fingers, prompted him to open the doors to his manor to the most prominent artists of Serbia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. There were painters, poets and sculptors, but the piano kept silent. Some of the guests would casually slide their fingers over the keys, and that was all...“

Further: “It is interesting that Lenka was the first to start to play that piano intensively. The servants would sometimes bring the piano out when the weather was fine and put it between the two stone lions at the entrance to the manor. Lenka would sit and start to play. Sounds would come out from the keys of the piano, which would first calm the stone lions and then inflict pain and helplessness in the soul of the aged poet Laza Kostić. Lenka had no special technique, but her innocence and the fate of the gambler, the former owner of the piano, who had passed away long since, created a harmony reminiscent of the sweet sorrow of dying... Even today, chords of the gambled-away piano are sometimes heard from the manor chambers and the lions roar vigorously, acknowledging that they are



*Raskoš u jednom od četiri Lazareva dvorca.  
Splendour in one of Lazar's four manors.*



*Gradanski salon iz kuće Đoke Dunderskog, muzejski eksponat, dvorac u Kulpinu.*

*Bourgeois drawing room furniture from Đoka Dunderski's house, museum exhibit, Kulpin manor.*

A ako bismo legendu isprepleli sa stvarnošću, bilo bi zanimljivo otkriti kako bi izgledao njihov susret sa još jednom znamenitom ličnošću koja je ovde boravila nekoliko puta. U rasponu od 1947. do polovine 1952. godine zgrada dvorca sa pratećim objektima pripadala je tadašnjem predsedništvu vlade. Gost o kome govorimo bio je Josip Broz Tito.

Ali i tada, i pre i posle toga, mogao je dolaziti ko je hteo. Narod je ionako uvek govorio: „Sve je to Dunderskovo!“

a part of the poet's dream. A haunted harmony is composed, and, under the stars of Čelarevo, other cursed poets emerge – Yesenin and Edgar Allan Poe, with Lenka Dunderski, Annabel Lee and Isadora Duncan walking arm in arm in the manor park dressed in worn white wedding gowns.”

And if we intertwined the legend with reality, it would be interesting to learn what their meeting would look like with another famous person who stayed there several times. In the period from 1947 until mid-1952, the manor with accompanying buildings belonged to the then Government Presidency. The said guest was Josip Broz Tito.

But both at that time and before and after it, people would come and go. And the people would still always say: “It all belongs to Dunderski!”



# ZEMNIH MILINA NEBESKI KROJ

(OSNIVANJE PIVARE)

XI

**A HEAVENLY PATTERN  
OF CHARMING HOURS**  
(ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BREWERY)

## ZEMNIH MILINA NEBESKI KROJ

### A HEAVENLY PATTERN OF CHARMING HOURS

Jedna od najčešće spominjanih anegdota o Lazaru Dunderskom nesumnjivo je ona kada je otišao nekim poslom u Peštu i odlučio da se malo osveži i popije hladno piće. Jednostavno obučen, bez najave, sedne u skup restoran i naruči pivo. Konobar mu neljubazno odgovori da je to ugledno mesto, gde ne služe jeftina pića. Lazar je uvređen odmah naručio nekoliko flaša najskupljeg šampanjca. Kada ih je dobio, prolio ih je u kibli. Zapanjenog konobara je upitao: „Mogu li sad da dobijem to pivo?“ Naravno, njegova želja je odmah ispunjena.

Da sve nije puka priča, govori činjenica da su se tokom najvećeg industrijskog razvoja u 19. veku mnogi fabrikanti rado ogledali u proizvodnji piva. Tu naprosto nije moglo biti reči o slučajnosti.

Clearly one of the most frequently mentioned anecdotes about Lazar Dunderski is the one about the time he went to Pest on business and decided to refresh himself and have a cold drink. Simply dressed and without announcement, he sat at a table in an expensive restaurant and ordered a beer. The waiter rudely replied that it was a respectable place where they did not serve cheap drinks. Insulted, Lazar immediately ordered several bottles of the most expensive champagne. When they arrived, he poured them into the bucket. Then he asked the astonished waiter: “May I have that beer now?” Of course, his wish was immediately granted.

This not being just a tale is evidenced by the fact that, during the fastest industrial development in the 19th century, many factory owners gladly tried their hands at beer production. This simply was no coincidence.

Several thousand years before Christ, people began to use the first artificially produced drink: beer. At the time of poor hygienic conditions, this drink was invaluable and used for medical purposes as well because water was often polluted and full of dangerous germs until the 20th century. So the whole Europe resorted to beer, which was far safer than ordinary water. Beer acquired a cult status. Therefore it is not surprising that back in 974 in Germany, King Otto II strictly regulated the beer production method. Frederick I Barbarossa included it in the Augsburg City Code in 1156. Finally, everything was standardised once and for all in 1516 in Bavaria. And the “Purity Decree” strictly prescribed the norms for beer production.

Therefore, the progress of civilisation can even literally be followed through the changes in beer production method. First the invention of steam engine moved manual beer production from monasteries and cafés to factories. Then, in the second half of the 18th century, thermometer and hydrometer were introduced, which enabled much more precise preparation of the favourite drink. Then the 19th century brought a revolution in beer making. Louis Pasteur discovered the role of yeast in beer production and thereby enabled its “pasteurisation”, which extends its shelf life. It simply all fit in together. On the one hand, beer production was a major challenge to the growing industrialization. Namely, after sugar, beer is technologically the most demanding and complex food product in terms of production. On the other hand, there was a huge secure market that made the production profitable. Therefore, the 19th century was the time when many of today’s still largest European breweries emerged. Naturally, this was a

*Mašina za punjenje 6 pivskih boca, potiče iz pivare Dunderskih. Nalazi se u Muzeju piva u Čelarevu.*

*Machine for filling 6 beer bottles, from the Dunderski brewery. Located at the Čelarevo Beer Museum.*



*Pivske krige od keramike, početak 20. veka.*

*Ceramic beer mugs, early 20th century.*

Nekoliko hiljada godina pre Hrista ljudi su počeli da koriste prvo veštački spravljeno piće: pivo. U doba loših higijenskih uslova ovo piće je bilo od neprocenjive vrednosti te se koristilo i u medicinske svrhe, jer voda je sve do 20. veka često bila zagađena i puna opasnih klica. I tako je cela Evropa posezala za pivom, koje je bilo daleko bezbednije od obične vode. Pivo je steklo kulturni status. Ne čudi stoga da je još 974. godine u Nemačkoj, kralj Oto II strogo regulisao način spravljanja piva. Fridrih I Barbarosa ugradio ga je u Zakonik grada Augsburga 1156. godine. Konačno, sve je jednom za svagda normirano 1516. u Bavarskoj. A „Zapovest o čistoti“ je strogo propisala norme za proizvodnju piva.

challenge that could not pass without Lazar Dunderski. And so we return to the location.

Čib was Lazar’s favourite property and summerhouse until the end of his life, because of which the brewery in Čelarevo, which he established in 1892, had a special status for him as well as for his heirs. Lazar Dunderski formally owned three breweries: in Čelarevo, Zrenjanin and Ečka, with the last one having a special destiny. The brewery in today’s Zrenjanin was located between the Begej River and Žitni Trg, in a square-shaped area of almost 3 hectares of land. It was established in 1845 as a smaller agricultural

## ZEMNIH MILINA NEBESKI KROJ

### A HEAVENLY PATTERN OF CHARMING HOURS

Zbog toga se i bukvalno napredak civilizacije može pratiti preko promena u načinu proizvodnje piva. Najpre je pronalazak parne mašine ručnu proizvodnju piva iz manastira i kafana preselio u fabričke pogone. Zatim su u drugoj polovini 18. veka u upotrebu ušli termometar i hidromer, koji su omogućili mnogo preciznije spravljanje omiljenog napitka. Onda je 19. vek doneo revoluciju u pravljenju piva. Luj Paster je otkrio ulogu kvasca u proizvodnji piva i time omogućio njegovu „pasterizaciju“ koja mu produžava rok trajanja. Naprosto, sve se sklopilo. Sa jedne strane, proizvodnja piva bila je veliki izazov narastajuće industrijalizacije. Pivo je, naime, posle šećera, tehnološki najzahtevnija i za proizvodnju najsloženija namirnica. Sa druge, postojala je sigurnost ogromnog tržišta koje je proizvodnju činilo isplativom. Stoga je 19. vek bio vreme kada je nikao velik broj i danas najvećih evropskih pivara. Naravno da je ovo bio izazov koji nije mogao proći bez Lazara Dunderskog. I tako se vraćamo na mesto dešavanja.

Do kraja života Lazarevog, Čib mu je bio najdraže imanje i letnjikovac, zbog čega je pivara u Čelarevu, koju je osnovao 1892. godine imala posebno mesto kako za njega tako i za njegove naslednike. Lazar Dunderski je formalno imao tri pivare: u Čelarevu, Zrenjaninu i Ečki, pri čemu će ova poslednja imati posebnu sudbinu. Pivara u današnjem Zrenjaninu nalazila se između Begeja i Žitnog trga, na kvadratnom kompleksu od skoro pet jutara zemlje. Osnovana je 1845. kao manja poljoprivredna, a 1878. kao industrijska pivara. Krajem osamdesetih 19. veka, pivara u Ečki predstavljala je ozbiljnu konkurenciju zrenjaninskoj i pretila je da je uništi. Godine 1891. zrenjaninsku pivaru preuzeo je Lazar Dunderski za 75.000 forinti, od Bele Roža. Lazar je zakupio pivaru u Ečki na deset godina, isplativši odmah sav novac. Čim je obavio sve transakcije, Dunderski je nošen poslovnom vizijom koja ga nikada nije izneverila, demontirao pivaru u Ečki, a zrenjaninsku modernizovao.

Već sledeće godine osnovao je pivaru u Čelarevu. Prema njoj je imao poseban odnos. Zrenjaninsku pivaru je kupio i nastavio da vodi. Ova u Čelarevu, međutim, bila je u potpunosti njegovo čedo. A poslovima i izazovima ove vrste Lazar se predavao sa fanatičnom posvećenošću. Tim pre što se za razliku od prilika u srednjoj Evropi ovde morao nositi sa nečim specifičnim. Naprosto, ovde nije bilo dovoljno otkupiti recepte, izgraditi pivaru, kupiti parnu mašinu i obučiti radnike. Domaće stanovništvo se sporo navikavalo na novi proizvod. Vino i rakija bila su tradicionalno dostupna i jeftina pića koja je bezmalo, bez obzira na status, mogao sebi svako priuštiti. Ljudi su ih sami proizvodili ili kupovali po niskim cenama. Pivo je bilo skuplje, imalo je mnogo kraći rok trajanja i često se kvarilo. U tim slučajevima štetu su snosili samo proizvođači. U zimskom

brewery and turned into an industrial brewery in 1878. In the late 1880s, the brewery in Ečka was a serious competitor to the Zrenjanin brewery and threatened to destroy it. In 1891, the Zrenjanin brewery was acquired by Lazar Dunderski from Béla Rozsa for 75,000 forints. Lazar leased the brewery in Ečka for 10 years, paying the entire sum up front. As soon as Dunderski completed all the transactions, driven by a business vision that had never failed him, he dismantled the brewery in Ečka and modernised the Zrenjanin brewery.



Stara mašina za ručno zatvaranje pivskih boca iz pivare Dunderskih. Nalazi se u Muzeju piva u Čelarevu.

Old manual bottle capping machine from the Dunderski brewery, Čelarevo Beer Museum.

periodu, kupci su još manje bili zainteresovani za pivo. Ponekad se činilo da ovaj proizvod nikad neće ući u širu upotrebu na ovim prostorima. Opstali su samo malobrojni i uporni. Treba li uopšte reći da je Lazar Dunderski bio među njima!

Na vinjetama za pivo, iz međuratnog perioda, vidimo da su reklame rađene sa natpisom „Dunderskovo pivo Petrovgrad–Čelarevo“ istovremeno reklamirale obe fabrike. Pre Prvog svetskog rata u Vojvodini je radilo šest pivara. Pivara u Čelarevu imala je modernu parnu mašinu i električni motor, što joj je omogućavalo da proizvodi mnogo više piva nego što je tržište zahtevalo, zato nije radila punim kapacitetom. Do 1910. godine proizvodnja je rasla, ali tada dolazi do kratkog zastoja zbog sukoba interesa proizvođača piva sa ugostiteljima koji su bili glavni naručioci ovog proizvoda. Povod je bio povećanje cene piva od jedne forinte po hektolitru. Pokušaj ugostitelja da stupe u kontakt sa proizvođačima piva iz Austrije i Češke je propao i tržište se već sledeće godine stabilizovalo.

Sve do Prvog svetskog rata proizvodnja je bila u usponu. Rat nije zaustavio rad pivare, ali proizvodnja je drastično smanjena. Muško stanovništvo bilo je na frontu tako da je postojao problem sa radnom snagom, a zbog masovnih mobilizacija, naravno da se znatno smanjio broj onih koji bi pivo uopšte pili. Svakako da je u ratnim prilikama osetno opala i kupovna moć stanovništva. Iz tog vremena nailazimo na zanimljivu vest. „Toronto“ je objavio da su Dunderski preko Crvenog krsta u maju 1915. godine poklonili iz svoje fabrike 1000 flaša piva vojnicima na frontu.

Posle smrti Lazara Dunderskog pivare je nasledio njegov mlađi sin dr Gedeon Dunderski.

Already in the following year he established a brewery in Čelarevo. He had a special attitude towards it. He had bought the Zrenjanin brewery and continued to manage it. However, this one in Čelarevo was entirely his own baby. And Lazar fanatically devoted himself to the tasks and challenges of this type, all the more so because, unlike the situation in Central Europe, here he had to contend with something specific. Here it was just not enough to buy recipes, build a brewery, buy a steam engine and train workers. The local population was slowly getting used to the new product. Wine and brandy were traditionally available and cheap drinks, which almost everybody could afford, regardless of their status. People produced them by themselves or bought at low prices. Beer was more expensive, had a much shorter shelf life and often spoiled. In those cases only the producers suffered damage. The customers were even less interested in beer in winter periods. Sometimes it seemed that this product would never catch on in this region. Only a few persistent ones survived. Needless to say, Lazar Dunderski was among them.

We can see from the beer vignettes from the period between the wars that the advertisements made with the inscription “Dunderski’s Beer Petrovgrad–Čelarevo” simultaneously advertised both factories. Six breweries operated before World War I in Vojvodina. The Čelarevo brewery had a modern steam engine and an electric motor, which enabled it to produce far more beer than the market required, which is why it did not operate at its full capacity. The production increased until 1910, but then there was a short interruption because of a conflict of interest between beer producers and restaurant and café owners, who were the main purchasers of this product. The reason was an increase in the price of beer by one forint per hectolitre. The attempt of the restaurant and café owners to contact beer producers from Austria and the Czech Republic failed and the market stabilised already the following year.

The production was on the rise until World War I. The war did not stop the operation of the brewery, but the production decreased drastically. The male population was on the front line, so there was a problem with workforce, while the number of those who would have consumed beer at all obviously decreased significantly due to mass draft. Certainly the purchasing power of the population also decreased significantly in the war conditions. We come across an interesting piece of news from that time. The Toronto published the news that in May 1915 the Dunderski family had donated 1,000 bottles of beer through the Red Cross to soldiers on the front line.

After the death of Lazar Dunderski the breweries were inherited by his younger son Dr. Gedeon Dunderski.

## ZEMNIH MILINA NEBESKI KROJ

A HEAVENLY PATTERN OF CHARMING HOURS

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*Stara mašina za ručno zatvaranje pivskih boca iz pivare Dunderskih. Nalazi se u Muzeju piva u Čelarevu.*

*Old manual bottle capping machine from the Dunderski brewery, Čelarevo Beer Museum.*

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**NAVEK SU SA NJOM  
POJAVE NOVE**

(PIVARA IZMEĐU DVA RATA)

XII

**AND ALL AROUND HER,  
IN CLOUDS SUFFUSING**

(THE BREWERY BETWEEN THE TWO WARS)

## NAVEK SU SA NJOM POJAVE NOVE

### AND ALL AROUND HER, IN CLOUDS SUFFUSING

Već u prvoj godini posle rata pivara je postavljena na zdrave osnove, udvostručena je proizvodnja i znatno je osavremenjena. Kupljene su nove mašine, strojevi za hlađenje i proizvodnju leda, dvostruka kuvaonica, parni kotlovi i osnovano je posebno odeljenje za proizvodnju slada. Za hlađenje piva se u početku koristio barski led, ali Dunderski su među prvima počeli proizvodnju sopstvenog leda. Pivo je točeno u burad, a prevoženo je konjskim i vrlo retko volovskim zapregama. Po potrebi, za vuču su korišćeni konji sa imanja u Čelarevu. Godine 1927. pivara postiže najveći uspeh, a zatim sledi kriza i opadanje kao posledica evropskih vetrova koji nas nisu mogli zaobići.



*Drveni frižider/ledara s početka 20. veka, korišćen u jednoj kafani u Beogradu. Danas se nalazi u Muzeju piva u Čelarevu.*

*A wooden fridge/icebox from the early 20th century, used in a Belgrade café. Currently exhibited at the Čelarevo Beer Museum.*

Velika ekonomska kriza koja je uzdrmla svetsko tržište u Kraljevinu je stigla sa nekoliko godina zakašnjenja i osetila se svom žestinom upravo 1933/1934. godine. Ugostitelji su iz ove krize pokušali da izađu pritiskom na proizvođače da smanje cenu piva, navodeći da su je pivari nekoliko puta povećavali, pa je ona u tom trenutku bila 560 dinara po hektolitru, dok su cene u ugostiteljskim objektima bile na nivou onih iz 1928. godine. Dunderski su dovodenjem najboljih stručnjaka iz inostranstva održavali zavidan nivo u kvalitetu nadaleko čuvenog Žutog Dunderskovog piva i Crnog Dunderskovog piva. Jedan od stručnjaka za proizvodnju piva, inženjer Kabler, nekoliko puta je dolazio iz Minhena u pivare Dunderskih kako bi preneo stručnjacima svoja iskustva u proizvodnji.

The brewery was put on a solid foundation already in the first year after the war, the production was doubled and significantly modernised. New machines were purchased, refrigerators and ice-makers, a double brew kettle and steam boilers and a special malt production department was established. At first, marsh ice was used for cooling beer, but the Dunderski family were among the first to produce their own ice. Beer was poured into barrels and transported by horse carts and, very rarely, by ox carts. Horses from the Čelarevo estate were used for transport when necessary. In 1927, the brewery reached its peak performance, which was followed by a crisis and a decline as a result of the European winds that could not pass us by.

The great economic crisis that shook the global market reached our Kingdom with a few years' delay and hit with full force in



*Pivske boce Žutog i Crnog Dunderskovog piva iz 19. veka, sa reljefnim natpisom „Dunderski“.*

*Beer bottles of Dunderski's Yellow Beer and Dunderski's Dark Beer with relief inscription "Dunderski", 19th century.*



*Pivske boce Žutog i Crnog Dunderskovog piva iz 19. veka, sa reljefnim natpisom „Dunderski“.*

*Beer bottles of Dunderski's Yellow Beer and Dunderski's Dark Beer with relief inscription "Dunderski", 19th century.*

U tom periodu zatvarane su mnoge pivare. Niska cena vina je proizvođače piva dovela u poziciju neravnopravne konkurencije. Najbolje vino je moglo u Beogradu 1933. godine da se nabavi za pet-šest dinara po litru i to sa isporukom na kućnu adresu. Proizvodnja piva po glavi stanovnika 1930. godine u Jugoslaviji bila je četiri litre, a u isto vreme u Nemačkoj 88, Čehoslovačkoj 78, Austriji 76... Pivare su propadale, a ni one koje su radile nisu koristile pune kapacitete.

Dunderski su imali svoje točionice, prodavnice, držali su dva najveća novosadska hotela, ali nisu bili ugostitelji. Gedeon se borio da zaštiti interese proizvođača piva. Udruženje pivara donelo je jedinstveni cenovnik i određena je za svaku pivaru teritorija na kojoj je mogla da obavlja prodaju. Dunderski su među prvima bili izloženi gnevu i pretnjama ugostitelja. Tražili su od Gedeona da izađe iz udruženja i smanji cenu. Pretili su da će, u suprotnom, uzimati pivo od drugih pivara. Direktor pivare je pregovorio, u Gedeonovo ime, i sukob je stišan. Mnogo više od diplomatije, na smirivanje sukoba uticala je činjenica da je kupovina piva kod

1933–1934. Restaurant and café owners tried to amortise the crisis by pressuring the producers to lower the price of beer, stating that the brewers had increased it several times to 560 dinars per hectolitre at that time, while the prices in restaurants and cafés were at the 1928 level. By bringing the best experts from abroad, the Dunderski family maintained a remarkable level of quality of the well-known Dunderski's Yellow Beer and Dunderski's Dark Beer. One of beer production experts, the engineer Kabler, came several times from Munich to the Dunderski breweries in order to transfer his experience in production to their experts.

Many breweries were closed in that period. Low price of wine was unfair competition to beer producers. In 1933 in Belgrade, the best wine could be bought for five or six dinars per litre, including home delivery. The production of beer per capita in 1930 in Yugoslavia was four litres, while at the same time it was 88 in Germany, 78 in Czechoslovakia, 76 in Austria... Breweries went bankrupt, and those that operated did not utilise their full capacity.

## NAVEK SU SA NJOM POJAVE NOVE

### AND ALL AROUND HER, IN CLOUDS SUFFUSING

drugih proizvođača značila povećanje cene zbog troškova prevoza. Nije bez značaja bila ni činjenica da je pivo Dunderskih uvek bilo izuzetno cenjeno i popularno kod potrošača.

U međuratnom periodu na teritoriji Kraljevine Jugoslavije, mada je bilo popularno, pivo ni izdaleka nije ušlo u širu upotrebu.



*Gedeon L. Dunderski, kao rezervni vojnik u husarskoj uniformi. Snimak je nastao u Novom Sadu 1896. godine. CXXXVII-12 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Gedeon L. Dunderski as a reserve soldier in a hussar uniform. The photo was made in Novi Sad in 1896. CXXXVII-12 Source: ROMS.*

The Dunderski family had their own taphouses and shops, owned the two largest Novi Sad hotels, but were not restaurant or café owners. Gedeon fought to protect the interests of beer producers. The Brewers' Association adopted a single pricelist and the territory was defined for each brewery in which it could sell its products. The Dunderski family were among the first to be exposed to the wrath and threats of restaurant and café owners. They demanded that Gedeon leave the association and reduce the price. They threatened that otherwise they would purchase beer from other breweries. The brewery manager negotiated on Gedeon's behalf and the conflict was settled. Much more than of diplomacy, this was a result of the fact that the purchase of beer from other producers meant a price increase due to transport costs. The fact that Dunderski beer had always been highly appreciated and popular with consumers was not without significance, either.

Although beer was popular in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the period between the wars, it was far from being widely consumed. Gedeon's brewery survived and continued to operate. In 1935, Queen Marija's lady in waiting, Gedeon's wife Teodora, wrote to her son Lazar, who was recovering in Carlsbad, that heat in Novi Sad was unbearable, which filled her with hope that beer and ice would sell better.

Beer production increased until World War II, but the factory still did not operate at full capacity. After the death of Dr. Gedeon Dunderski in 1939, the brewery was inherited by his sons Lazar and Dušan Dunderski and his daughter Countess Jelena Sofija Dessewffy née Dunderski. The sons had taken over the business even before Gedeon's death, and now it was made official. Soon, however, a new war broke out.

During World War II Sofija, who had lived in Hungary, emigrated to Switzerland and later to Argentina; Dušan was captured as a pilot of the Yugoslav Air Force. Lazar stayed in Čelarevo where he took care of the Čelarevo brewery, which was located in the Hungarian occupation zone. Using the money it had available, the family managed to save Dušan from captivity and he returned in late 1941. While he was in captivity, the brewery workers regularly sent him packages through the Red Cross in order to express their respect and gratitude for the care he had shown as one of the owners towards them and their families. He continued to work in the Zrenjanin brewery, which, like the other similar companies, was placed in the service of the occupying army. Until the liberation, the Čelarevo brewery was managed solely by Lazar, and he could cooperate with his brother again after the war.

Both factories had to continue their operation during the war. There were special controllers, members of the occupation authorities, who took care of this. Naturally, this was not taken into consideration after the war. Fault had to be found at any cost with landowners

Gedeonova pivara je opstala i nastavila sa radom. Godine 1935. dvorska dama kraljice Marije, Gedeonova žena Teodora, piše sinu Lazaru koji je na oporavku u Karlsbadu, da su u Novom Sadu nepodnošljive vrućine, što joj je ulivalo nadu da će se pivo i led bolje prodavati.

Sve do Drugog svetskog rata proizvodnja piva je rasla, ali fabrika još nije radila punim kapacitetom. Posle smrti dr Gedeona Dunderskog 1939. godine pivaru su nasledili njegovi sinovi Lazar i Dušan Dunderski i njegova ćerka grofica Jelena Sofija Dežefi, rođena Dunderski. Sinovi su, istina, preuzeli poslove još pre Gedeonove smrti, a sada je to bilo ozvaničeno. Ubrzo je međutim, buknuo novi rat.

Za vreme Drugog svetskog rata, Sofija, koja je živela u Mađarskoj, emigrirala je u Švajcarsku, a kasnije u Argentinu, dok je Dušan zarobljen kao pilot Jugoslovenskog ratnog vazduhoplovstva. Lazar je ostao u Čelarevu gde je vodio računa o čelarevskoj pivari, koja se nalazila u mađarskoj okupacionoj zoni. Porodica je uspela, koristeći novac kojim je raspolagala, da spase Dušana iz zarobljeništva i on se krajem 1941. vratio. Dok je bio u zarobljeništvu, radnici pivare preko Crvenog krsta redovno su mu slali pakete, kako bi iskazali poštovanje i zahvalnost zbog brige koju je kao jedan od vlasnika pokazivao prema njima i njihovim porodicama. Nastavio je svoj posao u zrenjaninskoj pivari koja je, kao i ostala slična preduzeća, stavljena u službu okupacione vojske. Do oslobođenja čelarevsku pivaru je vodio samo Lazar, a posle rata je ponovo mogao da sarađuje sa bratom.

Obe fabrike za vreme rata morale su da nastave sa radom. Postojali su posebni kontrolori, pripadnici okupacione vlasti, koji su o tome vodili računa. Naravno, posle rata se niko nije trudio da to razume. Veleposednicima, industrijalcima, ljudima koji su bili sinonim za uspeh u životu, greh se morao naći po svaku cenu. Najlakše ga je bilo naći u lažnoj optužbi za „krivično delo privredne saradnje sa okupatorom“. Dunderskima je konfiskovano i nacionalizovano sve što su imali: palate, zemlja, fabrike, stoka... sve.

Dušan je posle rata hapšen, maltretiran i pod pritiskom je još pre nacionalizacije „poklonio“ zrenjaninsku pivaru Komunističkoj partiji Jugoslavije. Organizovao je posao još neko vreme, ali posle „slučajnog“ požara u jednom pogonu, optužen je za diverziju i zatvoren. Pušten je posle 18 dana. Razočaran, napustio je svoj dom i odselio se u Rijeku, gde je radio kao inženjer. Sofija je do kraja života ostala u Argentinu.

Neposredno posle rata, čelarevska pivara ostala je u vlasništvu Gedeonove dece, ali uskoro je njihova imovina postala državna, a kasnije društvena svojina. Na osnovu Zakona o nacionalizaciji privatnih preduzeća pivara je oduzeta od vlasnika i u posleratnom



*Dušan Dunderski, sin Gedeona Dunderskog – fotografija nastala u Beču dvadesetih godina XX veka. CXXXVII-13 Izvor: ROMS.*

*Dušan Dunderski, son of Gedeon Dunderski – photo made in Vienna in the 1920s. CXXXVII-13 Source: ROMS.*

and industrialists, people who were the embodiment of success in life. It was the easiest to find in false charges of “criminal offence of economic collaboration with the occupying forces”. The state confiscated and nationalised the entire property of the Dunderski family: the palaces, the land, the factories, livestock – everything.

After the war, Dušan was repeatedly arrested, harassed and “donated” the Zrenjanin brewery under pressure to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia even before the nationalisation. He organised the operation for a while longer but, after an “accidental” fire in one of the plants, he was charged with sabotage and arrested. He was released after 18 days. Disappointed, he left his home and moved to Rijeka, where he worked as an engineer. Sofija remained in Argentina until the end of her life.

Immediately after the war, the Čelarevo brewery was still owned by Gedeon's children, but soon their property became state property and later social property. Based on the Law on the Nationalisation of Private Companies, the brewery was confiscated from its owners

# NAVEK SU SA NJOM POJAVE NOVE

## AND ALL AROUND HER, IN CLOUDS SUFFUSING



Sofija Dunderski, udata Dežefi, ćerka Gedeona i Dore Dunderski. Snimak je nastao u Novom Sadu 1924. godine. CXXXVII-24 Izvor: ROMS.

Sofija Dunderski, married Deseuffy, daughter of Gedeon and Dora Dunderski. The photo was made in Novi Sad in 1924. CXXXVII-24 Source: ROMS.



Vojnici Kraljevine Jugoslavije pored aviona dvoseda „Izviđač“, Novi Sad 1936. (foto vlasništvo porodice Živanov, na fotografiji je Kosta Živanov, stoji sam u gornjem delu slike)

Soldiers of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia standing next to the Scout two-seater plane, Novi Sad, 1936. (photo, property of the Živanov family, showing Kosta Živanov standing alone in the upper part of the photo)

periodu izveštaje o proizvodnji u pivari možemo pratiti kroz dokumentaciju Pokrajinskog poljoprivrednog dobra „Čelarevo – Podunavlje“.

Tačno jedan vek nakon nastanka i velikog uzleta, možda najvećoj porodičnoj sagi na ovim prostorima pretio je potpuni krah.

and in the post-war period brewery production reports could be tracked in the documentation of the Čelarevo-Podunavlje Provincial Agricultural Estate.

Exactly one century after its emergence and rise, perhaps the greatest family saga in this region was on the verge of a total collapse.



**„SPOMEN JE NJEZIN  
SVETI MI HRAM“**

(PIVARA OD DRUGOG SVETSKOG RATA DO DANAS)

XIII

**I HOLD HER MEMORY  
A HOLY SHRINE**

(THE BREWERY FROM WORLD WAR II UNTIL TODAY)

# „SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM“

## I HOLD HER MEMORY A HOLY SHRINE

Nakon Drugog svetskog rata obrnuo se poredak vrednosti na kojima je porodica Dunderski podigla svoju imperiju. Na prvom mestu bio je rad. Na drugom solidarnost i humanost. Tek na trećem nalazilo se učešće u društvenom i političkom životu. I to uvek samo onoliko koliko nije šteto osnovnom poslu koji je bio imperativ. Došlo je vreme kada su se stvari postavile naglavačke. Ideologija je dobila prioritet. Ako je drugo zbog ideologije „trpelo“ – tim gore po njih.

U Čelarevu je od poseda Dunderskih osnovano nekoliko preduzeća: „Imanje“, „Pivara“ i „Kudeljara“. Ubrzo je „Imanje“, koje je posedovalo 1000 hektara plodne zemlje, štale i stočni fond sa 500 grla, promenilo ime u „Poljoprivredni kombinat Podunavlje“. Krajem pedesetih godina u sastav preduzeća ušla je „Pivara“.

Godine 1963. pridružuje im se i „Kudeljara“, koja je u to vreme nosila ime „29. novembar“. Posle skoro dve decenije od raspoređivanja Lazareve imovine u Čelarevu, zemljišni posedi, pivara i kudeljara ponovo su činili jedinstvenu celinu.

Mnogo više se investiralo u savremene poljoprivredne mašine, podizanje standarda radnika, njihovo obrazovanje, kao i poboljšanje infrastrukture čitavog mesta, nego u pivaru. Umesto da ona bude lokomotiva koja pokreće stvari, pivara je stidljivo čekala svoju šansu. Recimo, od svoje dve kotlarnice, godinama je koristila samo jednu. Tek šesnaest godina nakon završetka Drugog

After World War II there was a disruption in the order of the values on which the Dunderski family had built their empire. Work came first, and solidarity and humanity came second. The participation in social and political life only came third, and that to the extent that did not harm the core business, which was imperative. Then came a reversal. Ideology was given priority. If other aspects suffered because of ideology – so much the worse for them.

Several companies were established from the Dunderski estate in Čelarevo: Estate, Brewery and Hemp Cord Factory. Estate, which owned 1,000 hectares of fertile land, stables and 500 head of cattle, changed its name to the Podunavlje Agricultural Estate. The Brewery was integrated into this company in the late 1950s. In 1963 they were joined by Hemp Cord Factory, whose name at that time was 29th November. Almost two decades after the fragmentation of Lazar's property in Čelarevo, the land, the brewery and the hemp cord factory constituted a single unit again.

Much more was invested in modern agricultural machines, the increase in the workers' standard of living, their education, as well as the improvement of the infrastructure of the entire town than in the brewery. Instead of being the driver, the brewery shyly waited for its chance. For example, it used only one of its two boiler rooms for years. The second boiler room was cleaned and made operational as late as sixteen years after the end of World War II. In the same year, 1962, a decision was made to build two new units in the brewery: one for bottling, with a capacity of 800 bottles per hour, and one for the production of liqueur and Cockta. A building was constructed for this purpose. This investment doubled the beer production from 4,000 tons to 8,000 tons per year.

Many things were still done in a traditional manner, just as in the past. Barrel making was especially interesting. Barrels of different capacity were made: 12.5, 25, 50, 100 and 200 litres. The barrel interior was coated with resin, preserving beer aroma and quality. After their return to the factory after use, the barrels were washed and coated with resin, and then filled with fresh beer. Barrels with taps were particularly attractive. In the 1960s, glass bottles were still rare and beer was still poured in the old-fashioned way and sold in barrels.

Freshly produced beer was poured into large-volume barrels, which were placed in aging cellars. After three months of aging, the beer was passed through filters and only then poured in smaller-volume kegs and sent to buyers. Interestingly, beer was cooled in cellars using blocks of ice cut out from the Danube and transported by cart to the brewery. The use of barrels for beer storage and transport gradually ceased and aluminium barrels have been used since 1968. A great step in beer storage was the purchase of a



Staklene krige sa poklopcem s početka 20. veka, korišćene u kafanama i bogatijim kućama toga doba.

Glass mugs with lids, early 20th century, used in cafés and well-off homes of that time.

svetskog rata, očišćena je i osposobljena za rad i druga kotlarnica. Iste te 1962. godine odlučeno je da se izgrade dva nova odeljenja u pivari: jedno za punjenje boca sa kapacitetom 800 flaša na čas i odeljenje za proizvodnju likera i kokte. U tu svrhu je izgrađena zgrada. Proizvodnja piva je ovim ulaganjem duplirana sa 400 na 800 vagona godišnje.

Mnogo toga još se radilo na tradicionalan način, baš kao nekad. Posebno zanimljiv bio je pinteraj. Pravila su se burad različite zapremine: 12,5 litara, 25, 50, 100 i 200 litara. Unutrašnjost bureta oblagala se smolom, čime se se čuvali aroma i kvalitet piva. Po povratku sa terena, burad su prana i „smolisana“, a zatim punjena svežim pivom. Naročito su bila atraktivna burad sa slavinama. Još šezdesetih godina, staklenih boca bilo je veoma malo i pivo se i dalje punilo na starinski način, i prodavalo u buradima.

Sveže proizvedeno pivo punilo se u burad velike zapremine koja su odlagana u „ležne“ podrumne. Nakon tri meseca „odležavanja“, pivo je propuštano kroz filtere i tek tada se punilo u burad manje

fermenter in 1975. In the 1960s the Čelarevo brewery produced: Standard Beer, Dark Beer made of roast barley, Export-Import or Special Beer, as well as Tref Dark-Special Beer. The production of Löwenbräu beer began in 1975. Since the 1980s to date, Lav beer has been the best known and most popular beer brand. A major milestone in the development of the brewery was in 1985, when a modern beer bottling plant was built.

The importance of technology development for beer production and the speed of progress are demonstrated by the news from the period of post-war development of the Čelarevo brewery. The first automated bottling machine arrived in the factory in 1959. Its capacity was 3,500 bottles per hour. Already in 1963 we find the news telling us the following: “In late April, a new bottling unit was put in operation, with a capacity of 8,000 bottles per hour. The demand for beer is constantly on the rise.” And in 1981, the news said: “A new plant started to operate at the brewery, enabling a 3.5 times higher production of beer from now on. In May, 40,000 bottles are filled per hour.”



Drvena gajba za pivo sa utisnutim natpisom „Dunderski“ i brojem 31.

Wooden beer crate with impressed inscription “Dunderski” and the number 31.

„SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM“

I HOLD HER MEMORY A HOLY SHRINE



Različite ambalaže za Lav i Lav premium pivo, pre 20-tak godina.  
Various packaging for the Lav and Lav Premium beers, app. 20 years ago.

# „SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM“

## I HOLD HER MEMORY A HOLY SHRINE

zapremine i slalo na teren. Zanimljivo je da se pivo u podrumima hladilo tablama leda koje su sečene na Dunavu i zapregom se prevozile do pivare. Upotreba buradi za čuvanje i transport piva postepeno prestaje, a od 1968. godine korišćena su aluminijumska burad. Veliki korak u skladištenju piva predstavlja kupovina fermentora 1975. godine. Šezdesetih godina u čelarevskoj pivari proizvodilo se: Standard pivo, Crno pivo od prženog ječma, Export-import ili Special pivo, kao i Trefcrno-special pivo. Od 1975. godine počinje proizvodnja Lowenbrau piva. Od osamdesetih, Lav pivo postaje najpoznatiji i najtraženiji pivski brend čelarevske pivare sve do danas. Veliki trenutak u razvoju pivare desio se 1985. godine, kada je sagrađena moderna flašara ili pogon za punjenje piva.

Koliko je razvoj tehnike značajan za proizvodnju piva i koliko se brzo napredovalo, govore vesti iz posleratnog razvoja čelarevske pivare. Godine 1959. u fabriku je stigla prva mašina za automatsko punjenje flaša. Njen kapacitet je bio 3500 flaša na čas. Već 1963. nailazimo na vest koja kaže: „Krajem aprila pušteno je u pogon novo odeljenje za punjenje boca kapaciteta 8000 boca na čas. Potražnja piva neprestano raste.“ A 1981. godine, jedna od vesti glasila je: „U pivari je proradio novi pogon: zahvaljujući njemu, proizvodiće se 3,5 puta više piva nego dosad. U maju se puni 40.000 boca na sat.“

Ostalo je upamćeno da je nova flašara, sa punjenjem od 40.000 flaša na sat, unela pravu pometnju. To je bilo više nego što su radnici mogli da stave u gajbe. Pridružili su im se svi zaposleni u „Podunavlju“, službenici, poljoprivrednici... Koliko god su se trudili, nova flašara je radila mnogo brže od svih njih. Zbog povećane proizvodnje, pojavila se potreba za modernizacijom pivare.

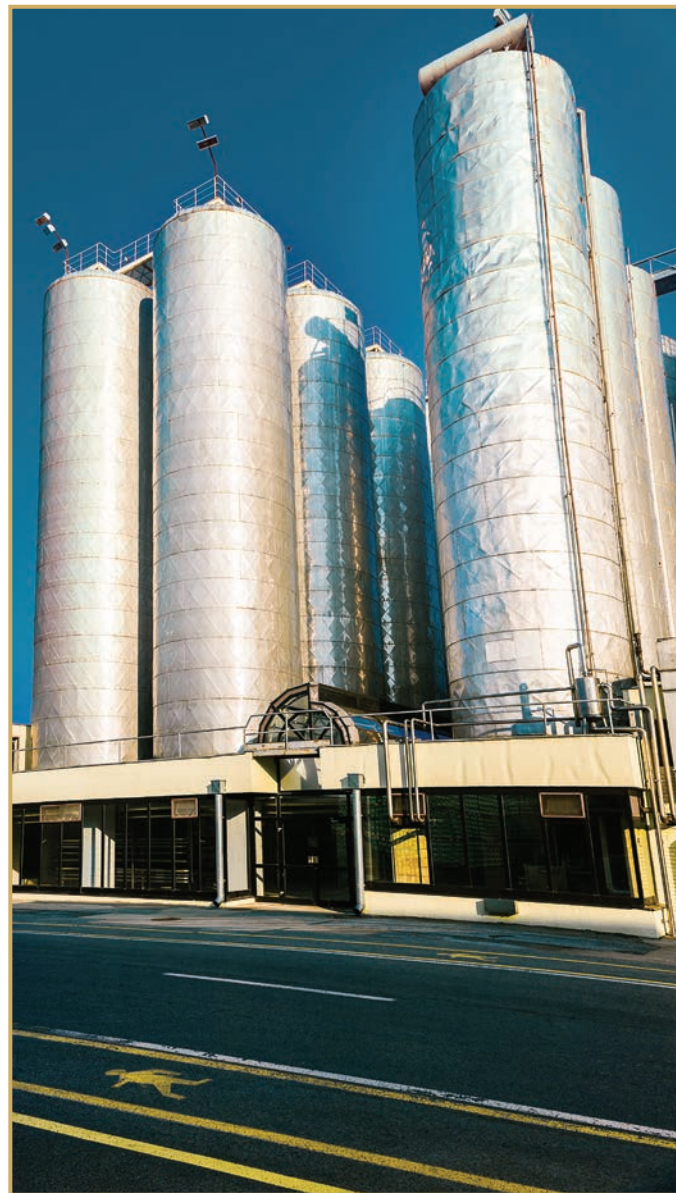
Izgrađena je nova punionica. Oprema za nju je naručena iz Nemačke. Montirane su nova mašina za pranje flaša i laboratorija. Stare mašine za punjenje flaša korišćene su i dalje, ali ne za punjenje piva, nego sokova. Ležni podrumi više nisu zadovoljavali potrebe pivare, pa su izgrađeni fermentatori za više od sto vagona hmelja. Četiri ogromna fermentatora koja su se uzdizala visoko u dvorištu pivare označavala su bržu i lakšu proizvodnju piva. U podrumu starog dvorca Dunderskih, koji je bio pretvoren u muzej starog stilskog nameštaja, nalazila se fabrička pivnica.

Pivara je početkom devedesetih godina 20. veka imala već 40 svojih prodavnica u čitavoj Jugoslaviji, pa se pojavila potreba za novim ulaganjima. Zbog preopterećenosti je dolazilo do kvarova

*Fermentori u pivari u Čelarevu.  
Fermenters at the Čelarevo brewery.*

Notably, the new bottling plant, filling 40,000 bottles per hour, caused quite a stir. This exceeded the capacity of the workers to fill the crates. They were joined by all employees at Podunavlje, administrative staff, farmers... No matter how hard they tried, the new bottling plant worked much faster than all of them together. The increased production led to the need for the modernisation of the brewery.

A new bottling plant was built. The equipment for it was ordered from Germany. A new bottle washing machine and a lab were



i zastoja u proizvodnji, pa je odlučeno da se obnove uređaji za punjenje boca, koji su se najčešće kvarili. Nabavljena je nova linija mašina za flaširanje, a izvršen je remont stare.

Proslava stogodišnjice osnivanja fabrike 1992. bila je sjajna prilika da se gosti upoznaju sa radom pivare i podsete svih uspeha i iskušenja koje je fabrika imala. Bilo je planirano svečano otvaranje nove varione. Nažalost, okolnosti su krenule u sasvim drugom pravcu. Ratovi i raspad Jugoslavije, sankcije, smanjenje tržišta, bile su činjenice preko kojih se nije moglo preći. I u Čelarevo su stizali konvoji sa izbeglicama. Poslovni planovi naprečac su zaboravljeni. Umesto velike proslave, sledila je decenija nedaća koje su dolazile jedna za drugom. Pivara je opstala.

Godine 1995. razmišljalo se o uvođenju treće linije za punjenje boca, pošto su se ispred fabrike stvarali redovi kamiona koji su čekali utovar piva. Pivara je i dalje važila za jednu od najsavremenijih na Balkanu, naročito posle postavljanja još osam velikih cisterni i novih fermentora.

Konačno, od 2003. godine, čelarevska pivara je deo Carlsberg grupacije, koja je jedna od četiri najveće internacionalne pivare u svetu. U okviru pivare 2008. otvoren je Muzej piva posvećen osnivaču čelarevske pivare Lazaru Dunderskom. Urađen je po ugledu na muzej koji postoji u centrali Carlsberga u Kopenhagenu. Početkom 2015. godine, osnovana je „Carlsberg i Dunderski“ fondacija sa ciljem da svojim ulaganjem pomogne razvoj nauke i obrazovanja, očuvanje kulturne baštine, zaštitu životne sredine, kao i podizanje svesti društva o aktuelnim socijalnim problemima. Za prvog počasnog predsednika Fondacije izabran je Nikola Tanurđić, praunuk Lazara Dunderskog. Mnogobrojni radovi mladih naučnika i inovatora dokaz su da je Fondacija stekla veliki ugled i poštovanje u regionu.

Simboličan krug je zatvoren. Pivara se vratila vrednostima iz kojih je izrasla.

installed. The old bottling machines still remained in use, but not for bottling beer but soft drinks. The aging cellars no longer met the needs of the brewery, so fermenters were built for more than 1,000 tons of hops. The four huge fermenters that towered over the brewery yard brought faster and easier beer production. A factory taphouse was in the cellar of the old Dunderski manor, which was turned into a museum of old period furniture.

In the early 1990s, the brewery already had 40 stores throughout Yugoslavia, so new investment was required. There were breakdowns and interruptions in production due to work overload, so a decision was made to renew the bottling equipment, which broke down most often. A new bottling line was purchased and the old one was overhauled.

The 100th anniversary of the factory establishment in 1992 was a great opportunity for the guests to get informed about the brewery operation and reminded of all the successes and challenges of the factory. A formal opening of the brewing plant was planned. Unfortunately, the circumstances moved in a totally different direction. The wars and the break-up of Yugoslavia, sanctions and market shrinking were the facts that could not be ignored. Convoys of refugees arrived in Čelarevo as well. The business plans were abruptly abandoned. Instead of the grand celebration, there followed a decade of continuous hardship. The brewery survived.

In 1995, there were some ideas to introduce a third bottling line because of the lines of trucks awaiting beer loading forming in front of the factory. The brewery was still considered to be one of the most modern breweries in the Balkans, especially after the installation of another eight large tanks and new fermenters.

Finally, since 2003 the Čelarevo brewery has been a part of Carlsberg Group, one of the four largest international breweries in the world. A Beer Museum was opened at the brewery in 2008, dedicated to the founder of the Čelarevo brewery Lazar Dunderski. It was designed after the museum at the Carlsberg headquarters in Copenhagen. In early 2015, the Carlsberg & Dunderski Foundation was established with the aim of supporting the development of science and education, cultural heritage preservation, environmental protection, as well as the raising of social awareness of current social problems. Nikola Tanurđić, great-grandson of Lazar Dunderski, was elected the first honorary Chairperson of the Foundation. Numerous works of young scientists and innovators demonstrate that the Foundation has acquired a great reputation and respect in the region.

A symbolic circle has been closed. The brewery returned to the values from which it had risen.

„SPOMEN JE NJEZIN SVETI MI HRAM“  
| HOLD HER MEMORY A HOLY SHRINE



Čelarevska pivara, koja je nekada pripadala Lazaru Dunderskom, danas je vlasništvo Carlsberg grupacije.

Čelarevo brewery, once belonging to Lazar Dunderski, currently owned by Carlsberg Group.