

RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTER CENDO

Melita Švob

# **JEWS IN CROATIA**

**demographic and historical research**

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Melita Švob: RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTER CENDO

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DEMOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH

**MELITA ŠVOB**

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## Introduction

This book is dedicated to those who survived the Holocaust. This generation not only went through the horrors of the Holocaust (many of them as children) but afterwards rebuilt Jewish communities, founded families, made up for the lost years of schooling, achieved successful careers and made contributions to society as a whole.

They are the only actual witnesses of the Holocaust who had to live with the memories of the horrors they experienced, the loss of loved ones, loss of property and years of education, suffering the physical and psychological consequences of the Holocaust, and depending on aids from humanitarian organisations and Jewish communities.

Holocaust survivors are somehow the last witnesses of the way of life that has disappeared and Jewish organisations that no longer exist. They are the only ones who can testify about the constant “battle” in which Jews had to be acknowledged as citizens and members of society.

Previous research has focused chiefly on Holocaust victims. Great attention was devoted (and is still dedicated) to the memory of the Holocaust – by organising commemorations on cemeteries, concentration camps and other places where Jews perished. These commemorations occasionally turned into a kind of political manifestation.

After World War II, the Jewish victims of the Holocaust, along with the significant participation of Jews in the anti-fascist resistance, provided the Jews with the status of both victims and victors. Attention was paid to memorial architecture, while the old Jewish heritage, the few remaining synagogues and numerous Jewish cemeteries, was neglected. That has also been the case with archival and journalistic activity, where the memory of suffering dominated.

In this process, the Holocaust survivors have the role of witnesses. Their memories, testimonies, lectures, and research should confirm the Holocaust and its victims.

In this book, we have collected “pieces” of the survivors’ memory from Jewish life before the Holocaust: organisation, cultural life, schooling, occupations, tradition, family life, and demographic and social changes.

It is essential to know that they participated in the anti-fascist movement in almost impossible circumstances, that they showed solidarity and organised living in the camps, whether they were refugees or prisoners.

In this book, for the first time, we publish the preliminary results of our research on Holocaust survivors in Croatia from the database along with numerous collected documents, photographs and interviews, which we published in our books and articles in over twenty years of work in the Research and Documentation Centre which I established after my retirement.

We have also paid attention to the role of Jewish communities during World War II in protecting and supporting their members. We look at the changes in the organisation of communities and their transformation from religious to social and cultural, and vice versa.

One of the tasks of this book is also to represent a kind of “memory book” for a unique generation that lived and survived childhood in pre-war Yugoslavia, fought and suffered in World War II, worked and built socialism, and finally, after its collapse, returned to its roots.



ĐAKOVO cemetery rabi kadiš



Comemoration in Jasenovac



Jewish delegation in Jasenovac

## **Jewish population in Europe**

The Jews, who survived the Holocaust, during their 80 and even 90 years of life, went through quite a few big changes. They are most often referred to as witnesses of the Holocaust, but they are also witnesses of the pre-war, war and post-war Jewish way of life, in which they not only preserved their Jewish identity but also their organized Jewish community.

The latest research pays special attention to the Jewish population in Europe and the changes after World War II. It is believed that these changes were most influenced by three major political events:

- The creation of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948, which today has one of the largest Jewish populations (along with the USA).
- The end of “colonialism” in Africa and Asia caused large migrations and the disappearance of Jewish communities in those areas. Due to the migration of Jews from former colonies, France became the country with the largest Jewish population in Europe.
- The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe led to the “emptying” of Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Almost 2 million Jews left Eastern Europe, and over a million of them came to Israel. Between 1970 and 2020, according to research by JPR and Della Pergola, Europe lost 59% of its Jewish population, with Eastern Europe losing as much as 85% (Western Europe 9%).

European Jews continue to have a great influence on world Jewry because the Jews in today's largest Jewish communities (in the USA and Israel) are mostly of European origin. Only 1,329,400 Jews lived in Europe on January 1, 2020 (Della Pergola), of which 788,800 lived in the countries of the European Union (excluding the UK). In the four republics of the former Soviet Union, 210,400 Jews lived (without the three Baltic countries), in other European countries there were 330,200 Jews. The estimate that there are 1,329,400 Jews in Europe refers to the “core” Jewish population, which consists of adults who define themselves as Jews, and children who are raised as Jews. However, apart from it, there are also so-called peripheral wider Jewish population. If the basic population in Europe were to be joined by the extended population, then the Jewish population in Europe would total 2,325,300.

However, each country has its own specifics and reasons why the Jewish population decreases, stagnates or increases. Such an example is France, where it is estimated that since 2000, around 100,000 Jews and their family members have left France. The estimate of French Jewry is 448,000.

Germany was characterized by large immigration of Jews, but after the reduction of incentives by the German government, immigration was reduced to a few hundred per year. The immigration of Israelis (33,321) to Germany is significant; most of them have retained their Israeli citizenship. The estimate of German Jewry is 275,000.

In the Netherlands, there is a large number of mixed marriages, the number of old people is increasing and the number of Israelis is increasing. In the strictly orthodox community in Antwerp, 73% of Jews were members of synagogues, while in Brussels there were only 2%.



Since 2000, emigration has increased. The Jewish population is estimated at 29,000.

For Hungary, the estimate is 130,000 Jews (base population 47,200), for Italy 29,800.

It is interesting how the Jewish population in our country and the countries of the former Yugoslavia is estimated today: Slovenia 100 Jews, Serbia 1,400, Bosnia and Herzegovina 500, and North Macedonia 54 Jews. There are an estimated 1,700 Jews in Croatia.

Anti-Semitism, emigration and assimilation are generally considered to be the main factors influencing the decrease of the Jewish population in a country.

However, there is, apart from emigration, also immigration of Jews to Europe of over 100,000, of which about 70,000 are immigrants from Israel, among them are descendants of those who went to Israel earlier.

### **Research by individual countries shows significant differences.**

Jewish communities in the Western European social system are mostly considered religious communities. Jews in these countries have individual civil rights, and the relationship towards communities depends on society's attitude towards minorities and on the degree of tolerance in society.

There are especially large differences between communities in Western and Eastern European post-communist communities' countries where Jewish communities are considered ethnic or national groups (minorities).

Significant factors that influence the demographic picture of a population can be seen as relationship between birth and deaths, the relationship between immigration and emigration and whether there is a connection with Judaism (secularization).

Family and marriage are one of the most important factors in preserving the Jewish population regardless to the fact that new forms of family appeared (cohabitation, registered partnership without marriage, families with only one parent and families with partners of the same sex).

Recently, there has been an increase in the number of Jewish adults (aged 30-39), who has never married. For example, in Italy, 46% of women and 56% of men of that age have never married.

For the growth of the Jewish population, it is important how many "Haredi" communities there are because of their high fertility.

The importance of mixed marriages in the Jewish population is great because the number of children from these marriages not comes to Jewish communities and accepts Judaism.

Anti-Semitism, but also the very perception of its existence, has a great influence on the decisions of Jews whether to stay or migrate to other countries. The size of a community is also important, because large communities have a greater influence on society of the country where Jews live, and they can improve their status and influence on their security, achievement rights and their cultural autonomy.

The Jewish population in the world, as well as in our country, is undergoing significant and rapid changes. Almost every generation lives in different social, economic, and geographical conditions. According to Della Pergola, these changes are monitored through several

fundamental determinants: the balance between vital events such as birth and death, immigration and emigration, and the identification of Jews.

There are significant differences among countries. Thus, Israel has a positive balance of vital characteristics, while this balance is negative in the diaspora. The international migration balance is positive for Israel, the USA, Australia and Germany. The growing number of anti-Semitic attacks on European Jewish communities is becoming a significant factor in their lives. The basic trends in the Jewish population (except in Israel) are the ageing of the Jewish population, low fertility, significant migration, and a weaker connection to Judaism, which is associated with an increase in mixed marriages and a large number of children from these marriages.

The attitude to mixed marriages differs by country. Mixed marriages have always existed, but they were rare and regulated by community regulations, thus having no significant impact. Nowadays, some consider the high increase of mixed marriages dangerous for the Jewish population because children from such marriages (not all) do not identify as Jews; they are not raised in Judaism and are not connected to the community. Nonetheless, mixed marriages are considered a sign of successful social integration into society and have enabled the restoration and survival of communities decimated by the Holocaust. According to some authors, acceptance of mixed marriages is a sign of good social relations, reducing racism, social segregation, and antagonism in communities.

Scientists from JPR (Institute for Jewish Policy and Research, London) conducted extensive research into mixed marriages and new forms of life partnerships and their impact on children and their identification as Jews. They have established that in a new form of a life partnership, which they call "cohabitation", or living together without officially getting married (more common among the younger generation and secular Jews), partners often delay having children. Even when these couples have children, they are less likely to raise them in the Jewish spirit. Cohabitation leads to a decrease in marriages, women are getting into marriage older, the age of women at first childbirth is higher, and the number of children is lower. At the same time, we also must consider the current social changes in the position of women, their high education and participation in the workforce in countries and communities.

Today's Jewish communities include several generations of Jews, each having a different status in the community and attitude towards marriage, children and education.



## The historical and legal foundation of Jewish settlement

In order to understand the process of the settlement of Jews in Croatia and to analyse the population census data, one should know the legal and other conditions which determined the arrival, residence and rights of Jews in that period.

After Jews had been banished from Croatia and Zagreb, they did not return until the second half of the 18th century. First, they appeared as peddlers and got residence permits for several days.

In 1729, the Croatian Parliament (*Sabor*) prohibited the permanent residence of Jews in Croatia. This decision was valid for a long time until a conference on 8 July 1771, when Zagreb County passed a decision to allow Jews to stay for three days for trading. On 20 September of the same year, the County granted them permission to come to annual markets and exhibit their merchandise (Schwarz, 1939). At that time, they still had no right to settle.

The Patent on Tolerance, issued by Emperor Joseph II, which made the position of Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy easier, also referred to the Jews who lived in Croatia. The Patent on Tolerance gave Jews the right to visit public restaurants, live among Christians, have several servants, etc. They were able to establish their elementary schools and were allowed to attend high schools and academies of arts. However, they got neither civil nor master's rights and were not allowed to acquire goods or houses. The tolerance referred only to the "head of the family and to dependent children, not to all sons of a tolerated father who married and wanted to establish their household or to daughters who married a "no-tolerate or foreign Jew". Consequently, a widow or a daughter who wanted to marry such a Jew was obliged to leave the town. This is probably why in the 1857 census, only a few Jews (one or two families) lived in smaller settlements around towns.

Special permits were needed to settle, which were made only for the persons to whom they were granted. So, in 1746, Empress Maria Theresa permitted 11 Jews, whose names were listed by name, to settle in the lower town of Osijek.

At the same time, the residence permit did not mean they were allowed to own a house, other properties, or land or engage in any business or handicraft.

Jews had to pay tolerance taxes for their residence, marriages, market participation, etc. In Zagreb, 38 Jewish families paid tolerance tax in 1838, which amounted to 600 forints in 1842.

At the congress of all Jewish deputies in Pest, Hungary, in 1846, the tolerance tax was redeemed by 1,200,000 forints (within ten years), and Zagreb received a share of 8,105 forints.

In 1807, a decree on the settlement of Jews in Varaždin was issued and comprised five chapters and 72 paragraphs. By this decree, 20 Jewish families received permission to settle in Varaždin, and they were also allowed to build a synagogue, ritual bath (mikvah), and cemetery and to have a rabbi.

It was a time when Jews were under strict surveillance, and there were laws, rules and penalties for any non-observance of the regulations. There were tough penalties for non-reporting a Jewish newcomer or someone who moved in with a wife's family. The rabbi and the family would be fined 20 ducats for the first offence, sentenced to a month in prison for the second, and expulsion for the third offence.

Permits could be revoked and Jews expelled, but they might be allowed to return.

In 1840, Jews were granted permission to settle in Croatia, except in mining places. The 1848 Constitution declared national equality (including Jews), but in 1853, the property-holding ban for Jews was reinstated (however, they were allowed to keep property bought between 1848 and 1853).

Protestants and Jews had no right to confess their faith publicly or to own property as late as 18 February 1860, when they were permitted to own property and land if they cultivated it by themselves. They got the right to establish handicrafts in 1840, but for them, it was allowed to hold Jewish apprentices only. Their request to be allowed to have Christian assistants (dated 23 April 1843) was denied.

The issues of religion and education were under the authority of the Croatian Parliament, according to the Croato-Hungarian agreement (1868). In 1873, the Parliament enacted a law ensuring civil and political equality for the members of the Israelite faith (as Jews were called at that time). Gradually the position of religious communities was regulated by laws that guaranteed the freedom of religion and religious association.

In 1905, the Croatian Government introduced two laws: on religious relations and the regulation of Israelite communities to the Parliament, which became valid on 7 February 1906. On 9 February 1905, the representatives of 20 Jewish communities (3 excused themselves) met in Zagreb to discuss the Law and give their comments.

Affiliation to a Jewish community was obligatory by the 1896 Law. Only one commune was allowed to exist per settlement, while all former ones (for example, orthodox and "Neolog") were cancelled as public and legal institutions. Their members automatically became members of a single, united community.

## **The settlement of Jews in Croatia**

The settlement of Jews in Croatia began in the time of the first Diaspora, and evidence of their residence can be found in Roman colonies in our regions (Salona, Mursa and others).

Frequent changes in political and economic circumstances in Croatia and, thereby, of the legislature influenced the settlement of Jews. They determined the organisation and size of Jewish communities and Jewish internal migration to towns.

Medieval Jewish communities in Croatia and Zagreb were rare, but documents from 1444 and 1459 show that Jews lived in Zagreb. In 1527, they were expelled from Zagreb and Croatia and appeared again in the middle of the 18th century, first as pedlars and gradually as the inhabitants of several settlements with special permission. Not until 1840 did they manage to get settlement permits in Croatia.

The continuous existence of Jews is recorded in Dalmatia, especially in the towns of Dubrovnik and Split. Jews in Dalmatia were always linked to urban environments, and their number did not significantly change.

Jews immigrated to Croatia from various parts of the world; consequently, their origins differed. Therefore, in the 15th century, exiled Sephardim Jews from Spain and Portugal joined the Jews from old communities in Dalmatia. At the same time, afterwards, they came from southern Italy and finally, during the reign of Austro-Hungary in Dalmatia, Ashkenazi Jews came from Central Europe to these regions.

In northern Croatia, especially after the “tolerance laws” of the end of the 18th century, the Ashkenazim mostly came from Central Europe.

They travelled across Burgenland and Hungary and settled in smaller market towns and villages near the Hungarian border and later in the towns of Varaždin, Zagreb and Karlovac, spreading little by little. Their number rapidly increased in Zagreb. The Sephardim also came to Zagreb and founded their community in 1926 with around 120 members.

Jews mostly came to Slavonia across Hungary, settling at first in villages and later in towns. First, they were granted special permission by Empress Maria Theresa to settle in Osijek, where a large community developed quickly. Some Jews came to Slavonia from Zemun, where the Jews from Belgrade took shelter after this town had come under Turkish rule.

In the Military Frontier (Vojna Krajina), the settlement of Jews was forbidden until the '80s of the 19th century (except in Zemun, where separate Ashkenazi and Sephardim communities existed). Later, after the abolition of the Military Frontier, Jews gradually settled these territories, only in regions of Lika and Krbava; there were never many.

Jews expelled from Carniola and Styria came to Međimurje and settled in small towns and marketplaces. A significant number of them took up residence in Čakovec.

After the persecution of Jews in Poland, Russia and Romania, Jewish refugees passed through Croatia, and some remained there.

After the 1930s, as the Nazis gained power in Germany, refugees from that part of Europe took shelter in Croatia, and some of them suffered together with the Croatian Jews during the Holocaust.

The settlement of Jews in northern Croatia and Slavonia forms part of the tremendous global migration flows of the 18th and 19th centuries when many other nationalities (Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and others) immigrated to Croatia. First, they were stimulated to settle because the land was devastated by war with Turkey, especially Slavonia, and later on account of the influence of "Germanisation" and "Hungarianisation" of Croatia as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Heršak has examined the changes in the population structure after the Ottoman conquest and retreats.

Unlike other immigrants, the arrival of Jews was limited (till 1840). They were forbidden to own land and properties until 1860 when they were allowed to own as much land as they could cultivate by themselves.

In 1873, the Croatian Parliament passed a civil and political equality law while the freedom of religious association was regulated on 2 February 1906.

Due to the unique Jewish position, their settlement and later internal migration differ from the migration of other populations in the urbanisation of Croatia.

A considerable number of Jews immigrated to Croatia between 1880 and 1910 (according to census data), so their number increased from 13,488 to 21,013. After this period, the immigration of Jews was finished for the most part and was replaced by internal migration and the concentration of Jews in towns. In 1910, half of Jews lived in towns, while in 1931, over three-quarters were town-dwellers.

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there were organised Jewish communities and synagogues were built, around which other institutions developed according to the tradition of Judaism (Chevra Kadisha, schools, charitable organisations and others).

Events and changes in Europe between the two World Wars have reflected on Jewish communities in Croatia and elsewhere. This way, the processes of Enlightenment, "the Haskalah", and assimilation took place in Croatia. At the same time, some Jews persisted in their tradition and formed a separate, detached orthodox community (in Zagreb).

The development of Zionism was swift and persistent in Croatia; it specially developed among the young, who founded many associations to aid and prepare Aliyah to Palestine.

There were differences in Jewish women's organisations, too. Besides traditional benevolent humanitarian organisations, Zionist women developed organisations among which girls' organisations were particularly active.

Education and studies for young people (medical and legal professions, as well as others) were particularly stimulated at that time, providing them with opportunities to take part in the country's economic and cultural life and development.

A gradual stratification of the Jewish population occurred, especially during economic crises when many members ended up poor. The community tried to ease the situation through its traditional solidarity and humanitarian actions.

During the Holocaust, about 80 per cent of Jews in Croatia were killed or suffered, and the whole flourishing community was destroyed. Only a small number of Jews were rescued; some managed to leave for Palestine in the first Aliyah, some fled on time, and some managed to join the National Liberation Army, as did the Jews from the Italian zone and camps in the island of Rab. People from the home for the elderly hidden on the estate of cardinal Stepinac were also rescued, as were some Jews from mixed marriages or those who were hidden, often with the assistance of Croats.

After the War, the Jews who survived slowly returned, mostly to Zagreb, where the Jewish Community organised reception and assistance; thus, the work of the Community slowly resumed.

Between 1948 and 1952, about half of the Croatian Jews who survived went to Israel, and some later returned.

Those who survived the Holocaust and remained in Croatia managed to organise the Community's life under then-existing conditions and preserve Jewish tradition to some extent.

After Croatia gained independence in 1991, the Coordination of Jewish communities (10 communities) was established.



Old Jewish cemetery

## **The foundation of Jewish communities in Croatia**

If we look in the history for the origin of the first Jewish communities, they have origin in the first Jewish diaspora. When Jerusalem was destroyed by Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar in 567 AD, Jewish population was sent into captivity in Babylon, in Euphrates valley. They, during the time, established a kind of new organization of life and rules for behaviour in foreign country. Jews gathered during the holiday in houses for gathering Beit Knesset from which synagogues developed. Synagogue existed at the same time in Babylon diaspora and in Jerusalem after return Jews (Persian king Kir) and build the second temple (in year 515 AD).

The foundation of Jewish communities in Croatia and the organisation of life in them depended on the position and rights the Jewish people possessed for centuries. Frequent changes in political and economic circumstances and, thereby, the legislature had influenced the settlement of Jews who immigrated to Croatia from various parts of the world, and their origin differed as well. But these processes continue till the present time with migration and redistribution of Jews on the European and global levels.

In the process of Jewish settlement in Croatia, several periods can be distinguished from the 18th century onwards. In the first period, their presence was restricted; they could come as pedlars for only several days to be present at markets. In the second period, they had to obtain special permits for staying in a particular town and get a special emperor's permit to buy community buildings and land for their cemeteries.

The patent of tolerance, issued by the emperor Joseph II made the position of Jews in the Habsburg Empire easier. By the Patent of Tolerance, Jews could attend high schools and academies of arts. The tolerance referred only to the heads of families and children to be provided for but not to all sons or daughters who married non-tolerated Jews.

Jews had to pay tolerant taxes for their residence, marriages, participation in markets, etc. At the congress of Jewish deputies in Pest in 1846, the tolerant tax was redeemed by 1,200,000 forints (within 10 years). In 1840, the Jews were granted permission to settle in Croatia except in mining places. In February 1860, Jews were permitted to own properties and land (if they cultivated it for themselves). In 1873, the Parliament enacted a law ensuring civil and political equality. In 1905, the government submitted to the Parliament a bill on religious relations and a bill on the regulation of Israelite Communes, which was adopted as a law on 7 February 1906. During this third period, Jews owned properties, founded their communities and built synagogues.

Almost every Jewish community in Croatia had a history of gradual settlement and forming its institution. According to the 1857 population census, Jews were registered in 330 populated places and mixed with other inhabitants of different nationalities or religious affiliations.



## First censuses

The ethnic picture of Croatia, especially of the part conquered by Turkey (Slavonia), changed during the war with the Turks and in the post-war period. The original population escaped, only to be replaced by a new population (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1993).

The majority of settlements were devastated. The feudal social system lasted until as late as 1848. Most Croatian noblemen lost their lives (Sršen, 1994), and liberated territories were given to foreign nobility.

Many Germans and Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and others arrived at the invitation of the owners of estates who needed labour forces. The Germans came from Banat and Bačka and formed large estates. Along with the immigration of the foreign population to Croatia, a considerable number of Croatian people left the country.

In 1857, the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was divided into a civilian and military part (the "Military frontier" or "Krajina"). Military frontier occupied a territory of 393 square miles. Mainly Wallachian population settled, and they had military organization and special "Wallachian rights".

According to the 1857 population census, the territory of Croatia was divided into the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and the Kingdom of Dalmatia.

We used a detailed description about Jewish settlement from *Miestopisni rječnik* by V. Sabljar (1866). List of settlements from 1857 records all places in which Jews lived as well as their number. The Jews were registered in 330 populated places, although sometimes only a few lived there, while in only four towns (Čakovec, Varaždin, Osijek and Zagreb) were there more than 300 Jews. The Jews, for the most part, mixed with the other inhabitants so they could be found in mixed settlements where people of different nationalities or religious beliefs lived together. At that time, no synagogues had yet been erected. In Croatia and Slavonia, the Jews first settled in smaller villages, market towns and small towns. Only later, parallel with the development of towns and the economy, they moved to larger towns.

According to Sabljar, Croatia (civil part) had 555,823 inhabitants and 326,062 inhabitants in Slavonia (altogether 881,885). In the military part of Croatia, there were 539,950 inhabitants, and in military Slavonia, 326,062 inhabitants (making a total of 726,389).

According to V. Sabljar's data, there were 2,055 Jews in Civilian Croatia and 3,172 Jews in Civilian Slavonia in 1857. At the same time, in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, there were 404,499 inhabitants, 390 of whom were Jews who mainly settled in Dubrovnik (120) and Split (80). In Međimurje, of the total of 58,721 inhabitants, 551 were Jews (0.93 per cent).

The results of the 1857 population census made by M. Gross (1985) differ from those of V. Sabljar: there were 608,594 inhabitants in Croatia, and in 256,425 in Slavonia, thus altogether there were 865,009 inhabitants, 5,132 of whom were Jews, in the civilian part of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.

In his preface to the book by Mirko Korenčić: *Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857–1971* (Settlements and Population of the Republic of Croatia 1857–1971), Vladimir Stipetić calls attention to the differences in these two records also with data in some places.



Croatia and Slavonia in year 1856  
Civil part are dark, military part is white with 10 “generalats”  
From the book Mirjana Gross: *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*



## **Jews in the censuses of Croatia and Slavonia from 1880 until 1910**

The population of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia from 1850 until 1910 increased in two ways: by natural increase, that is, by high birth rate and by immigration (Lakatos, 1814). The smallest population increase was in 1869–1880 due to hard post-war years and infectious diseases (a cholera epidemic in 1873).

After that period, the population growth was relatively high, although it differs from one county to the other; thus, between 1900–1910, the highest increase was in Požeška County (15.7 %) and the smallest in Modruš-Rijeka County, with only 1.4 %. Moreover, a drop in the population was registered in Ličko-Krbavska County (-2.2 %) due to emigration from this region. As for towns, the population increased in different ways. The highest increase was registered in Osijek (25.9 %) and Zagreb (29.6 %), somewhat less in Varaždin (10.1 %), followed by Požega and Sisak.

Population growth in towns was not the result of natural increase because the birth rate was lower in towns than in villages; it was caused by stronger immigration. The total population growth between 1869 and 1910 was 41 %, but it was much higher in certain towns, 175 % in Zagreb and 65 % in Osijek.

In Croatia and Slavonia, the number of Jews increased from 13,488 in 1880 to 21,013 in 1910, the difference being 7,725. The number of Jews in towns increased by 5,092 persons in that period, from 5,644 in 1880 to 10,686 in 1910.

Consequently, during Jewish settlement in Croatia, the number of town inhabitants increased, and newcomers from other countries arrived. Some Jewish fugitives from the pogrom in Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia and Romania) probably stopped here.

Continuous immigration played an essential role in the population growth in Croatia, which also influenced the changes in population structure and social changes in general.

The increase in the number of Jews in towns cannot be ascribed to a natural increase.

Analyses (G. Schwarz) of birth rate and mortality in the Zagreb Jewish Community show that if we add all born and all dead between 1891 and 1932, the number of births (3,522) exceeds deaths (3,178) by only 344. Such was the natural increase of the Zagreb Jewish Community in 41 years.

It means that the Jewish Community increased from 1,942 Jews in 1890 to 8,438 in 1931 owing to the immigration of Jews in Zagreb (6,111).

Population and Jews according to 1880-1910 censuses, by counties								
counties town	popul. 1880	Jews 1880	popul. 1890	Jews 1890	popul. 1900	Jews 1900	popul. 1910	Jews 1910
Bjelovarsko križevačka	219.529	1.463	226.210	1.955	302.362	2.267	331.385	2.397
Ličko Krbavska	174.239	10	190.978	7	208.163	5	203.973	12
Modruš Rieka	203.173	89	220.629	258	228.306	335	231.354	362
Požeška	166.512	1.337	202.836	1.928	228.096	2.734	263.690	2.388
Sriemska	269.878	2.459	347.022	3.097	365.100	3.208	394.172	3.071
Zemun grad		589		662		638		657
Varaždinska	229.063	862	258.066	955	266.435	886	293.409	721
Varaždin grad		558		630		718		604
Virovitička	165.025	2.228	196.639	2.880	217.845	2.972	240.694	2.854
Osijek grad		1.493		1.585		2.027		2.299
Zagrebačka	391.491	1.114	446.723	1.322	477.740	1.409	512.675	1.436
Zagreb grad		1.286		1.942		3.195		4.192

Source: Censuses in Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia 1880,1890,1900, 1910

## **Jews in the 1921 and 1931 Censuses, Jews in Towns**

In the analysis of population censuses between the two World Wars, in 1921 and 1931, we must take into account the fact that there were carried out in a new territorial and political division. After World War I the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of which Croatia had until then been part, disintegrated and the new state was founded, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. State borders changed and new international division took place. The country was first divided into districts and later into "banovine". Consequently, the number of inhabitants and the number of Jews cannot be directly compared in these two censuses because they were not resident in the same territory.

In the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia there were 21,013 Jews in 1910. In 1921 their number decreased by 451 persons and amounted to 20,562. However, as we said earlier, it cannot be concluded that their number really decreased. There must have been losses in the War and decreased birth rate during war years and migrations accompanying war and political changes. Besides, data for the 1921 census could not be collected in all places (part of Croatia was under Italy).

Germans and Hungarians left Croatia, especially those who were officials in various state services and in railway. Agrarian reform in 1918 and the division of land brought new inhabitants - colonists.

For this reason, in the 1921 and 1931 censuses the same districts, communes and towns were compared wherever it was possible. Thus, we managed to show the difference in the number of Jews linked both with internal migration and the settlement in towns. Regardless of the differences of areas comprised by the 1931 census, if the total number of Jews lived in towns is to be compared with the same data from the previous censuses, it can be concluded that the migration process of Jews to towns continued. In this way 54,7% of the total number of Jews lived in towns 1921 and in 1931 this percentage was 77,5. This process was not the same in all towns; the increase was registered in Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Varaždin and particularly Zagreb in which the number of Jews amounted to 5,970 in 1921 and 8,702 in 1931, consequently there were 2,732 more Jews ten year later.

The list of settlements in which Jews were living in 1921 and 1931 has been presented in publications, since the majority of them were killed during the Holocaust. For some of them only fact in the population census has remained as a proof of their existence here and this analysis has been made in the memory of all their innocent victims and their vanished Jewish communities,

In the registration of Jews who survived (made in 1946) it was recorded, among other things, that 54 Jews returned to Varaždin, 35 to Vinkovci, 23 to Virovitica and 23 to Vukovar etc. A relatively great number returned to Rijeka (185), Opatija (33), Lovran (22) and Dubrovnik (38), probably because they were saved in the Italian zone during World War II.

In some places returned only few of those who survived while several communities completely disappeared.

In censuses before World War II the number of Jews increased in towns, with variations depending on the development of certain towns and regions. The highest increase was recorded in Zagreb.

The greatest concentration of Jews was in Požeška, Osječka, Virovitička, Srijemska, Zagrebačka, Krizevačka and Varaždinska County. There were almost no Jews in the territory of Lika nor in other areas, which were Military frontier. In Riječka County they were to be found only in Sušak (54). Not even later, when the Military Frontier was demilitarized and in 1881 attached to civil Croatia, the number of Jews who settled in Lika and Krbava was not high, due to slow economic development that, in turn, caused the emigration of population from that part of Croatia.

In other parts of Croatia, the Jews gradually settled the areas, which earlier formed a part of Military frontier. Thus, in the 1880 census Jews were to be found in Bjelovar, Petrinja, Slavonski Brod and other settlement in which they were not recorded in 1857. Their number rapidly increased in Karlovac, although there were some of them there in 1857, but in suburb where they had their synagogue.

The number of Jews (by district and towns) according to the 1931 census and the number of Jews according to the register of Jewish communities in 1929/1930, have been presented on table. These data differ, but we must take into account that at that time not only Jews were lived in the center of the commune, but also those from surrounding villages belonged to this commune.

In 1931 the majority of Jews (77,5%) lived in towns.

If we compare the 1931 census data with those of the 1857 census, it is obvious that Jews lived in a smaller number of settlements and in many of them their number decreased. However, the number of Jews increased in bigger towns because they were moving to town canters. Thus, for example, In Osijek the number of Jews increased from 588 (in 1857) to 4,445 (in 1931), while at the same time their number decreased to a half in the Osijek district. As some towns and the number of their inhabitants were developing, so the number of Jews in them increased and decreased in surrounding villages. In this way in 1931 only 137 Jews lived in Zagreb district, 15 in the district of Karlovac, 71 in the district of Osijek, 50 in the one of Sisak and just 8 in the district Čakovec.

However, all the towns did not develop in the same manner, in some the development was slowed down. In such case the Jews remained in surrounding villages. Thus for example 314 Jews lived in the district Našice, while in Našice 161; in the district Đakovo there were 329 Jews and in Đakovo 253.

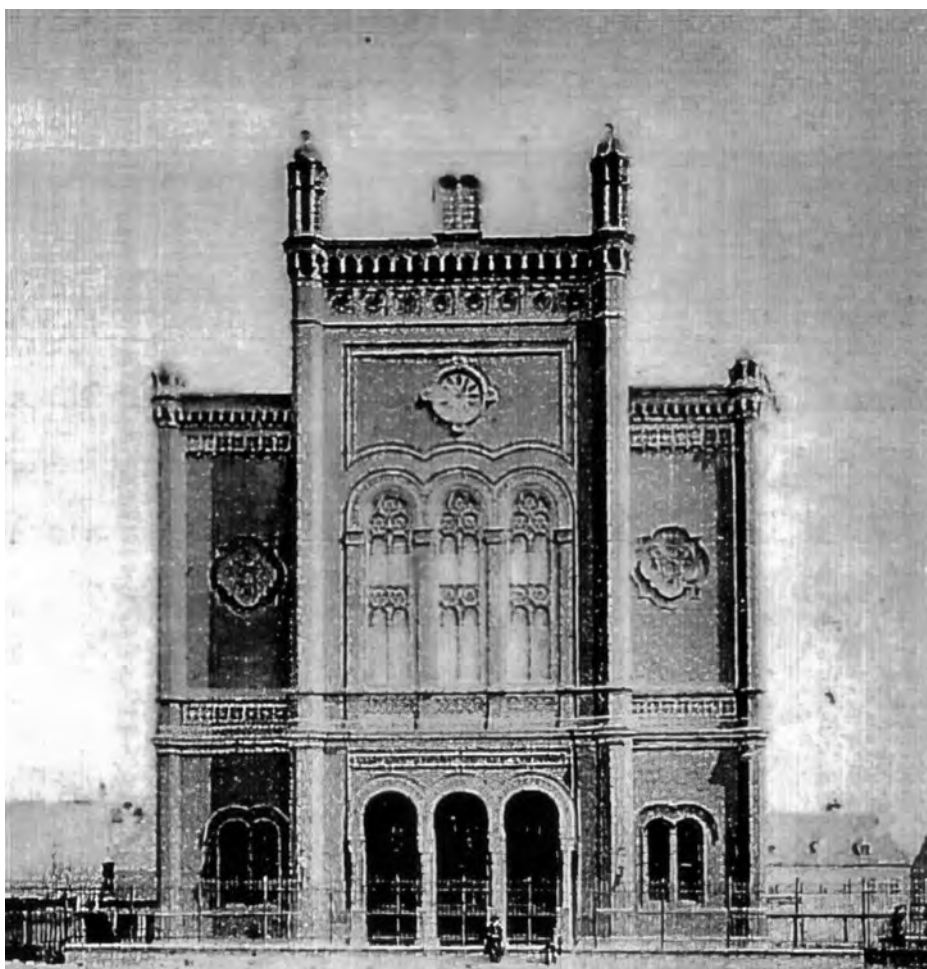
*Sephardim Ashkenazim, Orthodox Total*

Jews in 1931 census in banovine by rites				
Banovina	Sephardim	Ashkenazim	Orthodox	Total
Dravska	4	813	3	820
Drinska	8.009	2.034	0	10.043
Dunavska	1.809	13.626	3.083	18.518
Moravska	524	50	12	586
Primorska	66	512	0	578
Savska	238	19.310	27	19.575
Vrbaska	708	450	2	1.160
Vardarska	7.382	122	75	7.579
Zetska	507	100	3	610
Uprava grada Beograda*	6.921	1.993	22	8.936
Ukupno/Total	26.168	39.010	3.227	68.405

*Remarck: Region Belgrade consist from: towns Belgrade, Zemun and Pančevo*

Jews in Croatia* from 1857-1931, percentage in towns			
Year	Total No of Jews	Jews in towns	%
1857	5.846	2.277	38,9
1880	13.488	5.644	41,8
1890	17.261	6.695	40,5
1900	20.032	9.112	45,5
1910	21.013	10.686	50,8
1921	20.562	11.238	54,7
1931	21.505	16.678	77,5

*Remarck: Censuses 1857-1910 are from Kingdom Croatia and Slavonia*



Jewish synagogue in Zagreb



## **Jews in Dalmatia**

We can trace the presence of Jews in Dalmatia from the time of the first Diaspora as tombstones in Benkovac (1st century) and 3rd-century tombstones in Solin.

What characterizes the Jews in Dalmatia is that from the very first, they settled in towns, but their number did not change significantly for centuries.

In the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries (Stully, 1989), communities existed in Dalmatian towns. The main centres were Dubrovnik and Split, but they also settled in other towns on the Adriatic Coast (Zadar, Rijeka). A 1398 document from records on an agreement between Jews in Zadar and the town of Zadar.

### **Split**

The 1397 register of the bishop's possessions in Split records a synagogue built within Diocletian's palace in the square of the "Beautiful Door" (Krasna vrata). A new synagogue was erected in 1500, and tombstones dated from 1573 were found in Marijan cemetery.

Today we know that from 1420, when Split was under Venice, Jews were subject to Venetian law (wearing special clothes, prohibiting property possession, living in ghettos, and other rules).

At that time, several distinguished groups of Jews were subject to different limitations: Levantini - oriental Jews, Tedeschi (Ashkenazim) and Ponentines – Jews that had immigrated from Spain and Portugal in 15 centuries. About 30 to 40 families settled in Split and Dubrovnik.

The above was written in the Decree of the Port of Split. The port was built in 1590 by Daniel Rodriguez, a Marrano and a well-known merchant and diplomat.

The Split merchant Daniel Rodrigo made a plan to enlarge the harbour and, in 1577, presented it to the Venetian Senate. The plan was approved, and construction commenced (it included the enlargement of the harbour, construction of warehouses for merchandise and cattle and a quarantine station). Venice stopped the construction at the request of some other Split merchants, but it soon became apparent that trade was going through Dubrovnik because Split lacked the required facilities. Approval was thus given for construction to start again, and Rodrigo finished it.

In recognition of this, his family was exempt from paying harbour taxes and dues; he was allowed to choose a warehouse and got a permit to open a bank. Moreover, he was named "Jewish Consul" in Split. In 1630, Josif Peso became Jewish Consul in Split. During the war between Turkey and Venice in 1657, the consul was Split's Jew Samuil Lima.

When Turkey attacked Split in 1657, the Jews defended the Reiner tower, later named "the Jewish station". In addition, they helped to provide food for the army and textiles for the hospital.

In the first half of the 17th century, Jews and Christians in Split had joint stores for merchandise (Pašalić and Mojsije Ruso, Marsi, Penso and others).

In 1713, at a merchant's request in Split, "dužd" Donald imposed a ban on the food trade for

Jews. Consequently, food prices rose, and there were periodic shortages, so the authorities allowed the Jews to take over the food supply for the town and hospitals.

Jews were not allowed to join tailors craft guilds, which was not solved until 1766 with the adoption of free handicrafts.

Although Venice enacted a “Law on the Duties and the Rights of Jews” in 1738, according to which they were no more subject to arbitrary legal decisions, their position gradually deteriorated at the end of Venetian rule (in 1778, they still lived in ghettos) until its opening in 1797 after arrival of Napoleon.

On 12 June 1808, Napoleon ordered all old laws restricting the civil rights of Jews to be abolished and granted them the same rights as other inhabitants. The doors of ghettos in Dalmatian towns opened.

In Dalmatia, after coming under Austro-Hungarian rule (the Congress of Vienna), regulations and other restrictions limiting the rights of Jews, i.e., restrictions of property rights were gradually imposed as they were subject to the same laws as the rest of the Empire. At that time many families emigrated from Split mainly to America, and Trst (50 families)

In 1892, two Jewish communities were recognized for the entire Dalmatia: Split (for the districts of Metković, Split, Šibenik and Zadar) and Dubrovnik (for the districts of Dubrovnik, Korčula and Kotor).

In 1749 in Split, 48 Jewish families were registered, and in 1778, 54 families with 279 members (Kečkemet, 1971). In 1818, the number of Jews was 51; in 1910 – 150; in 1921 – 179, 1931 – 292; and in 1940, there were 284 Jews, of whom 150 survived the Holocaust.

Three Jewish families, Mussafia, Jesurum and Morpurgo, are particularly noted for having provided outstanding scholars. Vid Morpurgo published “Dalmatian Almanac”, and his bookstore became a meeting place for Dalmatian patriots.

In 1569, the brothers Rafael and Gerson Zir arrived in Šibenik. Jewish merchants came to Istrian towns like Rovinj, Kopar and others.

In Rijeka, only a few Jews were to be found before the 18th century; in 1771, there were 25 Jews, and a Jewish community was officially established in 1781.

The *Regulamentum Judeorum* was issued the same year. Some Jews probably moved to Rijeka from Split (the Penso family), and Jews from Trieste, Austria, Italy and later from Hungary also immigrated to the town.

A small Orthodox community from Eastern Europe had its synagogue, which remains in Rijeka today. Even earlier, Jews lived in a part of the town called Zudecca.

From the 1901 application for a construction license to build a synagogue, it is evident that there was a considerable Jewish Community at that time. The synagogue opened in 1903.

## Dubrovnik

The first Jew mentioned in a Dubrovnik document (1326) was a doctor (Eventov, 1971). A contract between Jewish merchants from Catalonia dated 1421 has also been discovered.

Jews moved to Dubrovnik from Drač, Italy, Spain and southern Italy (when Spain gained rule



there) and from other countries.

Upon their banishment from Dubrovnik, the Jews took shelter in the Ottoman Empire, intending to return under favourable circumstances.

Jews settled in Dubrovnik at the beginning of the 15th century (and even earlier, according to some authors), as can be seen from the regulation of *Consilio* dated 30 August 1407 (Mattei, Vojnović) by which they were allowed to live in Dubrovnik, but forbidden to engage in trade.

Details concerning the accusation of Jews for the murder of women were found in Dubrovnik records from 1502. Doctor Mozes was among the accused. After the admission of guilt had been extracted under torture, seven Jews were sentenced to death (Stully, 1989).

The clergy demanded the banishment of Jews from Dubrovnik, but the Senate allowed those who were engaged in the trade or medical profession to stay (regulation dated 4 May 1515).

At the intervention of Sultan Suleiman II, Jews were allowed back in 1516, only face new banishment in 1545, when the Turkish sultan had to intervene again.

The Jews in Dubrovnik were not permanent citizens (*cives*) but only foreigners (*foresteri*) who had settled in Dubrovnik permanently (*habitatores*).

The Jewish community was founded in 1538 when they were granted permission to settle within the city walls. However, it was only valid for a fixed part of the city, the ghetto (1571). They were obliged to wear special marks and caps.

The ghetto was located in the street then called Lojarska Street with the gate to Stradun, which had to be locked at night, and any Jew wandering around outside its limits during that time risked punishment. In 1756, the ghetto contained 11 houses with 68 "souls". Outside the ghetto, 19 other houses were mentioned with 193 "souls".

The Jews had to pay rent for their houses in the ghetto and had their own school and synagogue.

Documents from 1652 mention a congregation *seu synagoga Hebreorum*. Later, following the example of other citizens, the Jews organized themselves into a fellowship under the name Schola Haebreorum (*Scuola degli Ebrei*).

The Consul for Hercegovina was a Jew, and the family Goduto kept this title in Valona (the Albanian harbour where half the population were Jewish).

The Jews have a significant and long history in Dubrovnik; many eminent Jews spent their lives there. Among them particularly important are Amatus Lusitanus, a doctor and anatomist, and Jacobus Flavius Evorensis (Didacus Pyrrhus), a well-known poet.

In 1622, Jews were again accused of killing a young girl, and Isaac Jeshurun was tortured, imprisoned and finally banished from Dubrovnik. After that, all Jews were detained in the ghetto. They were not allowed to leave the town. The Senate made a list of all Jews which documented the names of 47 "heads" of Jewish families: Abenum, Arari, de Alva, Abentar, Aslanus, Baruch, Benun, Ben Natan, Ben Habit, Danon, Israel, Coen, Lumbrozo, Lanciano, Camargo, Chavilio, Maestro, Oef, Pernica, Salom Senior, Servadio, Speriel and Uziel (Levi, 1928).

Anti-Jewish measures were strengthened, and Jews began to leave the town so that only four families remained. Already in 1633, the Jews were again allowed to reside in Dubrovnik.

On 6 April 1667, a devastating earthquake struck Dubrovnik, in which 39 Jews died. The town's rebuilding after the earthquake included the renewal of the ghetto (1673) and the synagogue.

In the 17th century, there was an economic recession partly caused by the opening of the port in Split. The deterioration of economic conditions affected the Jews as well.

The Jews in Dubrovnik were engaged in banking and trade, particularly with Apulia and Ancona (in the latter, a large community existed comprising 1,065 Jews of a total population of 8,274 inhabitants in 1708) and with the Albanian harbours of Valona and Liesh. They were intermediaries in the trade with the Balkan centres Sophia, Skopje and Sarajevo (Ottoman Empire) and were granted customs privileges in the port. At the same time, they took part in the ransoming of people from Turkish slavery.

For the most part, trading included leather, wool, woollen rugs, textiles, and for a time, salt, but Jews were forbidden to trade in foodstuffs. Only in 1714 were they allowed to open food stores. They possessed various workshops in Dubrovnik and later began to appear as booksellers, tailors, and hat makers.

In 1793, ten Jews were store owners and 15 part-owners of ships (from 1744 until 1759). Jews were also doctors, clerks, poets, and other professions.

The first reliable census of those permanent residents dates to 1756 and lists 171 Jews. In the period from 1758 until 1770, further eight Jewish families settled in Dubrovnik. In 1782, there were 218 Jews, and in 1807 – 227 Jews of a total population of 6,565 inhabitants (Stully, 1989).

On 20 August 1816, the Dalmatian governor (under Austro-Hungarian rule) ordered the Church authorities to keep an exact register of births, marriages and deaths. The Jewish community list of its members documents 308 persons.

The families: Angel, Aser, Ascoli, Amona, Ambonetti, Cerf, Citanova, Benedetto, Bolafia, Erenfeld, Fermo, Janni, Campos, Cohen, Constantin, Cusin, Castro, Consolo, Luzzena, Levi, Mandolfo, Maestro, Navarro, Pardo, Penso, Russo, Tolentino, Terni, Valenzin, Vitale, Viterbi and Volterra. The above list shows that only two families remained from the list of 1,622 (Maestro and Coen) and that the number of Jews had only increased by 60 persons in 200 years.

Rabbi Jakob Pardo, active in Dubrovnik for 40 years, wrote a book entitled *Kehilat Jaakov* (Published in Venice in 1784).

The number of Jews in Dubrovnik began to decrease. The 1857 census registered 121 Jews; in 1910, there were 119; in 1921 – 108; in 1931 – 120; and in 1940, 87 Jews lived there (148 in the whole commune of Dubrovnik). The number of Jews was somewhat higher for a while in (then) southern Dalmatia, Boka Kotorska and the Montenegrin Littoral owing to migrations from Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1910, Bosnia and Herzegovina had 11,868 Jews, of whom 6,397 lived in Sarajevo (Kruševac).

**The Kingdom of Dalmatia** (1857 census) was divided into the so-called Old Dalmatia covering the counties of Zadar and Split and New Dalmatia with the counties of Dubrovnik and Kotor (Sabljar, 1866). It had 32 districts, 14 towns, eight suburbs, 44 marketplaces, 983 villages, and 85,740 houses with 404,499 inhabitants, including 309 Jews. Among the residents, there was a considerably more significant number of Italians (37,000) and 5,410 foreigners. It should also be noted that there were 16,539 "absent" due to emigration.

According to the 1857 census in Dubrovnik, there were 121 Jews (3,847 inhabitants), 80 in Split (12,083 inhabitants), and 174 in the Split district. No Jews were living in Šibenik (3,097 inhabitants), and only two Jews were registered in the whole district (25,351 inhabitants). In Zadar (7,819 inhabitants), there were nine Jews, and in the whole county, only two of the total population of 130,045 residents. There were no Jews registered in Kotor, while in the county of Kotor, there were 12 Jews out of the 31,209 inhabitants.

Analysis of the population of Dalmatia between 1890 and 1910 showed at the same time a high natural population increase (high birth rate) amounting to 14.1 % and a considerable emigration of population, particularly from the islands (Hvar, Brač). The highest population increase was registered in the district of Split (10.31 %) and the smallest in the district of Dubrovnik (0.71 %). From 1890 until 1910, the number of inhabitants in Split increased from 90,279 to 99,590 and in Dubrovnik from 40,939 to 41,231. The total population of Dalmatia increased from 526,326 inhabitants in 1890 to 645,666 in 1910.

Stully (1989) records the following number of Jews:

1817	1827	1830	1834	1837	1840	1843	1846	1850	1857	1869	1880
426	469	503	551	564	566	459	485	340	318	233	283

Jews according to censuses in Dalmatia:

1880: Benkovac (1), Budva (3), Herceg-Noví (4), Kotor (17), Metković (6), Split (155), Šibenik (4), Zadar (26), Dubrovnik (67).

1910: Blato on Korčula (8), Budva (20), Herceg-Noví (20), Kotor (12), Perast (12), Makarska (5), Metković (4), Sinj (6), Split (159), Trogir (1), Supetar (on Brač) (2), Šibenik (53), Vis (5), Zadar (55), Dubrovnik (119).

1921: The census was not complete because part of Dalmatia was under Italian rule. Dubrovnik (108) Cavtat (1), Blato (1) Korčula (1), Dobrota (5), Herceg-Noví (4), Kotor (12), Makarska (3), Metković (7), Sinj (5), Split (173), Supetar (4), Vis (6), Komiža (6), Šibenik (94).

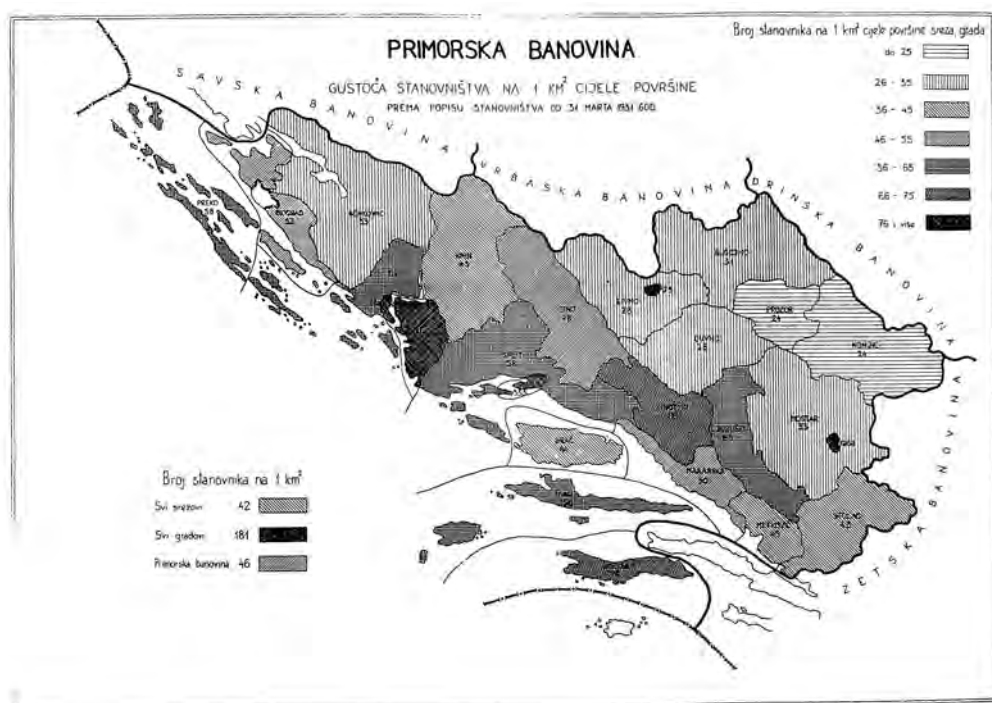
1931: Part of Bosnia and Hercegovina was incorporated into Primorska banovina, districts (kotarevi): Bugojno (46 Jews), Duvno (0), Konjic (6), kotar Livno (0), the town Livno 7, Ljubuški (0), Mostar (1) the town Mostar 136, Prozor (6) and Stolac (3).

294 Jews of a total number of 578 resided in the present-day territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Dubrovnik (120 Jews) and Kotor (35) were components of Zetska banovina.

In communes, today pertaining to Dalmatia, the number of Jews was the following: Benkovac (3), Biograd (2), Brač (2), Hvar (6), Imotski (0), Knin (2), Korčula (6), Makarska (25), Metković (3), Preko (0), Sinj (0), Split (303) and Šibenik (28).

Littoral banovina



## Jewish (religious) population in Croatia according to census data 1900-2011

This research project has very sensitive task - to find out hidden data about religious Jewish population in Croatia, especially in censuses after the World War II. We cooperate with institution that have such documentation and can contribute to results. We are the only one who researches such project. Benefit from this project will have all Jews in Croatia, other national groups in Croatia and countries with similar problems (ex-communistic countries) in which "religion" was for a long time "taboo". Jews in these countries have problems with return of Jewish property, compensation and restitution problem. Governmental and institutional, humanitarian and even political support to Jews and Jewish communities depends on the number of Jews, which are officially declared in censuses according to nationality. Jews declared as religious Jews are not always taken into account.

We collected all available publications and documents about Jews in Croatia with special focus on data about Jews in official censuses (published and non-published). We have analyzed long-term variations that are connected with the methodology of the censuses that changed mostly according to the political changes in country.

To understand and interpret census data we must research historical, geographical and political situation in the Country at the given time and especially status of Jews in that time.

*Number of Jews in Croatia in censuses 1880-2011 (according nationality and religion)*

Census Year	Total population	Jews	
		According nationality	According religion
1880.	2 506 228	-	13 634
1890.	2 854 558	-	17 515
1900.	3 161 456	-	20 131
1910.	3 460 584	-	21 831
1921.	3 000 057		19 777
1931.			20 567
1948.	3 779 858	-	-
1953.	3 936 022	413	1 011
1961.	4 159 696	406	-
1971.	4 426 221	2 845	-
1981.	4 601 469	316	-
1991.	4 784 265	600	633
2001.	4 437 460	576	495
2011.	4 284 889	509	536

*Sources: Narodnosni i vjerski sastav stanovništva Hrvatske 1880-1991. po naseljima, DZS, Zagreb, 1998. Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2001, Stanovništvo prema narodnosti, po naseljima, DZS, Zagreb, 2002., Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011., Stanovništvo prema narodnosti, po naseljima, DZS, Zagreb, 2012.*

We did research on data in 16 censuses, from the first census in 1857 until last census in year 2011. According to data, we found in 14 censuses that Jews could be registered according to: religion, nationality or „mother tongue “.

Religion has not been asked and reported in censuses in year 1948, 1961 and 1981. For the first time (after World War II), in census in 1953, religion was reported, but only for all Croatia and in the two censuses 1991 and 2011.

## **Census in 1857 Year**

- In the North Croatia and Slavonia Jews have been settled in 330 places.
- In 1840, Jews were granted permission to settle in Croatia, except in mining places.
- Law regulated establishment of Jewish communities in 1852.
- They lived together with other inhabitants from different nationalities and religion.
- At that time, Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was divided into civilian and military part (Military Frontier).
- Jews were forbidden to settle in military part until their “demilitarization” in year 1881.
- In this period, it was forbidden for Jews to have property and land and there was no synagogues building.

## **Censuses from years 1880, 1890, 1900 and 1910 (before World War I)**

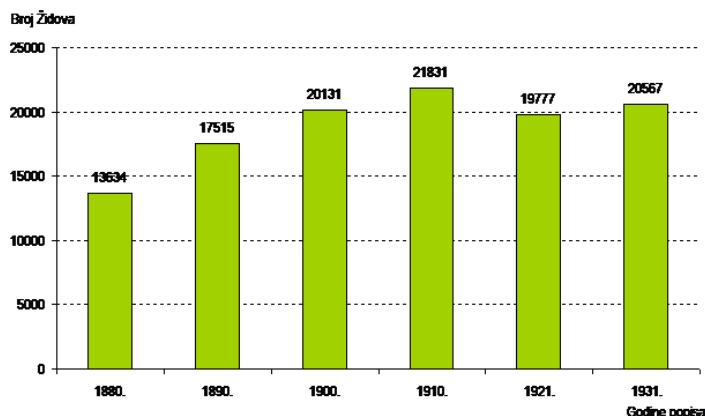
- In year 1860 Jews got permission to own property and land if they cultivated by themselves.
- On February 1906 new Law on the regulation of “Israelite communities” has been enacted.
- Affiliation to a Jewish community was obligatory and only one Jewish commune was allowed to exist in a settlement.
- Jews are recorded only according to religion on the territory of Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia.
- In this censuses Jews has been registered as “Israeli”.
- Jews in Dalmatia are not included.
- At that time, Jewish “mother tongue” has been German, Hungarian or Croatian (according to their origin).
- Number of Jews increased because this was period of Jewish settlement in Croatia and grow of population in town.
- Jews came from central Europe (Burgenland) especially after “Tolerant law” issued

by the emperor Joseph II on end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

- Some refugee Jews from East Europe (Poland, Russia, and Romania) also come to Croatia.

## **Censuses between two World Wars, in years 1921 and 1931**

- Jews has been recorded in those censuses only according “religion”, there was no question according “nationality”.
- At that time there was new territorial and political division in country (establishment of Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) later Yugoslavia.
- New internal division on districts and banovine and intensive migrations of population and Jews.
- New rules and new Law on Jewish religious communities and association was proclaimed in 1929.
- There were registered 114 Jewish communities comprising 73.267 Jews (in Yugoslavia).
- Jews can be recorded in censuses only on the level of districts, communes and towns.
- Union of the communities of Jewish Faith (Savez) was established in Belgrade and collected data about “members”, and “souls” (duša) members of the family – wife and children.
- Communities have been divided (in year 1931) on “Ashkenazim” with 39.010 Jews in 70 Jewish communities.
- “Sephardim” with 26.168 (in 38 communities) and “Religious”. (Orthodox) with 3.277 Jews in 6 communities in separate “Union of orthodox communities”.
- Total 68.405 Jews lived in Yugoslavia; 77% lived in towns.
- According to “Organization of Yugoslav rabbis” in year 1929/30 in Yugoslavia was 6.636 members and 24,972 “souls” with 30 synagogues, 22 Chevra Kadisha society, 22 rabbis and 30 cantors.
- In Croatia, 21.505 Jews were registered in 1931 census, but in the eve of the World War II there were 25.000 Jews (including refugee).



*Number of Jews according religion in censuses from year 1880 till 1931*

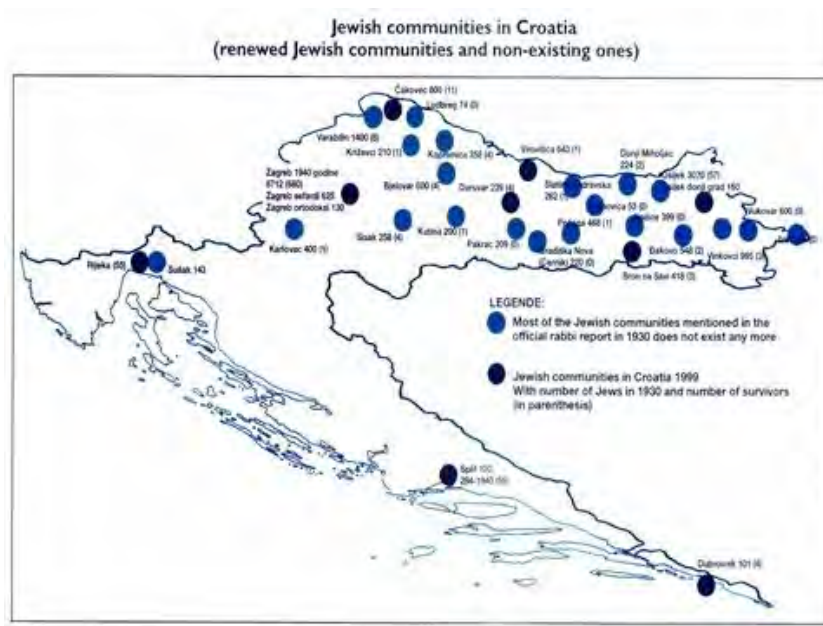
## Jews in Croatia during the World War II

The Jewish destiny in Croatia was similar as destiny of all European Jews in the countries occupied by Germany or under their influence. On April 10 1941, a new state under name NDH was established and covered the territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Immediately the Racial Law was implemented and concentration camps were opened in Croatia or Jews were deported to Nazi camp (Auschwitz). About 80% of the Croatian Jews were killed in the Holocaust. In this camps many refugees from other countries were killed, Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina and most of the Croatian Jews. According to research (Žerjavić), about 6.600 to 7.700 Jews in NDH lost their lives in Germany, other foreign camps or in camps in Croatia about 13.000. At least 5.000 Jews escaped (Italy). In 1940, there were about 25.000 Jews in Croatia and only 5.500 of them survived (S.Goldstein). 1.737 Jews participated in the anti-fascist resistance.

The Jewish Community in Zagreb were closed at the first day of NDH. Later there were reopen on another location and with another task (supply camps).

We found "Central record of *Jewish Badges*" in year 1941 made by Nazi with the names of 8.598 Jews in Zagreb. Not only that about 80% of Croatian Jews were killed in the Holocaust, but also there were the completely Jewish community destroyed and the Jewish way of life almost disappeared.



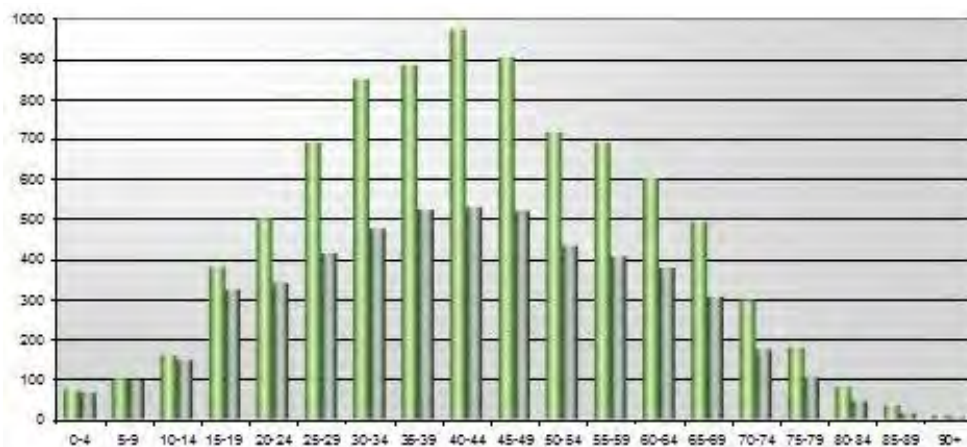


No.	Community 1930	souls 1930	Mem- ber 1940	Survi- vors 1946	% of 3	Mem- ber 1969	% of 3	Survi- vors 1999	% of 3
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Zagreb	12.000	9.647	2.214	23,3	1.341	14,1	660	7,0
2	Osijek	3.020	2.584	304	11,7	220	8,5	57	2,2
3	Split	120	284	175	61,6	115	40,4	55	19,3
4	Dubrovnik	101	87	38	43,6	62	71,2	14	13,8
5	Čakovec	800	404	96	24,2	21	5,2	11	2,7
6	Daruvar	239	169	no data	no data	36	21,3	4	2,3
7	Koprivnica	148	358	no data	no data			4	
8	Slavonski Brod	418	423	16	3,7	32	7,5	3	0,7
9	Virovitica	643	204	23	11,3	34	16,6	1	0,5
10	Rijeka	Italy	1.783	185	10,4	160	8,9	55	3,1
	(Fiume)		(1938)						
	Sušak		143	26	18,2				

*Jewish communities In Croatia which existed today and survivors 1999*

No.	Community 1930 – rabbi register	„souls“ 1930	Members 1940	Survivors 1946	Survivors 1999
1	Bjelovar	600	337	no data	4
2	Đakovo	548	337	22	2
3	Gradiška Nova	220	198	23	0
4	Ilok	320	310	15	0
5	Karlovac	400	297	39	1
6	Križevci	210	119	no data	1
7	Kutina	200	132	no data	1
8	Ludbreg	74	82	no data	0
9	Miholjac Donji	224	173	no data	2
10	Našice	399	229	8	0
11	Orahovica	53	no data	no data	0
12	Pakrac	209	99	no data	0
13	Požega	468	123	10	1
14	Sisak (memb)	230	258	no data	4
15	Slatina Podravska	262	136	8	1
16	Valpovo	157	140	no data	0
17	Vinkovci	995	630	35	1
18	Vukovar	600	213	23	0
19	Varaždin	1400	515	42	8

*Jewish Communities that do not exist any more*



*Graph showing the murdered members (dark green) of Jewish Community Zagreb in 1941 by age*

## **Censuses after World War II**

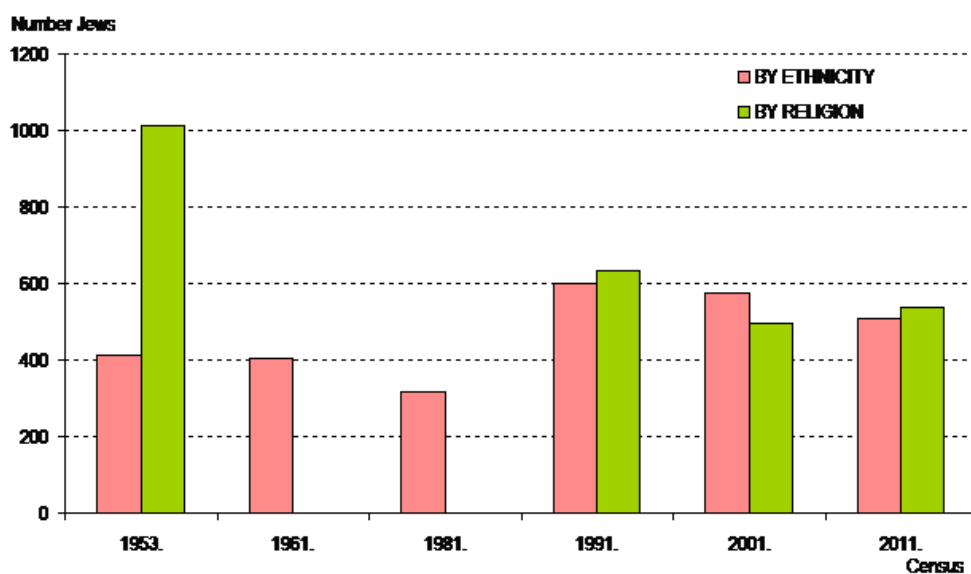
- We analyzed censuses in 1948,1953,1961,1971,1981,1991,2001 and last census in 2011.
- Jews can be registered according to nationality, religion and mother tongue.
- In the first census after World War II, in the year 1948, Jews are registered as „others” nationalities. In 1948 were registered 6.538 Jews while at that time Jewish communities numbered 11.934 members. In this census, there was religion.
- Census of the year 1953 offered the possibility to declare in two ways: by nationality and by religion. For Jews was given only data on the level of all country Croatia, not according to settlement places. We must take in consideration Aliyah between 1948 and 1952 when 7.739 members of Jewish Communities migrate to Israel. At that time in Yugoslavia were 2.307 Jews according to nationality and 2.563 according to religion. In Croatia, there were 1.011 Jews according to religion and 413 according to nationality.
- Interestingly in census 1953, exists data about persons of “Moses faith” (Jews) who declared their nationality: 61,2% declared as Croat, 4,3% as “Yugoslav” and 27,5% as “other non-Slavic” nationality. There were also Serbian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Hungarian, Italian, Czech and Slovak, German and Slav.
- In census of the year 1961, we can find data for Jews according to nationality (not religion). Data are only on the level of country Croatia (not settlement). In Croatia was only 406 Jews according to nationality.
- In census of the year 1971 only nationality has been registered, according to settlements (also for Jews). Data about Jews, who was registered in 717 places and in unusual number (2.845) cannot be taken as a real. After this census, Jews are registered in the places where they have never lived before. Mistakes were found in reports and in other census results - wrong methodology.
- In the census of the year 1981 data was recorded only according to nationality, in settlements. Jews lived in 37 settlements. There were only 316 Jews in Croatia (according to nationality).
- In last censuses of the year 1991, 2001 and 2011 Jews has been registered according to nationality and religion. There was difference in methodology.
- In the year 1991 Jews are registered on the level of settlements (places). Jews lived in 53 places mostly in the towns (41) and only in 10 villages. In 1991, 633 Jews were registered according to nationality and 600 according to religion.
- In censuses of the year 2001 and 2011, Jews were not registered in settlements but only in towns, counties and district. In these censuses, data about nationality and religion has not been registered in places with less than 100 inhabitants and for nationality with less than 10 persons. This regular has special consequences for Jewish population, which was decimated in Holocaust and in many places lived only one or two Jewish families.
- In 2001 there were 576 Jews registered according nationality and 495 according to

religion. They lived in 47 town and counties.

- In census 2011 was registered 509 Jews according to nationality and 511 according to religion. They lived in 57 town in counties, only 18 on villages

### Number of Jews according to religion and according nationality in the censuses after World War II

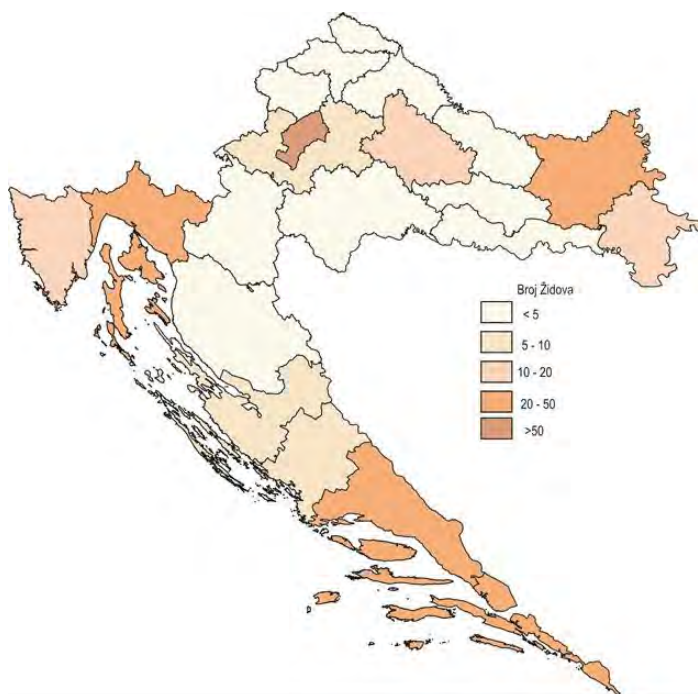
	1953	1961	1981	1991	2001	2011
Religion	1011	-	-	633	495	536
Nationality	413	406	316	600	576	509



## Jews in censuses 1880-2011

Census year	questions	Level of recording data methodology
1880.	religion	communes - places of living
1890.	religion	communes - places of living
1900.	religion	communes - places of living
1910.	religion	communes - places of living
1921.	religion	district
1931.	religion	district
1948.	nationality, Jews as "others"	district
1953.	nationality and religion	place of living (for Jews in Croatia)
1961.	nationality	place of living (for Jews in Croatia)
1971.	nationality	communes - places of living
1981.	nationality	communes - places of living
1991.	nationality and religion	communes - places of living
2001.	nationality and religion	in town and communes
2011.	nationality and religion	in town and communes

Source: censuses



The share of Jews in the total number of national minorities in Croatian counties, census 1900

## **Comments**

Special interest in our research provokes the data about national identity of the Jews who also declared as religious.

In 1953 census we found that 61,2% religious Jews declared as „Croatian by nationality” and only 27,5% as Jews by nationality.

In census in the year 2011 there was 50:50%. „Religious” and Jews by nationality.

We presume that differences depend on: political situation in country, mortality in old survivor’s population, high number of mixed marriage, Influence of Israel on youth in Diaspora.

Low participation of Jews in censuses can be understand because of experience in Holocaust and anti-Semitism in society. There are lower numbers of Jews registered in censuses, about 500-600, Then we have members in Jewish communities in Croatia (2.500-3.000)

As a consequence of Holocaust in which are decimated about 80% of Jewish population in Croatia, big migration to Israel and long life under anti-religious communistic regime we have situation that as members in Jewish community in Croatia can be all Jews (regardless of their father or mother history) and children from mixed marriages, Non-Jewish partner can be non-voting (and non-elected) members of community.

## **Conclusion**

Our findings confirm our assumption that the official data (censuses) significantly underreported number of Jews in Croatia with important consequences for the Jewish community in Croatia.

Number and share of one national minority and in global population (according census data about ethnic or national denomination) determine their participation in local and governmental authorities and structures, possibility for schooling learning mother tongue, support for journals and publications, cultural societies and manifestations, amount of financial and other support for activities, restitution question and protection.

In our research special attention was given to the censuses after WW II in which data about religion has not been always taken, or was not further analyzed.

Methodology in the censuses differ each one from another and can be influenced by political situation in country. Results in census data also depends of the willing of Jews to declare their Jewish nationality or religion (consequence of Holocaust experience and growing antisemitism). In Croatia person who declare in census that he is “Jew by religion” has not been recognized in governmental institutions, recognized are only persons who declare themselves as “Jews by nationality” (ethnicity).

In some censuses we can obtain only cumulative data about the number of persons who declared that are Jews by religion.

**List of Jewish rabbis and cantors who has been taken to concentration camp Jasenovac (1941-1942) as testimony from Gruner Bernard on July 28, in the process on the court against war criminal Artuković Andrija.**

1. Dr. Deutsh J. L., star oko 70 godina, rabin u Ludbregu
2. Dr. Unger Simon, star oko 60 godina, rabin iz Osijeka
3. Grunwald Hinko, star oko 95 godina, rabin u Podravskoj Slatini
4. Dr. Grunwald Ilija, star oko 55 godina, nadrabin u Čakovcu
5. Freiburger Miroslav, star oko 40 godina, nadrabin u Zagrebu (?)
6. Dr. Heisz B., star oko 60 godina, nadrabin u Sisku
7. Dr. Gluck Rudolf, star oko 70 godina, rabin u Varaždinu
8. Dr. Kohn I., rabin u Koprivnici
9. Meisl David, kantor U Karlovcu,
10. Wolfensohn Leo, star oko 55 godina, kantor u Koprivnici
11. Doif Isidor, star oko 45 godina, kantor u Bjelovaru
12. Katan Leon, star 66 godina, kantor u Brokom
13. Katz Leopold, star oko 65 godina, rabin i kantor u Daruvaru
14. Gilmann Josip, star oko 65 godina, rabin i kantor u Daruvaru
15. Schwarz N., star oko 45 godina, kantor i rabin u Donjem Miholjcu
16. Baruch Salamon, star 42 godine, rabin i kantor u Dubrovniku
17. Roth Aleksander, nepoznate starosti, kantor u Đakovu
18. Dr. Roth Lazar, star oko 70 godina, rabin u Murskoj Soboti
19. Buchbaum Lavoslav, star oko 72 godine, nadkantor u Križevcima
20. Perera David, star oko 40 godina, rabin u Mostaru
21. Schmelzer Jakov, star oko 35 godina, kantor u Našicama
22. Trilnik Andrija, star oko 30 godina, rabin u Novoj Gradiški
23. Frolich Paul, star 28 godina, nadkantor u Osijeku
24. Grun Isidor, star oko 60 godina, kantor u Osijeku
25. Freides Izak, star oko 55 godina, rabin u Pakracu
26. Klinkovstein Jakov, star oko 65 godina, nadkantor u Sisku
27. Rikow Mordechai, star oko 70 godina, rabin u Slavonskoj Požegi
28. Seife Boris, star 32 godine, nadkantor u Slavonskom Brodu
29. Finzi Izak, nepoznate starosti, rabin u Splitu



30. Deutsoh Otto, nepoznate starosti, rabin u Sušaku (?)
31. Baruch Izak, nepoznate starosti, rabin u Travniku
32. Kohn Jakob, nepoznate starosti, kantor u Varaždinu
33. Kohn Sigmund, star oko 65 godina, rabin i kantor u Banja Luci
34. Propper Mijo, star oko 60 godina. Nadkantor u Vinkovcima
35. Heršković Izidor, star oko 60 godina, kantor u Vinkovoima
36. Springer Adolf, star oko 45 godina, nadkantor u Virovitici
37. Mandel Vojislav, star 32 godine, kantor u Vukovaru
38. Weismann Josip, star 73 godine, nadkantor u miru u Zagrebu
39. Dr. Lowy M. star oko 70 godina, dekan i profesor rabinske škole
40. Mandel Bugen, star oko 35 godina, kantor u Zagrebu
41. Kahn Lavoslav, star oko 45 godina, kantor ortodoksne židovske općine u Zagrebu
42. Singer Samuel, star oko 65 godina, kantor iz Zagreba
43. Atias David, star oko 40 godina, kantor sefardskog obreda židovske općine u Zagrebu
44. Basch Arnold, star 26-28 godina, kantor u Zagrebu
45. Vogl Dragutin, star 27 godina, kantor u Zagrebu
46. Dr. Schlang Ignjat, star oko 55 godina, nadrabin u Beogradu
47. Grussmann N., star oko 35 godina, nadkantor iz Beograda
48. Klein Ignac, star 48 godina, rabin u Pančevu

*Remarks:*

*Document is in „Državni arhiv Hrvatske“, some data are from „Spomenica 1919-1969“*

## **Jewish population in Croatia and Zagreb**

After several decades of research about the Jews in Croatia and Zagreb, we have also started this book with a chapter on migrations. This was due to both my twenty years of work with the Institute for Migrations in Zagreb and the fact that the Jews have always been, and still are today the population with the highest migration rate.

Migrations have usually been conditioned by legal, developmental, economic, social, family, and political causes and by war and have frequently been the consequence of persecution and attempts to save one's own life.

Our intention has been to emphasise that the region of Croatia has been a scene of great movements of peoples and ethnic groups in the past and that there were also Jews among those who passed through or came to live in this region. For them, however, particular conditions, permits, restrictions, prohibitions and laws were introduced.

It is fascinating to analyse the Jewish population that has managed to preserve its religion and identity over a thousand-year-old life in the Diaspora while, at the same time, participating in processes of social integration and adaptation to dynamic social changes in the environment in which they live.

Even at times of temporary isolation and stigmatisation, numerous restrictions and rules of behaviour in an environment with anti-Jewish prejudice, the Jews became a highly educated and economically established population over the observed period of two centuries, whose contribution to the general development of the society cannot be ignored.

We analysed the long-term variations in the number of Jews and their structural, demographic, social, and economic features.

We have paid particular attention to comparing the Jews in Zagreb with Zagreb's overall population.

One can glean information about the two centuries of the life of Jews in Croatia (that period having been analysed) from the "dry" census results. From data, tables, graphs and charts, we learn of their rises and falls, their growth and development, their annihilation in the Holocaust, and the recent renewal of their communities.

Each analysed census and the relative documentation provide evidence of one of the stages that Jews had to go through up to the year 1941 and on.

The census carried out in Croatia and Slavonia in 1857 shows how the Jews came and first settled in what is Croatia today. At that time, the Jews lived in 330 populated places (in Civil Croatia) in large and small settlements, together with other ethnic and religious groups.

We have, on the one hand, described the then-valid legal and social conditions (Joseph II's Tolerance Patent, permits to settle, to engage in crafts, to own property, education possibilities. etc.) and, on the other hand, the traditional Jewish environment (Jewish communities, synagogues and their institutions. Jewish schools, marriages, family life) - that enabled the preservation of Jewish identity and tradition.

Analysis of the 1900 and 1910 censuses in Croatia already shows stable Jewish communities

concentrated in the then economically most developed regions of Croatia. Notably, the share of Jews in the total population, but also among other ethnic groups, is high in some areas.

The process of major migrations was completed by then. Internal migrations dominated, this being particularly noticeable in the following censuses.

Particularly interesting is the comparison of censuses in 1921 and 1931, as it shows strengthened urbanisation and internal migrations of the Jews from smaller places, even those with more extensive Jewish communities, to larger cities, particularly to Zagreb.

Analysis of several generations of Jews shows ongoing social progress as the so-called second generation, born in Croatia, and educated at prestigious schools in the country and abroad, has been socially and economically deeply integrated, even sometimes assimilated.

Although no census took place in 1941, we were able to obtain data on the Jewish population in Croatia by analysing credible documents and sources, particularly on the Jews in Zagreb, to whom special attention was paid in this research.

Data on the origin of individual Jewish families in Zagreb, Jewish family names, occupations, tensions within the community (between Orthodox and Neologist Groups), purchase and construction of buildings and synagogues, the establishment of schools and endowments, setting up of communities, and data on associations and societies will be of particular interest, as they reflect the emergence of an advanced and prosperous Jewish community in this part of Europe, which was also a strong attraction to members of Jewish populations from neighbouring countries, and particularly those from Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Analysis of the Jewish population in Zagreb in 1941, immediately before its ordeal in the Holocaust, shows the extent to which a relatively small ethnic (and religious) community had managed to integrate socially into the environment in which it lived and to advance from the status of so-called "*Pinkel Juden*" – i.e., petty traders – to recognised factory owners, professors, bankers, lawyers, architects, patrons of arts, Parliament members, etc.

Annihilation of the whole community in the Holocaust based on racial laws, on the one hand, and confiscation of everything it had acquired on the other – its property, enterprises, houses, flats, clinics, and companies was a paradox of sorts. A group of people, Jews, and all their achievements have been negated while, nonetheless, the results of their painstaking labour and their knowledge have been seized.

Censuses after the Second World War record the full extent of the tragedy that overlook the whole Jewish community in Croatia – It's almost 80 per cent annihilation, and the consequences to the age and gender structure, living standards, family, education, even the employment rate and migrations (to Israel).

The Jews have almost disappeared from most places in which they used to live and had their communities in Croatia. They were now concentrated in only a few communities, mainly in Zagreb, where the latest analyses record a renewal of the demographic structure and the religious, cultural and social life.

Basic results related to the research of the Jewish population in Zagreb are:

1. Analysis of trends (1857 - 2001) in the total number of Jews and Zagreb population

has recorded diametrically opposed tendencies.

Although the share of the Jewish population in the total population had increased from 1.9 to 3.8 % in the first observed period (1857–1941), a decline in the numbers of this ethnic group in the Zagreb population was recorded in the period after the World War II (1941–1945) until 2001.

This has been a consequence of World War II, the Holocaust, and overall political, economic and social factors in Croatia.

According to the latest census, there are only 367 persons of Jewish nationality in Zagreb, whereas the Zagreb Jewish Community has some 1200 members. That means that, in the census, only one-third of the Zagreb Jewish population declared themselves to be of Jewish nationality, while a lesser number (322) stated that they were Jewish by religion.

2. The spatial distribution of the Jews in Zagreb did not correspond to the city's demographic growth and spatial expansion in the second half of the 20th century. Jews were and remained mainly settled in the city centre.

3. The natural decrease of the Jewish population in these regions started much earlier (since 1915) than was the case with the total Zagreb population, and this trend has continued.

4. The analysis, in this work, the migration characteristics shows the following:

- Judging by the share of the immigrant Jewish population in the total population, the former has shown a considerably stronger migratory tendency than the average Zagreb population. In the 1991 Census, some 73 % of the Jewish people in Zagreb were immigrants; in 2001, this percentage had fallen to 54.2 %.
- The highest number of Jews (censuses after World War II) settled in 1946–1960 (about a quarter); the following periods in the number of new settlers are 1986–1991, 1971–1980, and 1981–1985.
- By their origin, a considerably more significant number of Jews was born abroad (some 50 %) as against the remaining city population (34.4 %).
- The majority of immigrants, who came from Bosnia-Herzegovina during the recent war, emigrated again to other countries.

The following was found in the analysis of the Zagreb Jewish population structure:

- In the gender structure of the Jewish population, the number of women prevails over the number of men to a greater extent than in the total population (56.9: 43.1 %).
- According to the censuses, the Jewish population is considerably older than the average Zagreb population.

This has been confirmed by all structure indicators (the average age is 56 as against 39 for the Zagreb population); the ageing index exceeded 40 % long ago, which means that the age type encompasses people of very advanced age. The age coefficient had already passed the critical limit of 12 % in 1948 and stands at over 50 % today;

- The data on the education and literacy of the Jews are relatively more favourable

(there are no illiterate Jews, and they are primarily employed in service industries, the commercial sector, trades and crafts, or provide personal services).

- According to the recent census, the proportion of the active population is deficient (22.5 %), which means that the majority is an economically supported population, unlike the situation in 1941 when the proportion of active Jews reached as high as 63 %. However, it has to be borne in mind that only a part of the Jewish population declared themselves as such in the census.
- Jews have a more unfavourable family structure (smaller families on average, fewer family members, a considerably larger number of widows, and a higher number of single-person households).

Given this, the devastating consequences of the Holocaust during World War II have had the most adverse effect on the number of Jews in Zagreb, which has been reduced, as well as on their age structure.

It has also meant unfavourable consequences for (the activity structure, rate of activity and the ratio between the active and economically supported population, although Jews in old age are more active than the average old-age elderly Zagreb population).

The comparative population analysis according to income sources also shows considerable differences (based on the conducted Survey in CENDO) concerning the total Zagreb population (the percentage of Jews who live primarily off their pension is considerably higher compared to those who have income from employment and other sources of income). This can be linked to their unfavourable age structure.

Concerning housing, the Jewish population (older) is in a better situation than at the city level on average. The more favourable state of affairs is also because many Jews are accommodated in retirement homes.

Health issues, particularly the mobility problems of older people, are significantly unfavourable. They are the consequence of the age structure and also the sufferings inflicted during World War II.

The results presented in this book are a contribution to the study of the Jewish population in Zagreb.

## The Jewish Community in Zagreb

This chapter describes the development of the Jewish Community in Zagreb. It provides a great deal of data on its membership and organisation.

According to G. Schwarz, the first Jew to immigrate to Zagreb was Jakov Stiegler (1782), who became the first president of the Jewish Community founded in 1806 by 17 Jewish families from the two parts of the city (Gradec and Kaptol) into which Zagreb was then divided. Jews settled through special permits.

In 1852 they bought land on Petrinjska Street to build a house for worship and community needs. In 1811 they purchased land for the cemetery (near the small church of St. Roch) and, in 1842, for “St Peters cemetery”. Both cemeteries were closed when a new one was built at Mirogoj in 1878.

In 1833 Jews were granted permission to bought a house for religious service and the rabbi on the corner of Amruševa street. Immediately after the Emperor’s Patent of Permission to Own Land was issued in 1860, a decision to build a synagogue in the centre of Zagreb was drawn up for the following year (1861). The city administration was informed in 1862, and on 27 September 1867, a newly built synagogue was consecrated.

The first Jewish elementary school (*Bildungsschulle*) was founded in 1841 but was closed in 1852 due to the need for more funds. In 1855, a “Trivial school” was founded.

*Hevra Kadisha*, a group of volunteers that took care of funerals, numbered 57 members in 1840, and in 1858 it extended its care to sick members of the Community united with *Bikur Holim*.

Many documents are also quoted from the sessions containing important decisions referring to the activities of the Jewish Community during World War II (1941).

Recent research into the Zagreb Jewish Community has revealed a great deal until now unknown. Together with Zoran Mirković, we established a database with information concerning the Jewish community in 1941 (10,960 names). For this purpose, the *Jewish registry of births, deaths and marriages* (now in the Central Registry Office Zagreb) was studied. We also collected contributions and information from community members who survived the Holocaust.

We include here part only of the significant amount of new information collected concerning the 1941 members of the Jewish community in Zagreb by origin, sex and age, occupation, numbers of births, marriages, deaths 1891–1948 (from the Central Registry), Holocaust victims from Zagreb according to age, sex, place, way they were killed and year of their death.

The table shows the results of the research by Rabbi Gavro Schwarz about the number of births in the Zagreb Community from 1891–1932. We have completed his account by including details from the Central Registry about the number of boys and girls born in subsequent years. Months of study in the Central Registry allowed us to provide information for later years, including the war years down to 1948, when the Jewish central registries of births, marriages and deaths had to be handed over to the city Central Registry.

Rabbi Miroslav Šalom Freiburger completed the registries for 13 December 1942. We were unable to find information for the years 1943 and 1944. Records began again on 8 July 1945 when senior cantor Bernard Grüner started to keep the register books. From 9 May 1946, they were held by Rabbi Dr Hinko Urbach.

At that time, members who married in the Jewish Community also had to register their marriage in the governmental NO office in Zagreb district II. The last marriage was recorded on 16 January 1949.

A total of 3,954 children were born to Jewish Community members from 1891–1941.

From 1858-1941 (till Holocaust), there were 2,304 marriages recorded.

There were 4,305 deaths recorded in the Zagreb Community from 1891–1941.

These figures show that number of deaths was higher than the number of births (not counting the war years).

The fact that the number of Jews increased in Zagreb resulted from constant immigration and not of natural increase. In 1880 the Jewish community in Zagreb numbered 1,286. The census of 1931 shows 8,702 Jews; an increase of 7,414 is probably the result of immigration.

According to Memorial book of 1919-1969 (published by the Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia), there were in 1940, 9,467 Jews in the Zagreb Community:

- Ashkenazi, 8,712, President Dr Marko Horn and Rabbi Dr Gavro Schwarz,
- Sephardim, 625, President Cezar Gaon and Rabbi Isak Baruh.
- Orthodox Jewish community 130, President Leon Hesel.

According to the Memorial Book, there were 2,080 members in Zagreb Community in 1947.

As a result of the great Aliya in 1969, there were only 1,341 members in Zagreb (1969), and the president was Dr Leo Singer.

We conducted an analysis about occupation of the members of the Zagreb Jewish Community in 1941 by occupation. In our analysis, we followed the classification used in the population census: 1) economically active, 2) individuals with personal incomes, and 3) supported persons. The results were as follows:

1. Economically active 5,769 (of which 22.5 % women). A breakdown by occupation shows: industry – 190, agriculture – 29, forestry – 1, construction industries – 16, transport and communications – 45, trade – 1,470, hospitality and catering – 76, crafts and personal services – 649, accommodation – 12, financial sector and services – 1,907, culture – 79, education – 111, bookbinders, libraries – 112, science – 18, health – 291, other – 764.
2. 516 persons had personal incomes (pensions, private sources, property rents, etc.).
3. There were 2,817 supported persons (2,425 were women). This included housewives, widows, refugees, immigrants, persons on welfare support, children, students, etc.

Only a small number were employed in agriculture, forestry, construction and communi-



cations (i.e., railways). It is also interesting that only 76 people were involved in inns and catering, and 29 of them were waiters.

Jews carried out a large number of crafts: There were 162 tailors, 31 clockmakers, 19 shoe-makers, 15 carpenters, 22 locksmiths, 18 photographers, 22 upholsterers, 20 barbers, and 16 hairdressers. There were 79 fitters and technicians, 9 architects, and 144 engineers.

The most significant number was employed in clerical work (1,405 privately), especially clerk in banks and 38 accountants. Few Jews had positions in the governmental service (27), with 110 solicitors, 16 lawyers and 5 judges.

There were many (163) Jewish physicians, 20 opticians, the same number of veterinaries, and 26 pharmacists.

A considerable number of women provided personal services: dressmakers, milliners, cosmeticians, manicurists, and corset fitters, weavers. Many women worked as private secretaries (420), but very few were in the governmental service. Interestingly, very few Jewish women worked typical women's jobs, such as nurses and midwives. This was because they could not be employed at hospitals, so they only did this kind of work privately. There were relatively few school teachers, typically a women's career (23 in secondary school and 33 in primary school). There were 22 Jewish women doctors, 9 pharmacists, 27 students etc.

As new economic branches developed, Jews found a place in them, such as mechanics in the automobile industry, the electrical industry etc. It is important to note that many young people were trained and found employment equally in traditional and new occupations. Considerable help was the tradition of Jewish businessmen to employ young people from their own families and related families.

## **Jewish Community Zagreb chronology**

### **Communities:**

- Jewish Community Zagreb found (17 families or 52 Jews in Gradec and 19 in Kaptol) 1806  
The first president was Jakov Stiegler
- The Community split – separation of the Orthodox Jews and foundation of Community in Laška street ("Laškouličanska općina); house of worship in Ružička street 1841
- The communities united again 1856
- Autonomous Orthodox Community founded 1926
- Autonomous Sephardic Community founded 1927
- Alliance of Jewish Communities of the SHS founded in Belgrade 1919
- Coordination of Jewish Communities of Croatia founded in Zagreb 1995

### **Synagogues:**

- The first religious service was held in the house of Lukačić, Petrinjska street 12 1809
- A house was bought for the worship and rabbi, corner of Petrinjska and Amruševa streets
- Synagogue in Gajevo – election of Mavro Goldman for teacher, later rabbi 1840
- Orthodox synagogue on Ružička street and cemetery 1841
- The decision to build a new synagogue was adopted 1855
- Orthodox synagogue closed down 1858
- The building of the synagogue on Praška street was completed and consecrated 1867
- The synagogue on Praška street was demolished by Nazi 1942

### **Rabbis:**

- First rabbi Aron Pallota 1809
- Mavro Goldman 1844–1849
- Leopold Rekonstein 1852

• Dr. Hosea Jakobi (introduced the Croatian language in liturgy)	1855
• Dr. Gavro Schwarz, a prayer book with a translation into Croatian	1902
• Dr. Mojsije Margel	1926-1937
• Dr. Miroslav Šalom Freiburger, wrote a prayer book (killed in Auschwitz)	1937–1943
• Dr. Hinko Urbach	1945
• Kotel Da-Don	
• Luciano Moše Prelević	

### **Cemeteries:**

• The first cemetery was located at St Roch	1811
• The cemetery near St Peter's church	1842
• Mirogoj cemetery	1878
• Society "Hevra kadiša" founded	1828
• "Hevra Kadiša" united with society "Bikur Holim"	1858

### **Schools:**

• Jewish school founded, the first teacher was Karl Saphir	1841
• The school closed down due to financial difficulties	1852
• A three-grade "Trivialschule" was founded	1855
• A primary school of the Israelite Religious Community founded in Palmotićeva street	1898
• During World War II, the school in Trenkova street was managed by M. Š. Freiburger	
• The school building in Palmotićeva street (today the Jewish Community) was damaged by a planted bomb	1991
• The building was renovated	1992
• Kindergarten "Miriam Weiller" was founded in Palmotićeva 16	
• Jewish school "Lea Deutch" was founded in Amruševa street (later moved to Bet Israel)	2003
• Sunday school for children organised in Palmotićeva 16	

## **Jewish women's organisations:**

• Israeli women's association "Jelena Prister"	1887
• Israeli holiday colony (summer camp)	1912
• Foundation of Tilda Deutsch Maceljska for the establishing youth holiday centres	1922
• Youth holiday centre in Crikvenica – "Villa Antonija"	1923
• Jewish Girl's society "B'not Cijon"	1917
• WIZO Zionist women organization	1927
• Women's section	1951
• Coordination board of women's sections of Yugoslavia, Belgrade	1957
• Union of Jewish Women of Croatia Zagreb	1995

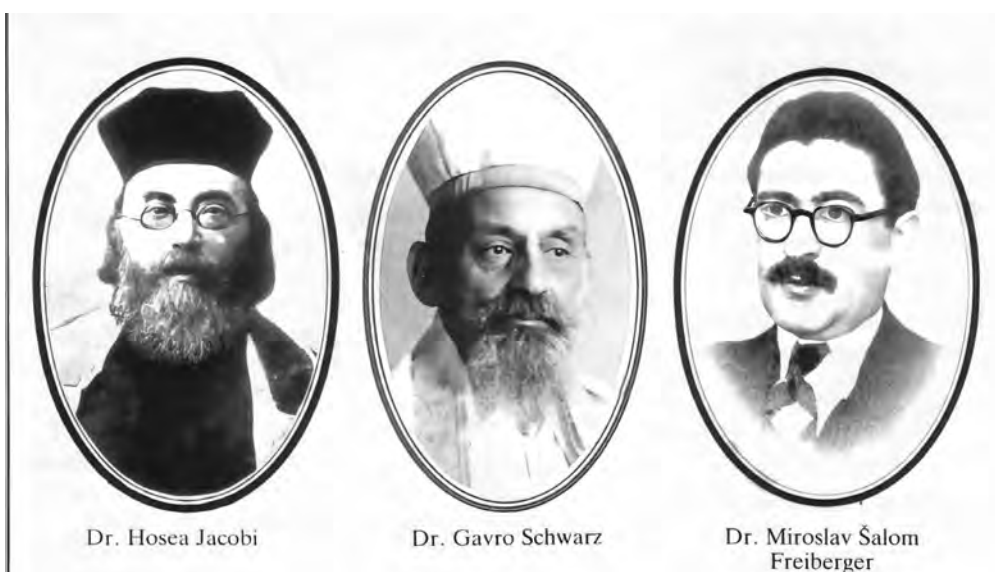
## **Youth societies:**

• Literary Jewish youth meetings	1898
• Croatian Academic Citizens Club "Judeja"	1904
• Jewish Academic Support Society	1905
• "Maccabi" – Jewish Sports and Gombal Society	1913
• "B'not Cijon" – Jewish girls' circle	1917
• Jewish school canteen	1919
• "Ahdut hacofim" – Association of Jewish scouts	1924
• "Esperanca" - Society of Sephardic Students	1925
• Jewish Youth Circle "Hug ivri" – a library	

## **Other societies:**

• Charity "Društvo čovječnosti" (humanitarian society) (Jacques Epstein)	1846
• Zionist Association of Yugoslavia	1919
• Association of Jewish Youth Societies and magazine "Gideon"	1919
• "B'nai B'rith"	1927
• Reopened as "Gavro Schwarz lodge" in Zagreb	2002
• EZRA – Jewish credit union (for teaching the youth)	1932
• Jewish National Fund "Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael"	

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| • Lavoslav Schwarz legacy for Home of the elderly | 1905 |
| • Home for the elderly opened                     | 1910 |
| • Elderly must immediately move out of Home       | 1941 |
| • new old age home build on Bukovačka cesta       | 1957 |



Rabbies from Jewish community Zagreb

## The chronology in Zagreb (1806–1937)

Year	Event
1806	Foundation of the Jewish Community of Zagreb by 17 families from Gradec (52 members) and Kaptol (19 members). The first president was Jakov Stiegles, and the first rabbi was Aaron Palota.
1809	The first worship was held in the house of Lukačić on Petrinjska Street.
1811	The cemetery beside St. Rock church was established.
1840	Mavro Goldman was elected a teacher and became a rabbi.
1841	Split between Orthodox and Reform Jews (Orthodox Jewish community founded in Laška Street).
1841	The first Jewish school with a three-year programme opened in Zagreb (the first teacher was Karl Saphir).
1846	The first Jewish-Croatian humanitarian society ( <i>Humanitätsverein</i> ) was founded in Zagreb (the director was Jacques Epstein).
1855	A decision was made to build a new synagogue.
1856	The two Jewish communities united again.
1858	Hevra Kadisha society (founded in 1828) joined with Bikur Holim.
1859	The Jews acquired the right to possess real estate.
1867	The building of the synagogue in Zagreb was completed and consecrated.
1873	The Jews in Croatia were given all citizenship rights.
1878	The central cemetery in Mirogoj was opened.
1887	The first Jewish Women's society <i>Jelena Prister</i> founded.
1898	The elementary school opened in a new building on Palmotičeva Street.
1902	Rabbi Gavro Schwarz published the first prayer book with a Croatian translation.
1905	In his will, Lavoslav Schwarz leaves an endowment for a Jewish home for elderly people.
1910	In December, the home for the elderly, Lavoslav Schwarz, was opened.
1912	Israeli Youth Holiday Colony was founded.
1913	The Jewish sports and gymnastic society Maccabi was founded.
1917	The "Židov" (weekly magazine) was launched in Zagreb.
1919	The Association of Zionists of Yugoslavia was founded.
1919	Union of Youth Association was founded in Slavonski Brod
1919	The Association of Jewish religious communities in SHS was founded.
1923	The foundation of Tilda Deutsch Maceljiski, Vila Antonia, was instituted as a summer centre.
1926	The autonomous community of orthodox Jews was founded in Zagreb.
1927	The autonomous Sephardic community was founded in Zagreb.
1928	The Zionist Association of Women (WIZO) was founded in Zagreb.
1937	Dr Miroslav Šalom Freiburger, the rabbi, wrote a prayer book (in Hebrew and Croatian).

## Origin of Jews in Zagreb

In his book *"History of the Zagreb Jewish community from its foundation"*, Dr. Gavro Schwarz states that the first Jewish immigrant to Zagreb was Jakov Stiegler (1782) from Trebitsch in Moravia, Jakov Weiss (1789) from Rechnitz in Hungary, and Jakov Stern (1789) from Bohemia. Dr. Gavro Schwarz, researched the origins of the first families of Jews in Zagreb. Most of the Jews moved to Zagreb from:

### Ugarska, cities and towns

Bonyhad, Altofen, Budim, Földvár, Güns, Velika Kaniža, Körmed, Lengyeltot, Nemesker (Sopron), Pallota, Papa, Pest, Rechnitz, Gyömör, Szombathely, Szigetvár, Tapiovasvár, Vasan, Veszprem, Zalaegerszeg, Zala Lövő.

Kasnije su neka od tih mjesta pripala Austriji.

### Austria:

Deutschkreuz, Gross Magendorf, Kitz, Güssing, Lakenbach, Mattersdorf, Schlainig

### Czechoslovakia:

Gross Meseritsch, Komorn, Drovišnje (Arva), Holitsch, Kaschau, Liptó Szt. Miklós, Neuschloss Eidlitz, Neuzetlitz, Polna, Pohrlitz, Saaz, Surany, Hranice, Trebitsch, Trenčsen, Ung. Brod, Neu-sohl, Nikolsburg, Pressburg,

### Poland Jaroslav, Krakov, Liska, Rezov, Tarnov, Galicija

Dr. Gavro Schwarz states that in the period 1840-1843 (which he monitored), 28 men and 29 women have origin from Zagreb itself, and from other parts of Yugoslavia they came: from Bistrica 1, Cernik 1, Daruvar 3, Karlovac 3, Kraljevac 1, Ljubljana 1, Osijek 1, Sv. Ivan Zelina 3 and Varaždin

When describing the 116 first Jewish families in Zagreb (between 1840-1843), he cited the places where they came from, separated for men and separated for women.

We studied these lists and descriptions which managed to show the origin of most of the first Jewish settlers in Zagreb. We have also added some data from the register of marriages in Zagreb in the period from 1858 to 1879.

The names and locations of the places of origin of the first Jews who came to Zagreb refer to the area within the then borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.



## Origin of first Jews in Zagreb

### Ugarska (Hungary)

**Bonyhad:** Klein Aleksander, Eichner Samuel, Rosenberg Ignac, Rosalia Rosenberg Roszai Antal, Eishner Ignatz, Pollak Johana; **Budim –Altofen** :Heimbach Leopold, Dr. Schonstein Leopold

**Budim:** Moses Samuel; **Foldvar:** Baumgartner Leopold; **Guns:** Spitzer Moritz, Terezija Spitzer;

**Kaniža Velika:** Hermina Schwarz, Samuel Schwarz, Nanette Lichenstein, Šarlota Hirschl, Terezija Lederer, Amalija Hertman, Kati Hirschler, Nanetta Weiss, Stern Abraham, Julija Kostler, Heinrich Stern, Šarlota Feigelstock, Betlheim Jakob, Roza Stern, Roza Mayer, Šarlota Politzer, Ana Bachrach; Schwarz Friedrich, Singer Henriette, Bachrach Eduard, Scherz Simon, Kohn Josef, Scherz Simon, Lowy Ignatz, Bachrach, Friedrich Kurschner Heron, Weinberger Jakob. Stern Cecilie, Spitz Cecilie, Neuman Karolina Schlesinger Rosa

**Kormend:** Nanetta Gross, Furst Heinrich, Furst Jakob, Marija Furst; Karadazs David, Steinhardt Moritz, Karpeler Regine, Buchler Johana, Buchler Albert, Buchler Fany, Prager Bela

**Lenqyeltot:** Brill Josef; **Palotta:** Palotta Aron; **Papa:** Abraham Hertmann, Babeta Steiner, Hertman Samuel, Schwarz Josip;

**Pest:** Emina Pollak, Wellsch David; Kohn Samuel, Marcus Samuel; **Pressburg** :Rozalija Hirsch, Katarina Langraf; **Rechnitz** :Jozefina Deutsch, Angelus Jakob, Langraf Jakob, Regina Lowy, Babeta Leitner, Helena Guttermann; Angelus Jakob, Langraf Gustaf, Kronfeld Gustav, Spiegler Friedrich

**Gyomory (Feher):** Deutsch Albert; Deutsch Leopold; **Szombathely:** Hofmann Samuel (Steinmanger);

**Szigetvar:** Ignaz Deutsch, Katarina, Weiss Herman, Kremsir; **Tapio:** Klein Bernhard; Vasvar: Muller Jakob; **Vasan-Veszprem** :Guthardt Josip, Hochstadter Josip;

**Zala Egerszeg:** Katarina Weinberger; Zala Lovo :Johana Schwabenitz, Bruckner Moritz, Kohn Salamon, Kohn, Deutsch Babette, Schwabenitz Leopold

### Austrija:

**Deutschkreutz:** Neufeld Heinrich; **Gross-Magendorf:** Hirsch Adolf, Babeta Frei;

**Kitze:** Goldziehler Markus; **Gussing** :Stiegler Ašer, Rozalija Sommer, Rozalija Kaufmann, Julija Ungar, Kaufmann Filip, Tereza Neufeld; Benfeld Terezija, Alexander Jonas, Ornstein Rosalie Neufeld Gina, Schonheit Katharina, Pollak Leopold, Alexander Šandor, Mayer Šandor, Kaufman Jakob, Kellner Sarafina, Rosenberg Max, Bendiner Heinrich, Rosenberg, Bichler Moritz, Neumann Aleksander, Risenberg Leopold, Sconheit Therese Schonheit Cecilie, Schonheit Johana, Aleksander Bernard, Weiss Jakob

**Lakenbach:**Henrijeta Spitzer, Katarina Spitzer, Hirschler Geršon, Naneta Spitzer, Šarlota

Spitzer; **Mattersdorf**: Heinrich Kohn, Johana Kohn, Šarlota Kohn,

**Schlaining**: Naneta Linenberg, Schweizer Salman, Julija Weiss, Honisberger Katarina, Steiner Neti, Gunsburg Josefina, Grunwald, Honmigsberg Cili, Rosenberg, Hirschl Heinrich, Hirsch Paulina, Kern Alexander, Heinrich Ignatz

### **Czechoslovakia**

**Gross Meseritsch**: Blum David, Holzmann Sigmund; **Komorn**: Schwarz Ignac; **Drovišnje Arva**: Ehrenfreund Ignac, Rezi Bankner; **Holitsch (Njitra)**: Loffler Moše; Stern Aleksandar :

**Kaschau** :Rotter Ignac; **Lipto Szt. Miklos**: Leopold Friedlander; **Neuschloss**: Neuberger Simon;

**Eidlitz**: Rosenzweig Eduard ; **Nuesohl**: Julija Weiss; **Neuzetlisch** :Epstein Ignac;

**Nikolsburg**: Tereza Herzl; **Polna**: Jakob Weiss, Pulzer Leopold, Weiss Simon;

**Pohrlitz**: Schuller Hirsch Heinrich; **Saaz**: Neuberger Simon; **Surany**: Braun Moritz, Weiss Adam; **Hranice**: Siebenschein Josip; **Tapolcsany**: Tereza Blum; **Trebitsch**: Benjamin Deutsch; **Trencsen**: Epstein Wolf; **Ung. Brod**: Frankl Johan; **Frankl Leopold Nemesker (Sopron)**: Amalija Deutsch; **Waag Neustaldt**: Hana Lowy.

### **Deutschland, Prussia, Bavaria**

**Bungt Bayern**: Kahn Josip; **Schlichtigsheim**: Emanuel Sachs; **Merzbach Bayern**: Franciska Schneider; **Ottonson Bayern**: Emilija Simonsfeld

### **Poland:**

**Bielitz**: Ema Goldsmidt; **Jaroslav**: Segen Emanuel; **Krakov**: Figantner Josip, Herz Moses Sauerbrunn Marcus, Regina Horovitz; **Liska**: Rosenfeld Israel; **Rezov**: Rozalija Ornstein; **Tarnov**: Sismann Josip

### **Italy**

**Gradiška (Gradisca kraj Goricije)**: Prister Emanuel, Karolina Prister, Prister Girolamo, Karolina Luzzato, Babeta Luzzato, Regina Prister.

Of great importance is also the research of the registers books of marriages in the Jewish community Zagreb. When we compared the registers of marriages from the time of the immigration of the first Jews with the later marriage registers, significant differences are visible.

We can see that In the first period of immigration, the grooms were mostly from regions and cities of Austria-Hungary, while the brides were almost mostly from Zagreb in which newcomer married. We have researched marriage registers in the later period 1858-1879.

In that period, newlyweds who were born in Croatia dominate, mostly from Zagreb (99), where most of the brides are from.

Then the number of Jews came from Varaždin (10), a city that seems to have been an important stage in the migration to Zagreb, but also came from Bistrica, Bjelovar, Brezovica, Cernik, Čakovec, Daruvar, Glina, Jakovlje, Jaska, Karlovac, Koprivnica, Kutina, Našice, Rugvica, Samobor, Sisak, Sv.Martin, Velika Gorica, Virovitica, and from other parts of Yugoslavia.

According to Sergio Della Pergola, researcher from Hebrew university, marriages depend from several groups of determinants:

- Sociocultural - according to which the family has a central position in traditional Jewish culture
- Socioeconomic - stratification in the Jewish community, the importance of dowry, which is also included in the marriage contract - ketubah
- Demographic – There are a relatively small number of potential marriage candidates, the appearance of intermediaries in marriages
- Legal - marriage restrictions, for example only the eldest son in the family can be married, other, while the others sons usually migrated and married in other town or place.

According our analyse of register books we find several interesting facts about marriages in Zagreb:

- The origin of the groom and bride is now often different.
- Girls in Zagreb (and Croatia) become very favorable bride because by marrying they enable the arrival of new Jews (groom) to Zagreb
- In the period we studied we were able to observe how girls, by marrying, contribute to the geographical distribution of the Jewish population in Croatia
- Jewish „groom“ usually move to the new places and after a few years (when they become established), they marry either girls from the region they came from or girls in the place they moved to.
- We also found that there are often large age differences between the groom and the bride. Grooms can be even ten or more years older than brides.
- Due to the fact that men are on average older at the time of marriage, a different “offer” existed for men and for women in a population and there are periodic fluctuations
- The number of children in family is large, 5-8, and often more, and there are also children from previous marriages, illegitimate children are an exception
- They are rarely unmarried (celibate) in Jewish population, usually widows and widowers or divorced (divorces are rare) remarry.

## **Occupation of the members of the Jewish Community Zagreb (1941)**

This research started when we established, together with eng. Zoran Mirković, the first database about the Jewish Community Zagreb, with 10,960 names, partly published.

We collected all available data about their occupations and made a classification used in most population censuses: economically active (5,769 – women 1,296), individuals with personal income (516) and supported person (2,8177 – women 2,425).

Breakdown by occupation shows the following employment distribution by industry: industrial jobs – 190 persons; agriculture – 29; forestry – 1; construction industries – 16; transport and communications – 45; trade – 1,470; hospitality and catering – 76; craft and personal services – 649; housing – 12, financial sector and services – 1,907; culture – 79; education – 111; bookbinders and libraries – 112; science – 18; health – 291; and miscellaneous – 764.

There were 2,817 supported persons, and 2,425 of them were women (housewives, widows, refugees, immigrants, persons on welfare support, children, and students)

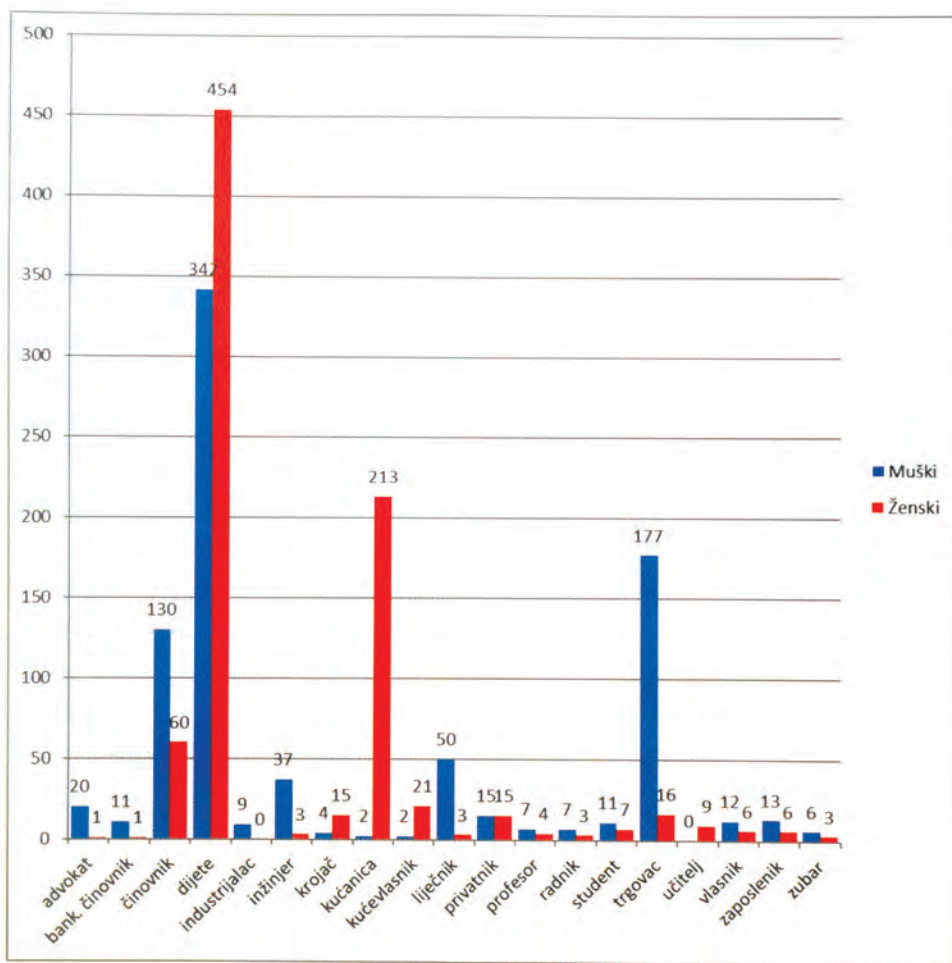
We can see that a small number of them were employed in agriculture, forestry, construction and transport (railways). Only 76 persons are engaged in the hospitality and catering trade (29 waitpersons).

We find many artisans: 162 tailors, 31 clockmakers, 19 shoemakers, 15 carpenters, 22 locksmiths, 18 photographers, 23 upholsterers, 70 barbers, 16 hairdressers, 79 fitters and technicians, 9 architects and 144 engineers.

The highest number worked as clerks (1,405 in private businesses), especially in banks (8038 accountants). There were 110 solicitors, 16 lawyers and 5 judges. There were also many (163) Jewish doctors, 20 opticians, 20 veterinaries and 26 pharmacists.

Women mainly provided personal services as dressmakers, milliners, cosmeticians, manicurists, corset fitters, and weavers. Women worked as private secretaries (420). Very few Jewish women worked typical women's jobs, such as nurses or midwives, because they were not allowed to work in hospitals. There were relatively few schoolteachers (23 in secondary and 33 in primary schools). In addition, 22 women worked as doctors, 9 as pharmacists, and there were 26 female students.

Many young people were trained and employed in family companies because it is the tradition of Jewish businessmen to hire people from their own families and community.



Survivors occupation

## **Jewish Doctors in Croatia**

### **Contribution to Medicine by Jewish Doctors in Zagreb**

Data from Central Medical Association: 1874. - 104 doctors - 12 Jews

1910. - 101 Jewish doctor

According to publication in "200 Years of Jews in Zagreb" by Mirko Mirković, Jewish doctors contributed to the field of medicine:

- Dr. Mavro Sachs - Zagreb city doctor, prof. of judiciary medicine; initiated the construction of the Zagreb synagogue,
- Dr. Antun Schwarz - Secretary of Health Department, founder of the first school for midwifery (1874) and first Croatian psychiatric hospital in Stenjevec, (1879), founder of Central Medical Association in Zagreb (1874), editor of Medical Journal,
- Dr. Dragutin Schwarz - Hospital "Sestre milosrdnice", author of publication "Opisne anatomije",
- Dr. Antun Gotlieb, surgeon,
- Dr. Žiga Schwarz founder of Children Clinic,
- Dr. Lavolsav Schonstein - Medical Association,
- Dr. Željko Hahn, initiator of research in public health,
- Dr. Beno Stein, internist, with wife Vera Stein -Ehrlich- well-known activists and writers,
- Dr. Adolf Holzer, balneologist, donated meteorological station to Zagreb,
- Josip Kraus - founder of first Sanatorium Merkur,
- Dr. Stjepan Bettelheim founder of modern psychiatry,
- Dr. Arpad Hahn - Dean of Medical faculty and researcher of the history of medicine,
- Dr. Oskar Stern - Dean of Faculty of Dental Medicine,
- Dr. Alfred Nick, dr. Srećko Podvinac otolaryngologists,
- Dr. Oskar Stein - Dean of the Faculty of Dental Medicine,
- Dr. Branko Gostl, dr. Samuel Deutsch, dr. Bela Kohn, dr. Dezider Julius, dr. Pavel Herzog...

Jewish doctors are often the first Jews accepted in new society, even in time of settlement restrictions.

**In Dubrovnik:** Guicomo Mazia from Salerno (1426), Amatus Lusitanus (1556) from Portugal.

Dubrovnik was unique for sanitary and medical regulations and important Jewish doctors who influenced the Mediterranean region.

**In Zadar:** Guglielmo da Varignana (1319) from Bologna and Nicolo Roccabonella (1386-1459)

**In Trogir:** Pietro Bono from Ferrara.

## Medicine on the east and west Adriatic Coast

The exchange of culture and health practices between the two Adriatic coasts was always present, although not always reciprocal. The influence of the west coast on the east was usually on a higher level (by the University of Bologna, Padua, and Pavia, as well as others).

Monastery medicine and Benedictine pharmacy on the east coast, with approximately 100 abbeys, was under the direct administration of Monte Cassino.

- The first physicians in Dubrovnik came from Salerno. The first book on the Croatian language was a translation of *“Regimen sanitatis scholae Salernitanae”*.
- *Legislative edicts* of Friedrich II, the king of Sicily, was incorporated in the statutes of Dalmatian towns in the eighth and ninth centuries, as well as in agreements between doctors and the Republic of Dubrovnik.
- Medicine and pharmacy of Bologna, Pavia and Padua did not comprise only medical and pharmaceutical literature but also physicians and pharmacists. However, there were also local doctors.
- The Old Pharmacy at Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik (*Ljekarnica Male Braće*) has got the longest line of pharmacists, dating back to 1317.
- Delegation of doctors went to Bologna (1320), Venice and Padua to be selected as the best doctors in Dubrovnik.
- During the domination of Venice, only the citizens of Venice could practice pharmacy and medicine. However, the practices acquired from the west coast merged with local findings.
- Today, we know about the so-called *“ljekaruše”* – collecting folk medicines and adjusting them to the needs and circumstances in our region.
- The east coast contributed with the collection of medicinal herbs, translators of Arabian medical books (Hieronymus Dalmata), and authors of *“Libri secreti”* (Don Alessio Piemontese – a citizen of Dubrovnik Marijo Kaboga).



- Experts from the east coast worked as professors in Bologna and Padua; 39 professors in Padua originated from the east coast and ten of them worked in departments of medicine.

### **List of the Jewish doctors in Croatia collected by dr. Nick ( "Liječnici")**

- ARMINSKI dr. Izidor, 1855-1917, liječnik u Osijeku
- BAUER dr. Geza, 1890, zubar u Osijeku
- BAUER dr. Gustav, 1854-1925, županijski fizik u Varaždinu
- COHN dr. Julius, liječnik u Opatiji 1906.
- FISCHER dr. Herman, gradski fizik u Bjelovaru
- FLESCH dr. Albert, 1878-1883, liječnik u Osijeku
- FODOR dr. Adolf, 1853-1897, liječnik u Varaždinskim Toplicama i u Zagrebu
- FODOR dr. Geza, 1867-1920, internist u Opatiji i u Zagrebu
- GOTTLIEB dr. Antun, primarius i kirurg u Zagrebu
- GROSSMANN dr. Makso, rod. 1893. u Vukovaru, internist u Zagrebu do 1947.
- GROSSMANN dr. Stefanija, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- HAHN dr. Željko rođ. 1876. u Vukovaru, glavni liječnik Središnjeg ureda za osiguranje radnika do 1941.
- HERCOG dr. Žiga, 1881-1945, zubar u Zagrebu
- HOROVITZ dr. Franjo, 1867-1909
- JUNGVIKT dr. Gustav, pedijatar, načelnik odjela Bolnice u Vinogradskoj ul. u Zagrebu
- LATEINER-MAYERHOFER dr. Matilda, 1886-1961, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- LOVINGER-MARKOVIC dr. Irna, školski liječnik u Zagrebu
- LOWY dr. Otto, rod. 1890. u Osijeku, živio u Zagrebu do 1920, bakteriolog i imunolog, predstojnik Bakteriološkog zavoda u Zagrebu
- RADO dr. Eugen, zubar u Zagrebu 1900.
- REINER dr. Moritz, 1815-1898, gradski fizik u Osijeku
- SACHS dr. Milan, rod. 1877. u Zagrebu, patol. anatom i bakteriolog u Beču i Berlinu, gdje je 1903. umro od kuge, zarazivši se prilikom eksperimentalnog rada u Kochovom institutu
- SCHWARZ dr. Antun, kirurg u Zagrebu
- SCHWARZ dr. Dragutin, rod. 1886, šef kirurg. odjela Bolnice milosrdne braće u Zagrebu, umro u Beču 1917.
- SCHWARZ Vatroslav (Igo), rođ. 1861, u Banatu, liječnik u Opatiji, kasnije u Osijeku, ravnatelj bolnice
- SCHWARZ dr. Žiga, pedijatar, šef dječjeg dispanzera u Zagrebu
- SPITZER dr. Eduard, 1868-1926, zubar u Varaždinu

- STEIN dr. Beno, 1890-1941, internist u Zagrebu, počinio suicid u Užicu
- STEIN dr. Iso, internist
- SZEGO dr. Kaiman, 1897-1906, liječnik u Opatiji
- STEINHARD dr. Izidor, primarius infektolog, osnivač Kužne bolnice u Zagrebu
- ALTMANN dr. Vladimir, rendgenolog u Zagrebu
- BAUER dr. Rikard, rendgenolog u Zagrebu
- ORNSTEIN dr. rendgenolog u Osijeku
- SCHEYER dr. Julije, pedijatar u Koprivnici
- KOLLMANN dr. Heinrich, u mladim danima dvorski liječnik kralja Milana Obrenovića u Smederevu, zatim mnogo godina općinski liječnik u Goli i u Koprivnici
- ALTMANN dr. zubar u Zagrebu
- FODOR dr. (otac), zubar u Zagrebu
- FODOR dr. (sin), zubar u Zagrebu
- WILF dr. Leo, zubar u Zagrebu
- HAAS dr. Žarko, zubar u Zagrebu
- HOCHSTETTER dr. Bela, ginekolog u Zagrebu, sanitetski pukovnik JNA i upravnik Vojne bolnice
- VAJTA dr. ginekolog u Zagrebu
- KARPAH dr. Mirko, ginekolog u Zagrebu
- WINTER dr. Miroslav, dermatovenerolog u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- SCHLESINGER dr. Miroslav, šef liječnik Središnjeg ureda za socijalno osiguranje u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- SCHLESINGER dr. Albert, privatni liječnik u Zagrebu
- KRAUS dr. Gustav, zubar u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- LEDERER-KRAUS dr. Juliška, dermatolog iz Zagreba, poginula u partizanima
- HERŠKOVIC dr. Izak, internist u zakladnoj bolnici u Zagrebu
- KOHN dr. Bela, kirurg u Zagrebu
- BETTLHEIM dr. Stjepan, neuropsihijatar, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- JULIUS dr. Dezider, neuropsihijatar, ravnatelj Duševne bolnice u Vrapcu, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- NEUFELD-WACHSLER Stela, liječnica u Novoj Gradiški
- NEUMANN dr. Iso, liječnik u Novoj Gradiški
- NEUMANN dr. Željko, kirurg u Rijeci
- NEUMANN dr. Branko, pedijatar u Opatiji
- HIRSLER dr. Slavko, stomatolog, šef zubarske službe u Zagrebu
- HEINRICH dr. Albert, direktor Doma zdravlja u Koprivnici
- STEIN dr. Mavro, ginekolog u Zagrebu

- DAJČ dr. Miroslav, ginekolog u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- ROSENZWEIG dr. Arnulf, neuropsihijatar, šef odjela u bolnici "Dr. Kajfeš" u Zagrebu
- WEISS dr. (otac) liječnik u Križevcima
- WEISS dr. (sin) liječnik u Križevcima
- DUIĆ dr. Miroslav, internist u Zagrebu, sanitetski pukovnik JNA u Vojnoj bolnici u Zagrebu
- EISENS1ADTER dr. Vlatko, internist u Zagrebu
- WEISS dr. Milan, otorinolaringolog, sanitetski pukovnik u JNA, šef odjela Vojne bolnice u Zagrebu
- GOLDNER dr. Milan, ftiziolog, sanitet. pukovnik JNA, šef odjela Vojne bolnice u Zagrebu i načelnik ftiziološke službe grada Zagreba
- BLAU-FRANCETIĆ dr. Ruža, internist, vojni liječnik JNA u Zagrebu
- GRINER dr. Teodor, pedijatar, sanitetski pukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- RAUSNIC-OBERSON dr. Jolanda, internist Vojne bolnice u Zagrebu, sanitetski potpukovnik JNA
- OBERSON dr. Đuro, internist, primarius, sanitetski pukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- DEUTSCH dr. Samuel, internist Socijalnog osiguranja u Zagrebu
- FRANK dr. Otto, internist u Vojnoj bolnici u Zagrebu
- POLLAK dr. Slavko, liječnik u Zagrebu
- KON dr. Dragutin, stomatolog, sanitetski pukovnik u Vojnoj bolnici u Zagrebu
- KALLAI dr. Laszlo, internist, prof. Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- NICK dr. Alfred, rođ. 1902. u Sarajevu, sanitetski pukovnik u JNA, upravnik Vojne bolnice u Zagrebu
- BIENENFELD dr. Rudi, stomatolog, sanitetski pukovnik u JNA
- LÖVENTAL dr. Zelenko, historičar medicine, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta
- KOLLMANN dr. Slavko, otorinolaringolog u Zagrebu
- FOLDES-KOLLMANN dr. Olga, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- ŠPIRER dr. otorinolaringolog u Zagrebu
- AKERMAN dr. Rade, primarius ginekolog, sef odjela u Zadru
- ALTARAS dr. Jakica, rendgenolog u Zagrebu, sada profesor univerziteta Giessenu
- STEINER dr. Stjepan, internist, profesor Vojnomedicinske akademije, general sanitetske službe JNA, u Zagrebu
- GOLDSCHMID-STEINER dr. Zora, kirurg, sanitetski potpukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- GLESINGER dr. Lavoslav, neuropsihijatar i historičar medicine, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- ROSENZWEIG dr. Erich, ginekolog, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- NEUMANN dr. Emil, pedijatar, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- STERN dr. Oskar, stomatolog, profesor Stomatološkog fakulteta u Zagrebu

- SUVIN dr. Miroslav, stomatolog, profesor Stomatološkog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- MANTL dr. Sebastijan, sanitetski general JNA, načelnik saniteta Zagrebačke armijske oblasti
- RUZIC dr. internist, sanitetski pukovnik JNA i načelnik odjela zagrebačke Vojne bolnice
- FISCHER dr. Zlatko, internist u bolnici u Sisku, poginuo u partizanima
- FISCHER dr. Oskar, internist u Jastrebarskom
- BREYER dr. Karlo, ginekolog u Sisku
- BERGER dr. Pavao, liječnik u Bjelovaru
- ZON dr. Mojsije, liječnik socijalnog osiguranja u Opatiji
- CITRIN dr. Henryk, internist, vojni liječnik JNA
- BETTLHEIM dr. Stjepan, neuropsihijatar, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- TOLNAUER-POLLAK dr. Vera, ravnatelj Doma zdravlja općine Centar u Zagrebu
- NEUMANN dr. Vladimir, infektolog u Zagrebu
- FIŠER-FEIN dr. Lola, ortodont u Zagrebu
- FEIN dr. Robert, stomatolog u Zagrebu
- ROTMANN dr. Pavao, laringolog u Zagrebu
- ATIJAS dr. Reina, dermatolog u Bjelovaru
- HAFNER dr. Žiga, internist, asistent Interne klinike u Zagrebu
- FELDMAN dr. Miroslav, internist, primarius, ravnatelj Doma zdravlja Pesčenica u Zagrebu, književnik, predsjednik Društva književnika Hrvatske i PEN kluba Jugoslavije
- DELIČ dr. Miroslav, ortoped, ravnatelj Ortopedske bolnice u Kraljevici, kasnije u bolnici u Zagrebu, član Kirurške akademije Francuske
- GARA dr. Šandor, liječnik željezničara u Zagrebu
- KRAUS dr. Lavoslav, stomatolog u Osijeku, kasnije kao sanitetski pukovnik JNA, epidemiolog u Sarajevu i u Beogradu
- SCHON dr. Leo, liječnik u Osijeku
- AUSLENDER-ANDRIĆ dr. Jakša, liječnik u Ivankovu i Osijeku
- NILIĆ dr. S., liječnik u Osijeku, poginuo u partizanima
- FIŠER dr. Oto, poginuo u partizanima
- HERLINGER dr. Ivo, laringolog u Osijeku, poginuo u partizanima
- HERLINGER dr. – kirurg
- KRAUS dr. Ladislav Laci, liječnik u Osijeku, poginuo u partizanima
- FISCHER-SARTORIUS dr. Feđa, pedijatar, docent i osnivač dječje bolnice u Zagrebu, predsjednik Komisije UNICEF-a za Hrvatsku
- SONNENFELD dr. Aleksander, liječnik u Vinkovcima
- FERBER dr. Edvin, specijalist nutricionist, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu

- DEUTSCH dr. Edo, ortoped u Zavodu za socijalno osiguranje u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- ALBAHARI dr. Cila, bakteriolog, sanitetski pukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- ADLER dr. - dermatolog u Zagrebu
- VIOLA dr. - otorinolaringolog u Zagrebu
- DAJČEVA-ŽUPIĆ dr. Klara, liječnica opće medicine u Zagrebu
- FISCHER dr. Rikard, dermatolog, primarius Zakladne bolnice u Zagrebu
- HERCEG dr. Pavao, internist, primarius u Osijeku
- HERZOG dr. Drago, stomatolog u Zagrebu
- HIRŠL dr. Mladen, stomatolog u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- SCHWARZ dr. Dragutin - Karči, kirurg u Merkurovom sanatoriju u Zagrebu
- HEIN dr. Oskar, internist u Zagrebu
- RAHELIC-ZENTNER dr. Vera, oftalmolog u Rijeci
- FIŠBAH dr. Jonas, internist, sanitetski pukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- POLLAK dr. Artur, hematolog, docent, ravnatelj Zavoda za transfuziju u Zagrebu
- POLLAK dr. Alfons, internist u Slavonskom Brodu (?)
- POLLAK dr. Vladimir, internist u Karlovcu (?)
- WEIS dr. Oskar, ginekolog
- EISENSTADTER dr. David, ginekolog u Zagrebu
- BLUHWEIS dr. Saša, ginekolog na Ginekološkoj klinici u Zagrebu
- ROSNER dr. Rudolf, neuropsihijatar u Zagrebu, poginuo u partizanima
- LEDERER-FISCHER dr. Klara, (?)
- LEDERER dr. Branko, ginekolog u Osijeku
- NEUMANN dr. Ljuba, hematolog Zakladne bolnice u Zagrebu
- PODVINEC dr. Srećko, otorinolaringolog u Zagrebu
- SPITZER dr. Ivo, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- JELINEK dr. Gustav, zubar u Zagrebu
- JELINEK dr. Erich, stomatolog, profesor na Stomatološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu
- APTER dr. Vladimir, stomatolog, profesor na Stomatološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu
- LAPTER dr. Vladimir, stomatolog, profesor na Stomatološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu
- SALZ dr. Hinko, zubar u Zagrebu
- ŠUSTER dr. Ervin, rendgenolog u Zagrebu
- ROTH-SVOREN dr. Emica, rendgenolog u Zagrebu
- GROSS dr. Mavro, balneolog u Rogaškoj Slatini
- BAUER dr. Marko, oftalmolog u Zagrebu
- FREUND dr. Hinko, laringolog u Zagrebu

- EKŠTAJN dr. Mišo, stomatolog, sanitetski potpukovnik JNA u Zagrebu
- GOSH. dr. Branko, psihijatar u Vrapču kraj Zagreba
- NJEMIROVSKI dr. Herman, zubar u Zagrebu
- NJEMIROVSKI dr. Zdenko, profesor Stomatološkog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- MÜLLER dr. Otto, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- MÜLLER dr. Zlata, liječnik u Zagrebu
- HIRSCH dr. - ravnatelj Higijenskog zavoda u Osijeku
- WEISSMANN dr. K., internist u Osijeku
- WIESNER dr. Mavro, liječnik u Osijeku
- ZENTNER dr. Pavao, sanitetski major JNA u Osijeku
- KOHN dr. Artur, urolog u Zagrebu
- KOHN-KONIG dr. Erna, pedijatar u Zagrebu
- GOLDNER dr. Vlado, kardiolog, profesor Medicinskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
- GUNZBERGER dr. Zvonko, fiziolog u Koprivnici
- GINCBERG dr. Oskar, dermatolog
- SVEČENSKI dr. Branko, neuropsihijatar, profesor Vojnomedicinske akademije, sanitetski pukovnik JNA, upravnik Vojne bolnice u Zagrebu i kasnije načelnik saniteta avijacije
- POLICER dr. Stjepan Pista, liječnik opće prakse, progonjen od predratne policije, kasnije u Jasenovcu, odakle je uspio pobjeći u partizane, načelnik saniteta u Ministarstvu zdravlja



Book by Dr. Boris Blau (2006) with data about 900 Jewish students from Zagreb Medical Faculty, from its establishment in 1917 until 1941, when the Holocaust started in Croatia.

## **Dr.Ognjen Kraus: Many second generation families that settled in Zagreb and Osijek chose to study medicine.**

Jewish students 1928-1938			
Academic year	Total enrolment	male students	woman students
1928/29	569	439	130
1929/30	582	451	131
1930/31	590	444	146
1931/32	677	515	162
1932/33	704	545	159
1933/34	767	592	175
1934/35	716	541	168
1935/36	596	457	139
1936/37	555	414	141
1937/38	530	408	122
.....			

### **Jewish students in Yugoslavia 1928-1938**

Students enrolled on the universities of Zagreb, Ljubljana, Belgrade, Skopje and Subotica, In the school year 1937/38, there were 284 Jewish students at the University of Zagreb, of which 56 were female students.

Most Jewish students studied at the Faculty of Medicine (156, of which 43 were female students), followed by the Faculty of Law (110, of which 18 were female students) and the Faculty of Technology (95, of which 10 were female students).

There were only 20 Jewish students at the Faculty of Agriculture, and 27 at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, probably due to the urban lifestyle at the time.

The Higher School of Economy counted 30 Jewish students, Academy of Music had 5, and the Academy of Fine Arts had only 1 Jewish student.

### **Jewish students in Yugoslavia 1928-1938**

In 1937/38 on University of Zagreb has been 284 Jewish students (56 women)

- Medical Faculty (156)
- Law (110)
- Technical faculty (95)

- Agriculture (20)
- Veterinary (27)
- Height economy school (30)
- Musical Academy (5)

## Research

On Symposium *Two centuries of history and culture - Jews in Zagreb and Croatia (1998)*

Dr. Biserka Belicza (president of the Society for History of Medicine in Croatia) and Dr. Saša Jeftovic presented a scientific article: *"Jewish participation in medicine in Croatia and Zagreb"*.

On Symposium "Social and cultural history of the Jews on the eastern Adriatic coast", on topic "Magic and medicine" which was held in Dubrovnik on 17–19 August 2010

Dr. Melita Švob, Ana Hermanović and Mateja Gospodinović: presented research *"Jewish doctors in Croatia during the centuries"*

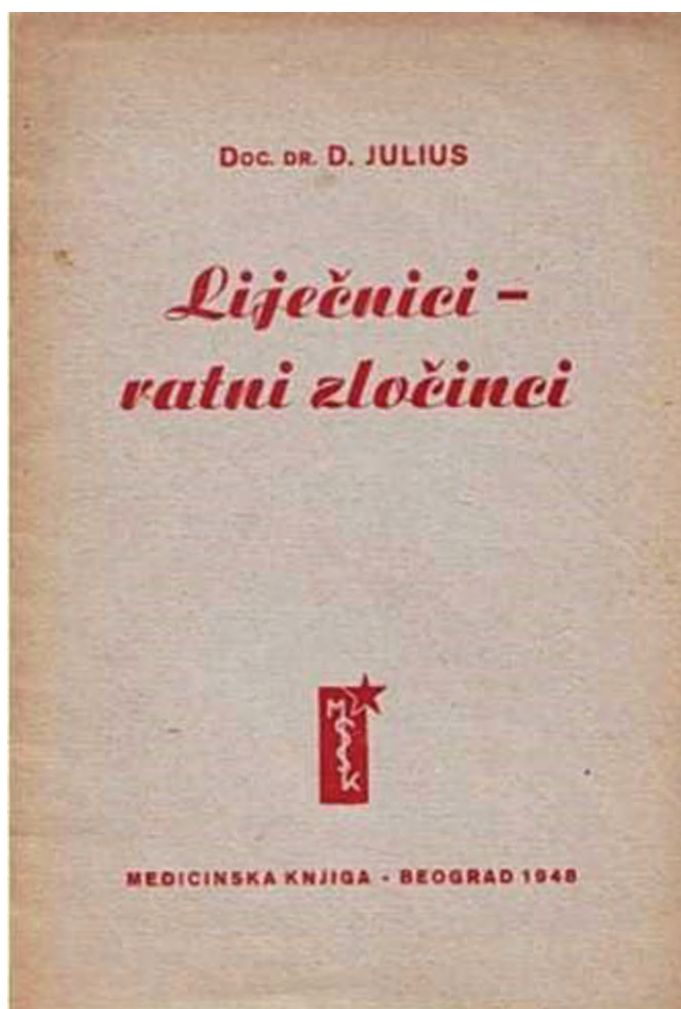
On Symposium in Maribor synagogue, organized within "Day of remembering the Holocaust Auschwitz" (2020) presented

Dr.Melita Švob: *Vsako eno leto eno ime - dr. Maxo Grossmann*

Research about dr.Maxo Grossmann, who has been pioneer in internal medicine and cardiology, and first director of the "Mercur Sanatorium" in Zagreb.



Dr. D. Julius printed a book "Doctors war criminals"



On Nurnberg process in 1946: 23 doctors were accused of war crimes for their medical experiments on Jewish prisoners in camps Dachau, Auschwitz, and others (frosting, the affliction of pain, forcing people to drink seawater, spreading infectious diseases, poisoning, shooting, bombing, taking blood groups, performing transplantation, sterilization...)

## **Jewish lawyers in the Holocaust**

In the Directory published by the Bar Association on January 1, 1940, according to the status of registered (living) lawyers in Zagreb, there were 348 lawyers. Of these, Dr. Šik found 83 Jewish surnames. The goal of the directory was to determine proof of passing the bar exam. The Bar Association registered lawyers in the Directory not by serial number but by the day they took the oath

Decision of the Bar Association in Zagreb (number 1934/1942) dated June 30, 1942. on deletion from the Directory its members who are Jews - 51 of them in Zagreb. That decision was annulled after the war and lawyers (who survived) are recognized as continuing their legal practice as if they had not been deleted from the Directory. Dr. Šik believes that the following have been deleted from the directory:

1. Those who were in German captivity:

Dr. Z. Lederer Lador (later Israel), Dr. Z. Mattersdorfer (retired in Israel), Dr. Weiss-Vaić (judge in Zagreb)

2. Those who escaped: Dr. M. Vranić, Dr. M. Reichmann Rašić, Ph.D. O. Gross, dr. D. Rosenberg, there was also Dr. Šik Adolf - fled to London

- 3: Dr. Lj. Schwarz jailed then released, died before being deleted

dr. L. Geršković, Dr. E. Komlos, Dr. O Sachs, Dr. L.Schmerz (they were not in the directory in 1940)

4. Those who died earlier in the camps: H. Kohn, president of ŽOZ, Jasenovac, Dr. Frank, Jasenovac

5. Those who were taken to "work" in Jasenovac on June 22, 1941: Dr. R. Rosner, Dr. V. Herlinger, Dr. Goldschmidt, Dr. Vlatko Hiršl was not deleted – taken with the above group. Previously, J. Mogan, Dr. L. Šik, Dr. I. Kun (who was the only one detained in Kerestinac (1)) were killed.

6. Dr. R. Rodanić – survived (with a bribe)

7. Some have "voluntarily" renounced the legal profession

These lawyers were previously imprisoned in Kerestinac at the end of April 1941 and released on June 7, 1941 at the behest of the president of the chamber Dr. Ivo Polite. They were required to behave "loyally" during the "contribution" campaign.

Released lawyers were invited to the chamber to renounce their practice as lawyers. Those who did not come or did not escape were called to "work" (to the camp) on June 22, 1941.

That is how Dr. Šik Gjuro, the author of the article, renounced his legal profession in the chamber on June 19, 1941, in the presence of two guards.

## History of Sephardim

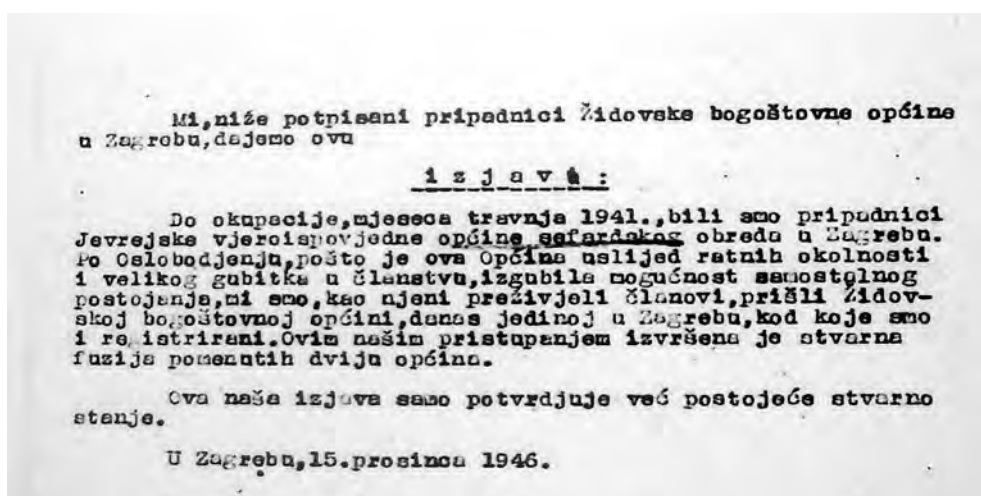
The first complete persecution of a Jewish community in Europe was the persecution of Sephardic Jews from Spain after the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

It is estimated that in 1490 there were about 6,500,000 inhabitants in Spain, of which 250,000 were Jews. There were 1,200,000 inhabitants in Portugal, of which 80,000 were Jews.

The assumption is that a total of 160,000 Jews were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, and around 50,000 converted to, i.e., accepted Christianity, either voluntarily or by force (Marranos). Some called them "new Christians". They often faced inquisition trials and persecutions due to the suspicion that they secretly kept maintaining Jewish customs and religion.

After the expulsion in 1498, they moved around the Mediterranean, mainly to Morocco, Tunisia, Italy and Egypt. Around 90,000 of them settled in the Ottoman Empire, 10,000 in France, and 25,000 in the Netherlands 25,000.

They migrate in Croatia and established Sephardic Jewish community in Zagreb (1926). Survivors who return in Zagreb try to re-establish their community but finally agree to be member of renewed Jewish community in Zagreb. Here is their "agreement" from 1946 year.



## Sephardim in Croatia

Migration of Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia, especially to Zagreb we could connect with the major changes in the First World War, which conditioned the disintegration of the large multinational empires of Austria-Hungary and Ottoman.

The Jews who lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina which was in the Ottoman Empire, had the opportunity to move and trade without restrictions. After Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, started a new regime, administration, trading rules and official language, Jews change their orientation and connection. Their children have been educated in Vienna, Prague and also in Zagreb, where they found their Sephardic community and their associations (Benevolence). — The economic crisis in Yugoslavia conditioned their further migration to Croatia, especially to Zagreb.

In Zagreb, the number of Sephardic Jews increased and they are in beginning within the joint Jewish community. In 1924, when their mandate expired, they removed their representatives from list for the new community elections, and on January 1, 1927, they founded an autonomous Jewish community of the Sephardic rite, but continued to use the institutions of a common community. They have separate religious service, organisations and book in which record birth of their members (1917-1941)

Register book about birth in "Autonomnoj jevrejskoj vjeroispovjednoj općini sefardskig obreda"

year	No of birth	Family names
1927	6	Mandić, Mandolfo, Albahari, Pardo, Abinun, Levi
1928	6	Radanović, Gaon, Levi, Alkalaj, Kajon
1929	8	Lowy, Benjamin, Kajon, Cohen, Atijas, Levi
1930	4	Kajon, Baruch, Albahari, Katan
1931	7	Kajon, Semo, Levy, Papo, Mevorah, Atijas
1932	7	Kabiljo, Zureff, Gaon, Katan, Koen, Papo, Albahari
1933	6	Zoraja, Almoslino, Kampos, Levi, Albahari
1934	7	Albahari, Hajon, Mihanović, Levi, Avram, Schnittlinger
1935	7	Kajon, Nahmijas, Alkalaj, Atijas, Meov, Gaon, Kabiljo
1936	15	Sason, Levi, Atijas, Baruch, Papo, Demajo, Peso, Kohen, Toledano, Levi, Koen, Albala
1937	18	Kon, Kamhi, Danon, Parda, Sasson-Žižić, Zaraja, Aruti, Alkalaj, Koen, Papo, Levi, Kreskos, Altarac, Hason, Eskenazi
1938	15	Levi, Pardo, Toledano, Romano, Kamhi, Altarac, Eskenazi, Kreskes, Demajo, Koen, Salamon, Poljokan, Kabiljo
1939	14	Papo, Davičo, Kamhi, Albuher, Koen, Altarac, Danon, Baruhović, Demajo
1940	15	Pardo, Kamhi, Carfati, Koen, Papo, Baruh, Albahari, Altarac, Nišan, Kovačević, Levi, Eškenazi
1941	6	Danon, Leci, Testa, Nisna, Alkalaj, Altarac

Remarck: Book ended with 9. June 1946. The last name in the book was on 14.4. 1941.

Beside Zagreb, Sephardic Jews also live in other towns in Croatia.

## **Sephardim in Croatian town**

Abinun- Derventa, Split	Ferera -Dubrovnik
Abrahamson -Osijek	Finci -Split, Koprivnica, Slav.Brod
Abraham -Karlovac, Vinkovci, Osijek	Finzi- Dubrovnik
Albahari- Rijeka, Koprivnica, Slavonski Brod, Vukovar	Hajon -Split, Dubrovnik
Alkalaj- Split	Horovitz -Dubrovnik
Altarac Glina,- Split, Dubrovnik	Jaffer - Vinkovci
Aškenazi -Karlovac	Kabiljo Gračanica, Ilok, Dubrovnik
Atias -Daruvar,Gračanica, Kutina, Dubrovnik	Kahan - Slav.Brod
Bararon --Gračanica	Kajon - Rijeka
Baruh -Dubrovnik	Katan -Split
Coen- Rijeka	Konfino- Slav.Brod
Danon- Sušak, Split	Levi -Makarska, Opatija,Karlovac, Rijeka, Dubrovnik , Koprivnica ,Slav.Brod, Nova Gradiška, Bjelovar
Danon- Split, Dubrovnik, Koprivnica	Maestro -Split ili Dubrovnik
Elazar- Split	Mandolfo -Dubrovnik
Montiglio Split	Montiljo - Karlovac Split,
Musafija Split	Papo- Gračanica, Karlovac, Split, Dubrovnik
Perera Split, Koprivnica	Pesah- Slavonski .Brod

## **Sephardic Jews in Croatia during the Holocaust**

Jews from Bosnia and Hercegovina has been part of the NDH and persecuted together with Croatian Jews. They are transported from Bosnia to Croatian camps.

The first transport of Sarajevo Jews was with 1.197 women and children (Narcisa Lengel-Krizman) came on 5.12.1941. The second transport with about 800 Jews was sent on 23.12.1941.

Men have been immediately separated and sent to Jasenovac and about 700 Jewish women with children and several Serbian women sent to camp Đakovo. According to Vasiljević, there were 1,881 prisoners in the camp, of which 674 were children under the age of 16. The camp doctor was Dr. Rudolf Čelada from Đakovo.

In February 1942, another transport with 833 women and 233 children came from the camp Stara Gradiška camp (26.II.1942). They are in very bad condition and were suffering from typhus, and brought an epidemic to the camp. That's why so many people, especially children died (and from torture and hunger) and 566 were buried in the cemetery in Đakovo.

Camp in Đakovo was under control of Jewish community until March 3, 1942 when the Ustasha took over camp and these change results in brutal treatment, hunger, lack of water and medicine and harsh labor.

Stjepan Kolb was hired as gravedigger to bury prisoner, he made record of every grave and name of each person buried and try to made "funeral" with dignity. The definitely confirmed number of deceased and buried on the Jewish cemetery is 566 what is one fifth of the overall number of inmates determined in camp Đakovo. . Kolb saved record book with the list of deceased victims.

After the camp Đakovo has been closed about 2.400 remaining prisoner send to Jasenovac ( last transport 5 July 1942)

Each Year Jewish community Osijek, which take care of cemetery in Đakovo, organized commemoration on cemetery on which participates Jewish communities from ex-Yugoslavia.

Researcher Lea Maestro from Jewish community Sarajevo wrote the publication and organized exhibition about cemetery in Đakovo.

Based on the list of the victims of the fascist terror in the Đakovo camp, buried on the Jewish cemetery in Đakovo and the list of the interns of the Concentration camp Đakovo deported from Sarajevo on 01. 12. and 23. 12. 1941., relatively punctual we can confirm the numbers of the interns.



*Jewish cemetery in Đakovo*



## Jewish schools

In May 1841, the first school, the "*Bildungsschule*", was opened at the Jewish community in Zagreb, and the first teacher was Karl Saphir.

When applying for the opening of the school, 17 members of the community wrote: "...that here as elsewhere there is an urgent need to establish a school for religious and scientific knowledge of children, because the improvement of the political condition of the Jews depends on their mental progress...."

At that time, there had already been a school in Varaždin with 65 students (Schwarz, 1939). Although they did not go to any "civil school", their parents (being the older generation) could write in latin, and Hebrew. There there were no illiterate people among the Jews.

School expenses were covered by tuition and voluntary contributions, and poor students were exempted from paying.

In October 1855, a "*Trivialschule*" with three classes was opened in the Jewish community after a short break. In school, they taught reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as religious education, and in rural areas, knowledge of agriculture. The language taught in schools reflected the political situation in Croatia. While the "*national language*" was allowed in public schools, foreign languages were taught in high schools. Thus, in 1848, the language of instruction in Croatia and Slavonia was Latin with obligatory Hungarian, and in 1849/50. "Illyrian language" was introduced with compulsory German. Later, the German language was extended to teaching history, natural history, mathematics and physics.

The "Illyrian language" was official until 1854, after learning the Croatian language for religious studies. Illyrian and Italian were taught in schools for a while in Rijeka, and the German language from 1854 to 1855. After the collapse of political absolutism in 1859 (there were also riots in schools), Germanization were eased (Gross, 1985).

In Jewish schools, they taught on "Illyrian language", and after the school was a four-year school in 1865, Croatian was introduced as the language of instruction. For some time, the school received a subsidy from the city of Zagreb.

The school was moved to a new building on Palmotićeve Street in 1889. The school was located on the first floor and was called the "Elementary school of the Israelite religious community, with the public right" (Levi, 1988). It had four classrooms and an administration office, and on the ground floor, the girls learned handicrafts.

Children from distant areas came several times a week for religious instruction. The director of the school was Dr Hosea Jakobi. Since 1920, the school worked according to the curriculum of the state educational authorities and was under state supervision. More and more children enrolled, so there were eight classes. In addition to compulsory school subjects, the children studied the Bible, holiday customs and Hebrew in the Jewish school. A kindergarten was also established.

All high school students had religious instruction once a week. In the beginning, he was taught by Dr Gavro Schwarz and later by Dr Shalom Freiburger (he attended the rabbinical seminary in Berlin).

Catholic children also attended the Jewish school in Varaždin, but the law of 1852 prohibited Jewish teachers from teaching Catholic children.

The majority of Jewish children still attended state schools, but they received religious education from Jewish communities. A Jewish school was founded in Osijek in 1856.

In 1857/58, there were 298 Catholic, 52 Serbian-Orthodox, 5 Evangelical and 3 Jewish schools in Croatia (for children aged 6 to 12) (Gross, 1988). At the time, there were a total of 70,503 children who could attend school, but only 30,700 of them attended it. All Jewish children (176) attended schools, having seven teachers, and the teaching language was German. In Slavonia, many Jewish children went to German or Hungarian schools.

For some time (1851), there was a joint administration, and the Jewish schools were under the supervision of the Catholic Church.

Jewish literacy was high. For example, in 1910, 90.3 % of Jews in Varaždin were literate, and 87.7 % in Osijek.

At the end of the 19th century in Croatia and Slavonia, almost 50 % of Jewish children completed at least 4 four high school grades. After the tolerance permission, they also went to university (Gross, 1988).

Immediately after World War I, the “Jewish Academic Support Society was founded to support poor students” (*Židovsko akademsko potporno društvo za potporu siromašnih studenata*). A student canteen was organised for about 300 users. Other poor students could also eat there, and there were also students from Poland and Hungary, where there were restrictions on college admission.

Various cultural and other activities took place in the canteen, such as meetings of societies “*Judeja*” and “*Esperanza*” from Sephardic Jews in Zagreb. There was also a youth literary club, “*Literalni sastanci*”, first only with young men and later with girls, too. The sports club “*Maccabi*” was organised.

In 1932 EZRA was founded, a Jewish credit society that enabled young Jews to learn trades. They studied to become plumbers, engravers, tailors, goldsmiths, electricians, car mechanics, optical technicians, and dental technicians. Thirty young people from Croatia and Bosnia were temporarily accommodated in the home for the elderly accommodation in Maksimirska Street. Later, for them was found (in 1933) on Preradovićeve Street and, in 1937, on Petrinjska Street. In 1938, a “home” for girls was also established with 20 residents (Volner, 1988).

The Enlightenment movement, which swept across Europe, enabled the Jews of Zagreb to acquire knowledge and often become famous doctors, architects, lawyers, artists and other experts.



## Youth organisations

The Assembly of Delegates of Youth Associations of Yugoslavia, at the national conference held on January 5, 1919, asked the academic society "*Judeja*" in Zagreb to organise an alliance of all Jewish youth associations. Invitations were sent to all youth organisations to fill out questionnaires, send information about their membership, organisation and activities, and answer other questions.

At a conference convened in Slavonski Brod in 1919, the "Union of Jewish Youth Societies" ("*Savez Židovskih omladinskih udruženja – SŽOU*") and a youth magazine "*Gideon*" were founded, and its first issue was published on 1 November 1919.

According to the Almanac from 1928/29, the Alliance of Youth Societies aimed to "educate Jewish youth into a healthy national entity, imbued with Jewish knowledge and culture".

The association accomplishes its tasks by establishing and assisting societies and youth sections by organising events and other meetings. The rallies were held in Osijek (1920), Sarajevo, Zagreb, Belgrade, Novi Sad and again in Osijek and Sarajevo.

Committees with presidents (in order) who headed the Association: Nikola Tolnauer, Dr Beno Stein, Eng. Oto Rechnitzer, Cvi Rothmüller and again by Eng. Oto Rechnitzer until 1929.

In 1929, the headquarters of the Association was in Zagreb, and at the head of the "Working board" was Dr Šalom Freiburger, who managed the Association.

The work of the Union was aimed at helping "the working Hebrew Palestine". In 1927, a course for federal leaders was held, and the foundations of "*Somrijut*" were laid. It comprised 16 groups, and in 1928, they held their first "*Vaad*". In April 1928, the youth organisation "*Ahdut Hacofim*", which had separated for some time, re-joined the Association.

In Europe, a movement called "*Hapoel hacair*" (pioneer workers) prepared the youth for Palestine. Based on his example, "*hehaluc*" was founded in Slavonski Brod – a group of young people ready to go to Palestine. They were preparing by learning to work in agriculture. Thus, in 1920, the first group of "*halucim*" was founded on the estate of "*Finci*" in Bijeljina (16 young men and 2 girls), and further ones were based in Vilova near Titel on the estate of Dr Grossman, and in Vinkovci on the estate of Jakob Schlesinger (15 youths). In Nova Gradiška, on the Vaksler family's estate "*Ljupina*", young people have been trained. These people were not only from Slavonia but also from Sarajevo, as well as young people from Germany who fled from Nazism. Two gardening colonies were founded in Zagreb in 1919 but did not last long.

At that time, the "Jewish Pedagogical Archive" was founded in Vienna, focusing on learning for practical occupations, productive technical professions and trades. The association "*B'ne Berit*" established courses for manual work. There were libraries and reading rooms in the youth societies. Dr Shalom Freiburger, a rabbi from Zagreb, worked a lot with young people.

All the societies in the Jewish communities, especially in Zagreb and Belgrade, tried to enable the youth to study, improve in trades and find employment.

Charitable organisations were the ones who built student dormitories, provided scholar-

ships, founded canteens, bought books, etc.

The *Jewish Academic Canteen* (*“Židovska akademska menza”*) was founded in Zagreb. The canteen was organised so that the students ran the canteen, procured winter food, determined the quality of the food and collected donations during the holidays, which enabled poor students to get lower prices. When the students finished their studies, they continued to help other students and the academic canteen.

The youth also strived for their physical revival. In 1935, Dr Joško Rosenberg wrote about the organisation *Second Maccabiah*: “The Zionist movement has not only the task of land restoration but also of restoring the Jewish people, and without a physically healthy individual, there is no normalisation of Jewish life either from the cultural or economic aspect.”

At the First Zionist Congress, Max Nordau, the Zionist leader, called for the “physical regeneration of the Jews”. This was the beginning of the establishment of Maccabi groups around the world.

The youth societies, which united in the Union (1919), were academic, student societies, sports and girls’ societies. However, they were civil societies and did not allow Jewish youth of all classes to join them.

The most important form of work was organising mass gymnastic performances called *“slets”*. They were held in 1920 in Osijek and 1921 in Sarajevo. The third gathering of Jewish youth and a congress was held from 13 to 16 August 1922 in Zagreb. Every year, large and mass gymnastic, athletic and other sports competitions were held, as well as nature trips, socialising, songs and conversations. Amateur and dilettante drama groups were founded. The youth competed in knowledge and the Hebrew language.

The magazine *“Gideon”* (a youth magazine) showed constant progress from 1919 to 1925, already acquiring the character of a literary magazine.

The most active youth groups were in Osijek, Vukovar and Vinkovci, especially in Zagreb, where young people went to schools and universities. Therefore, Zagreb became a true centre of Zionism with numerous societies: the Bar Giora Society, Literary section, Makabi and others.

There were also other youth organisations, such as the Revisionist Zionist organisation *“Betar”* (the Jabotinski movement) and the Jewish Labor Society *“Matatje”* in Sarajevo.

There were also crises in the youth movement. The youth movement was not equally developed in all parts of Yugoslavia’s then-newly-founded state. Workers’ youth in Sarajevo were organised in a completely independent workers’ association, *“Poale Cijon”*, which had little contact with civic youth associations. The Sarajevo youth organised shows, performances, songs, and folklore under the direction of Laura Papo Bohoreta, whose play *“Esterka”* was also performed in Belgrade.

The journal *“Almanac of 1929–30”* listed youth societies in Croatian Jewish communities. In her book *“Jewish Youth Societies on the Soil of Yugoslavia”* (Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, 1995), Milica Mihajlović listed youth societies, the names of their presidents and information about the number of their members.

Youth societies have been organised in Bjelovar, Slavonski Brod, Čakovec, Đakovo, Ilok,

Karlovac, Koprivnica, Križevci, Osijek, Slatina Podravska, Split, Varaždin, Vinkovci, Vukovar and Zagreb.

In Zagreb, many youth organisations were organised:

- Youth society Judeja (*"Omladinsko društvo Judeja"*) – President F. Reiner;
- Jewish youth circle (*"Židovsko omladinsko kolo"*) – President Joel Rosenberg;
- Jewish society for academic support (*"Židovsko akademsko potporno društvo"*) and Jewish school canteen (*"Židovska đачка menza"*);
- *"Makabi"* – President Julije König;
- *"Hug Ivri"* – a library;
- *"Bnot Cijon"* – Jewish girls' circle – President Mirjam Weiller;
- *"Ahdut hacofim"* – Israeli–Croatian literary society;
- *"Esperanca"* – a society of Sephardic students;
- Literary meetings of Jewish high school youth – President Samojlo Deutsch; and
- *"Kadima"*.

According to the same data source, there were Jewish youth societies also in Banja Luka, Belgrade, Bitola, Bijeljina, Ljubljana, Mostar, Niš, Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Stari Bečej, Travnik, Tuzla, Žepče. In Vienna, there was the society *"Bar Giora"*, which gathered students from the SHS and the organisation *"Esperanca"*, which comprised Sephardic students. Society *"Ivrija"* in Brno was founded by students from the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (SHS).



Jewish singing choir "Lira"



Jewish singing  
choir "Lira"



Jewish girls in  
Makabi



Makabi  
gymnastic



Summer youth  
camp

Kvuca 1940  
Zvornik



Mošava Vinkovci  
1939





Jewish football sport club Makabi



## **Jewish women's organizations**

Jewish women's organizations, usually under the name *Izraelsko gospojinsko društvo* ("Israeli Ladies' Society"), are established in almost all Jewish communities. The societies had philanthropic character and they were founded on the initiative of rabbis or prominent members of the municipality, even husbands. Women's societies played a significant role in their help to the "needy", especially children and the elderly. They organized charity events and campaigns. Women through their work improved both their knowledge and position in the community and this work help them to go out of traditional role bound only with the family.

Well known was "*Izraelsko gospojinsko društvo Jelena Prister*" founded by Eduard Prister 1887 in Zagreb in memory of his deceased wife. According to the rules of the society from 1910: "The basic task of society is to support the poor in general and especially here native poor Israeli widows and orphans." The society also supported the youth, provided dowry for poor fiancées, collected aid to humanitarian institutes and hospitals. Every year for Hanukkah, children and the elderly received gifts, were equipped with clothes and linen, and were supplied with firewood for the winter etc. It can be seen from the report that there were great needs and that the Jewish society began to stratify, women's work helped and mitigated these differences.

After World War I, Jewish girls got involved in many activities in academic societies, in Macabi, youth associations and other organizations and also took initiatives at a time when male youth were at the front. Jewish the girls also created their own special organizations - "*Girls' Zionist Society*", which took over many organizational tasks, especially around the Jewish National Fund. It is developing also the youth and sports movement.

In year 1912, "*Izraelska ferijalna kolonija*" ("Israeli Ferial Colony") society was organized, whose task was to enable "poor and weak Israeli children" to spend their school holidays in the sun, the sea, the mountains or swimming pools, where special attention was paid to children health. At the assembly on May 17 in 1923, Tilda Deutch Maceljski was elected as the president for her "*Zaklada za osnutak ferijalnih domova*" (Foundation for establishment of ferial homes). A Villa "*Antonia*" was purchased in Crikvenica on the Adriatic seaside from the funds of that Foundation which was officially opened in 1923. By the end of 1939, 2,300 children passed through the "*Antonia*" in Crikvenica. Spouses Albert and Tilda Deutch Maceljski in front of World War II built a children's home in Ravna Gora in Gorski kotar at their own expense. Both of the institutions they were not returned to the Jewish community.



Summer camp in Crikvenica for children



Jewish children on the holiday in Crikvenica





General board of Jewish  
woman organization

Kosher cooking



Annual meeting of the Union of  
Jewish woman in Opatija



ICJW President Robyn Lenn  
gives thanks to the Union and  
Melita Švob

Gathering in  
Palace hotel



Computer workshop with an  
instructor Siniša Jurica

Activities organized by the Women's Association





## The Women's International Zionist Organisation WIZO

The Women's International Zionist Organisation WIZO was founded in Zagreb in 1927. A report about that event said: "...and the new organisation in Zagreb and good works. Her goal is to raise funds for Palestine and cultural and educational work among women and girls here. Her activities started with successful tea parties in members' apartments and a nice children's Hanukkah performance in the hall of the Maccabi club. In the spring, she decided to organise a WIZO group in the province and managed to organise women in Belgrade, Brod, Požega, Križevci, Bjelovar, Prijedor, Sanski Most and Banja Luka."

According to statements of Vera Dojč in the article "100 years of organised work of Jewish women in Zagreb", Julia Weiner, a delegate from Zagreb, said at the founding assembly of WIZO: "Sad are the conditions under which poor Jewish women find themselves in some of our towns. Approaching women once or twice a year during philanthropic campaigns is useless. WIZO must ensure the improvement of these women's social and economic position."

WIZO developed very quickly. New organisations sprung up in almost every community. In 1940, there were 67 groups with 5,000 members in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Ashkenazi and Sephardic women at WIZO worked together.

WIZO helped improve the position of women and children in Palestine: acquiring knowledge, equipping them for Aliyah, organising hashhar, teaching them Jewish language and culture and providing information about the future Jewish state in Palestine (Israel).

Members of WIZO, together with other women's organisations, worked tirelessly to improve the position of women, especially that of girls. When the Central Jewish Association for Productive Help (*"Središnja židovska zajednica za produktivnu pomoć"*) was founded (1933), numerous young men and women received scholarships in schools and trades, and female and male boarding schools were established. It was a significant action to help Jewish children from Bitola. Along with other Jewish women's societies, WIZO took care of many refugees from other European countries who passed through or stayed longer in Zagreb and Croatia.

One of the significant actions was the rescue of 250 children of "Alijah Hanoar" from Berlin, who were rescued at the last minute in sealed wagons under bombs in Thessaloniki via Greece. WIZO in Zagreb prepared for those children the complete equipment they needed to stay in the kibbutz for at least two years. The costs of the equipment amounted to about 500,000 dinars. Ada Tobolski, Julija Konig, Helfrieda Spiegel and Roza Hacker were the most instrumental women in that action.

### Women's section (*"ženska sekcija"*) organised after the Holocaust

After the Second World War, when surviving Jews returned to Zagreb, the community was once again a place of acceptance, care, accommodation and nourishment. Some active women cared for the sick, elderly, and children. According to Vera Dajč's article, Blanka Don-

ner, Elza Volner, Magda Kon, Elsa Rosner, Elsa Grin and others worked the most. In addition, during the Great Aliyah to Israel, from 1948 to 1952, women helped numerous participants and passers-by on their way to Israel. The assumption is that about 35,000 Jewish women, which is how many there were in Yugoslavia before the Second World War II, only about 7,500 returned. After the mass exodus to Israel, only about 2,500 of them remained.

The Women's Section was founded in Zagreb in 1951 and is still active today. The presidents were: Elza Volner, Stefa Svare, Ruža Gosti, Vjera Svare, Vera Dojč, Melita Švob, Ozmo-Steiner Sida, Haramina Milana, Zeit-Grgurić Fanika and others.

When, in 1958, the "Coordinating Committee of Women's Sections" was established by the Association of Jewish communities in Belgrade, they had only 484 members. The chairpersons of the existing women's sections and a representative of the Executive Committee joined the Coordinating Committee. According to the report from that session, representatives from only seven Jewish communities were present: from Belgrade (Regina Flajsher, Edita Vajs, Sultana Mevorah), Zagreb (Blanka Donner), Sarajevo (Regina Stern), Subotica (Olga Asodi and Klara First (as an observer), Osijek (Eta Ebenspanger), Skopje (Tirca Ginsberger) and Novi Sad (Anica Kabiljo). The representative of the Cultural Mission was Paula Čubrilović. At the meeting, the representatives adopted the plan and program of cooperation activities.

In the review of the period from the VII Conference in October 1956 until the end of 1958 (Jewish Almanac 1957 - 1958), Dr Albert Weiss (Belgrade) said: "At their 'tea parties' and other meetings, the women's sections also develop a nice cultural activity through lectures, reading literary works and discussing issues of their special interest."

From the analysis of old reports, minutes, and articles in various newsletters of the community and the Association, one can see that the women's organisations carried out diverse work and activities. They primarily oriented these activities on humanitarian work and celebration of Jewish holidays, preserving the traditions, which was very important in those political circumstances. It was precisely through their action that Jewish women succeeded in maintaining Jewish tradition and ethical principles of Judaism on charity and solidarity.

After the dissolution of the Union of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia, the Coordination Committee's work also ceased.

In Croatia, the "Union of Jewish Women of Croatia" was organised where there were women's sections of the Jewish communities: in Zagreb, Split, Osijek and Rijeka.

The seat of the Union is in the Jewish Community of Zagreb, and the president is Dr Melita Švob. The Union is a member of the International Council of Jews Women (ICJW).

## **Jewish women in the Holocaust**

In the Holocaust, women and men went through many common sufferings, but women also had other terrible experiences; the most difficult was certainly their separation from children. Women and men were usually separated in concentration camps, but there were also special camps for women. Therefore, there were about 100,000 women from 20 countries in the Ravensbrück camp, where after torture, they were sent to gas chambers made in the form of shower cubicles.

The basic procedure upon arrival at the camp was selection. Thus, women with babies in Auschwitz were immediately separated and sent to the gas chamber. Older women (in their thirties or older) and pregnant women (nude selection) were also sent to gas chambers.

The women who passed the first “selection” were mainly young women without children or girls. They were tortured, and they were victims of extreme violence. They did not get enough food and were constantly hungry. In addition, they were forced to work hard, humiliated, raped and sterilised with toxic chemicals or X-rays. They were subjected to brutal medical experiments and sent to camp brothels for German troops.

In the ghettos, women had an essential role in caring for children, providing food, hiding family members, etc.

Women participated in the underground antifascist movement as partisans and members of the resistance, organising escape and rescue for Jews, especially children. They were nurses and doctors in the clandestine hospitals and fought in combat and supporting units.

Under all these terrible circumstances, women still managed to keep their faith.

More than 50 % of the victims of Nazism were women because Nazi racial policies treated women as bearers of new generations; therefore, they were systematically sentenced to death.

## **The Women's Social Department at the Jewish Community in World War II**

At the second session of the Council of the Wartime Jewish community in Zagreb, held on Wednesday, 4 June 1941, it was said: "As the competent authority (Nazi) approved the establishment of the women's social department, as members of that department they appoint: Konig Julija, Neumann Marija, Klein Hilda, Frank Stanka, Stein Dora, Kabiljo Helena, Schlesinger Margita, Schulz Marta, Njemirovski Terka, Gevolb Slavica and Stern Bronia." Most of the members of that section were later taken away and killed.

For as long as possible, that social department helped refugees, sent packages to the camps, supplied the elderly in the nursing home in Stenjevec where they were hiding, and organised a home pharmacy, an outpatient clinic for Jews and a Jewish children's dispensary.

They also organised a Jewish humanitarian kitchen on the premises of the Jewish Academic Canteen (Preradovićeve 29) and took care of orphaned children.

Women also organised help in other Jewish communities. In Osijek, there was an organisation called "Care for camps" that provided meals in the canteen (under the leadership of Mica Atijas). Young people also founded the "Flying Team", which provided help to the camp in Đakovo. Girls also participated in the team (Nada Rahel Grünwald, Ljerka Adler, Mina Fischer, Melanka Inselt and Lola Atijas from the Đakovo camp).

Juliška Kraus in Osijek managed to rescue some children from the camp and placed them with families near Osijek. She also helped refugees from Austria who settled in Bosanski Šamac.

While Jewish women's organisations in Europe were mostly destroyed during World War II and the Holocaust, American women's organisations were active. They demanded an economic boycott of Germany, sanctions for Italy, etc. They were extensively involved in creating "German Jewish Children's Aid", an organisation that rescued hundreds of Jewish children from Europe and placed them with families in America.

## **Foundation of the “Home for the elderly Lavoslav Schwarz”**

In 1905, the Zagreb merchant Lavoslav Schwarz (1837–1906) left a large charitable bequest to the Jewish Community of Zagreb – the “Home for infirm old men and women”. The home was opened in December 1910, and in January 1911, the first Board of Directors was appointed, headed by Dr Hosea Jakobi, the main rabbi of Zagreb.

During World War I (1914–1918), the Home’s premises were turned into a military hospital, and the Home’s fund of 200,000 gold crowns was used for a war loan. The number of residents of the Home grew, in 1911 there were only 12 of them, in 1919 there were 14 and in 1939 – 90.

“Society of Friends of the Schwarz Home” was founded on 24 March 24 1933, and the first president was Matija Freund. In 1939, the Society listed 262 members.

Over time grew the need to expand the Home, which was carried out in 1939. One portion of the new premises was arranged for the accommodation of orphans, as requested by the founder of the “Teodor Schilinger Orphanage Fund in Zagreb” in his will. The manager of the Home from 1910 to 1922 was Vilim Löw, and after that Ferdo Singer with his wife Irena.

### **Home for the elderly Lavoslav Schwarz during and after the Holocaust**

In 1941, there were 100 residents in the Lavoslav Schwarz Home, 78 women and 22 men. On 9 April 1941, after the German forces marched into Zagreb, the residents of the home had to leave the home within 24 hours, and they were not allowed to take any personal belongings with them. Some settled with relatives, some in improvised apartments provided by the Jewish community in Rapska Street (their fate was never known) and Boškovićeve Street 3.

The elderly from the apartment in Boškovićeve Street and several of those who (due to being seriously ill) were temporarily stationed in the basement of the building in Maksimirska Street, were soon moved to two isolated houses in Stenjevec near Zagreb. They lived there under difficult conditions and in danger until December 1943. Several individuals were taken by the Nazis and their fate is unknown. The group of elderly were then transferred by truck from Stenjevec to Brezovica (the estate of Cardinal Stepinac) in a small house, which was later upgraded. There were 60 of them.

The Jewish community took care of them all the time and 52 residents survived (8 men and 44 women). They had to stay in Brezovica for some time before returning to Zagreb.

### **Housing needs for survivors**

After the Holocaust, a large number of elderly people who survived, and were left with no one to take care of them and had no belongings whatsoever, asked for accommodation in a nursing home. After the Aliyah from Croatia during 1948–1952, when predominantly younger Jews immigrated to Israel and the older ones stayed in Zagreb, the situation worsened even more.

Because there was a high need for such accommodation, the Jewish Community of Zagreb granted two floors in its building at Palmotićeva Street 16, which, with the help of JOINT, were



adapted into a “branch nursing home” that was opened on 4 December 1949. Those who could not be admitted into the Home, and were not socially cared for, were provided free food from the Home. There were (1951/52) 52 residents in the temporary accommodation in the building on Mlinarska Street, and 48 on Palmotićeveva Street. The average age was high (72 years).

About 70 % of the residents were from Croatia, while the rest were from different parts of Yugoslavia.

New home for the elderly– Union of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia

There was a constant need for the accommodation of elderly survivors in appropriate conditions and in their own building. The solution was found so that the home of Lavoslav Schwarz in Zagreb became “the Home for the Elderly of the Union of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia.”

A committee for the construction of a new home was formed in the Jewish community: Dr Lav Singer (community president), Rafael Montilja (president of the curatorship), Vali Singer, Elza Grin, Aleksandar Piliš and Bogdan Vajs. The supervisor was Asher Kabiljo.

The Home, built according to the design of architect Slavko Lowy, provides accommodation for 114 people. The interior design of the building was designed by architect Engelbert Potušek on the suggestions of Valika Singer, director of the Higher School for Social Workers in Zagreb.

The construction of the Home was financed by money obtained for the building in Maksimirska Street, donations from JOINT, a humanitarian collection action of the Union of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia, donations from Jews from the Association of Yugoslav Jews in New York, the Association “La Benevolencia” from Sao Paulo, the Association of Yugoslav Jews in Rio de Janeiro and family Stock from Trieste; funds for the “rooms” were donated by Ilona and Mavro Fišer from Zagreb, and the Association of the Jewish communities in Yugoslavia took a loan in the amount of 60,000,000 dinars to complete the construction.

On 15 December 1957, a ceremonial handover of the new building took place, during which the president of the community, Dr Lav Singer, handed over the keys of the Home to the president of the curatorship, Rafael Montilia, who was president of the curatorship for five terms.

Since 1949, the manager of the Home was Bogdan Weiss, the accountant was Vili Weiss, and the part-time physician was Dr Artur Polak. Later, the managers of the home were Adela Weisz, Dr Nada Reiner, Paula Novak, Lajla Šprajc and others.

The ceremony was opened by the then president of the Jewish Community, Dr Arpad Han, and the following people were present: Frederic White, JOINT representative in Yugoslavia, Dr Albert Vajs, David Dača Alkalaj, Lavoslav Kadelburg, Bencion Levi, Ruben Rubenović and Naftali Bata Gedalja.



Lavoslav Schwarz donate legacy for building  
Old age home



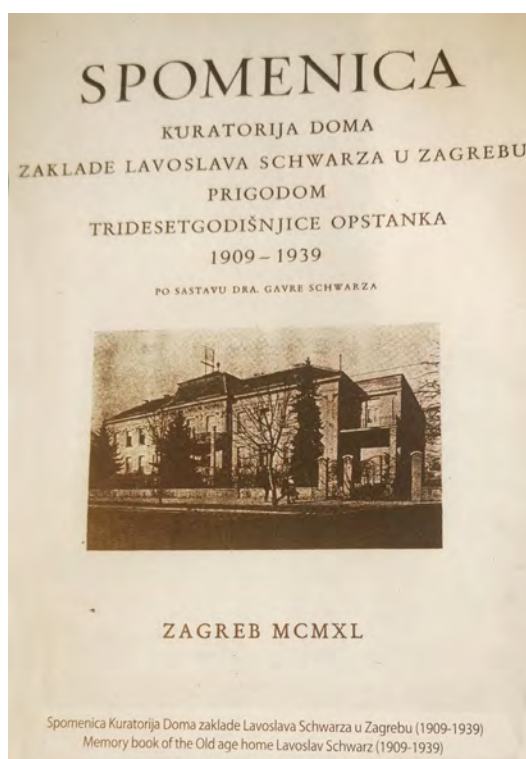
Holocaust survivors move from Brezovica to  
Zagreb



Temporary old age home in Mlinarska street



Old age home Lavoslav Schwarz  
in Bukovačka street



Memorial book 1909-1939



Elderly during the holocaust in Brezovica estate of Archbishop Stepinac

## **Jeftimba** **za gradnju „Doma nemoćnika i bolesnika zaklade Lavoslava** **Schwarza“ u Zagrebu.**

Kuratorij spomenute zaklade zajedno sa dotičnim gradjevnim odborom izraelitske bogoštovne obćine u Zagrebu razpisuje ovime jeftimbenu razpravu radi predaje sveukupnih radnja za gradnju „Doma nemoćnika i bolesnika zaklade Lavoslava Schwarza u Zagrebu.“

Ponude se imaju predati u zapečaćenim omotima dne 17. svibnja 1909. najkasnije do 12 sati prije podne u uredu zagrebačke izraelitske bog. obćine (Palmotičeva ulica br. 16), a valja da su sastavljene po pravno-obvezatnom obrazcu, koji stoji svakom natjecatelju na raspolaganje. Svaki natjecalac ima da položi žaobinu (5% od ponudjene svote), uložene u uložnoj knjižici kojeg zagrebačkog novčanog zavoda.

Pobliže glede ove jeftimbe može se razabrati iz ličbenih uvjeta, koji zajedno s obćim i posebnim gradjevnim uvjetima te s obrazcima ponude i s troškovnikom leže na uvid u uredu zagr. izrael. bog. obćine (od 10 do 11 sati prije podne) i u poslovnici arhitekta Hönigsberg i Deutsch, c. kr. dvorskih graditelja u Zagrebu, Ilica 53, danomice od 4 do 5 sati poslje podne, a u potonjoj leže još na uvid svi odnosni nacrti.

U Zagrebu, dne 3. svibnja 1909.

1107

PRIJE 30 GODINA ...

Community action for collecting money for build Old age home



Old age home Choir





Gathering in the park of old age home



Bazar with ceramic made by resident





Gathering in park of Old age home during the Corona epidemic



Dr. Reiner Nada, one of directors of Old age home

## **Demographic research - birth records**

Pioneering research of demographic statistics in the Jewish municipality in Zagreb was carried out by Prof. dr. Gavro Schwarz wrote the article "Some statistics from the Jewish community of Zagreb" in which he collected data on births, deaths and marriages.

After his death, the bookkeeping was taken over by Dr. Šalom Freiburger, who kept the books until December 13, 1943. From July 8, 1945 until April 14, 1945, the books were managed by Bernard Grüner, after which Rabbi Dr. Hinko Urbach took over the management. The books were soon handed over to the Zagreb registry offices, and the last recorded data is January 16, 1949, when one marriage was concluded. For some time, weddings were registered in the marriage book in the Jewish community, but newlyweds were also "registered" in the district books.

I studied the books of the other two Jewish municipalities in Zagreb: Orthodox and Sephardic, which Dr. Gavro Švarc did not include in his research.

The oldest books (located in the registry office) are wedding books from 1858. From 1858 to 1879, the books are kept as "Tranings protocol" in German language, and the notes are in Hebrew. A total of 178 weddings were performed from 1858 to 1878.



Childrens



Table of births in the Jewish Municipality of Zagreb

Year	No. of births	Parents are not from Zagreb	Boys	Girls
1891	68			
1892	69			
1893	77			
1894	76			
1895	71			
1896	91			
1897	89			
1898	79			
1899	92		42	50
1900	113		72	41
1901	81		46	37
1902	104		54	51
1903	96		49	47
1904	86		42	34
1905	103		45	58
1906	91		46	45
1907	96		49	47
1908	100		53	47
1909	91		52	39
1910	92		41	41
1911	75		44	31
1912	81		40	41
1913	91		51	40
1914	77		35	42
1915	49		23	16
1916	43		18	25
1917	48		30	18
1918	60		23	37
1919	65		38	27
1920	80		36	40
1921	86		38	48
1922	96		51	45
1923	97		50	41
1924	103		50	57
1925	97	-4	37	58
1926	73	-9	29	44
1927	76	-5		
1928	70	-13		
1929	76	-7		
1930	88	-12		
1931	85	-11		
1932	68	-9		
1933	66	-4	32	34
1934	81	-12	39	42
1935	67	-3	36	31
1936	78	-7	36	42
1937	64	-4	31	33
1938	72	-13	38	34
1939	44	-10	17	27
1940	33	-5	11	22
1941	24	-2	13	11
1942	20	-3		
1944	1			
1945	10		5	5
1946	33		11	22
1947	31		14	17
1948	16		8	8

Note: The table was compiled by Dr. Gavro Schwarz until 1932, and we supplemented it with Dr. Švob's data from the registers until 1948. Since 1925, data have been entered into the table about people who were born in Zagreb, but are not natives of Zagreb. These data are shown in parentheses and cannot be included in the birth rate of the Jewish municipality of Zagreb. There is no data for 1943.

At that time, relatively few stillborn children (and premature children) were recorded in the Jewish registers, only about 2% of the born children's

*Table of marriages in the Jewish Municipality of Zagreb from 1858 to 1948*

Year	Number	Annotation
1858	3	German language
1859	4	
1860-1862	11	
1863	15	
1864	9	
1865	6	
1866	11	
1867	6	
1868	6	
1869	5	
1870	16	
1871	15	
1872	9	
1873	11	
1874	17	
1875	9	
1876	12	
1877	4	
1878	11	total 178
1879	15	Croatian language
1880	11	
1881	15	
1882	21	
1883	14	
1885	13	
1886	16	
1887	12	
1888	11	
1889	10	Closed with no. 348
1990	10	
1891	18	
1892	25	
1893	17	
1894	22	
1895	17	
1896	22	
1897	17	
1897	17	
1898	19	
1899	28	
1900	19	
1901	11	

1902	20	
1903	20	
1904	16	Rabby H.Jakobi
1905	16	1 divorce
1906	19	
1907	18	
1908	26	
1909	14	
1910	24	2 divorces
1911	33	8 divorces
1912	24	
1913	24	2 divorces
1914	11	
1915	9	
1916	7	
1917	22	5 divorces
1918	19	4 divorces
1919	62	6 divorces
1920	63	3 divorces
1921	83	
1922	56	5 divorces
1923	57	
1924	51	6 divorces
1925	54	6 divorces
1926	37	7 divorces
1927	61	11 divorces
1928	56	6 divorces
1929	64	12 divorces
1930	66	12 divorces
1931	56	13 divorces
1932	76	17 divorces
1933	47	
1934	71	
1935	72	
1936	54	
1937	93	
1938	114	
1939	67	
1940	62	
1941	67	
1942	5	M.Š.Freiberger till 13.12.1942
1945	17	Bernard Grüner from 8.7.45
1946	14	B.Grüner, from 14.04.1946 Hinko Urbach
1947	6	Urbach, but also registration in the district
1948	16	
1949	1	1 marriage concluded 16, 1, 1949

At the wedding, delegations of rabbis from other places came to Zagreb, e.g. from Klagenfurth, Trieste, Bjelovar, Sisak, etc. Thus, in 1905, Nadrabin S.R. Melli came to Zagreb with a delegation of rabby: Dr.H. Jakobi, S.D. Tauber - regional rabbi (Bjelovar) and Dr. David Spitzer - district rabbi (Sisak). Retention of the maiden name was approved. At the time of marriage, conversion to the Jewish religion was approved if one of the partners was of another religion.

At the time of separation, the following wording was entered in the book: "According to the decree of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Land Government, Department of Worship and Education dated October 4, 1915, number 28,615, it is noted that based on the final judgment of the Royal Court in Zagreb dated 13 April 1912, number 16,590 of the City Office, this marriage was dissolved by submitting and receiving the dissolution letter"<sup>1</sup>.

Of the old customs at Jewish weddings, two customs are still preserved today, especially crucial for the position of a woman not only in marriage but also in the Jewish community.

It is a "Ketuba"<sup>2</sup> marriage contract written in Aramaic and containing basic information about future marriage partners, with the date and place of marriage, as well as information about the dowry that a woman brings into marriage. During a wedding, a minyan is required, i.e. the presence of at least 10 "men of religious age", but the presence of a rabbi is not mandatory (it can be performed by someone else). Weddings today are most often performed by a rabbi according to strict regulations (which differ somewhat in Ashkenazi and Sephardi). The name of the rabbi who performed the wedding was entered in the registers. We found out that during weddings, entire delegations of rabbis used to come to Zagreb. Another important custom, which still exists today in Israel and some communities in the diaspora that adhere to the rules of Jewish marriage law (according to Halacha) is to give a woman a "dissolution letter" called a "get", in the presence of a rabbi. The letter is given by the husband to the wife and without the letter the marriage is not considered dissolved, and the woman without the "ghetto" becomes an "agunah"<sup>3</sup> and cannot remarry.

In our registry books, we found the following wording at the time of divorce: "According to the decree of the Royal Croatian-Slavonic-Dalmatian Government, Department of Worship and Education dated October 4, 1915, number 28,615, it is recorded that on the basis of the final judgment of the Royal Court of Justice in Zagreb from On April 13, 1912, number 16,590 of the City Office, this marriage was dissolved by submitting and receiving a letter of dissolution. However, the average age of Jewish brides is higher than the age of brides of that era who married very young, especially in rural areas.

<sup>1</sup> Radovanović Vojislava i Mihaljević Milica: *Životni ciklus-običaji Jevreja, Union of Jewish Municipalities of Yugoslavia and Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade, 1998.*

<sup>2</sup> In Talmudic times, the minimum value of the dowry was 180 grams of silver, and there is a custom to display the dowry publicly in front of community members. If the girl is poor, the whole community prepares a dowry for her. The ketubah was previously signed during the betrothal (erusin or kiddushin), which preceded the wedding ceremony (nisuin). Now these two customs are combined into one.

<sup>3</sup> There are difficult cases of "agunah" where a woman tries in vain for years to obtain a "get" from her husband, but also cases when the husband has disappeared or died, and the woman cannot prove it. In the past, before going to wars or other trips, husbands used to give get in advance. Now there is a big action by Jewish women all over the world to ease the conditions for granting a get, that is, to influence the Rabbinical Court in Israel, which is responsible for marriage law, and there is no civil marriage in Israel.

Mortality<sup>4</sup>

Year of birth	Number of dead - total	Origin: not from Zagreb
1891	50	
1892	48	
1893	49	
1894	45	
1895	56	
1896	55	
1897	56	
1898	48	
1899	44	
1900	65	
1901	55	
1902	77	
1903	61	
1904	59	
1905	70	
1906	61	
1907	72	
1908	62	
1909	65	
1910	48	
1911	67	
1912	73	
1913	75	
1914	67	
1915	82	
1916	92	
1917	86	
1918	80	
1919	85	
1920	83	
1921	77	
1922	94	
1923	97	
1924	116	
1925	109	9
1926	84	3
1927	116	11
1928	117	8
1929	114	6
1930	103	12
1931	129	15
1932	109	8
1933	124	13
1934	135	21
1935	123	8
1936	143	20
1937	126	7
1938	164	25
1939	141	18
1940	148	19
1941	190	
1942	142	
1945	27	
1946	41	
1947	39	
1948	33	
1949	1	

<sup>4</sup> Data of Dr. Gavro Schwartz until 1932 and supplementary data of Dr. Švob

## **Jewish marriages**

The Jewish population in the world, including in our country, is going through significant and rapid changes and almost each generation lives in different social, economic and geographical conditions. These changes are followed by several basic determinants (della Pergola): the relationship between of the vital events of birth and death, the relationship between immigration and emigration, and the identification of Jews.

There are significant differences between countries, so in Israel there is a positive relationship between vital characteristics, and it is negative in diaspora communities. The international migration balance is positive for Israel, USA, Australia and Germany. But recently, the strengthening of anti-Semitic attacks to the Jewish communities of Europe, it becomes an increasingly important factor in their lives.

The basic trends in the Jewish population (except in Israel) are the aging of the Jewish population, low fertility, substantial migration, and less association with Judaism, which is associated with growth mixed marriages and a large number of children from such marriages.

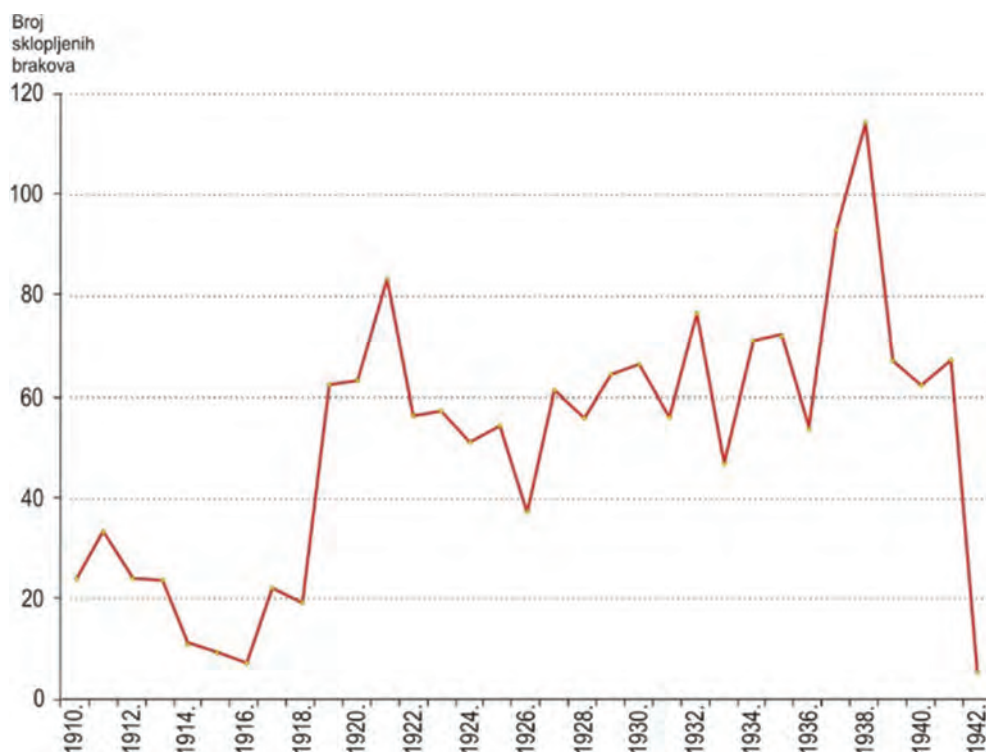
Attitudes towards mixed marriages differ in individual countries and are becoming important today research site. The great increase in mixed marriages is now considered by some to be dangerous for the Jewish population due to that children from such marriages (not all) do not identify as Jews, are not raised in Judaism and are not tied to communities.

Mixed marriages, however, may be considered a sign of successful social integration into society, and in the communities that were decimated by the Holocaust enabled their reconstruction and their survival. Acceptance of mixed marriages, according to some authors, is a sign of good society relations, reduces racism, social segregation and antagonism in communities. Scientists from the JPR (Institute for Jewish Policy and Research, London) conducted a large-scale study mixed marriages and new forms of life partnership (cohabitation, partnership of the same gender) and their impact on children and their Jewish identification. They found that a new form of life partnership, which they call "cohabitation", i.e., living together without an official wedding (which is more common among the younger generation and secular Jews), postpones having children, and if such couples have children, they are brought up less in the Jewish spirit but children of married parents. Cohabitation leads to a decrease in the number of marriages, women who getting married are getting older and the age of women at the time of their first childbirth is higher, and the number of children is lower.

At the same time, in the current social change in the position of women must also be taken into account education and their entry into the world of work.

Today, the Jewish community consist of several generations of Jews and each had a different status in the community in their lives, attitude towards marriage, children and education.

Rabbi Dr. Gavro Schwarz's demographic research on birth rates, mortality and marriages in the Jewish community of Zagreb (from 1910 to 1932) is well known. Dr. Melita Švob researched the books of the Jewish community of Zagreb and supplemented the data up to year 1948.



The increase in the number of marriages in the Jewish population in 1938 is interpreted as the arrival of Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany who tried to provide for themselves through marriage and conversion residence permit in Croatia.

However, there were three communities in Zagreb, and Dr.Gavro Švarc analyzed only the largest one, the Ashkenazi one community. The Sephardic Jewish community (founded on February 1, 1927) and the Orthodox Jewish community (founded in 1926) kept their registers separately until 1941. Švob also studied the books of the Orthodox and Sephardic Jewish community, as well as the conversion books that were available.

When analysing data on the first Jews who immigrated to Zagreb, what did Gavro Schwarz do when describing 116 families (between 1840 and 1843), we see that the families of that time had an average of six children, that there were rare people who were not married, and widowers/ widows would remarry.

At that time, the migration of young men to a new environment was characteristic. They would stay there for a few years until they established themselves, and then they would marry a young woman from that community or bring one a bride from his "old place". The age difference between the groom and the bride was usually significant- the husbands used to be even 10 years older than the brides. Divorces were rare, and the divorce required the Husband' written consent (get) in front of the rabbis.

Source of data for the Jewish population until World War II are Jewish registers books that are led by rabbis. During the Holocaust from 1941 until January 31, 1943, the Jewish



the books were kept by Rabbi Shalom Freiburger, who was taken to the camp and killed there. Until 1945. In the books were no registration, Then, from 1945 to 1949, the books were kept by Rabbi Hinko Urbach, who later migrated to Israel.

Jewish registers books ceased to be kept in the Jewish Community in 1948 when they were handed over to offices of the city administration in Zagreb and are still located in the Central State Archives and in the registry office in Zagreb' town "Centre".



Jewish family in front of their shop

## Marriages in Zagreb - Tranings Protokoll

Name of groom	Years	Place of birth	Name of bride	Years	Place of birth
<b>Year 1858</b>					
Honigsberg Moritz	28	Warasdin	Mathilde Kohn	20	Agram
Honigsfeld Leopold	23	Meseritsch	Laura Kahn	20	Agram
Rebdele Herman	28	Warasdin	Bachrach Regina	27	Lendfelder
<b>Year 1859</b>					
Moses Samuel		Warasdin	?		
Frohlich Josef	24	Karlstadt	Steiner Katarina	18	Agram
Rucklander Filipp	25	Belezna Czurgo	Stern Charlote	23	Agram
Schwarz Friedrich	33	Gr.Kanisza	Morpurgo Clementine		Görz
<b>Year 1860</b>					
Bruckner Moritz	27	Zala Löwo	Spitzer Mathilde	20	Agram
Hirschl Jakob	43	Klein Grunland Czurgo	Singer Henriette	24	Gr.Kanisza
Bachrach Eduard		Gr.Kanisza Ung	Stern Charlotte	23	Agram
<b>Year 1861</b>					
Perlfaster Ignatz	32	Reichlinger	Stern Emilie	15	Agram
Stern Jakob	27	Agram	Benfeld Theresia	24	Güssing, Ung
Mosković Adolf	25	Agram	Schwabenitz Helena	22	Čakatur Croat
Ebenspanger Marius	27	Czakatur	Steiner Netti	20	Olsnitz Ung
Rosner Jakob	30	Carlstadt Szigetharad	Deutsch Amalia	20	Agram
Alexander Jonas	30	Gussing	Stern Rosalia		Agram
Stiegler Samuel	38	Agram	Grunwald Rosalie	17	Bistrica
Kohn Josef	35	Laduc Kanisza	Stern Helena	44	Agram
<b>Year 1863</b>					
Hertman Joseph	31	Agram	Sinonsfeld Helena ?	31	Baiern
Fisher Heinrich	36	Nagy Vazsony?	Honisberger Katarina	23	Sceleiming
Zeisler Markus	33	Czakatur	Rosenberg Theresie	18	Agram
Sieben schein Josef	27	Weiszhir-sehen	Singer Hermone	18	Agram
Sauerbrun Simon	29	Agram	Spitzer Mina	23	Agram

Deutsch Philipp	27	Kutina	Schwarz Amalia	18	Agram
Klein Ed	33	Oravice Slavonien	Epstein Ernestina		Agram
Scherz Simon	26	Gr.Kanisza Ung	Muller Rosa	17	Kutina
Angelus Jakob	39	Rechnitz Ung	Furst Charlotte	24	Agram
Langarf Gustav	34	Rechnitz	Ornstein Rosalie		Gussing
Karadazs David	36	Körmend	Deutsch Charlotte	26	Agram
Figatner Josef	50	With...?	Krakau Rosa		Agram vjenčani u Krakau
Mandler Salamon	34	Strasnitz	Gentile Vittoria		Görz
Deutsch Leopold	26	Gyomore	Rosalia	20	Agram
Neumann Salamon	25	Winz..?	Steiner Netti	24	Schleining, Ung
<b>Year 1864</b>					
Bettlheim Josef	29	Subotica- Kutina	Lowinger Johana	18	Warasdin
Lichtenberger Leopold	28	Szegedin	Breslauer Henriete	17	Agram
Spitzer Samuel	30	Agram	Spitzer Amalia	26	Agram
Spitzer Karl	35	Čarnek	Klein Karoline	28	Agram
Mautner Szezmund	21	Istvandi	Sterk	20	Rugvica
Weiler Gustav	31	Sziget	Kornfein Regina	21	Sziget
Rosenberg Samuel	42	Kaposvar	? Betti	23	Čsakaturn
Štern Jakob	34	Agram	Neufeld? Gina	26	Gussing
Pollak Leopold	29	Gussing	Schonheit Katharina	25	Gussing
<b>Year 1865</b>					
Rendeli Simon	21	Podvek?	Kahn Mathilde		Agram
Löwy Ignatz	31	Gr. Kanisza	Furst Rosalia	19	Kopreinitz Koprivnica?
Pick Isaak	26	Agram	Rosenthal Anna	19	Naschitz (Našice)
Deutsch Leopold	26	Gyomore	Rosalia	20	Agram
Friedman Sohaja	31	Monaster zyska	Brull Nanette	20	Draganić
Roszai Antal	35	Bonyhad	Klein Eugenie	18	Agram
<b>Year 1866</b>					
Stern Jakob	26	Agram	Langraf Rosa	18	Agram
Ascher Marcus	31	Bobertha	Fi.. Camilie	20	
Schwabenitz Salamon	24	Sz Löwo	Girfeld?		Agram
Hirschmann Philip	25	Czakaturn	? Charlotte		
Herz Moses	26	Krakau	Rosenfeld	30	Agram
Kohn Salamon	35	Lowo	Hann?	18	G.Kanisza

Israel Ignatz	24	Kutina	?	21	Agram
Eishner Ignatz	34	Bonyhard	?	18	
Aaron Salamon	33	Batsch Millos	Pollak Johana	23	Bonyhad
Breslauer Heinrich	30		Schiffer	20	Agram
Hirschler Samuel	40		Gold...	18	Agram
<b>Year 1867</b>					
Pulaj Siegmund			Kohn	20	Szala Lowo
Singer Leopold	33		Johana	27	Agram
Neumann Šandor	30	Gratz	Lowinger Franciska		Warasdin
Heimann Leopold			Kathi	28	
Bachrach Friedrich	29	Gr.Kanisza	?	27	Agram
Alexander Šandor	30	Gussing	?	18	Agram
<b>Year 1868</b>					
Kremsir Ladislaus	32		Langraf Paulina		
Steiner Leopold	26		? Josefine	34	
Mayer Šandor		Gussing	Schon... Fanny		Agram
Pick Ignatz	24		So.. Charlotte	26	
Hertmann Bernard	32	Gr.Kanisza	Lagraf Johana	22	Agram
Mayer Šandor	30	Gussing	..Sconheit		Gussing
<b>Year 1869</b>					
Heim Moritz	29	Černek?	Klein Emilie	19	Agram
Schwabenitz Albert	22	Csakaturn	Dolenfinger? Netti	21	
Hirschl Salamon	31		Breslauer	22	
Steiner Josef	33	Agram	Brun Ernestine		Ungarn
Frankl Max	27		Steiner Charlotte	23	
<b>Year 1870</b>					
Kohn Jakob	34		?	20	Bistrica
Ausch Josef	28	Szilt	Muller Roselin	18	Kutina
Moses Sebastian					
Deutsch Leopold?			Schwarz Charlote	20	Agram
Kronfeld Gustav	30	Rechnitz	Schwarz Emma		Agram
Gerber Sigmund	31	Karlsdorf	Weiss Eugenia		Agram
Kaufmann Jakob	33	Gussig	Holzmann Bertha	22	Agram
Kauders David	44	Visoko	.. Rosenberger	21	Zala
Spitzer Heinrich	29	Agram	Kellner Sarafina?	27	Gussen..
Kaufmann Max	34	Jaska	Sterk? Rosa	18	Rugvica
Furst Julius	29	Kopenitz	Rausnitz	21	Jakovlje
Modern Jakob					
Kohn Anton					
Wasserthal Heinrich					
Frankl Moritz					
Rosenberg Bernard					

<b>Year 1871</b>					
Kronfeld Adolf	24	Rechnitz	Ida Schwarz	18	Agram
Steinhardt Moritz	29	Körmond	Kohn regine	23	Agram
Stern Alexandar	25	Hihtsch?	Juth..?	20	Agram
Bischler Herman	24	Gige	Cecilia ?		Warasdin
Kohn Carl					
Heunner Siegmund	29	Olsnitz	Buttel.. Josefina	20	Agram
Kohn Samuel	27	Pest	Breslauer Nelli	18	Daruvar
Deutsch Alois	29	Agram	Deutsch Babette	19	Szala Lovo
Langraf Moritz	38	Rechnitz	Muller Mathilda	19	Kutina
Rosenberg Max	30	Gussing	Simony? Charlotte	24	Czakaturn
Schweitzer Samuel					
Wasserthal Heinrich					
Herrenstein Sigmund					
Hacker Alexander					
Rosenberg Bernard					
<b>Year 1871</b>					
Kovatz Ignatz	28	Kaposwar (Slovak)	Ginsburg Josefina	18	Schleining
Dreschsler Samuel	36	Varasdin	Schwarz Fany	21	Agram
Deutsch Albert	57	Gomori?	Grunwald	50	Schleining
Lederer Samuel	25	Czakaturn Koprivnica	Jung?	23	Agram
<b>Year 1872</b>					
Klein Bernard	26		Angela?	20	Agram
Muller Filip	23	Bukovina	Honigberg Cily	21	Schlaining
Prager Siegmund	27	Keszthely	Schwarz Mimi	28	Agram
Spitzer Jakob	26	Kušenice	Dina..?	25	Szala
Kremsir Max	32	Esseg	Sachs Victoria	18	Agram
Brüll Samuel	29	Agram	Fasbinger?	20	Predor Bosnien
Bendiner Heinrich	38	Gussing	Rosenberg	28	Gussing
Klein Siegmund		Wien	?	28	Gr.Kanisza
Hirsch Marcus	61		Kohn Fani	51	
<b>Year 1873</b>					
Deucht Ignatz		Czurgo- Dugo Selo	Deitsch	22	Agram
Schweinburg Salomon	36	Nikolsburg Wien	Stern Celilie	30	Gr.Kanisza
Stern Max	31	Agram	Sophie..?	20	Agram
Glucks Samuel	25	Bittse	Eichner Therese	21	Agram
Menzer Adolf	30	Szeged	Menerich? Karolina	19	Sissek
Bihler Moritz	35	Gussing	Rosenberg	24	Schlaining
Klein Benedikt	26	Agram	Kraus Elise	18	Agram

Neumann Alexandar	34	Gussig	Stern Olga	16	Cernik
Alter Moritz	30	Sokolov	? Regina	24	
Heimer Max	32	Olsnitz	Frankl Brün	23	
Weisz Max	27	Agram	Kron Paulina	19	
<b>Year 1874</b>					
Leitner Samuel	24	Rausnitz Jakovlje	? Sophie	18	Rausnitz
Weiss Herman	28	Szigetvar Pakratz	Kohn Emilie	19	Sissek
Berger Hermann	26	Dugoselo	Basch Fany	18	Bresovica
Feldbauer Max	24	Banja Luka			Gorz
Weiss Ferdinand	24	Dražkovec	Lowy Johana	22	Warasdin
Mattesdorfer Isidor	30	N.Langyel	Stern?	17	Agram
Fleischhacker Samuel	60	Csurgo	Beck	36	Keszthely
Singer	28	Eszek Osijek	Spitz Cecilie	19	Kanisza
Low Wilhelm	23	Kornetz	Sonsburger Karolina	19	Samobor
Wasserthal Salamon	31	Dragane (Wien)	....		
Weinberger Jakob	27	Gr. Kanisza	Weisz Charlotte	20	Agram
Khan Adolf	45	Agram	Neumann Franciska	20	Cerkvice, Agram
Rosenberg Leopold	24	Gussig	Schwarz Ernestina	22	Gradec, Agram
Benedik Salamon	22	Kreuz, Križ	Theresie ?	18	Lupoglava
Breyer Wilhelm	24	Carls... Ogulin	Spitzer Paulina	19	Agram
Kraus Siegmund	25	Berszko Ung	Stern Cornelia	18	Gr.Goriza Zgb
Grunfeld Ignatz	27	Türnan	Schonheit Therese	19	Gussing
<b>Year 1875</b>					
Markus Samuel	31	Peszt	Prister Louise	21	Gradiška
Heinrich Bernhardt	32	Csakaturn	Grunhold	16	Bistrica
Deutsch Adolf	28	Csakaturn Sissek	Schonheit Cecilia	20	Gussing
Rosenfeld Adolf	27	Agram	Neumann karolina	21	Gr. Kanizsa
Pollak Hermann	33	Eisen sihnitz? Wien	Rosenfeld Johane	22	Agram
Frankl Leopold	32	Ung. Brod	Weisz Clementine	22	Carlsdorf
Kürschner Heron	37	Gr.Kanitzza	Karpeler Regine	22	Kormend
Tausig Jakob	28	Warasdin	? Pauline	20	Rechnitz-Jakovlje
Hirschl Heinrich	28	Schleining	Engelsrath ?		Muttersdorf Agram
<b>Year 1876</b>					
Neumann Adolf	31	St. Groth	Hirschl Nanette	22	Agram

Haberfeld Moritz	28	Jelenska	Furst? Elisa	18	Agram
Hirsch Josef	30	Winn?	Cilli?	25	Kormond
Kohn Ignatz	31	St. Groth Moslavina	Kraus Paulina	29	Agram
Ehrlich Herman	40	Našice	Eisenr Marie	21	Berskov
Rendeli Samuel	26	Podbjel	Rechnitzer Rosa	18	Carlsdorf Maria Goriza
Schlesinger Jacob	32	Warasdin	Hoffman nanette	25	Agram
Klein Max	37	Czakaturn Gr.Gorica	Szerdel Olga	24	Ozel?
Broch Albert	25	Sv. Martin	Johana	22	Agram
Sachs Ludwig	25	Agram	Stern Herma	16	Gr.Gorica
Grosmann Rudolf	27	Szenitz	Neumann Mathilda	21	Warasdin
Weiss Jakob	28	Gussing	Hinnberg? Katharina	23	Schanning- Agram
<b>Year 1877</b>					
Mautner Ignatz	27	Tat Ungarn	Buchler Johana	24	Kormond
Prager Bela	33	Gr. Kanisza	brodwin? Theresia	18	St Ivan
Fleischmann Jakob	28	Dambovitza Bjelovar	Shlesinger Rosa	20	Gr.Kanisza
Sachs Josef	27	Agram	Figatner Rosa	25	Agram
<b>Year 1878</b>					
Grunwald Jakob	25	M.Bistrica	Deutsch Josefine	19	Agram
Kell Michael	27	Paks	Rendelli Nanette	18	Buševac
Heinrich Ignatz	25	Schleinig	Hirschl Malvina	19	Ivanić
Sterk Joseph	25	Rugvica	Basch cecilia	18	Hudovitek
Hochstadter Salamon	50	Samobor	K- Geiringer	38	Dugo Selo
Grunwald Moritz	33	M. Bistra	Spitzer ?	20	Agram
Alexander Bernahrd	27	Gussing	Nasihitz? hermina	18	Agram
Koppmann? Ludwig	32	Leibach Prag	Schonheit Johana	18	Gussing
Rosenberg Siegmund	29	Czakaturn Jasenovac	Merkad? Josefina		Podgorač
neumann Max	28	Czakaturn	? Rosa	23	Agram
Beck Ignatz	24	Kefsthal belovar	Hirschl Francisla	20	Ježova Agram
<b>Year 1858-1878</b>		<b>Total married 178</b>			
1879 zaručnik			zaručnica		hrvatski jezik
Weissen burger	31		Therese Weiss	23	Zagreb
Hirschfeld Sanuel	25	Funfkirchen	Schwarz Katarina	19	Zagreb
Hirsch Leopold	42	Sisak	Lieberman Josefine	32	Humpolec? Sisak
Pick Heinrich	24	Zagreb	Weisz Julie		Zagreb
Weiler Ludwig	24	Virovitiza	Neufeld Therese	27	Zagreb
Buchler Albert	30	Kormond	Grunfeld Sidonia	19	Zagreb
Adler Mathias	41	Baja	Stern katarina	40	Ohid Ugarski



Spiegler Friedrich	26	Rechnitz	Hirsch Paulina	20	Schlaning
Schwabenitz Leopold	29	Szala Lowo	Schlesinger Rosalia		Zagreb
Schwarz Max	30	Vucin Osseka	Eisner Ida	22	Zagreb
Feigl Heinrich	28	Wien	Buchler Fany	20	Kormond
Feldbauer Samuel	26	Travnik Sissak	Suzzati? Elvira	24	Gorz
Kell Jakob	34	Paks	Reiss Johana	20	Sissak
Hirsch Julius		Glina	Benedik Laura		Glina
Kern Alexander	24	Schlaining	Weisz Julie	20	Zagreb
<b>last number of the list was 348</b>					
<b>After the war</b>					
<b>1949</b>	1	16.1.49			
<b>1948</b>	16				
<b>1947</b>	6	Urbach	vjenčani istovremeno u I.(ili nekom drugom) rajonu		
<b>1946</b>	14	(20 brakova) do 9.v.46	Gruner i kasnije dr. Hinko Urbach		od 14.4.1946?
<b>1945</b>	17	8.srpnja	natkantor Bernard Gruner		
<b>1942</b>	5	zaključeno 13.12.1942 Freiberger			



Jewish victims cemetery in camp Đakovo

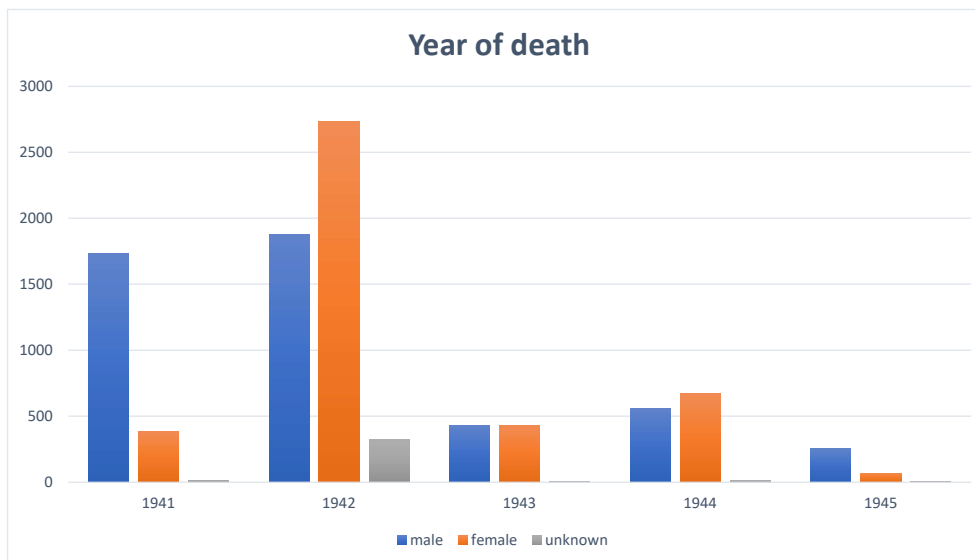
## Holocaust in Croatia

### Database of Holocaust victims

Preliminary results from the research analyses.  
Graphical presentation eng Goran Vlahović

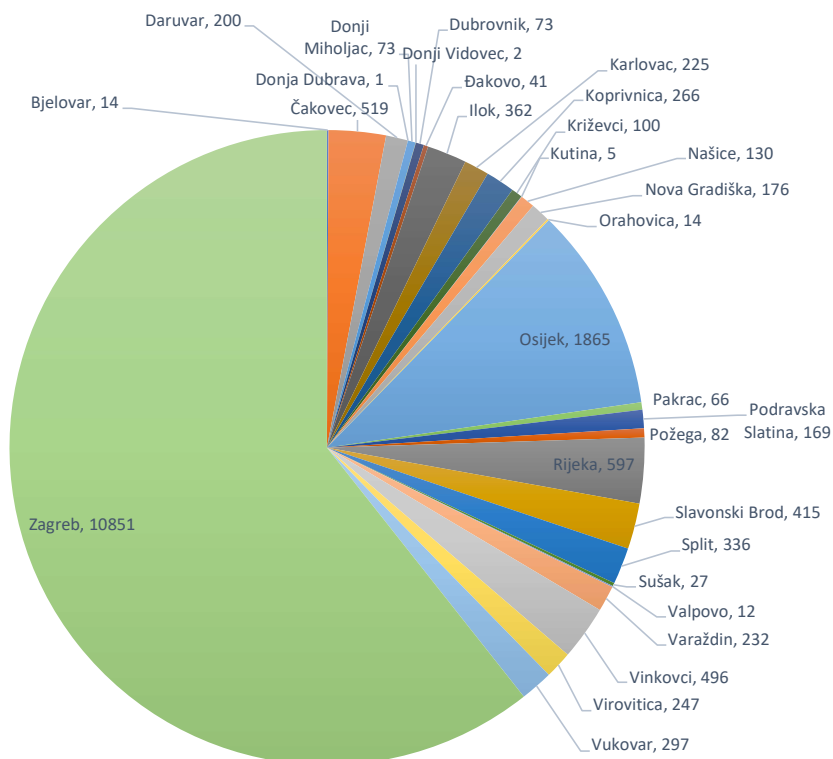
Chart - Year of death

Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	1732	386	14
1942	1877	2738	327
1943	430	430	5
1944	557	668	11
1945	255	69	3



## Holocaust victims in Croatia by communities

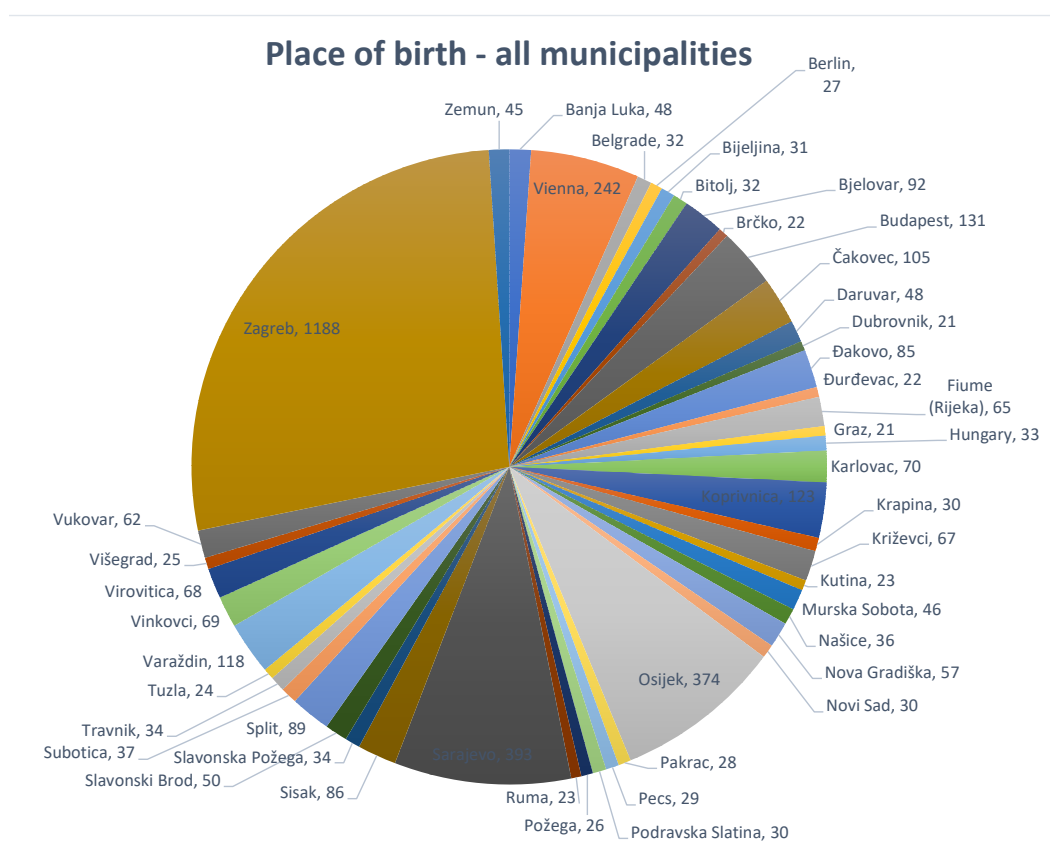
**Municipality**



## Holocaust victims in Croatia by communities

<b>Municipality</b>	<b>No. of people</b>
Bjelovar	14
Čakovec	519
Daruvar	200
Donja Dubrava	1
Donji Miholjac	73
Donji Vidovec	2
Dubrovnik	73
Đakovo	41
Ilok	362
Karlovac	225
Koprivnica	266
Križevci	100
Kutina	5
Našice	130
Nova Gradiška	176
Orahovica	14
Osijek	1865
Pakrac	66
Podravska Slatina	169
Požega	82
Rijeka	597
Slavonski Brod	415
Split	336
Sušak	27
Valpovo	12
Varaždin	232
Vinkovci	496
Virovitica	247
Vukovar	297
Zagreb	10851
<b>Total</b>	<b>17893</b>

## Place of birth by municipality

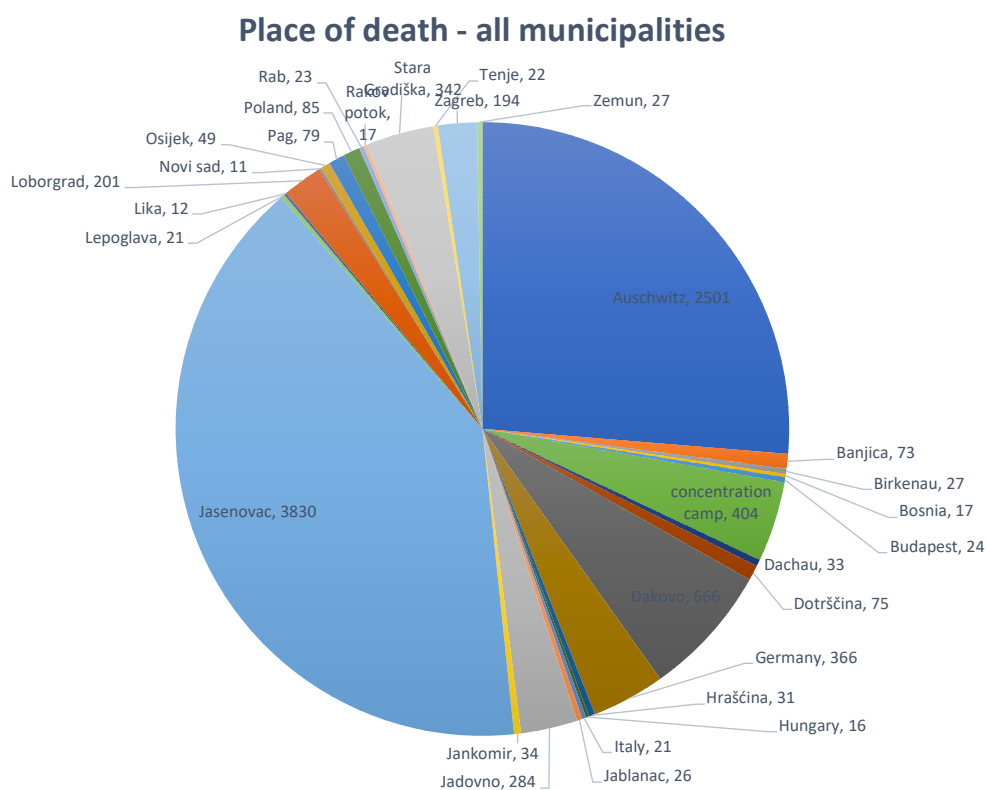


## Place of birth by municipality

Place of birth	No. of people ( >= 20 )
Banja Luka	48
Beč	242
Belgrade	32
Berlin	27
Bijeljina	31
Bitolj	32
Bjelovar	92
Brčko	22
Budapest	131
Čakovec	105
Daruvar	48
Dubrovnik	21
Đakovo	85
Đurđevac	22
Fiume (Rijeka)	65
Graz	21
Hungary	33
Karlovac	70
Koprivnica	123
Krapina	30
Križevci	67
Kutina	23
Murska Sobota	46
Našice	36
Nova Gradiška	57
Novi Sad	30
Osijek	374
Pakrac	28
Pecs	29
Podravska Slatina	30
Požega	26
Ruma	23
Sarajevo	393
Sisak	86
Slavonska Požega	34
Slavonski Brod	50
Split	89
Subotica	37
Travnik	34
Tuzla	24
Varaždin	118
Vinkovci	69
Virovitica	68
Višegrad	25
Vukovar	62
Zagreb	1188
Zemun	45
Sum ( >= 20 )	4371
Other ( < 20 )	3477
Unknown	10045
Total	17893



Place of death  
- all communities



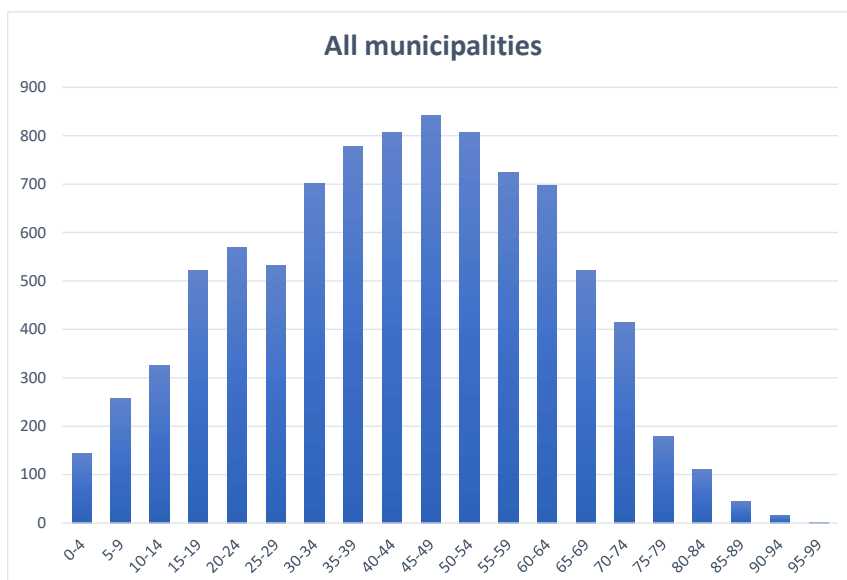
Place of death - all communities

Place of death	No. of people ( $\geq 10$ )
Auschwitz	2501
Banjica	73
Birkenau	27
Bosnia	17
Budapest	24
concentration camp	404
Dachau	33
Dotrščina	75
Đakovo	666
Germany	366
Hrašćina	31
Hungary	16
Italy	21
Jablanac	26
Jadovno	284
Jankomir	34
Jasenovac	3830
Lepoglava	21
Lika	12
Loborgrad	201
Novi sad	11
Osijek	49
Pag	79
Poljska	85
Rab	23
Rakov potok	17
Stara Gradiška	342
Tenje	22
Zagreb	194
Zemun	27
Sum ( $\geq 10$ )	9511
Other ( $< 10$ )	497
Unknown	2341
Total	12349

All municipalities

Age	Sum
0-4	144
5-9	257
10-14	326
15-19	522
20-24	569
25-29	532
30-34	702
35-39	778
40-44	808
45-49	842
50-54	806
55-59	725
60-64	698
65-69	522
70-74	414
75-79	179
80-84	110
85-89	44
90-94	16
95-99	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>8996</b>

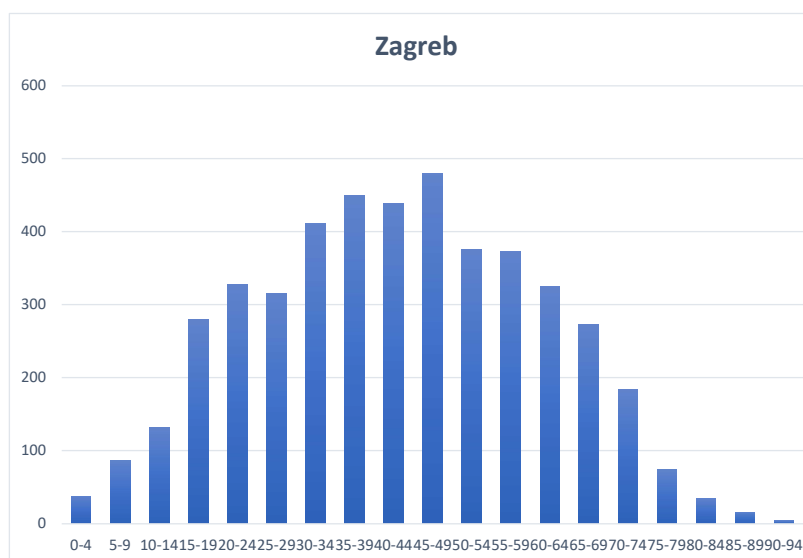
Age of Holocaust victims  
all communities



## Zagreb

Age	Sum
0-4	38
5-9	87
10-14	132
15-19	280
20-24	328
25-29	316
30-34	411
35-39	450
40-44	439
45-49	480
50-54	376
55-59	373
60-64	325
65-69	273
70-74	184
75-79	74
80-84	34
85-89	16
90-94	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4620</b>

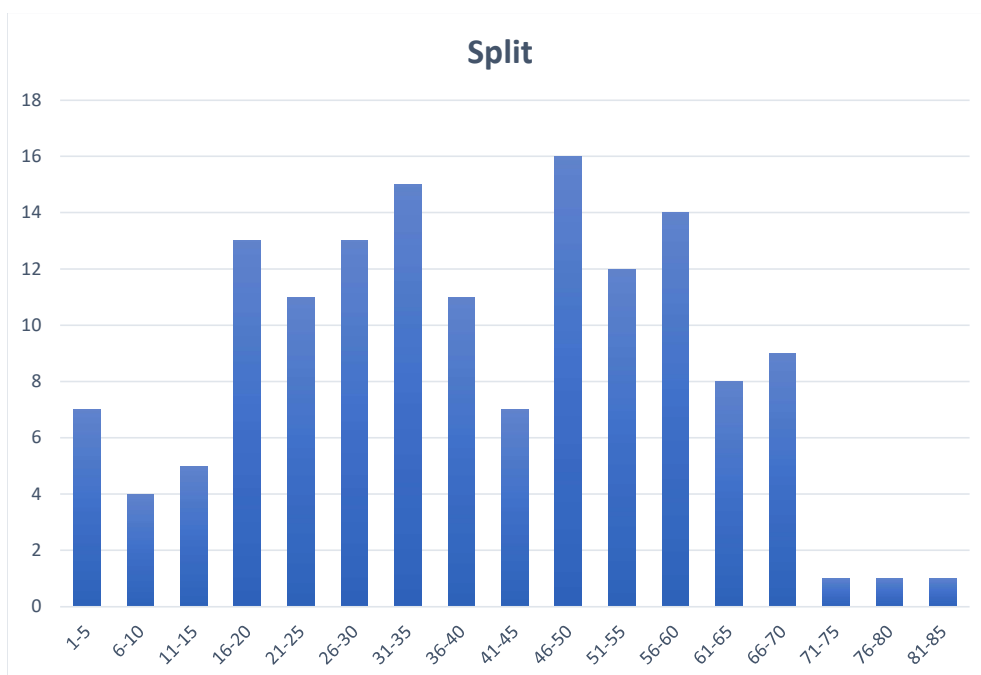
## Age of Holocaust victims Zagreb



Split

Age	Sum
1-5	7
6-10	4
11-15	5
16-20	13
21-25	11
26-30	13
31-35	15
36-40	11
41-45	7
46-50	16
51-55	12
56-60	14
61-65	8
66-70	9
71-75	1
76-80	1
81-85	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>

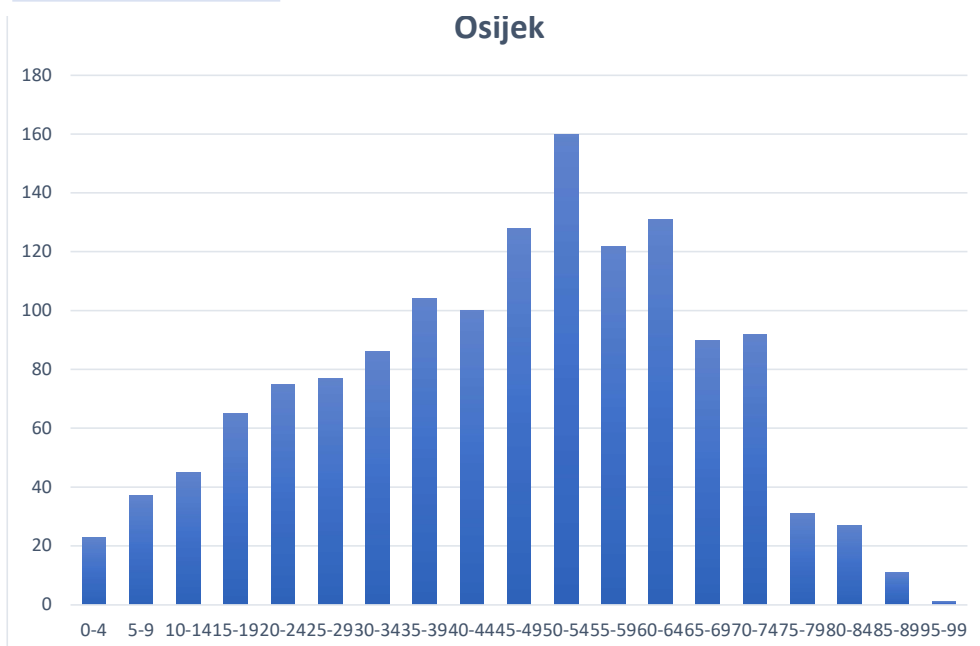
Age of Holocaust victims  
Split



Osijek

Age	Sum
0-4	23
5-9	37
10-14	45
15-19	65
20-24	75
25-29	77
30-34	86
35-39	104
40-44	100
45-49	128
50-54	160
55-59	122
60-64	131
65-69	90
70-74	92
75-79	31
80-84	27
85-89	11
95-99	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1405</b>

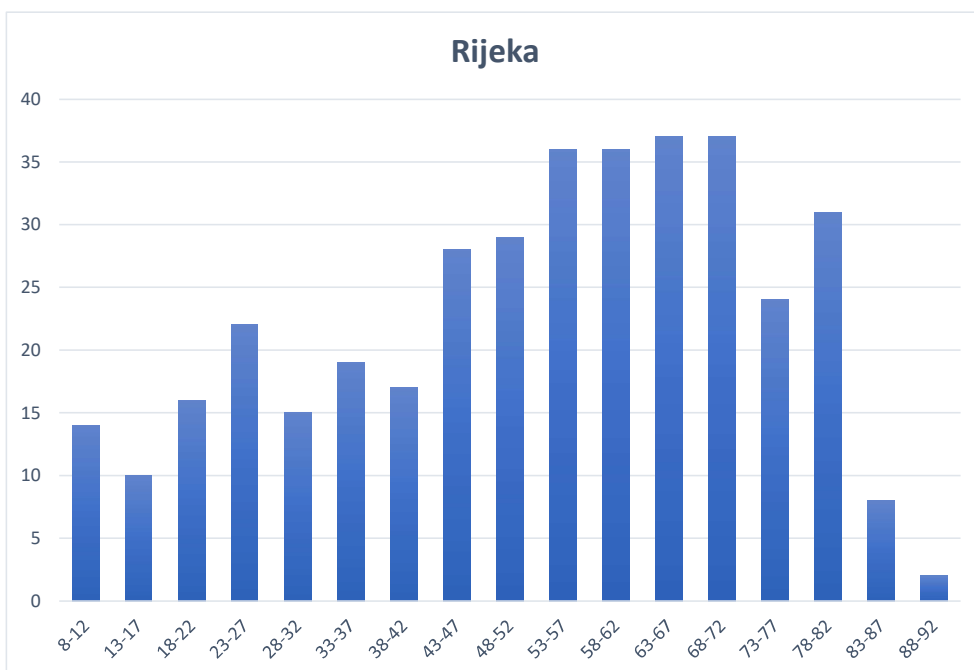
Age of Holocaust victims  
Osijek



## Rijeka

Age	Sum
8-12	14
13-17	10
18-22	16
23-27	22
28-32	15
33-37	19
38-42	17
43-47	28
48-52	29
53-57	36
58-62	36
63-67	37
68-72	37
73-77	24
78-82	31
83-87	8
88-92	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>381</b>

Age of Holocaust victims  
Rijeka



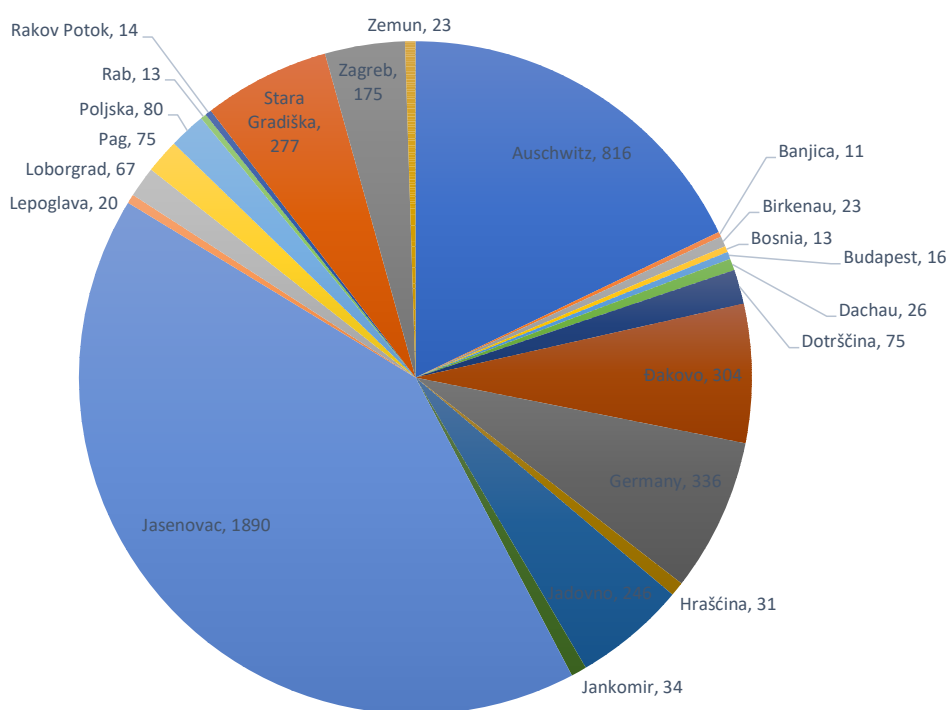


## Young days of some survivors



Place of death  
- community of Zagreb

Place of death - municipality of Zagreb

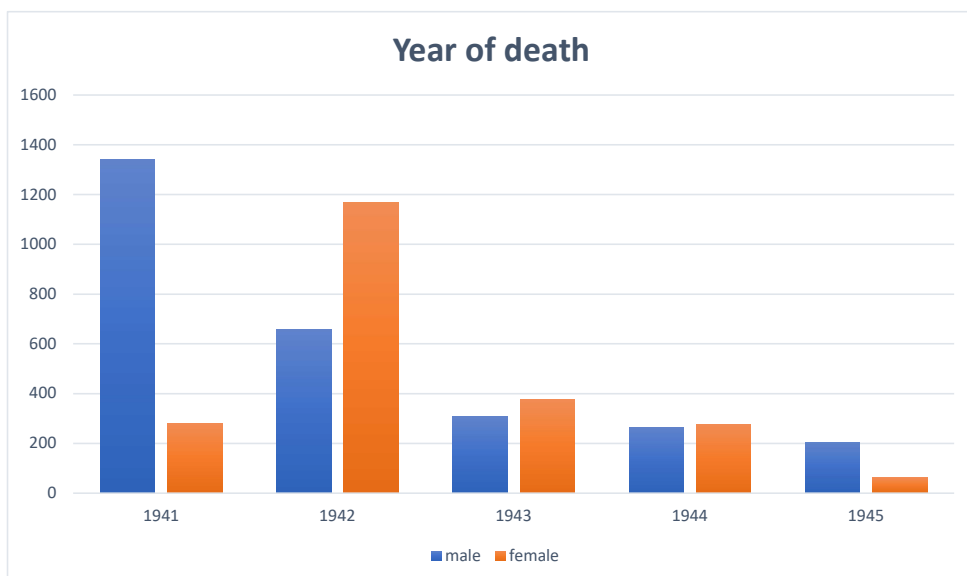


Place of death  
- community of Zagreb

Place of death	No. of people ( $\geq 10$ )
Auschwitz	816
Banjica	11
Birkenau	23
Bosnia	13
Budapest	16
Dachau	26
Dotrščina	75
Đakovo	304
Germany	336
Hrašćina	31
Jadovno	246
Jankomir	34
Jasenovac	1890
Lepoglava	20
Loborgrad	67
Pag	75
Poljska	80
Rab	13
Rakov Potok	14
Stara Gradiška	277
Zagreb	175
Zemun	23
Sum ( $\geq 10$ )	4565
Other ( $< 10$ )	392
Unknown	1543
Total	6500

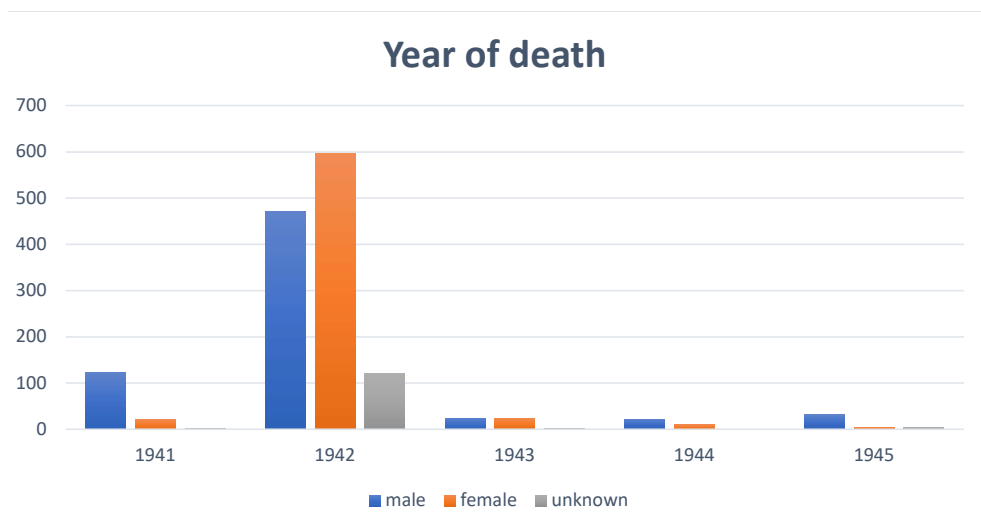
Year of death  
- community of Zagreb

Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	1342	282	
1942	659	1168	
1943	306	375	
1944	265	276	
1945	205	63	

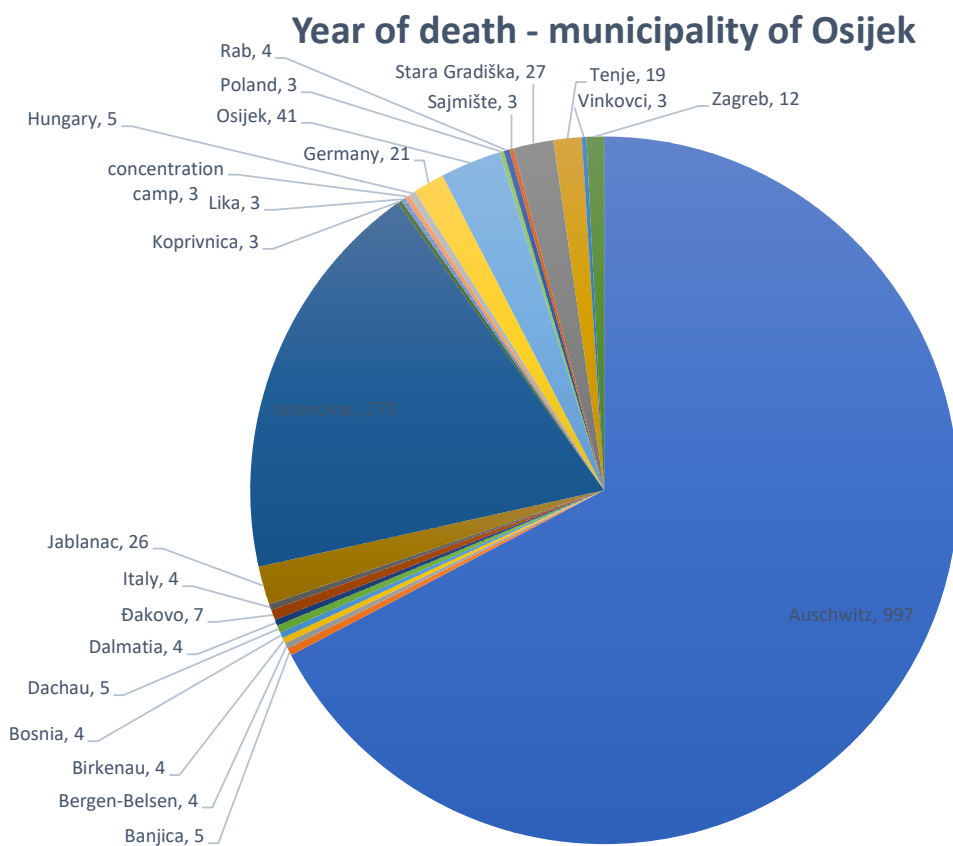


Year of death  
- community of Osijek

Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	124	21	2
1942	470	596	120
1943	24	24	2
1944	22	10	
1945	32	4	3



Place of death  
- community of Osijek

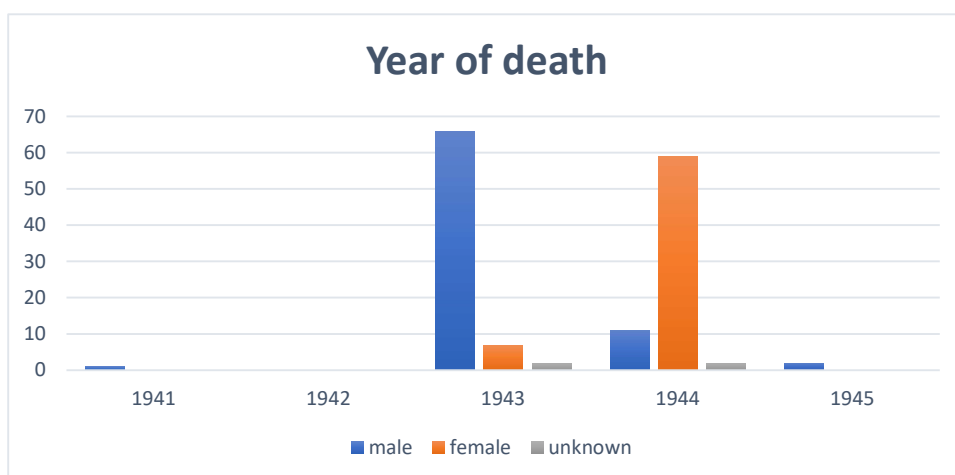


Place of death  
- community of Osijek

Year of death	No. of people ( >=3 )
Auschwitz	997
Banjica	5
Bergen-Belsen	4
Birkenau	4
Bosnia	4
Dachau	5
Dalmatia	4
Đakovo	7
Italy	4
Jablanac	26
Jasenovac	275
Koprivnica	3
Lika	3
concentration camp	3
Hungary	5
Germany	21
Osijek	41
Poland	3
Rab	4
Sajmište	3
Stara Gradiška	27
Tenje	19
Vinkovci	3
Zagreb	12
Sum ( >=3 )	1482
Other ( <3 )	28
Unknown	52
Total	1562

Year of death  
- community Split

Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	1		
1942			
1943	66	7	2
1944	11	59	2
1945	2		

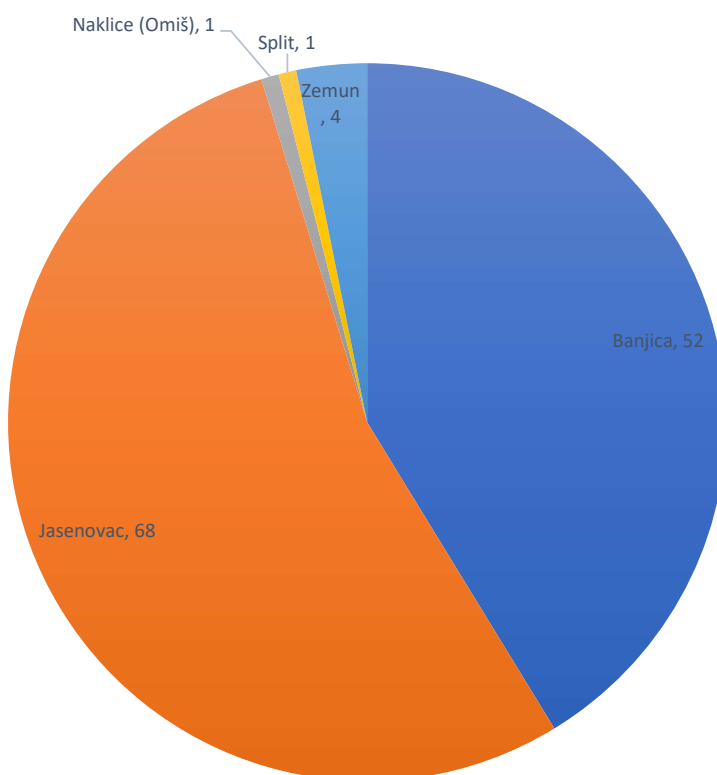




Place of death  
- community of Split

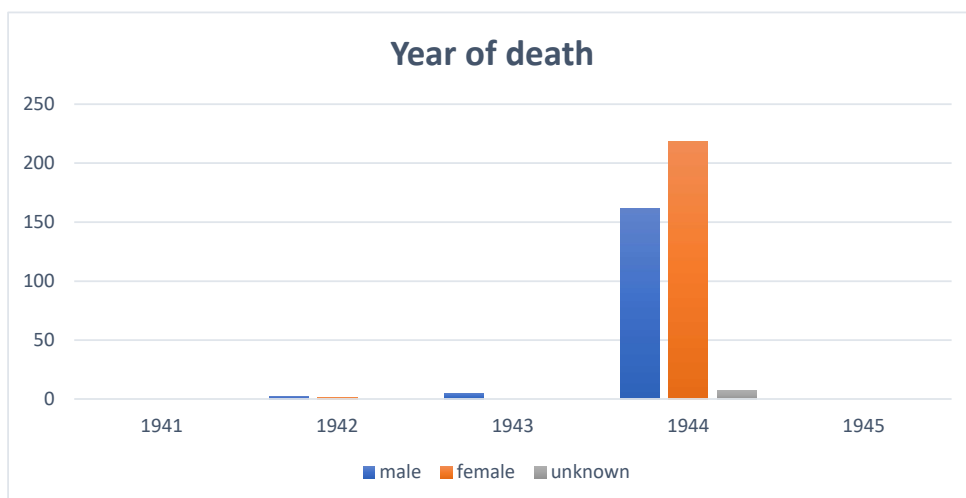
Place of death	No. of people
Banjica	52
Jasenovac	68
Naklice (Omiš)	1
Split	1
Zemun	4
Sum	126
Unknown	36
Total	162

Place of death - municipality of Split



Year of death  
- community Rijeka

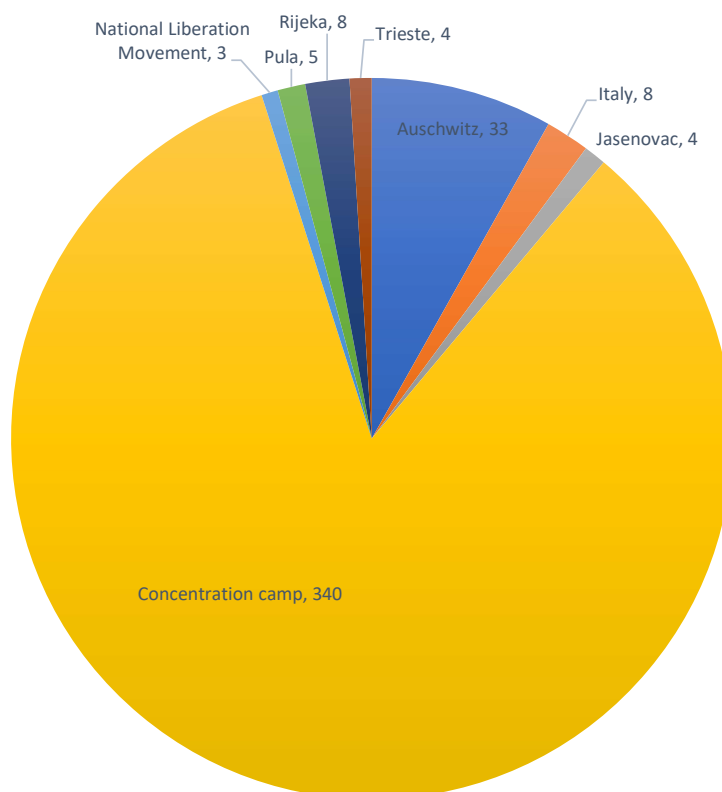
Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941			
1942		2	1
1943		5	
1944	162	218	7
1945			



### Place of death - community of Rijeka

Place of death	No. of people ( $\geq 3$ )
Auschwitz	33
Italy	8
Jasenovac	4
Concentration camp	340
National Liberation Movement	3
Pula	5
Rijeka	8
Trieste	4
Sum ( $\geq 3$ )	405
Other ( $< 3$ )	13
Unknown	5
Total	423

### Place of death - municipality of Rijeka





Gathering of Jewish youth survivors after World War II

## **Jews in Croatia during World War II**

The Jewish destiny in Croatia during World War II was similar to that of all European Jews in the countries under the influence of Germany or occupied by it. In the mid-30s, anti-Semitism grew stronger and stronger (Goldstein, 1966). Jewish organisations in Yugoslavia reacted, and a Resolution on anti-Semitism was introduced at the 6th Congress of the Union of Jewish communities in Belgrade in 1936.

The Regulations were issued (end of 1940) by which Jewish owners of stores and wholesale shops were prohibited from working with human food. The regulation on registering persons of Jewish origin as students and pupils was also issued, whereby numerous clauses were introduced. The employment of Jews in state services and education was also restricted (Stulli, 1989).

Refugees from Germany, Austria, Romania and other countries began to arrive in Yugoslavia, and the Government took action for their return and the revision of residence permits (6 April 1939). Particular attention was paid to Jewish families so they would not hide foreigners in their houses.

A Social fund was established at the Union of Jewish communities (23 April 1939) to help refugees. All Jewish Communities had to give their contributions to this fund. Later, some of these refugees suffered together with Yugoslav Jews.

Following the occupation in the April War (8-18 April 1941), Yugoslavia's territory was divided: Hungarian troops occupied Prekomurje, Međimurje, Baranja and Bačka. Germany occupied Banat, and Serbia was under German authority. Macedonia was divided between Bulgaria and Italy, Montenegro was under Italy, and part of it was incorporated into Greater Albania. By the Pact in Rome (May 1941), Italy got the greater part of the Croatian coast and part of inland Croatia.

On 10 April 1941, a new state was established under the name *NDH (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska)* or the Independent State of Croatia. This state covered the territory of former Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina.

In Croatia, immediately after the Independent State of Croatia (*NDH*) was proclaimed, the next day, 11 April, the first group of Jewish public and cultural workers were arrested (Lengel-Krizman, 1996) with a view of "contribution", which means, giving jewels, gold and money to a value of 1,000 kg in gold.

On 13 May 1941, counsellor Britvic told a group of arrested Jews that he wowed them free on condition that they organised the collection of gold among the Jews of Zagreb. Consequently, a special committee was organised called the Committee for Jewish contribution for the Needs of the State.

Almost all Jews followed the invitation of the Committee. First, they gave so-called "invisible property" - jewellery and other valuable things.

Among the Jews, the opinion prevailed that their lives could be saved by giving away their gold bracelets, rings, diamond brooches, earrings, watches and other items (some had unique artistic value), pearl necklaces, and even silver cutlery. The Committee also had to

collect various household and office furniture.

On 31 October 1941, the Committee issued a "Joint review of the contributions of the Jews for the needs of the state": 1) Cash; 2) Furniture; 3) Securities; 4) Gold, jewels, gold money; 5) Money and foreign currencies.

It is evident from the Report that the Committee collected valuables in the amount of 106,533.929,667 Kuna, equalling the value of 1,065,339 kg of gold.

Research has revealed that from 1941 to 1945, the NDH seized property from Jews in the value amounting to 25 billion dinars (according to some authors) at a price prevailing before World War II. However, this only refers to property which was publicly established and the existence of which was common knowledge.

In April 1941, the first regulations and laws were enacted (Narcisa Lengel-Krizman), which allowed legal pogroms of Jews:

- The Legal Provision for the Defence of the People and State
- The Legal Provision on Racial Affiliation
- The Legal Provision on the Protection of Aryan Blood and Honour of the Croatian People
- The Legal Provision on the Preservation of Croatian Property
- The Legal Provision on Citizenship
- The Legal Provision on the Regular Operation of and the Prevention of Sabotage in Business Enterprises
- The Legal Provision on the Prohibition of Employment of Female Persons in non-Aryan Households
- Legal Provision according to which all Jews in Zagreb had to move out of certain parts of the city
- Legal Provision according to which all Jews had to wear a Jewish sign
- The Legal Provision on Changing Jewish Surnames
- The Legal Provision on the Protection of the National and Aryan Culture of the Croatian people
- The Legal Provision on the Mandatory Registration of Jews and Jewish Business Enterprises and the Prevention of Concealing Jewish Property
- The Legal Provision on Conversion from one Faith to another
- The legal Provision according to which Jews were considered collectively responsible for "disturbing the population and hindering supplies" and therefore measures would be taken against them, and they would be sent to open-air prisons and camps because of their criminal responsibility.
- The Legal Provision on the Procedure to be Followed in Cases of Communist attack when no perpetrator is found.

- The Legal Provision on Conducting Undesirable and Dangerous Persons to Forced Internment in Transit and Labour camps.

All these regulations excluded Jews from all social, cultural and political life in Croatia; Jews were excluded from business and organised plunder of their property was legalised.

We have also included the official Instructions for composing a "Statement of racial origin", which must be written before employment.

From the Instructions for composing a Statement of racial origin

*"...In the section for the ancestor, only non-Aryan ancestors should be recorded, not by name, but only by stating their racial origin, i.e.: "father Jew" or grandmother "Gypsy" or "one great grandfather "Negro", "one great-grandmother Jewish".*

*Only the ancestor from whom the non-Aryan line originated should be stated; for example, if the father is a Jew, the grandfather and grandmother of the father should be stated since it is evident that the parents of a Jew are also Jewish. If the grandfather on the father's side was a Jew and the grandmother was an Aryan, the grandfather should be stated and not a father because it is clear that the father is a half-Jew.*

*Those with two or more Jewish ancestors, second generation (grandfathers and grandmothers), if they were Christians, and religion should state the date they were baptised.*

*The religion of an ancestor is not mentioned, only the racial origin: if all great-grandfathers were of Moses faith, and the grandfather and grandmother and the son baptised Jews, they should only state: "father Jew" since only the racial origin carries weight.*

*The ancestor of the second generation is considered to be Jewish if they were born in the Moses faith. Therefore, if one grandfather or grandmother is of the Moses faith, and it is not known whether one of their parents was an Aryan, they should be racially regarded as pure Jews.*

*Regarding other non-Aryan communities, special attention is drawn to the fact that Hungarian is not a unique racial community. The Hungarians, Finns and Estonians belong to the Aryan society, as do other European nations, only they speak languages that belong to the so-called Finnish-Hungarian group. Albanians are also Aryans, and so are most Turks. After the Jews come Gypsies, Tatars, Armenians, Persians, Arabs, Malazs and Negroes as non-Aryans."*

Some Jews in mixed marriages survived. It was different if the wife was of Aryan origin. If the husband was an Aryan, the Jewish woman had to change her religion in the Catholic Church, and the children of such marriages were considered Aryans. If the woman was an Aryan and the man Jew, the decision concerning such marriages was different. It also depended on the fact whether the children were baptised or not.

Some of the survivors were baptised as children born during the war or just before the war. Their parents had them baptised to give them a chance to survive. Many of these parents were killed in the Nazi camps, and the children were saved due to hiding under a false identity or being adopted by other families. There were cases when the children were handed from camp through a barbed wire over to a stranger who saved them.

## Posebna ispostava Ustaškog redarstva ZA NADZOR O ŽIDOVIMA

OGLAS USTAŠKOG POVJERENIKA ZA GRAD ZAGREB BOŽIDARA CEROVSKOG. — POZIVAJU SE SVI ŽIDOVİ DA SE PRIJAVE U USTAŠKOM REDARSTVU

ZAGREB, 10. svibnja. U Bogovićevoj ulici br. 7, osnovana je ispostava ustaškog redarstva, koju vodi g. Ivica Baraković. Svrha je ispostave u prvom redu da vodi nadzor o Židovima na području grada Zagreba.

Tim povodom izdao je Ustaški povjerenik za grad Zagreb g. Božidar Cerovski ovaj oglas, koji je objelodanjen danas. Taj oglas glas:

-Pozivaju se svi čistokrvni Židovi muškog spola od 16. do 69. godine života da se prijave kod ispostave ustaškog redarstvenog zapovjedništva u Bogovićevoj ulici broj 7, radi evidencije.

Tko se ne odazove pozivu snosi će zakonske posljedice.

Prijave moraju uslijediti ovim redom:

Ponedjeljak: 12. svibnja 1941. svi Židovi od A—G;

Utorak: 13. svibnja 1941. svi Židovi od H—N;

Srijeda: 14. svibnja 1941. svi Židovi od O—Z.

BOŽIDAR CEROVSKI v. r.

An order to all Jews to report to the Ustasha authorities





Document of the Jewish Wartime Community from 1941



Another order from Ustasha regime to Jews and Serbs from Zagreb

# GRADJANSTVU SPLITA!

Svi židovi bez razlike vjere i državljanstva imaju se do 28. septembra najkasnije do 12 sati-podne kod njemačke komande na pristaništu (Hotel Ambasador) prijaviti. Tko se ne prijavi biti će vješan.

Sa svakim splićaninom, koji židove krštene ili nepokrštene skriva ili neprijavi, biti će kao sa židovskim slugom na isti način postupano.

Kućevlasnici imaju odmah sve čifutske i komunističke natpise i parole OTSTRANITI SA SVOJIH KUĆA.

Komandant Mjesta.

Order from Ustasha regime to Jews from Split

## ŽIDOVİ MORAJU NOSITI ŽIDOVSKI ZNAK

OBAVIJEŠT ISPOSTAVE USTAŠKOG POVJERENIŠTVA — ŽIDOVSKI ODSJEK

Pozivaju se svi Židovi, koji su obuhvaćeni židovskim zakonom br. XLV. — 68 Z. p. od 30. travnja 1941. god. muškog i ženskog spola bez razlike godina starosti i bilo koje vjeroispovijesti, da odmah nakon primitka židovskog znaka, prikopčaju taj znak na lijevu stranu prsiju i lijevu lopaticu.

Svaki arijevac dužan je svakog Židova ili Židovku, koji se ovom pozivu ne odazove prijaviti Ispostavi Ustaškog red. povjereništva, židovski odsjek, Bogovićevo ul. br. 7, I. kat.

Židovski znakovi primaju se u Bogovljevoj ul. br. 7 od 8 sati u jutro ovim abecednim redom:

U petak	23. svibnja 1941. g. od A do D.
u subotu	24. svibnja 1941. g. od E do H.
u ponedjeljak	26. svibnja 1941. g. od I do N.
u utorak	27. svibnja 1941. g. od O do S. <sup>2</sup>
u srijedu	28. svibnja 1941. g. od Š do Ž.

Tko se ne odazove pozivu i ne prikopča znak na odredjenom mjestu, bit će najstrože kažnjen.

U ZAGREBU, dne 22. svibnja 1941.

Povjerenik:  
BOŽIDAR CEROVSKI v. r.

Order that all Jews must wear "Jewish sign"

# Redarstveno ravnateljstvo U ZAGREBU

Broj: 3511-Prs-1941.

Zagreb, 8. svibnja 1941.

## OGLAS

Redarstveno ravnateljstvo u Zagrebu izdale radi općega  
znanja i ravnanja sljedeću

## ODREDBU

1. Srbi i Židovi, nastanjeni u gradu Zagrebu smiju se kretati na području grada Zagreba samo od 6 sati prije podne do 9 sati navečer. Od 9 sati navečer pa do 6 sati ujutro ne smiju izlaziti na ulicu, već se imaju zadržavati u svojim stanovima.

2. Ulaziti na područje grada Zagreba i izlaziti sa područja Zagreba mogu Srbi samo uz PREDHODNO ODOBRENJE mjesne redarstvene vlasti, koje će se izdavati samo u vrlo važnim slučajevima.

3. PREKRŠITELJI ove odredbe bit će najstrožije kažnjeni, u smislu postojećih zakonskih propisa.

Order about restricted moving for Jews and Serbs in Zagreb

## **Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH)**

### **Chronology:**

#### **Autumn 1940 - camp in Samobor**

For about 200 refugees from Austria, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, later moved to other camps (Bistrac, Daruvar, Kerestinec, Sarajevo, etc.) and killed.

#### **April 1941 - Danica camp near Koprivnica**

There were about 5,000 prisoners in the camp, including about 600 Jews who were sent in July 1941 to Gospić and other camps. A group of 165 Jewish young men were arrested on May 27, 1941 under the pretext of student work and sent to the Danica camp, later to Jadovno where almost all of them were killed (see chapter Jadovno).

#### **April 19, 1941 - Kerestinec camp**

There were 487 prisoners, most of them refugees. The Jewish part of the camp was founded on May 1, 1941. They were sent to other camps: Sarajevo, Kruščica, Jasenovac, Loborgrad, Auschwitz, Gospić).

#### **May 1941 - camp in Daruvar**

For Jewish refugees, transferred to the camp in Gospić in July 1941. At the beginning of June 1941, the camp in Gospić was established. About 2,500 Jews passed through the camp before it ceased operations on August 21, 1941. The prisoners were transferred to other camps: Pag, Jadovno, Jastrebarsko, Kruščica, Loborgrad and Jasenovac.

#### **June 25, 1941 - Slano and Metajna, camps on the island of Pag.**

The camp lasted until August 19, 1941, and during that time 407 men, 293 women and 91 children were killed, the rest were transferred to Jastrebarsko, Kruščica, Loborgrad and Jasenovac camps.

#### **June 1941 - the Jadovno camp on Velebit**

Lasted until August 19, 1941, and during that time, a large (unknown) number of Jews were killed.

#### **June 1941 - Slavetić camp near Jastrebarsko**

For Jewish refugees (about 100), on November 6, 1941, women and children were transferred to Loborgrad, and men to Jasenovac.



### **June 1941 - Draganić camp near Jastrebarsko.**

Some of Jewish refugees (about 200) in June 1941 was sent to Ravna Gora and then to other camps.

### **June 1941 - Lipik camp**

For Jewish refugees (88) who were transferred to the camp in Gospić in July.

### **June 1941 - camp in Zagreb - Zagreb Fair**

Transit camp from which about 2,500 Jews were sent to Gospić. A special commission freed some of the Jews who were in mixed marriages.

### **July 1941 - Jastrebarsko camp**

About 1,500 to 1,700 Jews from the Gospić, Jadovno and Pag camps passed through the camp. The camp ceased to operate at the end of September 1941 when the prisoners were sent to other camps.

### **August 20-21, 1941 - Jasenovac camp**

The arrival of the first prisoners Jasenovac camp was the largest complex of camps in the NDH that operated until April 1945. There were several camps in that complex: the first were Bročice (I) and Krapje (II), which were disbanded already in November 1941, and the inmates were transferred to camp III - the Bačića brick factory. Camp IV was Kožara and camp V was Stara Gradiška. According to the writings of Mihail Sobolevsky (Mihail Sobolevski: *Jews in the Jasenovac Concentration Camp Complex*), about 60 transports of Jews with about 15,000 men, women and children were sent to the camp. The number of Jewish victims in Jasenovac is still being debated.

### **August 28, 1941 - the Kruščica camp near Travnik**

About 3,000 Jews. On September 28, 1941, men were transferred to Jasenovac, and women and children were transferred to Loborgrad.

### **August 1941 - Zavrtnica camp (in Zagreb)**

Transit camp for about 1,000 to 1,500 Jews, mostly from Zagreb, who were transferred to other camps at the end of September.

### **August 1941 - Loborgrad camp Camp**

For about 1,700 women and children. About 200 prisoners died in the camp. Between August 13 and 28, 1942, they were handed over to the Germans and taken to Auschwitz.

### **September 1941 - Gornja Rijeka camp**

For about 100 women (older) from the Loborgrad camp. They were returned to Loborgrad in May 1942 and then taken to Auschwitz.

### **December 2, 1941 - Đakovo camp**

For 1,865 women and children from Sarajevo and 1,161 women and children who were transferred from Stara Gradiška camp on February 26 and March 6, 1942. 569 people died in the camp, the rest were transferred to Jasenovac between June 15 and July 5, 1942 and killed on arrival.

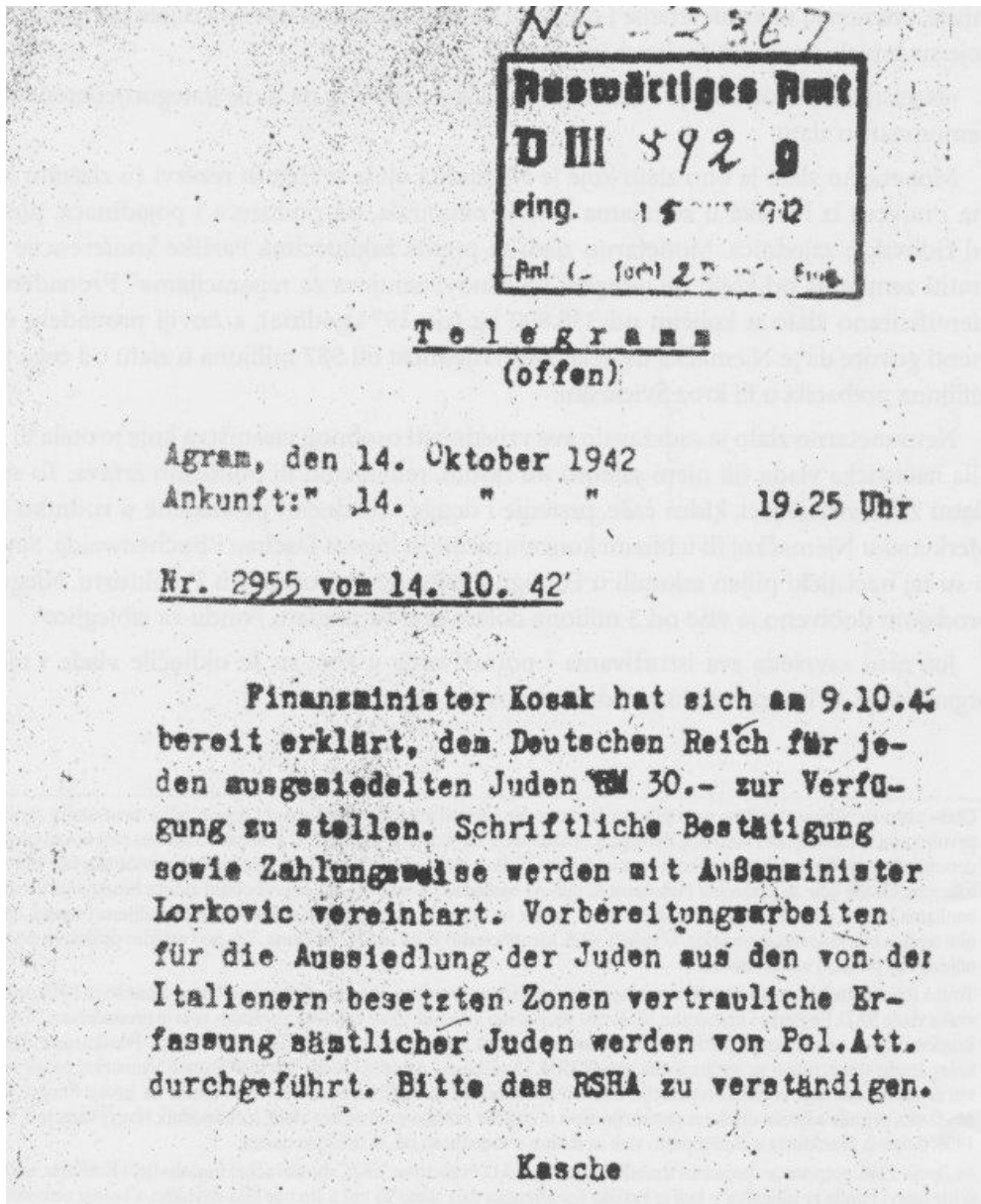
### **June 1942 - Tenja camp (near Osijek)**

For about 3,000 Jews from Osijek and various parts of Slavonia. On August 1942, the children were sent to Auschwitz first, the rest to Jasenovac and Jablanac camps where they were killed in September 1942, and to Auschwitz where they were killed on arrival.

### **July 1942 - Vinkovci camp**

For about 400 Jews from Vinkovci and some places in Srijem. After a month, a small part of the prisoners was sent to Jasenovac, and the rest to Auschwitz.

(According to Narcisa Lengel-Krizman: *"Camps for Jews in NDH"*, in: *"Anti-Semitism, Holocaust, Antifascism"*; Jewish Municipality Zagreb, 1996, pp. 91-104)



Proof that the Ustasha paid the Germans to take Jews from Croatia to Auschwitz



## **Jewish communities in Croatia**

**Data from**

**“Jewish Almanac”**

**Edited from Union of rabbis of the kingdom of S.H.S.**

**(dr. Leopold Fisher)**

Communities

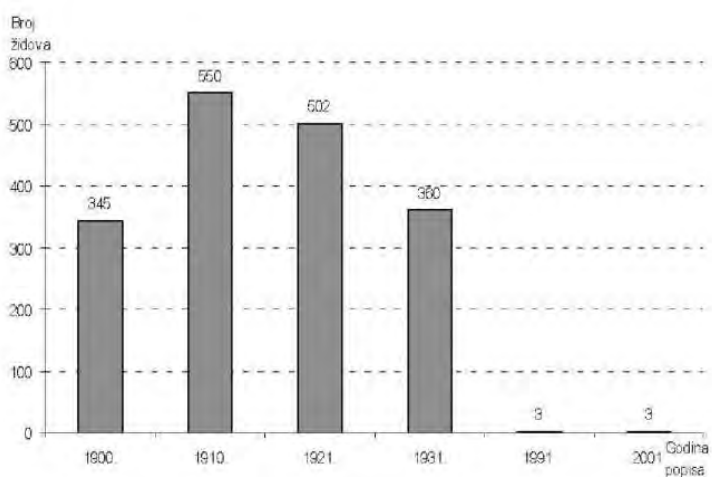
Bjelovar, Čakovec, Daruvar, Donji Miholjac, Dubrovnik, Đakovo, Ilok, Karlovac, Koprivnica, Križevci, Kutina, Ludbreg, Našice, Nova Gradiška, Orahovica, Osijek, Pakrac, Podravska Slatina, Požega, Rijeka, Sušak, Sisak, Slavonski Brod, Split, Valpovo, Varaždin, Vinkovci, Virovitica, Vukovar, Zagreb

## Jewish community

### - BJELOVAR -

The Jewish community of Bjelovar in 1930:

Jewish community founded in	1879
The Jewish cemetery was established in	1876
Synagogue built in	1882 (new 1917)
Number of members of the community	200
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	600
Number of children in schools	48
Number of doctors	6
Number of lawyers	3
Number of city officials	8
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Jašo Hržić
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Emil Kraut
Main cantor	Isidor Dorf
Jewish women organization	Šarlota Ebenspanger
The Zionist Association	ing. Filip Rosenzweig
Israeli ferial colony	Helena Berkeš



*The number of Jews in Bjelovar according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*

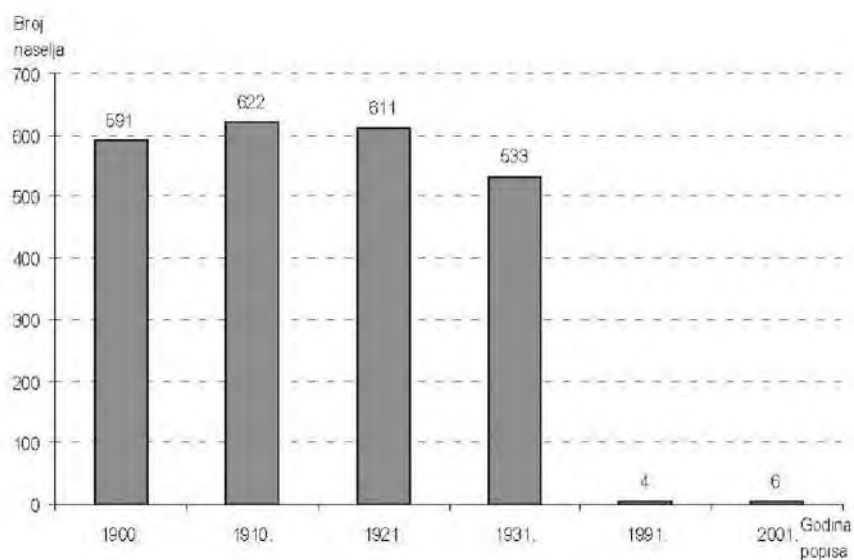


Synagogue in Bjelovar

## Jewish community - ČAKOVEC -

The Jewish community of Čakovec in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1794
Synagogue built in	1836 (renewed in 1876)
Number of members of the community	211
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	800
Number of children i schools	59
Number of doctors	3
Number of lawyers	6
Number of official in city	2
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Ljudevit Schwarz
The president of Chevra Kadisha	dr. Vilim Viola
Rabbi	dr. Ilija Grunwald
Main cantor	Leopold Katz
Cantor	Marko Wolfner
Jewish women organization	dr. Selin Viola
The Zionist Association	Robert Pscherhof
Girl's Zionist society	Jelisaveta Hoffmann
Jewish youth society	Eugen Hoffmann



*The number of Jews in Čakovec according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



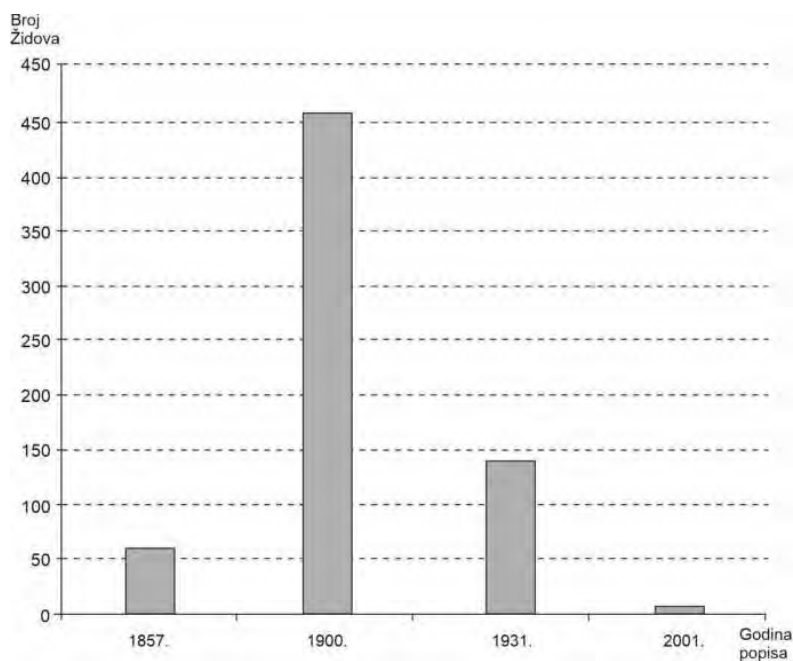
Memorial at the place where the synagogue used to be

## Jewish community

### - DARUVAR -

Jewish community of Daruvar in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1860
Synagogue built in	1860
Number of members of the community	106
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	239
Number of children in schools	13
Number of doctors	3
Number of representatives in the city	1
The president of the Jewish community	Josip Holzer
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Makso Pfeiffer
Cantor	Josip Gillman
Jewish women organization	Justina Weiss
The Zionist Association	dr. Arnold Katz

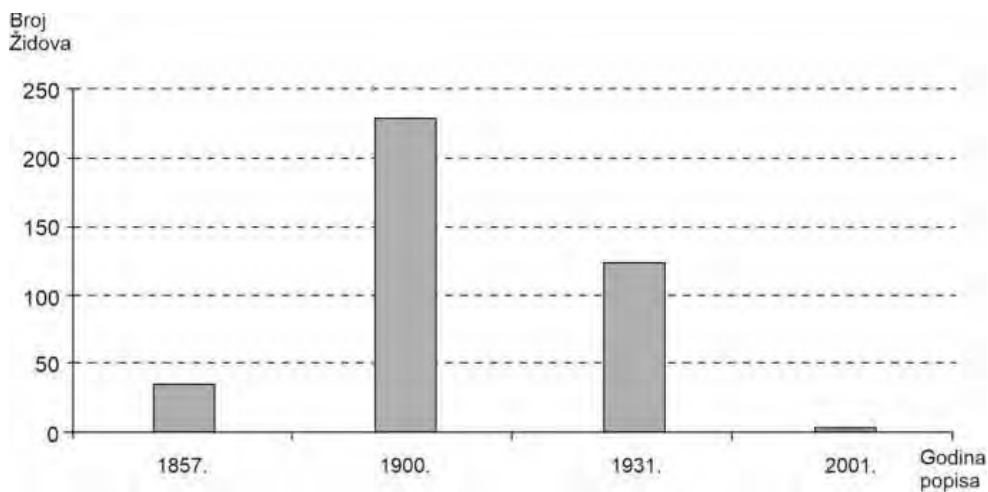


*The number of Jews in Daruvar according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*

## Jewish community - DONJI MIHOLJAC -

Jewish community of Donji Miholjac in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1864
Synagogue built in	1864
Number of members of the community	100
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	224
Number of children in schools	28
Number of doctors	2
Number of city officials	2
Number of representatives in the city	1
The president of the Jewish community	Liebling Urlik
Rabbi (from Osijek)	dr. Simon Ungar
Cantor	Mayer Silberberg

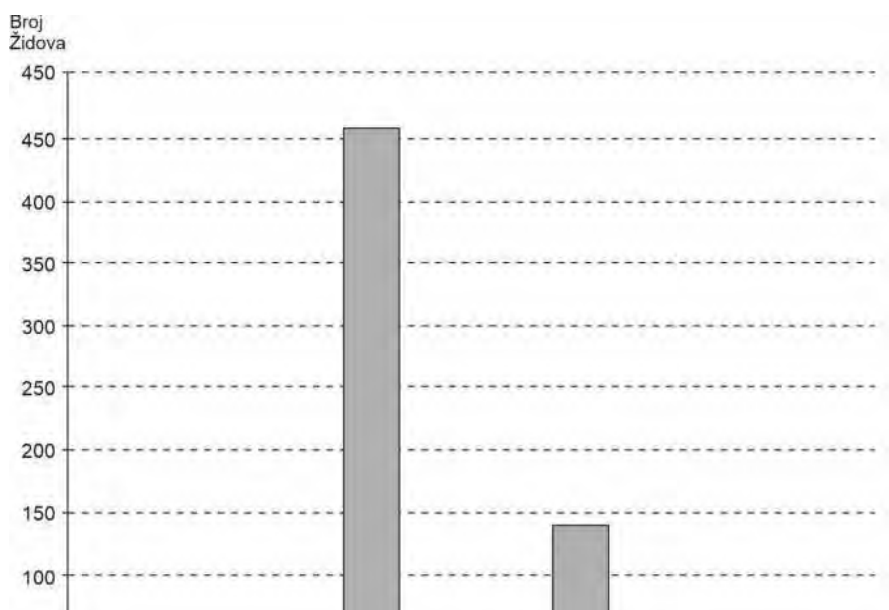


*Number of Jews in Donji Miholjac according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*

## Jewish community - DUBROVNIK -

Jewish community of Dubrovnik in 1930:

Jewish community founded in	1538
The Jewish cemetery was established in	15 <sup>th</sup> century
Synagogue built in	15 <sup>th</sup> century
Repaired in	17 <sup>th</sup> century
Number of members of the community	45
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	101
Number of children in schools	13
The president of the Jewish community	Josip Mandl
The vice-president of the Jewish community	Moši Tolentino
The president of Chevra Kadisha	dr. Vilim Viola
Rabbi	Avram Romano
Jewish cultural society	Moritz Ferera

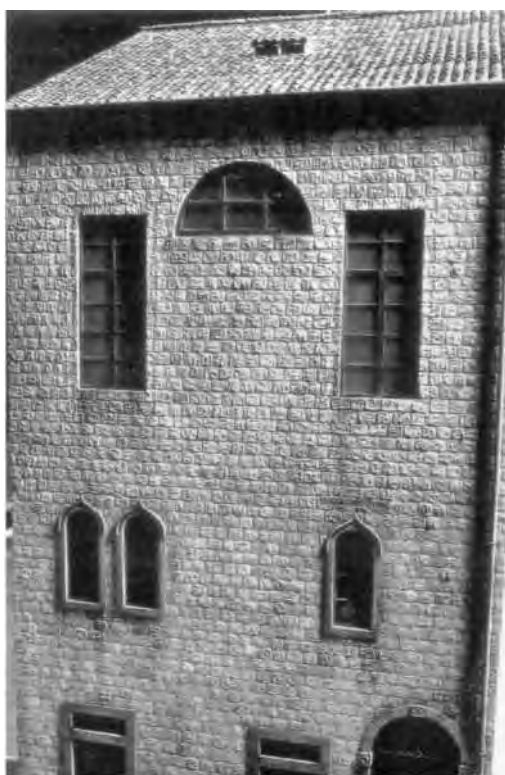


*The number of Jews in Dubrovnik according to the censuses from 1921 to 2001*





The interior of the synagogue in Dubrovnik - one of the oldest preserved active synagogues



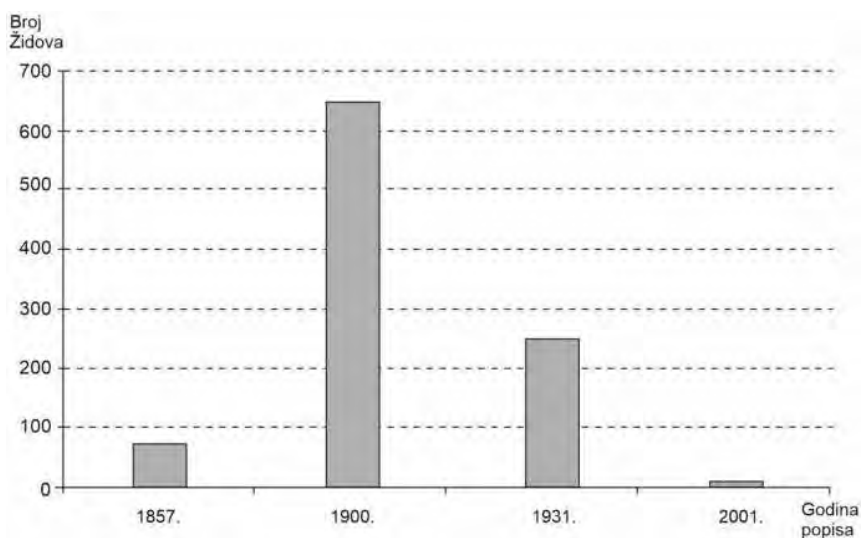
Synagogue in Dubrovnik

## Jewish community

### - ĐAKOVO -

The Jewish community of Đakovo in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1879
Synagogue built in	1880
Number of members of the community	100
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	548
Number of children in schools	70
Number of doctors	3
Number of lawyers	2
Number of representatives in the city	3
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Žiga Neumann
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Mayer Frank
Rabbi	dr. Izrael Kohn
Cantor	Abraham Fingerhut
Jewish women organization	Paula Spitzer
Jewish cultural and sports society	Aleksandar Friedrich



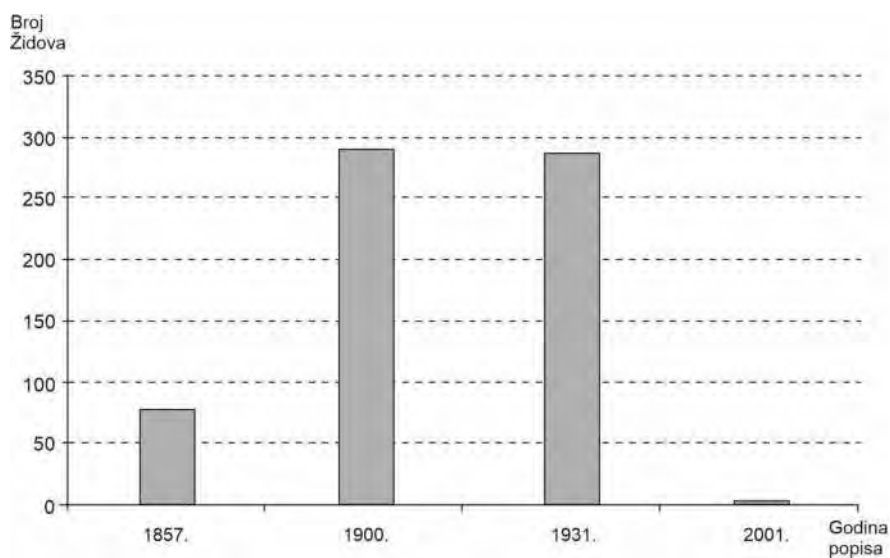
*The number of Jews in Daruvar according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*

## Jewish community

### - ILOK -

The Jewish community of Ilok in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1870
Synagogue built in	1870
Number of members of the community	50
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	320
The number of Talmud Torah school participants	20
The president of the Jewish community	Filip Lang
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Gerson Stern
Cantor	Emanuel Weiss
The president of "Hevrat Bahurim"	Emanuel Stern



*The number of Jews in Ilok according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*



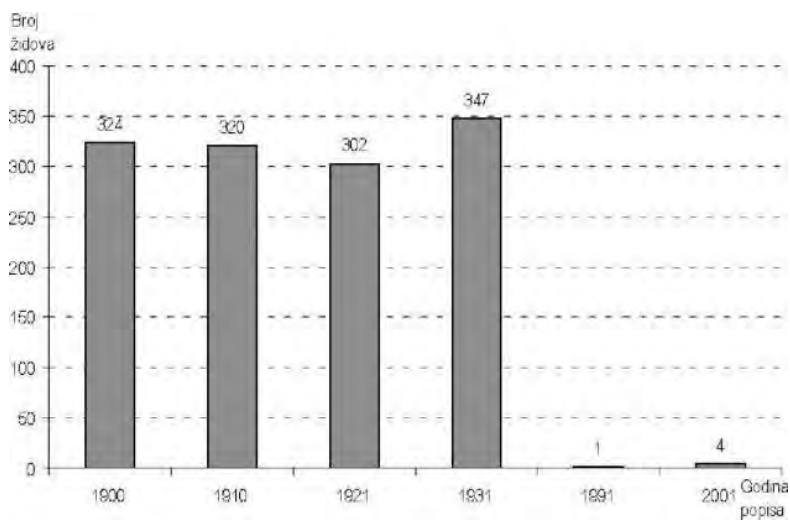
Detail from museum in Ilok

## **Jewish community**

### **- KARLOVAC -**

The Jewish community of Karlovac in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1830
Synagogue built in	1850
Number of members of the community	137
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	400
Number of children in schools	46
Number of doctors	5
Number of lawyers	4
Number of city officials	3
Number of representatives in the city	1
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Vatroslav Reiner
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Romeo Fischl
Rabbi	dr. Bernard Šik
Main cantor	David Meisl
Cantor	Isidor Gross
Jewish women organization	Dragica Weiss
The Zionist Association	Samuel Weinberger
Jewish youth society	Đuro Reiner
Jewish Synagogue Singers Society	Josip Rendeli



*The number of Jews in Karlovac according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*

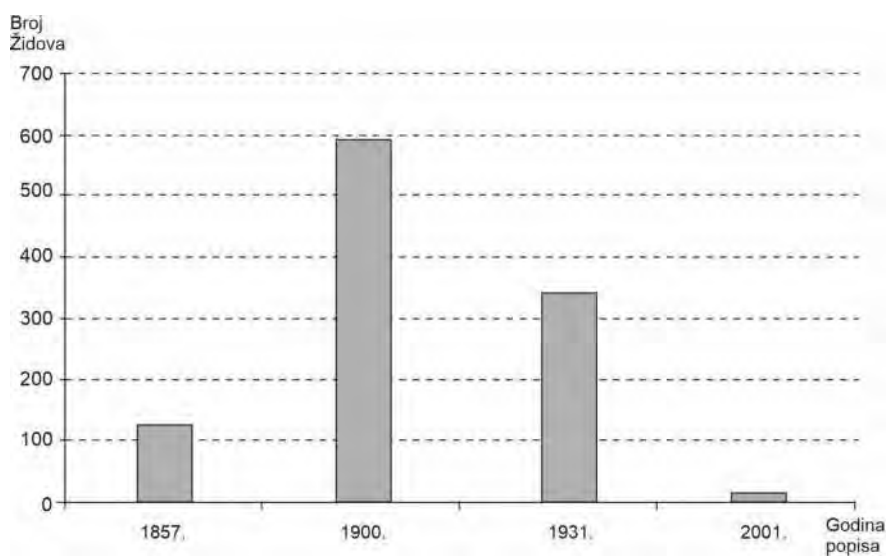


Synagogue in Karlovac

## Jewish community - KOPRIVNICA -

The Jewish community of Koprivnica in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1842.
Synagogue built in	1875.
Number of members of the community	148
Number of children in schools	57
Number of doctors	2
Number of lawyers	2
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Arnold Pulgram
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Adolf Scheyer
Rabbi	dr. Izrael Kohn
Main cantor	Leon Wolfensohn
Cantor	Josip Spiegler
Jewish women organization	Adele Scheyer
The Zionist association "Hatekijah"	Šandor Singer
Jewish youth association "Cherut"	B. Heinrich



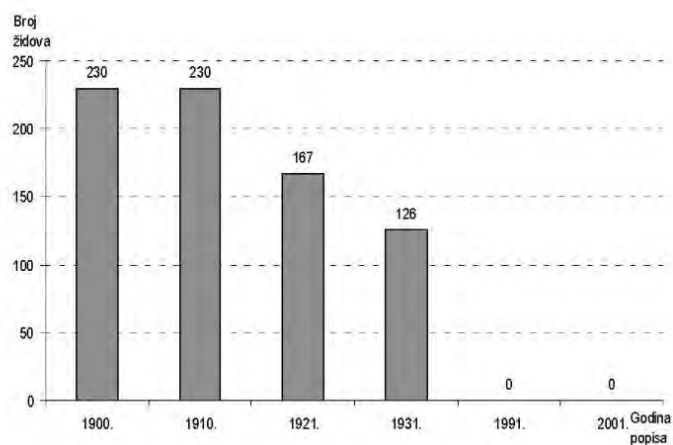
*The number of Jews in Koprivnica according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*

## Jewish community

### - KRIŽEVCI -

The Jewish community of Križevci in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1840
Synagogue built in	1894
Number of members of the community	62
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	210
Number of children in schools	31
Number of doctors	1
Number of lawyers	2
Number of city officials	1
Number of representatives in the city	1
The president of the Jewish community	Aleksandar Goldschmidt
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Jakob Hirschl
Rabbi	dr. Makso Engel
Cantor	Leopold Buchsbaum
Jewish women organization	Debora Hirschl
The Zionist Association	Robert Pscherhof
Jewish youth association "Bne Jisroel"	Zdenko Hirschl



*The number of Jews in Križevci according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*





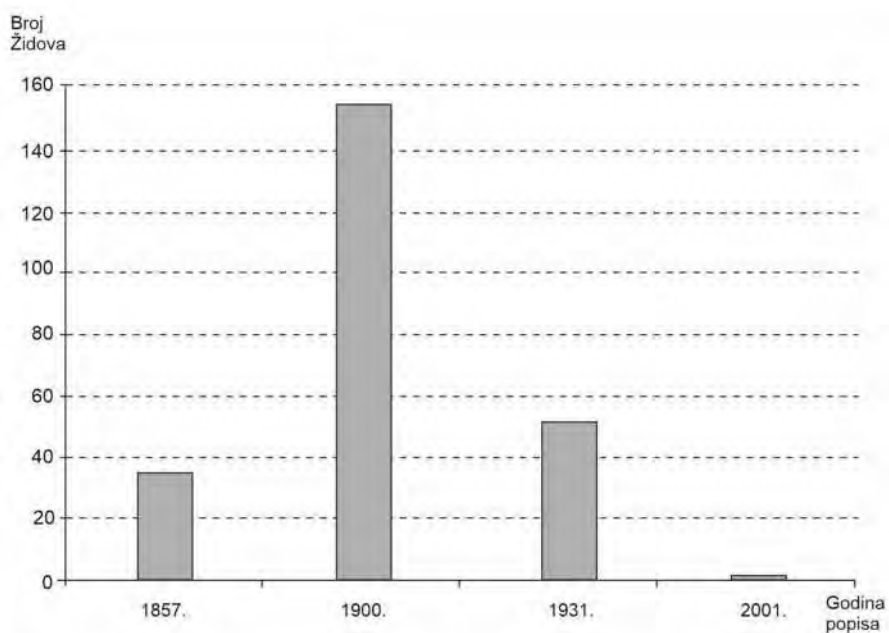
Synagogue in Križevci

## Jewish community

### - KUTINA -

The Jewish community of Kutina in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1830
Synagogue built in	1836 (renovated 1914)
Number of members of the community	75
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	200
Number of doctors	1
Number of lawyers	2
The president of the Jewish community	Albert Singer
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Makso Pollak



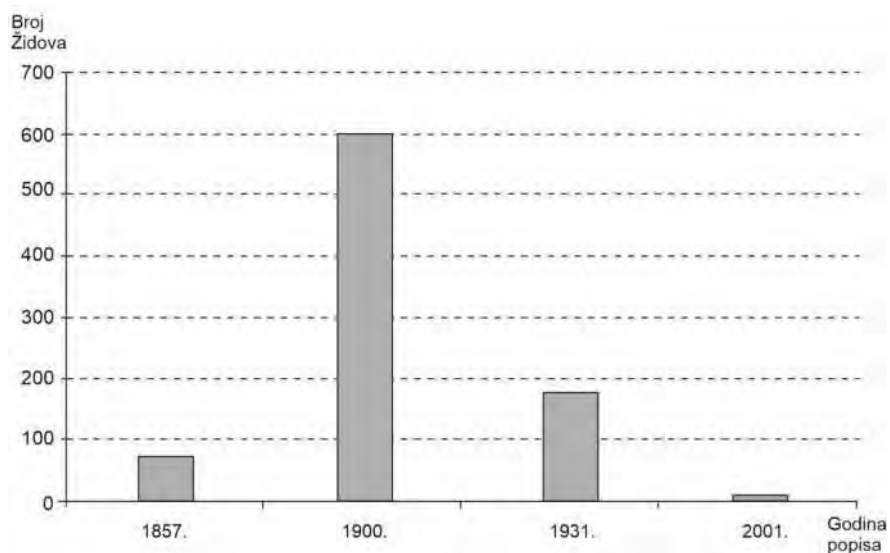
*The number of Jews in Kutina according to the censuses from 1857 to 2001*

## Jewish community

### - NAŠICE -

The Jewish community of Našice in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1865
Synagogue built in	1836 (renovated 1898)
Number of members of the community	60
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	399
Number of children in schools	40
Number of doctors	1
Number of lawyers	1
Number of city officials	1
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	Miška Weiss
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Miška Weiss
The Zionist Association	Hermann Salzberger



*The number of Jews in Našice according to the censuses from 1857 do 2001*



Synagogue in Našice

## **Jewish community**

### **- ORAHOVICA -**

The Jewish community of Orahovica in 1930:

Synagogue built in	1911
Number of members of the community	20
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	53
The president of the Jewish community	Jakob Kohn
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Jakob Hirschl
Cantor	Abraham Kamenar

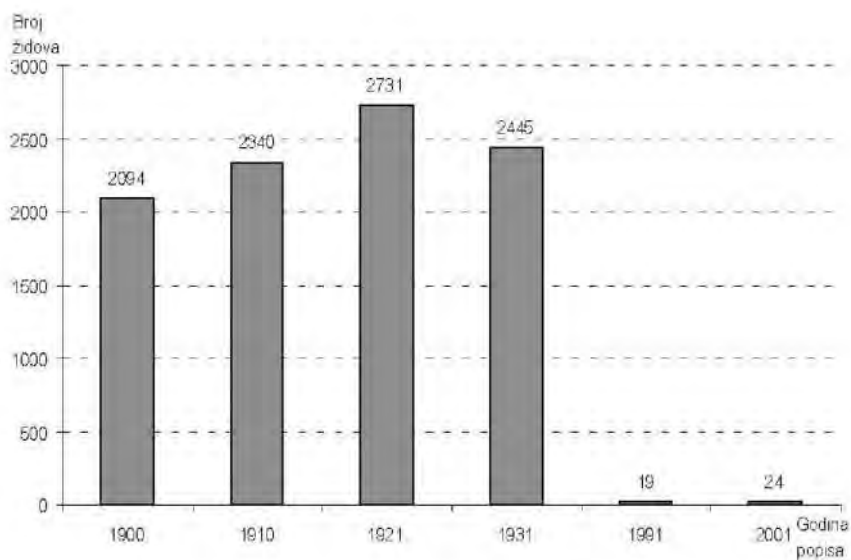
## Jewish community

### - OSIJEK -

The Jewish community of Osijek in 1930:

Upper town	
Jewish community founded in	1849
The Jewish cemetery was established in	1850
Synagogue built in	1860
Number of members of the community	702
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	3020
Jewish school	80
Number of children in schools (primary and secondary)	285
Number of doctors	23
Number of lawyers	23
Number of state and city officials	24
Number of representatives in the city	3
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Hugo Spitzer
The president of Chevra Kadisha	dr. Josip Horn
Rabbi	dr. Simon Ungar
Main cantor	Jakob Steiner
Cantor	Aron Kišicky
Teachers	Žiga Sonnenschein, Anka Stern i Ema Rothbard
Jewish women organization	Josefina Kolar
Israeli ferial colony	Frida Herzer
WIZO	Melanija Spingarn
Jewish supply centre	dr. Josip Horn
Keren Hasejod Association	Artur Spingarn
The Zionist Association	dr. Nikola Tolnauer
Maccabi sport Association	Josip Rosenberg

Lower town	
The Jewish cemetery was established in	1860
Synagogue built in	1903
Number of members of the community	86
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	160
Number of children in schools	11
Number of doctors	2
The president of the Jewish community	Bela Hermann
Rabbi	dr. Simon Ungar
Cantor and religious teacher	Isidor Grun
Jewish women organization	Camilla Kohlbach



*The number of Jews in Osijek according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



Synagogue in Osijek, Lower town, today Pentecostal church

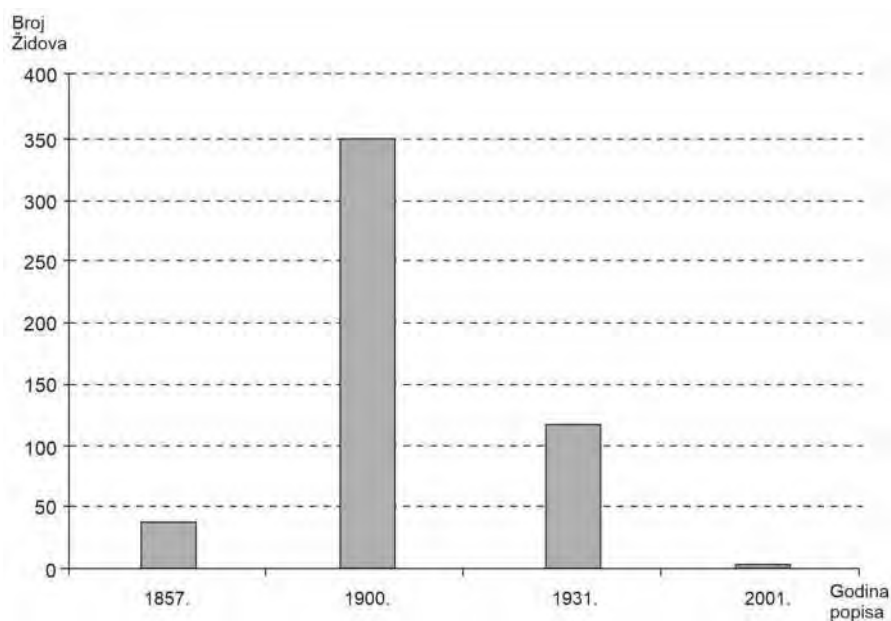


## Jewish community

### - PAKRAC -

The Jewish community of Pakrac in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1875.
Synagogue built in	1875.
Number of members of the community	63
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	209
Number of children in schools	32
Number of doctors	2
Number of lawyers	2
Number of city officials	1
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Julio Neumann
The president of Chevra Kadisha	J. Adler
Cantor	Isak Freudes
Jewish women organization	Fanika Mautner



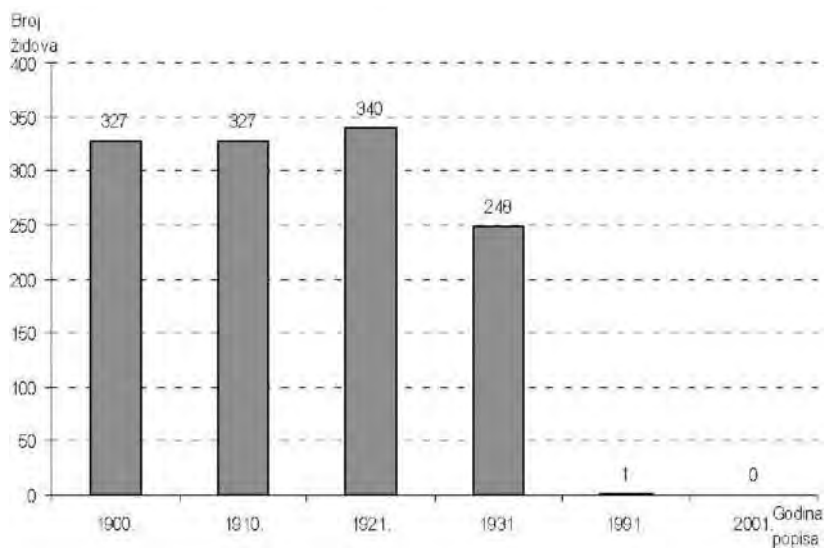
*Number of Jews in Pakrac according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*

## Jewish community

### - POŽEGA -

The Jewish community of Požega in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1900
Synagogue built in	1898
Number of members of the community	90
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	468
Number of children in schools	24
Number of doctors	6
Number of lawyers	4
Number of city officials	3
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	Julije Frimm
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Adolf Schorsch
Cantor	Rihard Mordehaj
The Zionist Association	Julije Frimm
Youth organization "Hagibor"	Zdenko Haas



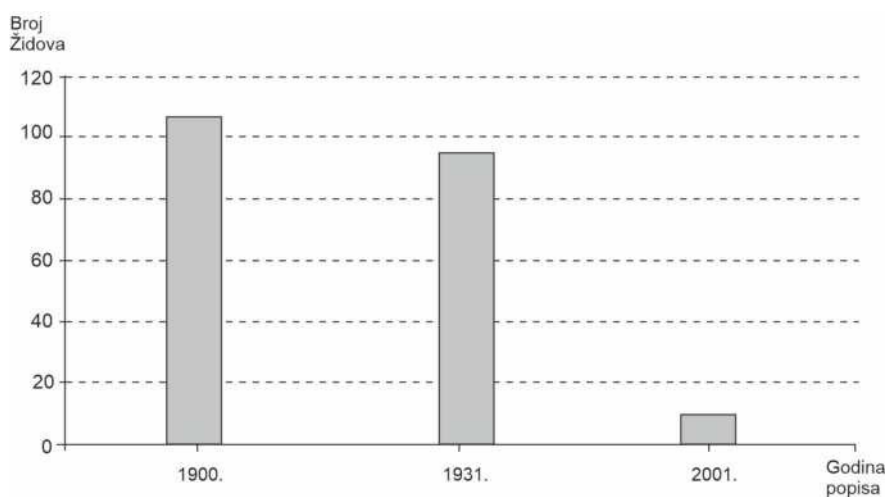
The number of Jews in Požega according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001

## Jewish community

### - RIJEKA -

The Jewish community of Rijeka in 1930:

Jewish community founded in	1781
The Jewish cemetery was established in	1839
Synagogue built in	1903
Orthodox synagogue built in	1928
Chevra Kadisha founded in	1885
Number of members of the community 1890-1900	oko 2500
Number of members of the community 1938	1783
The president of the Jewish Orthodox community	Erminio Klein
Rabbi	Giuseppe Frank
The president of the Orthodox community	Ernesto Berger
Rabbi of the Orthodox community	Meir Lipschitz



*The number of Jews in Rijeka according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



Orthodox synagogue in Rijeka. Today, it is the headquarters of the Jewish Community



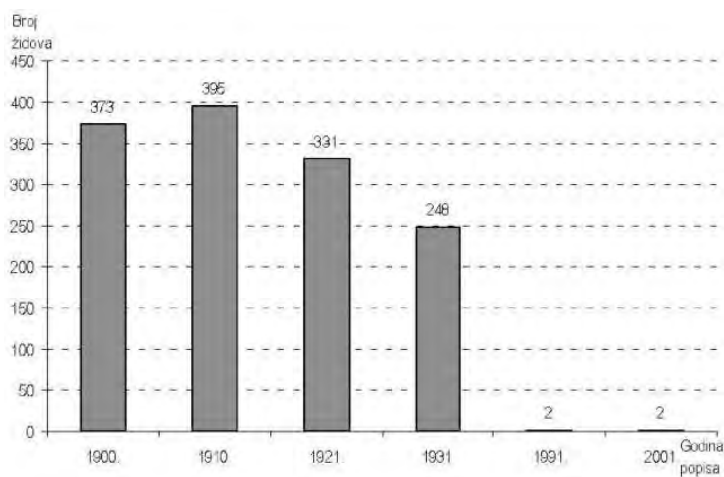
Old synagogue in center of Rijeka

## Jewish community

### - SISAK -

The Jewish community of Sisak in 1930:

Number of members of the community	230
The president of the Jewish community	Mavro Flesch
Rabbi	dr. Beno Reiss



*The number of Jews in Sisak according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



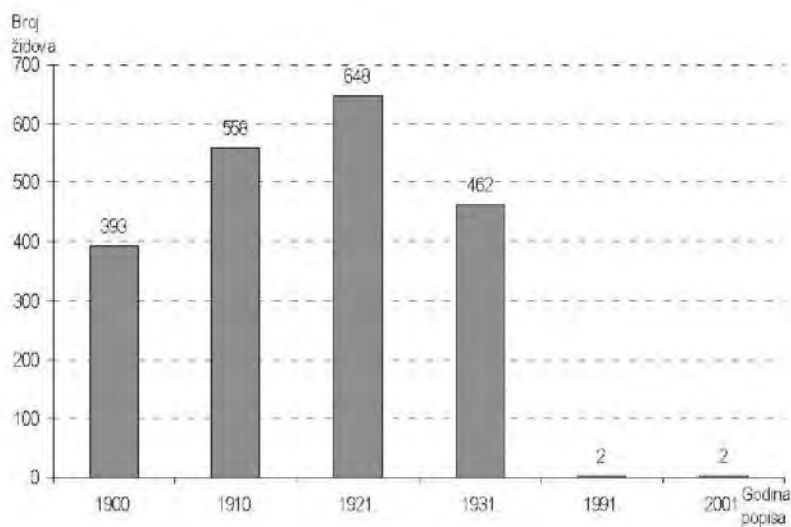
Synagogue in Sisak

## Jewish community

### - SLAVONSKI BROD -

The Jewish community of Slavonski Brod in 1930:

Jewish community founded in	1873
The Jewish cemetery was established in	1880
Synagogue built in	1876
Number of members of the community	177
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	418
Number of children in schools	106
Number of doctors	2
Number of lawyers	4
Number of city officials	1
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Josip Abramović
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Šandor Krausz
Rabbi	dr. L. Weissberger
Cantor	Boris Zaife
Jewish women organization	Lina Jelinek
The Zionist Association	Rudolf Fuchs
Youth organization "Maks Nordau"	Nelly Kohn i Slavko Weisz



*The number of Jews in Slavonski Brod according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



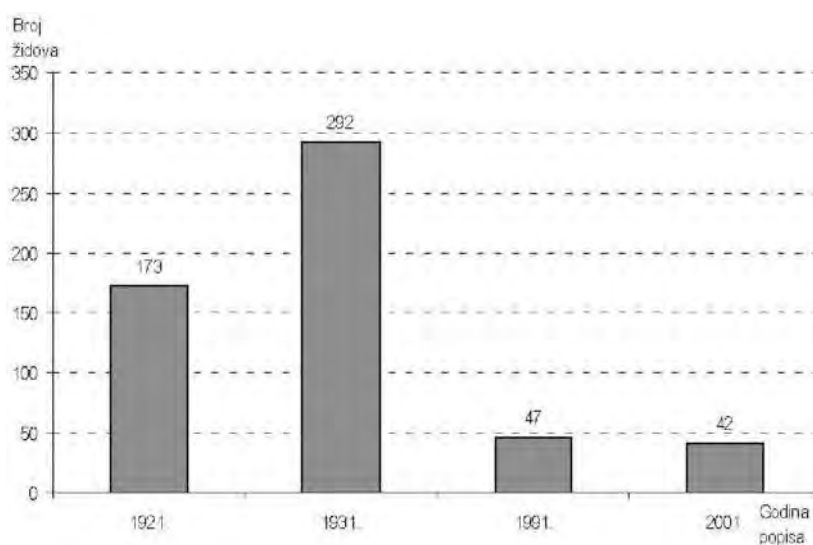
Synagogue in Slavonski Brod

## **Jewish community**

### **- SPLIT -**

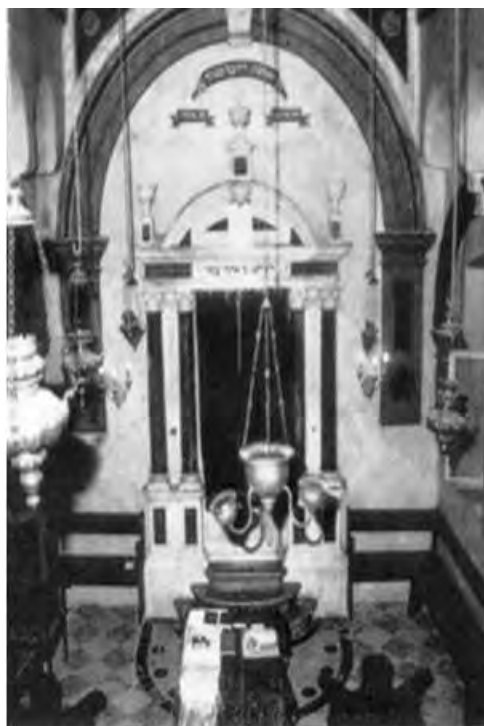
The Jewish community of Split in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1573
Synagogue built in	1350
New synagogue built in	1500
Number of members of the community	50
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	210
The president of the Jewish community	ing. Viktor Morpurgo
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Isak Daniti
Rabbi	Isak Daniti
The Zionist Association "Jarden"	V. Morpurgo
Jewish youth society, section of "Jarden"	Josip Finci



*The number of Jews in Split according to the censuses from 1921 to 2001*





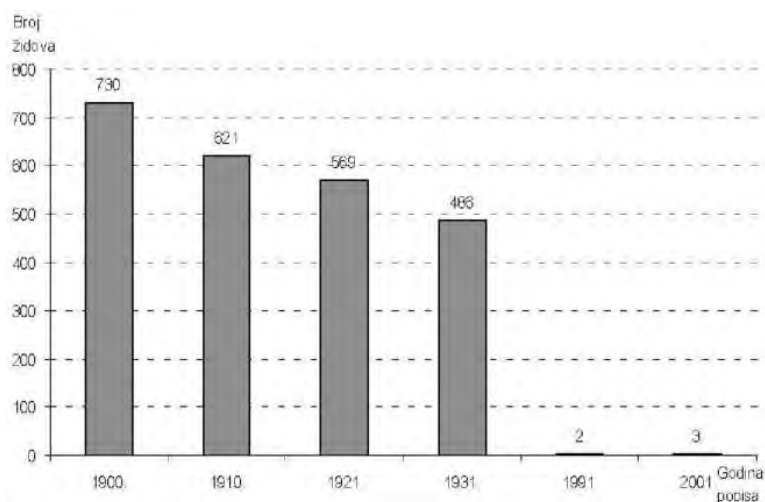
Detail from synagogue in Split

## Jewish community

### - VARAŽDIN -

The Jewish community of Varaždin in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1810
Synagogue built in	1836 (renovated 1862)
Number of members of the community	262
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	1400
Number of children in schools	93
Number of doctors	3
Number of lawyers	8
Number of city officials	5
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Oskar Pulgram
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Herman Honigsberg
Rabbi	Jakob Kohn
Main cantor	Žiga Vilković
Jewish women organization	Zora Blau
Charitable society	Rudolf Gluck
The Zionist Association	Herman Herzer



*The number of Jews in Varaždinu according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



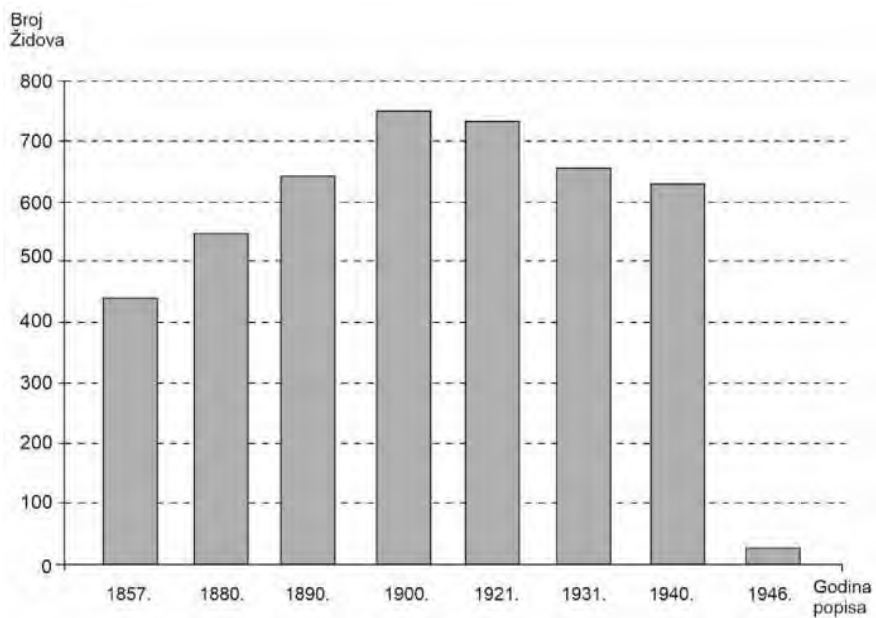
Synagogue in Varaždin

## Jewish community

### - VINKOVCI -

The Jewish community of Vinkovci in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1870
Synagogue built in	1922
Number of members of the community	227
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	995
Number of children in schools	125
Number of children in Talmud Torah school	5
Number of doctors	4
Number of lawyers	3
Number of representatives in the city	3
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Ignjat Lang
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Aleksandar Pollak
Rabbi	dr. Mavro Frankfurter
Cantor	I. Heršković
Main cantor	Mijo Popper
Jewish women organization	Tera Lang
The Zionist Association	Adolf Beck
Jewish youth society "Herut"	Adolf Preiss



*The number of Jews in Vinkovci according to the censuses from 1857 to 1946*

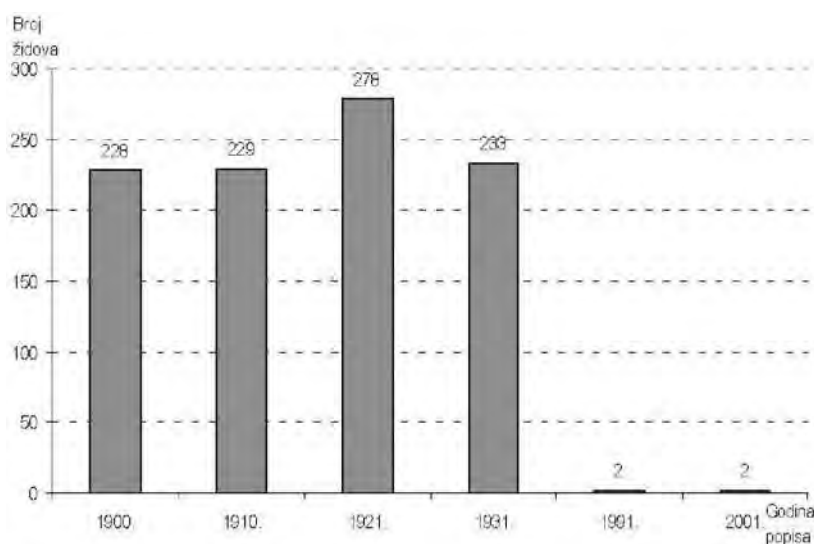


Synagogue in Vinkovci

## Jewish community - VIROVITICA -

The Jewish community of Virovitica in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1830
Synagogue built in	1836 (renewed 1836)
Number of members of the community	102
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	643
Number of children in schools	33
Number of doctors	3
Number of lawyers	2
Number of representatives in the city	2
The president of the Jewish community	Josip Schwartz
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Adolf Bing
Rabbi	dr. Hermann Kaufmann
Cantor	Adolf Springer
Jewish women organization "Mirjam"	Jelisava Rotter
Jewish youth society "Bar Kochba"	I. Goldberger
Jewish literary club "Zerubabel"	dr. H. E. Kaufmann



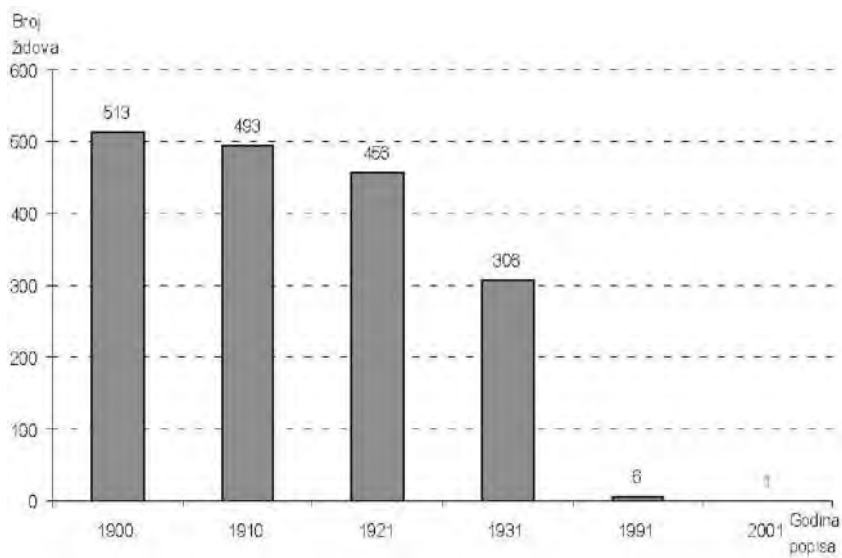
*The number of Jews in Virovitica according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*

## **Jewish community**

### **- VUKOVAR -**

Jewish community of Vukovar in 1930:

The Jewish cemetery was established in	1830 (renewed 1850)
Synagogue built in	1857
New synagogue built in	1888
Number of members of the community	134
Number of "souls" (members and their families)	600
Number of children in schools	48
Number of children in Talmud Torah school	20
Number of doctors	3
Number of lawyers	2
Number of city officials	3
Number of representatives in the city	1
The president of the Jewish community	dr. Daniel Klein
The president of Chevra Kadisha	Jakob Hirschl
Rabbi	dr. Julije Diamant
Cantor	Eugen Goldberger
Jewish women organization "Mirjam"	Rosa Obersohn
The Zionist Association	dr. Josip Herzl



*The number of Jews in Vukovar according to the censuses from 1900 to 2001*



Synagogue in Vukovar



## **A Jewish communities in WW II and Holocaust**

In this article we will present a short chronology of the most important events during the Holocaust in Croatia and overview of the Jewish community efforts to help its members to survive, what is often undervalued.

Jewish communities in Croatia existed for some time, and the Zagreb community all time during the World War II and worked under the strict control of the Nazi Ustasha authorities. Even under such a difficult circumstance, they were able to organize aid to the persecuted Jews and refugees.

In Croatia, immediately after the Nazi "Independent State of Croatia (NDH)" was proclaimed on 10. April 1941, the next day, the first group of Jewish public and cultural workers were arrested. On that day Jewish community building in Palmotičeva street in Zagreb was blocked by a group in German uniforms, and Gestapo representative Blum entered in the building with agents of the police. They immediately opened the safe, collected money, securities and documents and the keys to the building and premises.

The questioning began of the present and leading members of the Community leaders, especially Secretary Alex Klein, Rabbi Freiburger and President Dr. Hugo Kohn. Blum interrogated Rabbi Gavro Schwarz in his house personally.

In the following days, the offices of Hevra Kadisha and the Chief rabbinate in Amruševa Street were blocked and everything was sealed, and the Jews (and the tenants) were arrested and taken to the police for questioning. Important persons were detained, and some of them were sent to Graz for questioning. Old people were evicted from their "Lavoslav Schwarz old age home" in Maksimirska street.

Racial laws and regulation were passed under an emergency procedure, which excluded Jews from all social, cultural and political life in Croatia. Jews were excluded from business and organized plunder of their property was legalized.

On 12 May started the obligatory registration of all Jews and since 22 May all Jews had to wear a "Jewish mark" - first made of yellow cloth, and later yellow tin plates with the letter Ž, which they had to buy themselves in the office of Jewish section in Bogovičeva Street.

Arrests increases and camps were established. The demolition of the synagogue in Praška Street began on October 7, 1941.

Already on May 15, the "Committee for Jewish contribution for the needs of the State" started working in Draškovičeva Street 25, whose task was to collect a "contribution" from Jews worth 1,000 kilograms of gold. There were increased pressures, even arrests, especially of lawyers on April 28th, 29th, and send to prison in Kerestinec. These Committee collected from the Jews the so-called "invisible property" - jewellery, valuables, art, securities and even furniture. Everything was taken to the Police, and the keys have only the head of the police directorate in Zagreb, who managed the action. Already on October 31, the Committee's work was completed and a report signed by Mann and Piliš was submitted. Final report is attached.

According our new, corrected database for Holocaust victims in Croatia, we registered 12.349 names of victims of Holocaust in Croatia for whom in known place and mostly time of killing. In this base, we registered total 17.893 names, but for 3.062 victim we have no data where they perished. We have also 2.842 names of Jews who survived camps, ghettos, or hiding. The most Holocaust victims are from Zagreb (about 6.500) and Osijek (1.562).

Most of the Jews from Croatia perished in camps: Jasenovac (3.748), Auschwitz - Birkenau (2.523), Jadovno (284), Loborgrad (201), Stara Gradiška (335) but they are also killed in towns Zagreb (194), Budimpešta (24), Osijek (47) or in "camp" (404), "Poland" (85), Italy (21), Germany (364) etc.

In our new database for Jews in Croatia who survived Holocaust, we registered 3.449 names. These are names for all survivors, living now in Croatia or not and if they are alive or death. Very few Jews survived concentration camps. Great number of survivors has been saved in Italian zone of NDH, Italian camps for Jews or in Italy (195). Most survivors belong to the group of children (28%) who has been hiding, often under false name or are saved in Croatian families, even church. More than 200 survivors have been warrior in anti-fascistic partisan or movement.

In year 1999 (Swiss fund) we registered that only about 900 survivors live in Croatia, in 60 towns or smaller places. We assume that now (mortality is high) we have not more than 250-300 still living survivors

From our computer database of the Holocaust victims in Croatia with 17.893 names, of which for 12.349 are known place and date when perished, we will present preliminary results. Results are always preliminary; we will never know all victims but it is important that we find for every victim his name and give him human dignity.

As you can see from attached graphical presentation, the main camps were Jasenovac (registered 3.825 Jews) and Auschwitz (2.506 Jews). There is difference who perished in that camps. WE made graphic presentations about time when Jews are sent to camps. From the years in which victims has been born, we reconstructed a horrible picture about total genocide on Jews, from the small children till elderly 90-year-old.

## **Jews in Camps**



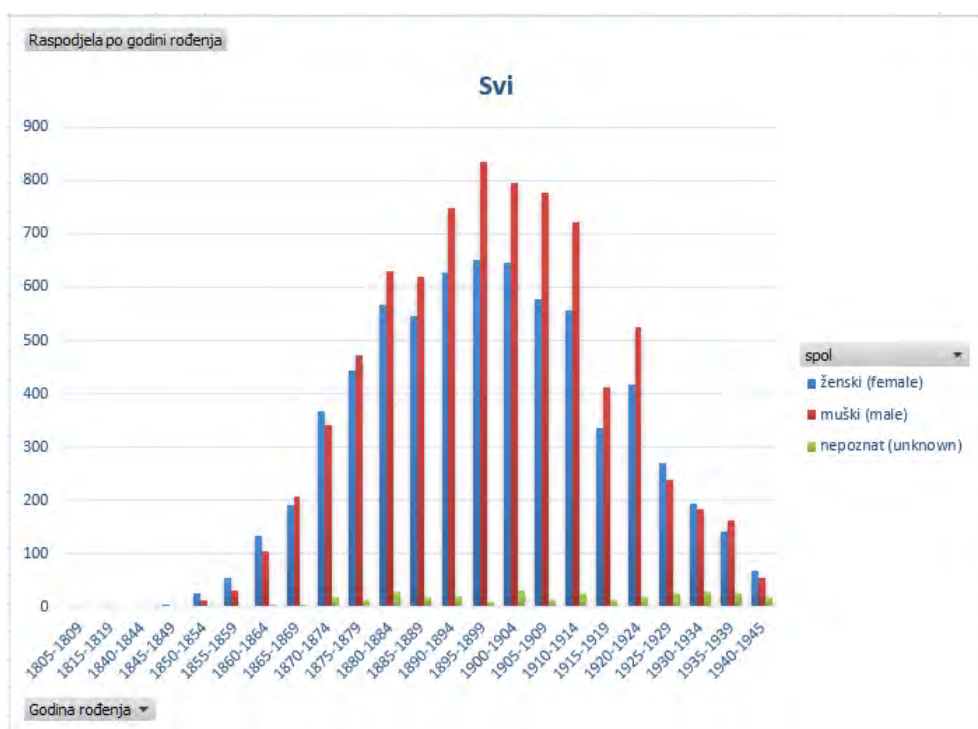
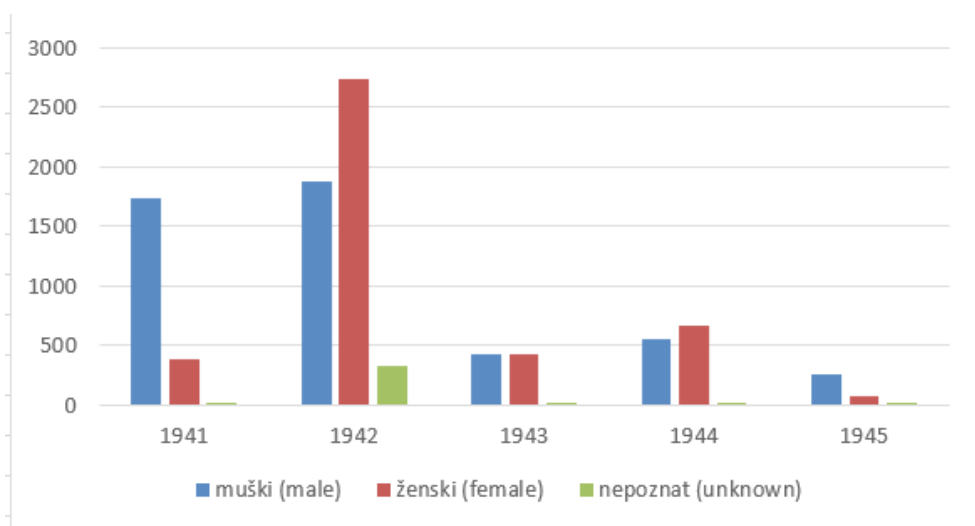
A group of liberated people leaves Auschwitz in 1945



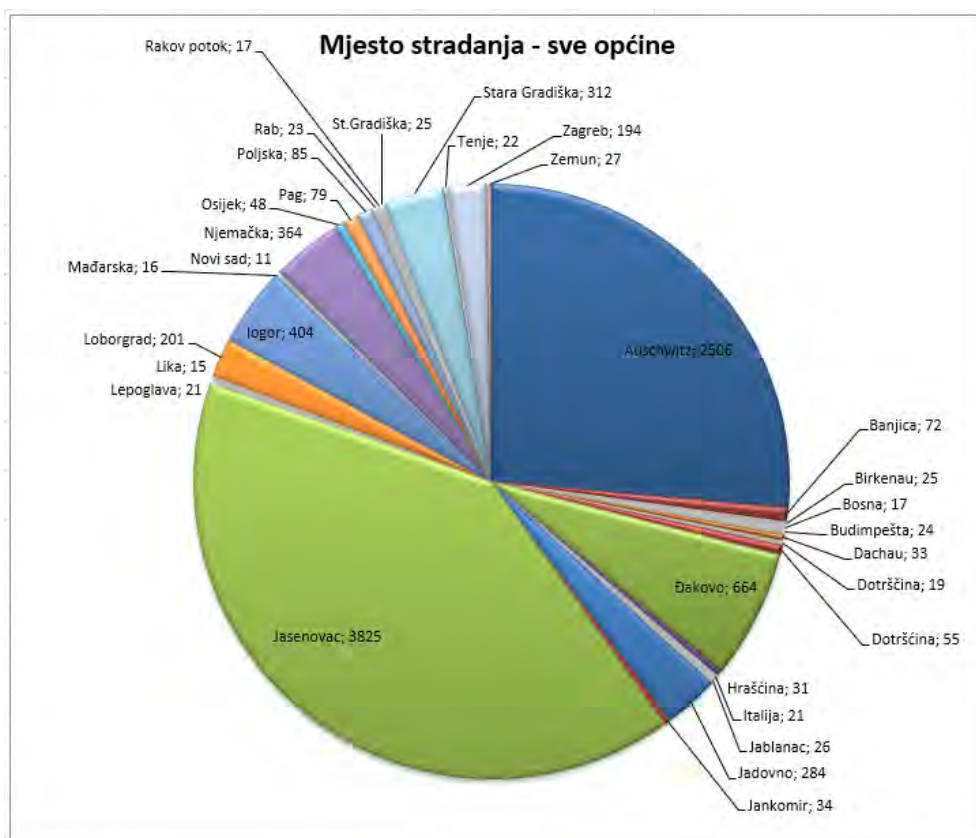
A group of prisoners who escaped from Jasenovac in 1945

Logor <b>Gredjani</b> <i>Jasenovac</i>	Prezime i ime — Oznaka <i>Kreus Alfred Pinhasa V. gr.</i>	
Datum javljanja	Poslani paketi	Primjetba
18.X.1942	28.X. 11.XI., 2.XII., 23.XII. 13.T. 43	tr.p.
5.I.1943	27.I. 17.II. 3.III. 24.III. 14.IV. 26.V. 14.VI.	
2.6 "	28.VI. 9/V 22/V 78 20/8 6/9 11/10 26/10	kakle prim
22.12 "	8/11 25/11 14/12 31/12 29/2 14/3 28/3 12/4 "	
23.11.44	14/12, 24/12, 30/12, 8/1.45, 16/1, 23/1, 29/1, 5/2, 14/2	20/VIII. 43a
21.1.45	19/2, 21/2, 1/3, 4/3, 14/3, 19/3, 23/3, 27/3, 6/4, 14/4, 17/4	Jasenovac

Jasenovac- evidence about receiving the parcel from Jewish community



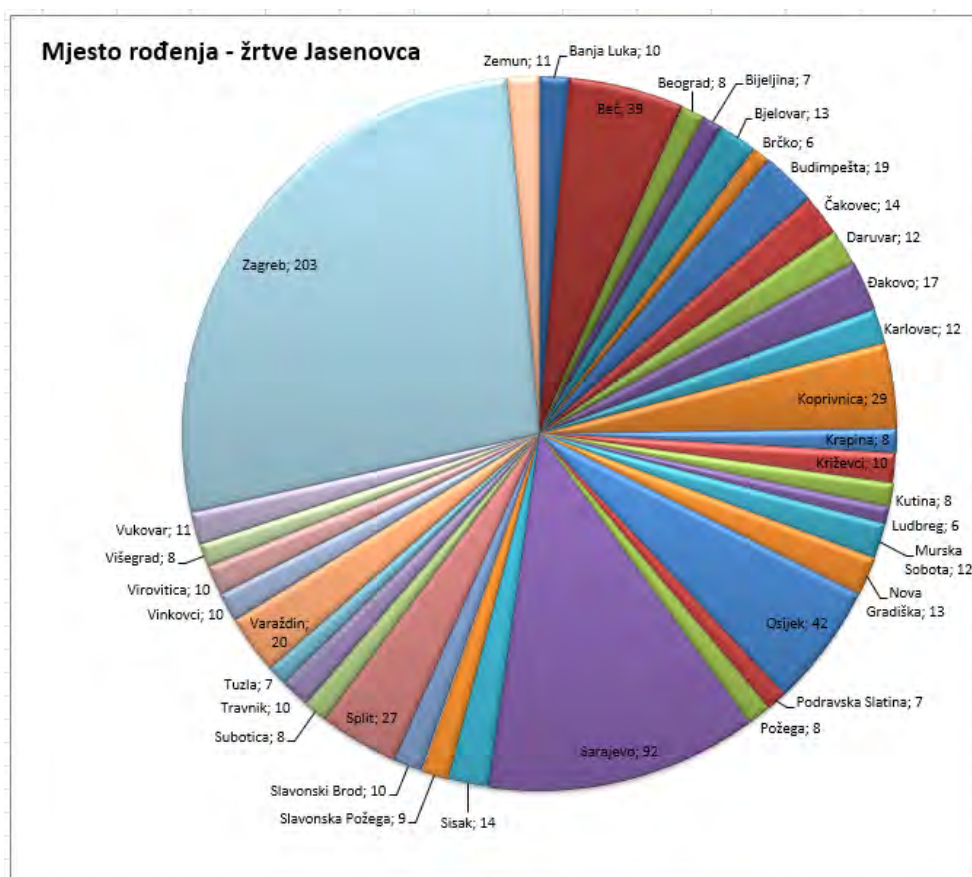
Place of killing  
- all communities

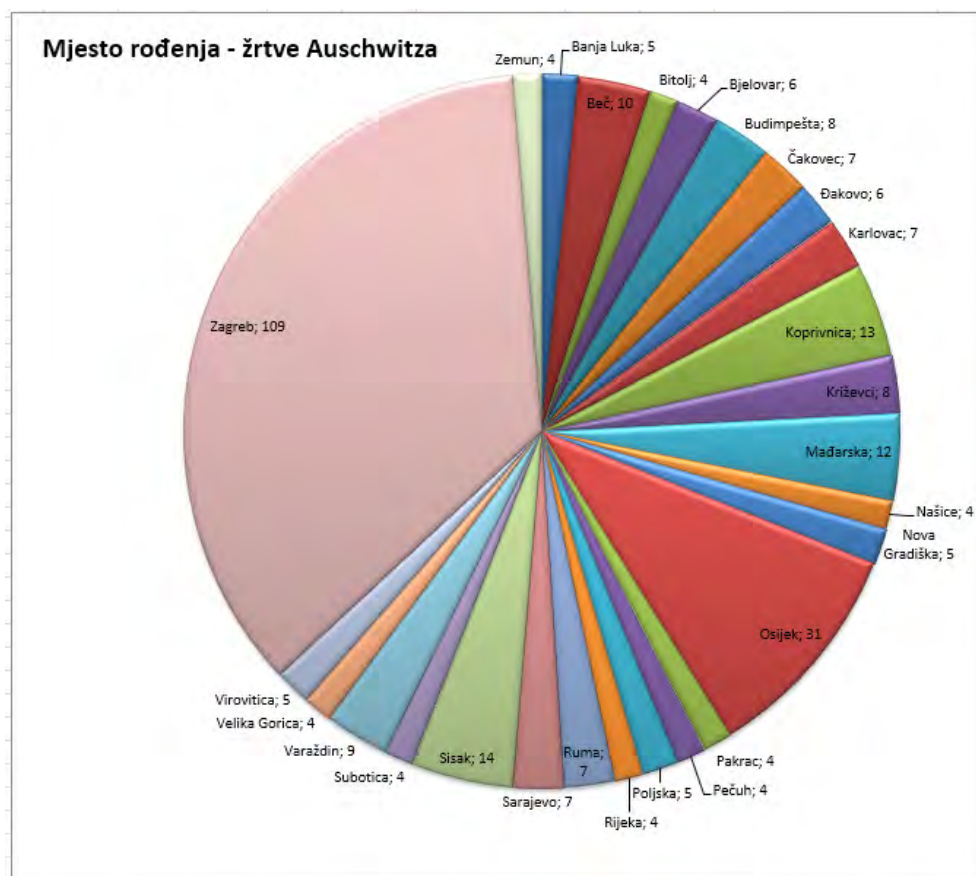




We analysed differences between Auschwitz and Jasenovac camp according to victims' origin (places of birth)

### Place in which victims of Jasenovac have been born



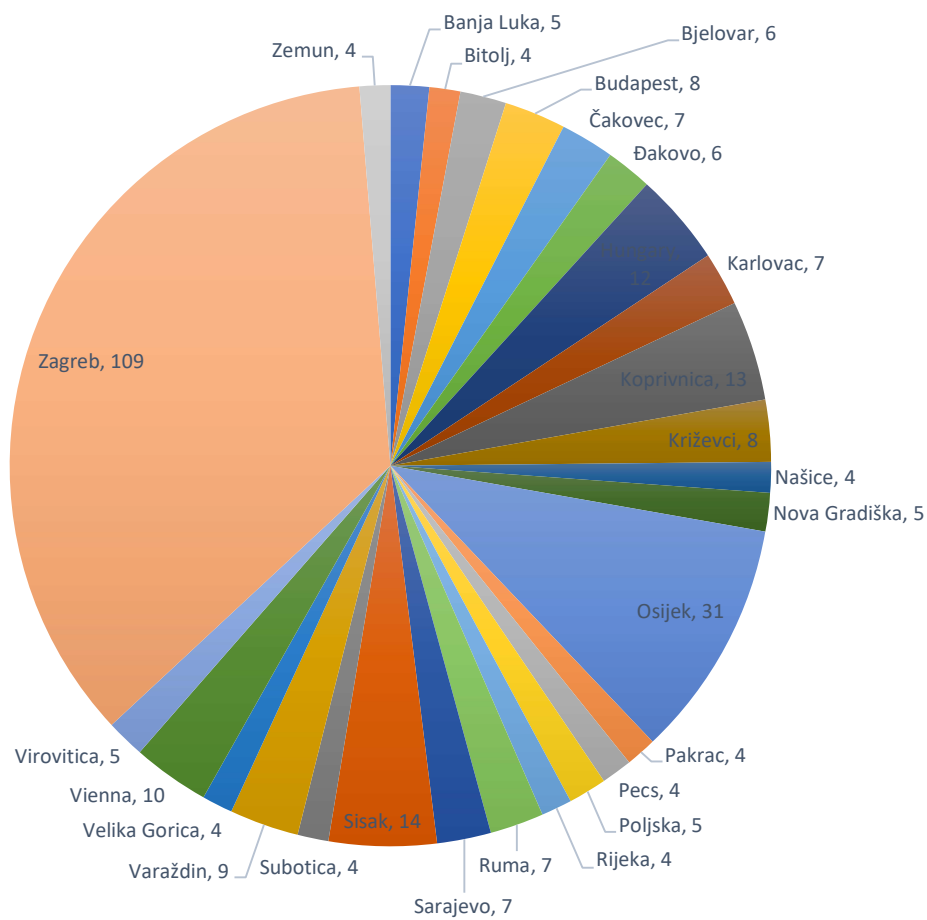




Auschwitz victims

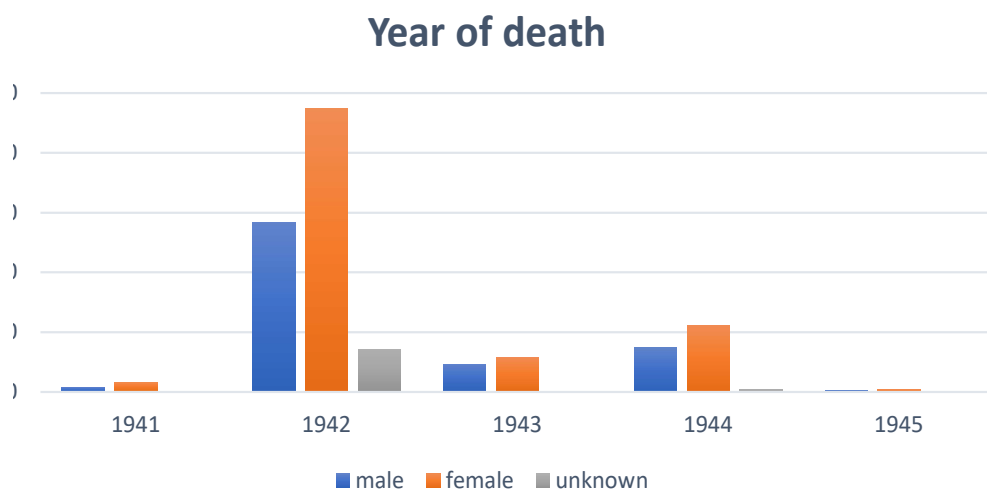
<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>No. of people (&gt; 3)</b>
Banja Luka	5
Bitolj	4
Bjelovar	6
Budapest	8
Čakovec	7
Đakovo	6
Hungary	12
Karlovac	7
Koprivnica	13
Križevci	8
Našice	4
Nova Gradiška	5
Osijek	31
Pakrac	4
Pecs	4
Poljska	5
Rijeka	4
Ruma	7
Sarajevo	7
Sisak	14
Subotica	4
Varaždin	9
Velika Gorica	4
Vienna	10
Virovitica	5
Zagreb	109
Zemun	4
Sum ( > 3 )	306
Other ( < 4 )	246
Unknown	1954
Total	2506

## Place of birth - Auschwitz victims



### Auschwitz victims

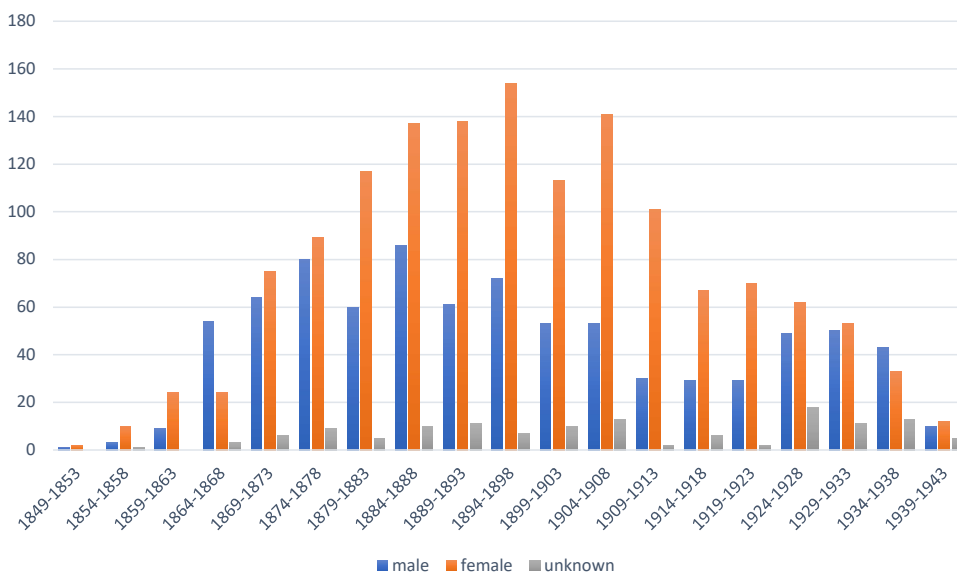
Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	16	32	
1942	567	948	142
1943	93	116	1
1944	148	223	8
1945	4	7	



Auschwitz victims

Years range	male	female	unknown	Total
1849-1853		1	2	3
1854-1858		3	10	14
1859-1863		9	24	33
1864-1868		54	24	81
1869-1873		64	75	145
1874-1878		80	89	178
1879-1883		60	117	182
1884-1888		86	137	233
1889-1893		61	138	210
1894-1898		72	154	233
1899-1903		53	113	176
1904-1908		53	141	207
1909-1913		30	101	133
1914-1918		29	67	102
1919-1923		29	70	101
1924-1928		49	62	129
1929-1933		50	53	114
1934-1938		43	33	89
1939-1943		10	12	27
<b>Total</b>		<b>836</b>	<b>1422</b>	<b>2390</b>

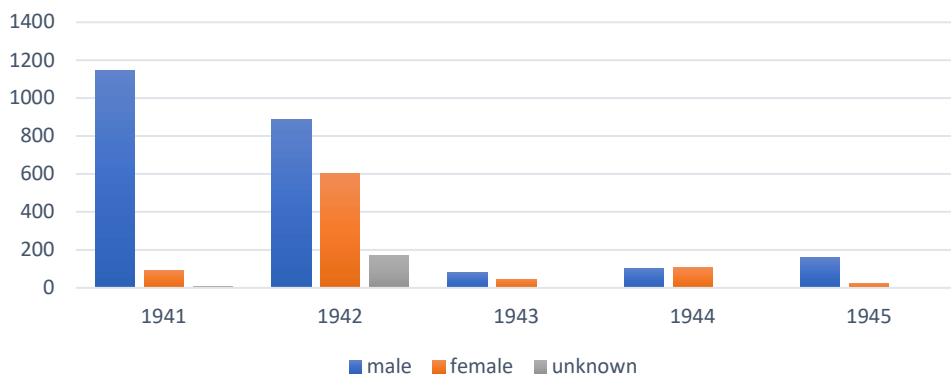
Auschwitz victims



### Jasenovac victims

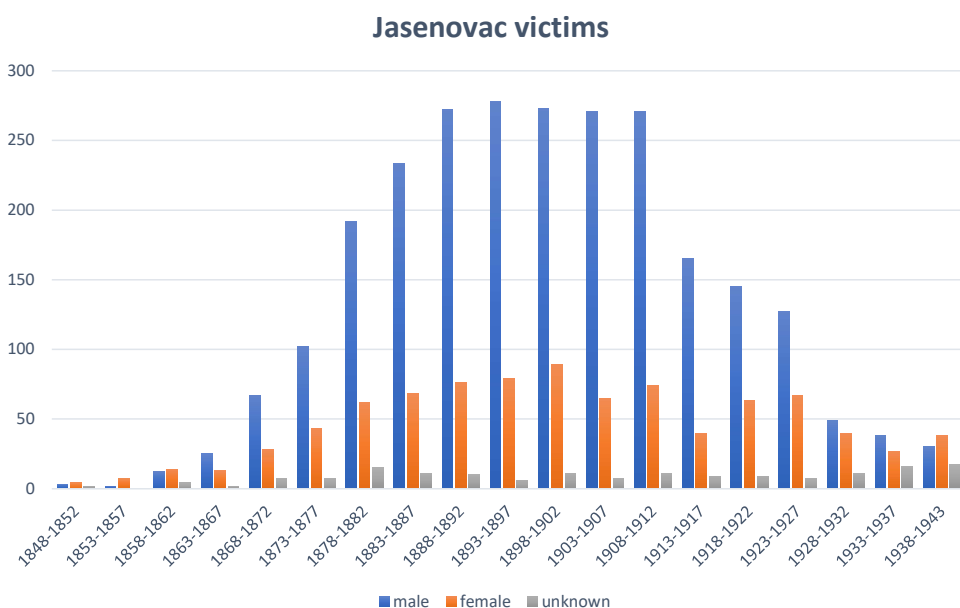
Year of death	male	female	unknown
1941	1145	93	8
1942	889	603	171
1943	79	46	1
1944	104	105	2
1945	159	23	3

### Year of death



Jasenovac victims

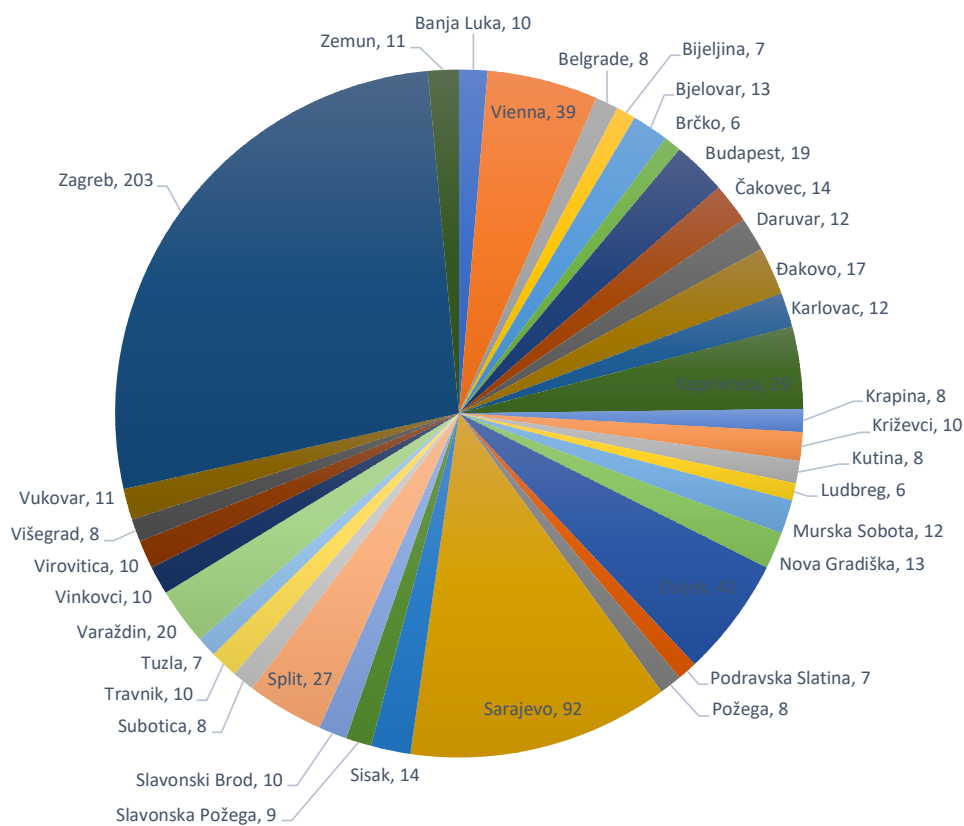
Years range	male	female	unknown	Total	
1848-1852		3	4	2	9
1853-1857		2	7		9
1858-1862		12	14	4	30
1863-1867		25	13	2	40
1868-1872		67	28	7	102
1873-1877		102	43	7	152
1878-1882		192	62	15	269
1883-1887		233	68	11	312
1888-1892		272	76	10	358
1893-1897		278	79	6	363
1898-1902		273	89	11	373
1903-1907		271	65	7	343
1908-1912		271	74	11	356
1913-1917		165	40	9	214
1918-1922		145	63	9	217
1923-1927		127	67	7	201
1928-1932		49	40	11	100
1933-1937		38	27	16	81
1938-1943		30	38	17	85
Total	2555	897	162	3614	



Jasenovac victims

<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>No. of people (&gt; 5)</b>
Banja Luka	10
Vienna	39
Belgrade	8
Bijeljina	7
Bjelovar	13
Brčko	6
Budapest	19
Čakovec	14
Daruvar	12
Đakovo	17
Karlovac	12
Koprivnica	29
Krapina	8
Križevci	10
Kutina	8
Ludbreg	6
Murska Sobota	12
Nova Gradiška	13
Osijek	42
Podravska Slatina	7
Požega	8
Sarajevo	92
Sisak	14
Slavonska Požega	9
Slavonski Brod	10
Split	27
Subotica	8
Travnik	10
Tuzla	7
Varaždin	20
Vinkovci	10
Virovitica	10
Višegrad	8
Vukovar	11
Zagreb	203
Zemun	11
Sum ( > 5 )	750
Other ( < 6 )	680
Unknown	2395
Total	3825

## Place of birth - Jasenovac victims





## Data base for holocaust survivors

In our new database for Jews in Croatia who survived Holocaust, we registered 3.449 names. These are names for all survivors, living now in Croatia or not and if they are alive or death. Very few Jews survived concentration camps. Great number of survivors has been saved in Italian zone of NDH, Italian camps for Jews or in Italy (195). Most survivors belong to the group of children (28%) who has been hiding, often under false name or are saved in Croatian families, even church. More than 200 survivors have been warrior in anti-fascistic partisan or movement.

In year 1999 (Swiss fund) we registered that only about 900 survivors live in Croatia, in 60 towns or smaller places. We assume that now (mortality is high) we have not more than 250-300 still living survivors

From our computer database of the Holocaust victims in Croatia with 17.893 names, of which for 12.349 are known place and date when perished, we will presented preliminary results.

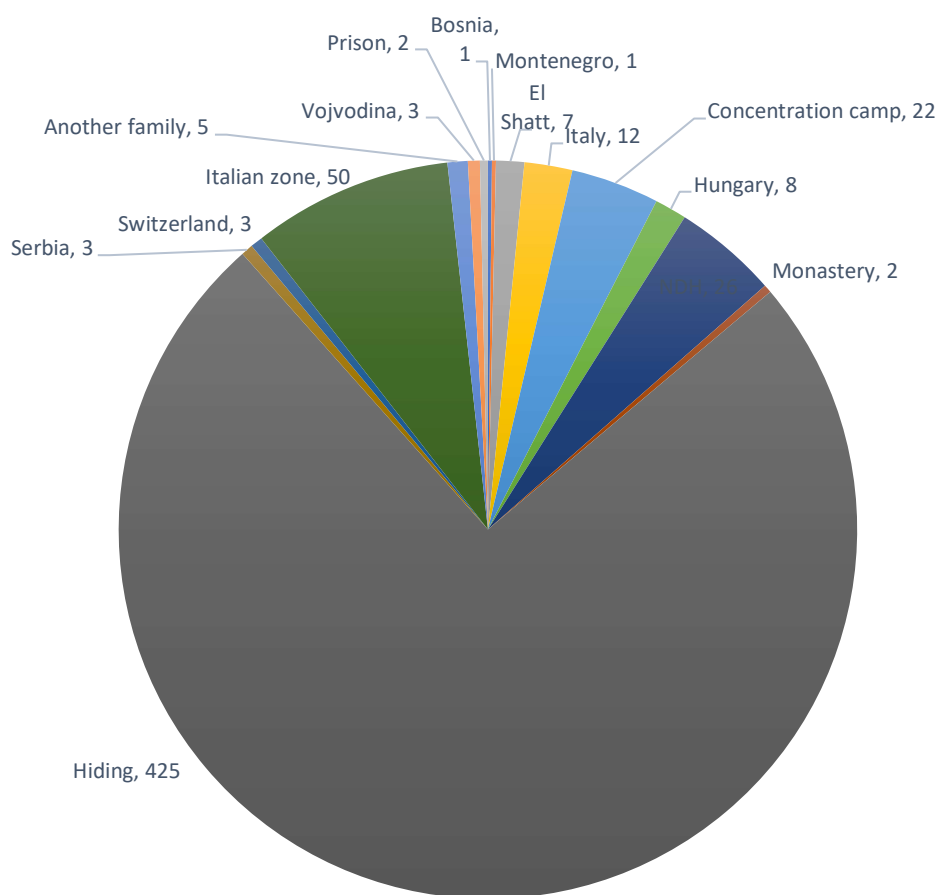
Results are always preliminary; we will never know all victims but it is important that we find victim with his name and give him human dignity.

As you can see from attached graphical presentation, the main camps were Jasenovac (registered 3.825 Jews) and Auschwitz (2.506 Jews). We made graphic presentations about time when Jews are sent to camps. From the data about years in which victims has been born, we reconstructed a horrible picture about total genocide on Jews, from the small children till elderly 90-year-old.

Category	Number
Father	125
Mother	86
Father and mother	73
Brothers/Sisters	35
Grandfather/grandmother	14
Entire family	14

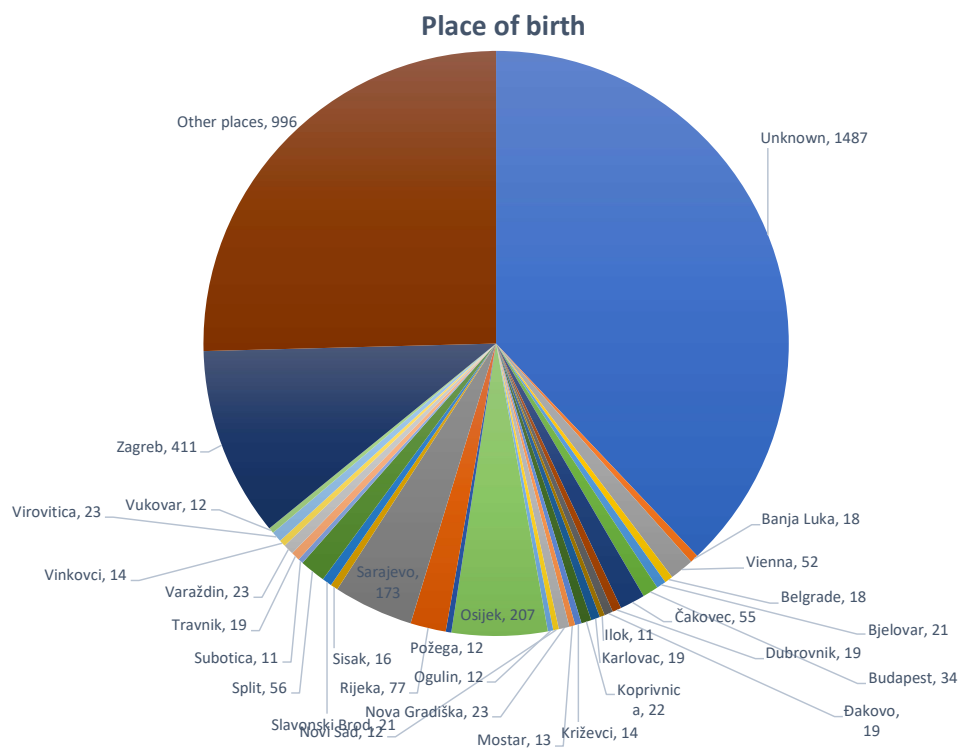


## Child survivors - manner and place of survival

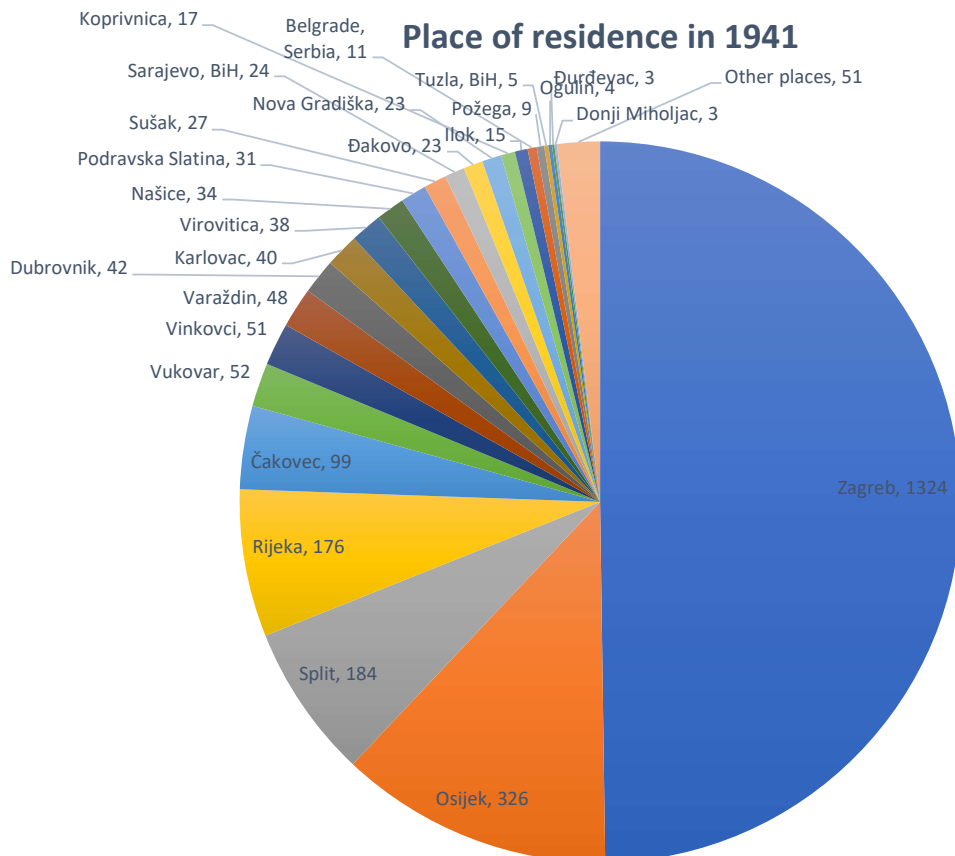


<b>Manner and place</b>	<b>Number</b>
Bosnia	1
Montenegro	1
El Shatt	7
Italy	12
Concentration camp	22
Hungary	8
NDH	26
Monastery	2
Hiding	425
Serbia	3
Switzerland	3
Italian zone	50
Another family	5
Vojvodina	3
Prison	2
Total	570

<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Number</b>
Unknown	1487
Banja Luka	18
Vienna	52
Belgrade	18
Bjelovar	21
Budapest	34
Čakovec	55
Dubrovnik	19
Đakovo	19
Ilok	11
Karlovac	19
Koprivnica	22
Križevci	14
Mostar	13
Nova Gradiška	23
Novi Sad	12
Ogulin	12
Osijek	207
Požega	12
Rijeka	77
Sarajevo	173
Sisak	16
Slavonski Brod	21
Split	56
Subotica	11
Travnik	19
Varaždin	23
Vinkovci	14
Virovitica	23
Vukovar	12
Zagreb	411
Other places	996

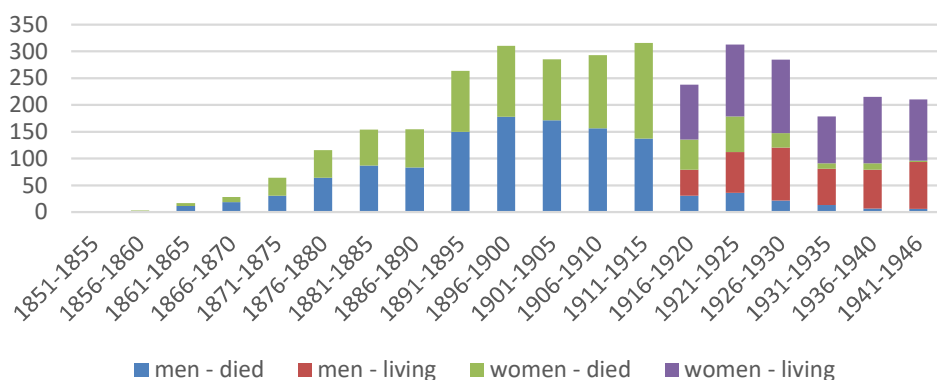


Place of residence in 1941	Number
Zagreb	1324
Osijek	326
Split	184
Rijeka	176
Čakovec	99
Vukovar	52
Vinkovci	51
Varaždin	48
Dubrovnik	42
Karlovac	40
Virovitica	38
Našice	34
Podravska Slatina	31
Sušak	27
Sarajevo, BiH	24
Đakovo	23
Nova Gradiška	23
Koprivnica	17
Ilok	15
Belgrade, Serbia	11
Požega	9
Tuzla, BiH	5
Ogulin	4
Đurđevac	3
Donji Miholjac	3
Other places	51



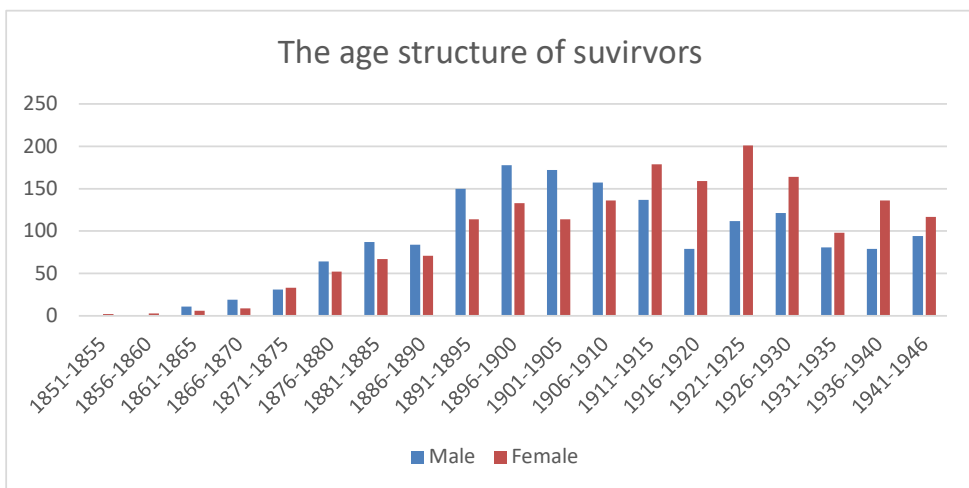
Year of birth	men - died	men - living	women - died	women - living	Total - died	Total - living
1851-1855			2	0	2	0
1856-1860			3	0	3	0
1861-1865	11	0	6	0	17	0
1866-1870	19	0	9	0	28	0
1871-1875	31	0	33	0	64	0
1876-1880	64	0	52	0	116	0
1881-1885	87	0	67	0	154	0
1886-1890	84	0	71	0	155	0
1891-1895	150	0	114	0	264	0
1896-1900	178	0	133	0	311	0
1901-1905	172	0	114	0	286	0
1906-1910	157	0	136	0	293	0
1911-1915	137	0	179	0	316	0
1916-1920	31	48	57	102	88	150
1921-1925	36	76	67	134	103	210
1926-1930	22	99	27	137	49	236
1931-1935	13	68	10	88	23	156
1936-1940	7	72	12	124	19	196
1941-1946	6	88	2	115	8	203

### Preliminary calculation of the ratio of the living and those who died





Year of birth	Male	Female	Total
1851-1855		2	2
1856-1860		3	3
1861-1865	11	6	17
1866-1870	19	9	28
1871-1875	31	33	64
1876-1880	64	52	116
1881-1885	87	67	154
1886-1890	84	71	155
1891-1895	150	114	264
1896-1900	178	133	311
1901-1905	172	114	286
1906-1910	157	136	293
1911-1915	137	179	316
1916-1920	79	159	238
1921-1925	112	201	313
1926-1930	121	164	285
1931-1935	81	98	179
1936-1940	79	136	215
1941-1946	94	117	211
Total	1656	1794	3450



## Italian camps

The agreement between Mussolini and Pavelić reached on May 18, 1941 divided the territory of Dalmatia, part of the Croatian Littoral and coastal islands into two zones: the so-called Zone I and Zone II.

Zone I, which was annexed by Italy, included the Rijeka province (Sušak and hinterland), all the islands of the Croatian Littoral (except the island of Pag), the area from Split to Novigrad with islands (except Brač and Hvar) and Boka Kotorska.

In zone II were the islands of Pag, Brač and Hvar, as well as the area behind Zone I, up to the border line: Vinica-Plitvički Leskovac-Plješivica-Šator-Malovan-Prenj-Troglav. Dubrovnik, Makarska, Herceg-Novı, Crikvenica, Kraljevica, Novi Vinodol, Senj, and Selce were located in that zone.

Precisely because of the difference in the powers of the Italians in those two zones, the position of the Jewish refugees in them was different.

In Zone I, there was no strict application of racial laws (although Italy also passed them).

In Zone II. the Ustashes applied the laws of the NDH against the Jews and at first the Italians did not interfere in the persecutions, even, according to some documents, they helped to return the Jews who tried to take refuge in Zone II.

Romano believes that the attitude of the Italians changed after the terrible massacre that the Ustasha carried out in their camps on the island of Pag (Slano and Metajna).

Command 2 of the Italian Army ordered the Jews in Zone II to be interned in special camps, in order to prevent the Ustashes who were constantly demanding that the Jews surrender to them.

The following camps were established:

Dubrovnik camp (in Kupari, Srebreno, Mlini, Gruž and the island of Lopud). In that camp there were mainly Jews from Bosnia and Herzegovina (which, together with Croatia, made up the NDH). Evald Erlih, Viktor Hajon and Ivan Kraft were particularly active in the Dubrovnik camp.

The camp in Kraljevica received Jewish refugees from Crikvenica, Novi, Hreljina, Selca, Senj, Kraljevica, Skrad, Moravica and Ogulin, most of whom were originally from Croatia and Slavonia, but there were also emigrants from Hungary, Austria, Germany and Czechoslovakia. In total, according to official data, 1,172 Jews were interned in the Kraljevica camp. In the Kraljevica camp, the activists were Dr. Hinko Gotlieb, Dr. Aleksandar Goldstein, Prof. Bruno Prister, Dr. Ivan Berkeš, Engineer Pavle Ungar and Ladislav Seke. The youth group included Danko Nahmijas, Zlatko Vamošer, Vlatka Weiss, Dragica Weiberger, Ivo Šoten and others.

In the largest camp, in Kraljevica, it seems that the conditions were the most difficult. The Italian command appointed Dr. Milan Vranić, Herman Schosberger and Artur Lotka as representatives of the camp inmates. Although housing, hygiene and food conditions were difficult, the Jews still managed to organize life in the camps. To improve nutrition, the inmates formed a special committee (Dr. Leo Roter, Bogdan Weiss, Aleksandar Piliš, Aron

Berger, Dragica Frank and Jakov Glied).

A group of young people (50) was organized and they practiced for later actions, formally they were the "Fire Company", after the fire they caused in the kitchen. They were led by Weiss. After the liberation of the camp on Rab, they joined the NOB.

Health care in the Kraljevica camp was taken over by the Italians and they established a clinic with three doctors, but the camp inmates also founded their own pharmacy (it was run by masters: Milan Eisenstein, Anka Leitner and Ivan Berkeš). They managed to transfer that pharmacy to the camp on the island of Rab, however, it was taken from them there by the camp administration.

Schooling, language courses, tailoring, a choir and an orchestra (Franjo Nadaši, Miroslav Luncer and Bruno Prister) were organized in the camp, and Dr. Ivan Berkeš organized a puppet theater for children.

There were 211 Jews in the camp on the island of Brač, located in the towns of Sumartin and Postire. Refugees who took refuge in Knin and Drniš are accommodated there. Franjo Špicer (Ervin Šinko) was particularly active there. Vlado Salzberger edited "Zidne novine"

In the camp on the island of Hvar, there were 404 interned Jews who were housed in several buildings guarded by the Carabinieri. These were refugees who had previously taken refuge in Metković, and were originally from Mostar and Sarajevo. The activists were Marcel-Marci Weiss, Josef Albahari-Čučo, Ela Samokovlija, Blanka Beba Samokovlija and Moric-Moco Kampos. Some youths escaped from the camp and joined NOB fighters. Even Ela and Beba Samokovlija were arrested by the Talians and later transferred to the island of Rab.

In total, there were 2,554 Jews in the aforementioned camps, and according to other sources, 2,661 Jews.

In these camps, the Italians mostly allowed the internees to organize the internal order and life in the camp, and committees were elected that represented the interests of the inmates before the Italian military command.

At the beginning of 1943 (when the situation on the battlefields was already changing), the Italian Supreme Court made a decision to transfer the Jews from the camp in Zone II to Zone I, to the camp on the island of Rab. Jews who were already in Zone I (Split, Korčula, Vela Luka) were not transferred to the camp on Rab.

The first group of 110 internees from the Dubrovnik camp arrived at the camp on the island of Rab on May 28, 1943. In 11 transports, which followed between June 19 and July 21, 1943, 2,353 people were transferred (1,064 men, 982 women and 307 children).

There are different estimates about the total number of internees in the camp on Rab, which was called "Campo di concentramento per internati civili di guerra Arbe". Some documents mention 3,600, and a list with 3,366 names was found (not including 211 people who went to Italy on their own initiative after the liberation of the camp). In the camp there were 14.9% children under 15, 38.1% men and 47.0% women.

Health care for the inmates was organized by the Italians who, in addition to the camp infirmary, opened a camp hospital in the town of Rab, which was located in the buildings of the former hotels "Adria" and "Imperial" and was staffed only by Italian doctors.

Nevertheless, 11 inmates died,

Before the arrival of the Jews, there was already a camp on Rab for about 13,000 Slovenian patriots interned from the area of Slovenia occupied by Italy. The camp was guarded by the Italian military command on Rab, it was surrounded by barbed wire, with watchtowers and searchlights. The commander of the camp was Vivenzo Cuiuli. The conditions in the Slovenian camp were difficult, and it is assumed that around 4,000 people died from hunger, disease and abuse. In the camp there was a "committee" (led by Jože Jurančič) which, together with the Jewish camp on Rab, made a plan to liberate the camp.

The camp was liberated on September 8, 1943, the Italian guard was disarmed and the guards were taken over by the camp inmates. The commander of the Cuiuli camp did not agree to disarm his soldiers, so the inmates did it on September 11: 2,000 rifles, 15 machine guns and 6 cannons. Cuiuli was transferred to the mainland and was supposed to be tried in Slovenia, but he committed suicide on September 18, 1943.

Already on September 9, military units were organized: the **Jewish Rab Battalion** and 4 battalions from the Slovenian part of the camp were united into the Rab Brigade. The commander of the Jewish battalion, which had 244 fighters, was David-Dača Kabiljo, his deputy was Miko Salom, and the political commissar was Evald Erlih. The battalion had three companies and each company had three platoons. The commander of the medical platoon was Ela Samokovlija, and it consisted of 23 paramedics, 4 doctors, 3 pharmacists, 2 dentists, 4 medical students and 4 pharmacy students. 17 youths from Sarajevo joined the battalion.

According to Romano, there were 32 craftsmen, 56 students, 60 officials, 42 students, 28 housewives, 17 merchants, 13 sales assistants, 13 technicians, 6 doctors, 4 engineers, 4 professors, 3 pharmacists, 3 lawyers, 2 dentists and 1 "druggist".

Nurses were assigned to other battalions of the Rab Brigade and the Lika Division.

According to Romano, from September 1943 until the end of the war, 1,930 Jews joined the partisans, of whom 169 died. 695 Jews joined the anti-fascist movement (NOP), 48 died.



Coupon instead of money from camp on Rab



Kraljevica camp - male barracks



Orchestra in the Kraljevica camp





Kraljevica camp – female barrack



El Shatt



Camp Rab



Barracks in camp Rab



Jewish battalion from the Rab camp



Survivors from the Rap camp



BRANA GIMNAZIJA U LOGORU CIVILNIH ZATVORENIKA  
U KRALJEVCIMA / PORTO 88/

IZVJEŠTAJ:

Brinhat Ljilko, učenik II (četvrtog) razreda  
rođen dne 18-IV-1925, pokazao je na koncu drugog  
tromjesečja školske godine 1943/4. ovaj uspjeh:

Vladanje:	<u>pohvalno</u>
Hrvatski jezik:	<u>odličan</u>
Talijanski jezik:	<u>dovoljan</u>
Latinski jezik:	<u>odličan</u>
Povijest:	<u>odličan</u>
Zemljopis:	<u>vrlo dobar</u>
Matematika:	<u>dobar</u>
Fizika:	<u>—</u>
Kemija:	<u>—</u>

U Kraljevcima, 7. jula 1943.

RAVNAJLIČA  
/Prof. Otoc Koreki/

RAZREDNI STARIJŠINA:  
Aleksandar Sticker  
/Prof. Aleksandar Švicer/

VOJNA KOMANDA LOGORA POTVRDILA JE NAD  
OVE SKOLNE PISANJE od 28. juna 1943.

ARTUR LOTER / MIRAN ŠKOKOVSKIĆ / DR. VLADIMIR VARIĆ

Report on grades from the grammar school in the Kraljevica camp

4/901.

NARODNA OSNOVNA ŠKOLA  
EL SHATT, LOGOR V

ŠKOLSKA OBAVIJEST

Govorac Vinko sin Mr. Markića  
rođen dne 6. III 1932 u Vaokrama kotar Vojine  
pohađa je od 1. IV 45 do 31. V 19 45 IV (četvrtog) razred  
narodne osnovne škole u zbjegu El Shatt, logor V

Učeni iz zadovolji o u naukovnim predmetima a vladanje —  
mu je bilo primjereno prema tome je sposoban  
da pređe u viši razred. —

SMRT FAŠIZMI — SLOBODA NARODU !

EL SHATT, logor V (pet) dne 31. V 19 45

UPRAVITELJ ŠKOLE: Kamni Sijm Za prosvj. odjel logora RAZREDNIK:  
Kamni Sijm . Odg. vodja za škole V. Sticker  
Vojine

School document from the El Shatt camp

**Camp Kraljevica**

**CIRCULAR NO 233**

**on Juni 21 1943**

**Main office:**

Thursday, June 22 1943, on duty will be Mrs Truda Goldstein as a messenger in the main office:

*in the morning ( 8-11 hours):*

**Levi Josip** (Hut M/I) and **Seligman Nada** (Hut 5 )

*in the afternoon (15-18 hours):*

**Kohn Ruben** (Hut 8) and **Kraus Dita** (Hut 2)

**Number of internee:**

On June 21.1943 in the camp were 1120 persons ,in hospital 37 (together 1157)

**Hut 9:**

Comandant of the Camp prolonged the function of Mrs Pavlinović as a "head" of the Hut 9 for the period of next week i.e. from 23. till 30.June.

**Concert of the musical section:**

Musical section prepared again two hours of enjoyment and forgetfulness, and for that it received thanks from all community. We consider for our duty to appreciate the high musical level of the concert. We wish to give special thanks to the dirigent Mr. Nadaši, to the solists Mrs Hofmann and Piliš and ing Fritz and Weiss Milan. We must thanks also to the organizer of the concert Mr. Lošić, Glücksthal and Benedek, for wonderfull composition of Mr. Rein and work of our tireless Mr. Dreissiger.

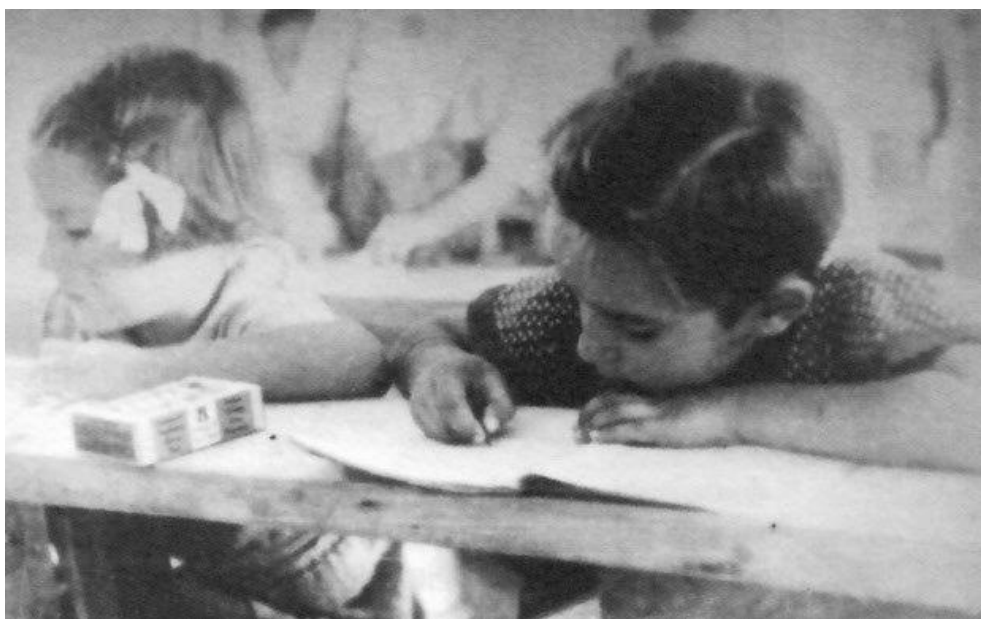
**Supervision board:**

We must excuse oneself for the mistake that we don't inform in the Saturday' circular that Hut M/I named in the supervision board dr. Fritz Fischl, and Hut m/II Mr. Felix Brichta as a members of the control board.

Circular letter from the Kraljevica camp



Entrance to the El Shatt camp



Students in the El Shatt camp



Two survivors from Jasenovac and Auschwitz

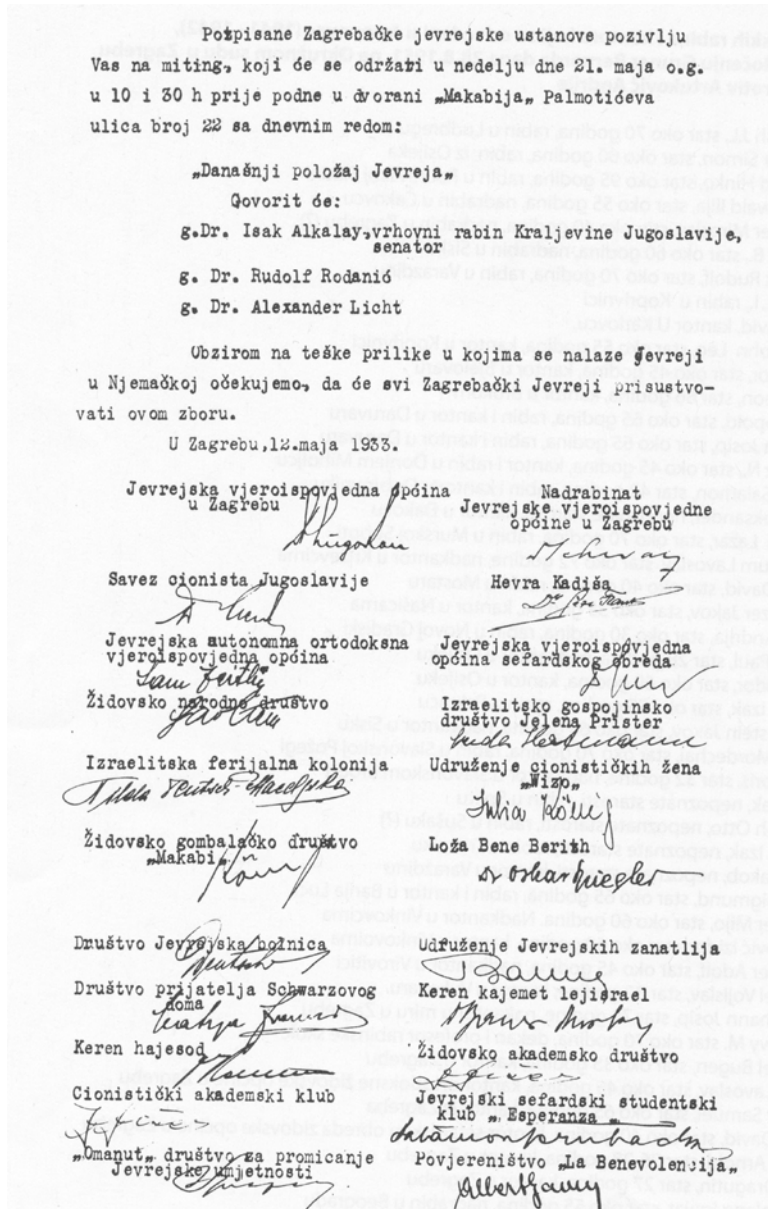


Branko Lustig, Oscar winner in ŽOZ



## Helping refugees

Jewish communities in Croatia have been involved in the process of rescuing and helping numerous refugees since 1933. At that time, the Union of Jewish communities of Yugoslavia founded the "Committee for Aid to Refugees" in Zagreb under the leadership of Dr. Max Pscherhof, and the Zagreb secretary Aleksandar Klein.



Zagreb Jewish Community.  
Invitation to meeting on May 21, 1933.

In the Bulletin "Most" edited by Israeli society Hidahtut oley ex-Yugoslavia (number 25/1, 1987), Ruth Lipa published the article "Help of the Jews of Yugoslavia to the Jewish refugees 1933-1941", which was written on the basis of documentation and the legacy of Aleksander Klein.

The Union established a Social Fund for helping refugees (April 23, 1939) to which all communities were supposed to contribute. The funds were no longer sufficient for the growing number of refugees, so the so-called "social tax" was established additional to the regular municipal tax. Until 1939, refugees received a residence permit from the government (with certain restrictions on movement). The committee was responsible for them and provided them with material, religious and cultural assistance, free medical care, and the children were enrolled in a Jewish school. Actions were organized in Zagreb in which considerable funds were collected to help refugees and their further escape to Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Turkey or Palestine. At that time, women "Association for Help to Refugees" was founded in Zagreb under the leadership of Ela Tobolski. They had a "sewing room" and take care about sick refugees.

The "Wizo" action that saved 250 children "Alijah Hanoar" from Berlin is well known. Before the start of the war in Yugoslavia, 130 children were successfully sent to Israel through "Alijat Hanoar", and 30 girls through "WIZA". In total, from 1933 to April 1941, 55,500 refugees passed through Yugoslavia.

About 6,800 refugees travelled on the Danube to the Black Sea via the port of Kladovo on the border with Romania. The last ship with about 1,100 refugees from Vienna and Bratislava that arrived in Yugoslavia in 1939 was stopped in Kladovo, and after much suffering and waiting, these refugees were transferred to Šabac, where they perished.

It was particularly dramatic in March 1938, when around 60 families from Rechnitz in Burgenland were brought to the triple border of Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria and left in the warehouse of the customs office. A permit to enter in Yugoslavia had to be obtained quickly. Dr. Pscherhof and his Committee were very involved in this, and with the help of Jews from the surrounding towns, organized the supply of refugees. A day before the final deadline, Aleksandar Klein was notified that he was allowed to stay in Yugoslavia for three months, and they were sent to Podravska Slatina, where the first "Refugee Residence Center" was opened. Refugees managed to go to Israel or other countries with the help of organisation "Hicem".

The refugees were not allowed to stay in the cities, so they were placed in smaller towns where they were only allowed to move in the district of residence. Each place had two commissioners, and within the place of residence, they had autonomy. In addition to food and housing, they received pocket money from the Committee (50 dinars per month).

It was possible to re-establish the "Palestine Office" under the leadership of Richard (Riki) Kohn, who during 1940 managed to transfer to Israel 1,540 adult Jews as well as children from Šabac and Zagreb. A group of children (33) who were supposed to go to Israel were stopped by the German invasion of Yugoslavia. They still managed to save themselves (together with 16 youths from Austria) under the leadership of Joško Indig and with the help of organisation Delassem.

Some of the children from the Đakovo camp were placed in Jewish families in Osijek, but many perished together.



Commemoration with survivors from Đakovo camp

Some of Jewish children were saved thanks to the help of Croatian families (Lengel-Krizman Narcisa). At the last minute, a group of children from Zagreb was rescued and were to be brought to Istanbul (Marija Bauer) via Budapest and then on to Palestine. A list was made (5/14/1942) of 86 children and nine companions. Because of the bureaucracy, time was lost and on February 7, 1943, only 11 children left Zagreb and arrived in Palestine on February 23, 1943.

## Refugees

The refugee crisis remains an almost permanent political and human question today. Here we wish to give only a general overview of a different approach and solutions than the last time.

When the issue of refugees from Russia (1.5 million) after the revolution was first raised before the League of Nations in 1921 (Mesić, 1993), a High Commissioner for Refugee Affairs (and for 300 Armenians) was appointed. When refugees from Nazism appeared in 1933, a high commissioner was appointed for them. In 1939, the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees was established, and their status was defined: These were the people who were forced to leave their country because of their political position, religious belief or racial affiliation. The number of refugees and displaced persons in World War II grew to about 40 million. The intergovernmental committee ceased working in 1947, but the IRO (International Refugee Organization) was founded because of those who could not return home after the war (about 1.5 million), mainly to Europe, for whom the so-called Marshall plan for economic recovery was adopted.

In 1949, the UNHCR – the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – was founded. Still, it dealt only with the people who did not have a home country, so it did not include Jews who founded Israel (the creation of which also created the Palestinian refugees).

After World War II, the term “Diaspora migrants” occurred, referring to particular ethnic minorities returning to their home countries. Ethnic Hungarians from Slovakia, Czech Transylvania and Vojvodina returned to Hungary (around 320,000). About 1,800,000 Poles returned to Poland, and people were returning to Turkey from Bulgaria. The most significant number formed ethnic Germans returning to Germany. Between 1950 and 1989, Germany received about 3.3 million people from East Germany and nearly 2 million from the “Eastern Block”. Several hundred thousand ethnic Germans and about 120,000 Italians left the former Yugoslavia (based on the so-called option).

The issue of refugees from North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco decolonisation) was resolved through their dual citizenship with France, where they migrated. The block division and the cold war affected the asylum policy, and this asylum-granting policy had humanitarian and political implications (Suhrke and Zolberg). The block war spread beyond Europe to entirely new regions – and new spheres of interest emerged.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall (symbolising the fall of communism), ethnic conflicts and wars arose, and changes occurred in the entire migration system (Blaschke 1992). The fight for freedom of movement (the West’s objection to the East) ends – the borders of Western countries close, and the previous liberal policy towards asylum seekers changes. It is considered that Israel created a “supranational system”, enabling the arrival of Jews from the Diaspora. It also organised a system of assistance in case Jews were threatened in a specific country. Thus, in 1950, almost the entire Yemenite Jewish community was saved; 130,000 Jews were brought from Iraq with the “Ezra and Nehemiah” campaign, and Ethiopian Jews came through the “Moses” and “Solomon” campaigns. There were actions to save Jews from the then-war-torn Bosnia and Herzegovina. Israel does not treat Jewish refugees as refugees but as “olim” – returnees to Israel.





Holocaust survivor's conference in Zagreb

## **Jewish community Zagreb during the Holocaust**

The Jewish community in Zagreb, after it had been closed in Palmotićeve street, sought and tried to renew its work. The Nazi “Jewish Department” allowed the Jewish community (on May 16) to continue work on another location, on King Tomislav square No 1. They allowed the establishment of the Community Council with 11 members, and president was Dr. Hugo Kohn (killed in camp) and Secretary Aleksandar Klein (later emigrated). Sephardic and orthodox representatives also joined the newly established community.

The Nazi “Jewish Department” issued to Council members and employees “identity cards”. There is a list of 61 members of the community management, boards and officials, who were promised protection, but most of them were sent to camps.

The first session of the Council was held on May 22, 1941 and was organized work of the community.

In the Letter no. 723/1941 to Jewish Department (dated July 31, 1941), the Jewish community informed that they received “protective identification cards” for the following 69 persons who had also before engaged in Community, which also means that they did not emigrate on time from Croatia. They had different positions and duties, but we cited only their names.

Dr. Hugo Kohn, Dr. Dragutin Rosenberg, Rikard Kohn, Leon Hessel and Dr. Karlo Breyer, Dezider Abraham, Ing. Ernest Tausk, Dr. Alfred Neufeld, Dr. Ivo Low, Dr. Zdenko Lowenthal, Dr. Albert Schlessinger, Dr. Samuel Deutsch, old Jewish refugee in Stenjevec: Ferdo Singer, Vladimir Neumann; Vilko Grünhut, public kitchen: Pavao Goldstein; Hinko Schlesinger, Viktor Kohn; offices Alexander Klein, Herman Bresslauer, Robert Veith, Eugen Kohn, Zlata Goldschmidt, Zora Haberkfeld, Vilim Schwarz, Božidar Kon, Magda Grün, Emil Schwarz, Otto Deutsch, Mira Katan, Marko Hoffmann; Hugo Jungwirth, Ernest Richter, David Atias; Social Department: Josip Abraham, Rose Hacker, Lorand Lowy, Ida Mandolfo, Alica Gross, Robert Stein, Vladimir Gottlieb, Norbert Kišicky, Vilim Glückjeger Edmund; Dr. Eduard Mandolfo, Dr. Branko Grossman (Law). Hevra Kadisha, Mirko Balog, Milan Spitzer, Hermann Weiss, Heinrich Freywald, Izidor Herzberger, Aleksandar Rechnitzer; Worship: rabbi Dr. Gavro Schwarz; rabbi Dr. Miroslav Freiburger, rabbi Dr. Isak Baruch; Bernard Grüner, cantor; Isak Hendel, cantor; Eugen Mandel, cantor; Josip Baš; Ilija Weiss; Dr. Moric Levi (School Choir); Teacher at schools: Gizela Fuchs-Kohn, Hani Flesch, Elvira Reich, Alice Dukes, Ružica Schlessinger, Nisim Konfino, Greta Weiss, Mirjam Weiller (Kindergarten) and Geza Lang.

In June 1941, the Jewish community in Zagreb reported that it was unable to alone support refugees in the entire area of NDH and need support from other communities. The Jewish community of Zagreb took over the support for 450 refugees.

In Zagreb, within the framework of the social department, health care was established, in which the majority of Jewish doctors participated for free, they gave all the samples of patented medicines, so it was a well-stocked home pharmacy. Medical examinations were performed in the ordination of Dr. Schlesinger, and Dr. Alfred Neufeld. A care for Jewish children was also established in Dr. Leo Wilf's ordination.

From the reports of the Jewish Community Zagreb for year 1941, we learn that 1,100 emigrants were supported in collective residences; support 1,500 internees in camp Loborgrad; food, clothes and medicines were sent to Jasenovac and packages for about 4,000 inmates; about 1.200 internees has been helped in camp Đakovo , help and food for 56 elderly hidden in Stenjevec and organized 300 meals a day in public kitchen, Community find a shelter for 22 elderly and children, and paid hospital expenses and provided assistance.

The Jewish community Zagreb also provided food for Jews from other towns who were passing through or stay few days in Zagreb ( from Varaždin, Koprivnica, Ludbreg and the surrounding areas)

After the Germans entered Zagreb, all the residents (78 women and 22 men) of the “Lavoslav Schwarz” old age home in Maksimirska Street had to leave the Home within 24 hours. They are with help Đure Harandija (janitor) and Marije Bučar (nurses) transfer in two small houses in Stenjevec (near Zagreb) and on December 8, 1943, transferred again by truck to a small house in Brezovica on estate of Cardinal Stepinac; where 8 men and 44 women survived (M. Sabolevski, 1998).

The Jewish community in Zagreb helped its members who lost their houses or flats, in particular to women with children and placed them in apartments (I. Goldstein) where there were Jewish students before war, or in rented apartments, in 6 apartments and houses, on the eve of the last deportation of Jews from Zagreb in May 1943, about 140 people were sheltered.

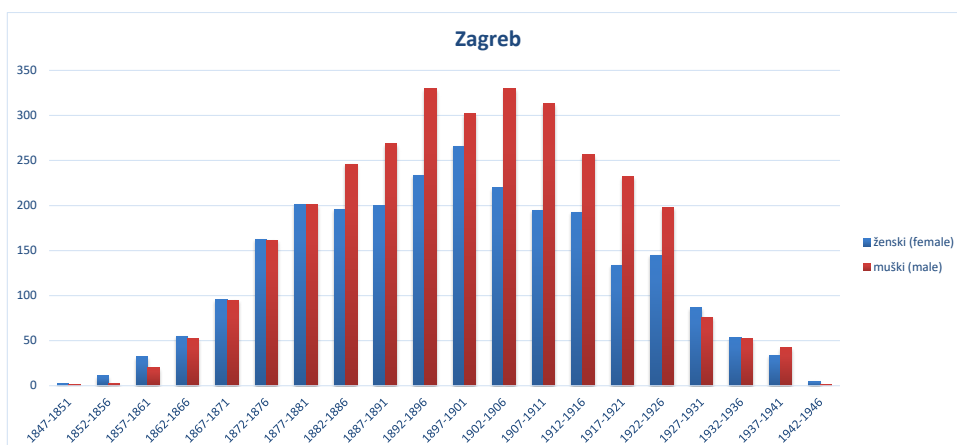
On September 9, Jewish school started working in the new premises in Trenkova Street. In the beginning of the school year 1941/42, only 94 pupils were enrolled in the school. Many parents are without any income, and the others are sent to camps. It was decided to give breakfast to school children free of charge.

There was also a need for the establishment of a kindergarten, and a place where children could stay in extracurricular time. It is envisaged that the supervision of this kindergarten would be entrusted to teachers of the Jewish school (Dragica Kohn). Kondergarten was organized in Miriam Weiller’s apartment. She drank poison when the Ustashas came for her (April 15, 1942).

Community sent packages to Jews in camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška, records were kept not only when and to whom the package was sent, but also whether the receipt of the package was confirmed. If there wasn’t a response within three months, package sending was stopped.

## Years of birth of Holocaust victims from Zagreb

Row Labels	ženski (female)	muški (male)	Grand Total
1847-1851	2	1	3
1852-1856	11	3	14
1857-1861	32	20	52
1862-1866	55	52	107
1867-1871	96	95	191
1872-1876	163	162	325
1877-1881	202	201	403
1882-1886	196	246	442
1887-1891	200	269	469
1892-1896	234	330	564
1897-1901	266	302	568
1902-1906	220	330	550
1907-1911	195	313	508
1912-1916	193	257	450
1917-1921	134	232	366
1922-1926	145	198	343
1927-1931	87	76	163
1932-1936	53	52	105
1937-1941	34	42	76
1942-1946	5	1	6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2523</b>	<b>3182</b>	<b>5705</b>



Logor <b>Gredjani</b> <b>Jasenovac</b>	Prezime i ime – Oznaka <b>Kreus Alfred Pindasa</b> <i>V. gr.</i>	
Datum javljanja	Poslani paketi	Primjetba
18.X.1942	28.X. 11.XI. 2.XII. 23.XII. 13.I. 43	tr.p.
5.II.1943	27.I. 17.2. 3.III. 24.3. 14.4. 26.5. 1943	
2.6. "	28.6. 9/7 22/7 7/8 20/8 6/9 11/10 26/10	kaže rim
22.12. "	8/11 20/11 14/12 31/12 29/12 14/1 28/1 12/4 "	
23.11.44	19/11 29/11 30/11 44 8/1.45 16/1 23/1 29/1 5/2 19/2	20/VIII. 43a
22.1.45	19/2, 1/3.45, 19/3 19/3 23/3 6/4 26/4 12/5	Jasenovac

Prisoner card from camp Jasenovac with the date when he received the parcel and the date when he last time send a message

**USTAŠKO REDARSTVENO POVJERENIŠTVO  
U ZAGREBU  
Židovski odsjek**

**Židovska legitimacija br. 3292**

za židova **Kornfein Robert**

iz **Zagreba** rodjen **5.VI. 1892**

Mjesto rođenja: **seak**

St. Krest: **arg** Državljanstvo: **Hrvatsko**

potpisao se pod ovom povjereništvu: **5.VI. 1941.**

**JIVREJSKI ISTORIJSKI MUZEJ – BEOGRAD**

Reg. br.: **3725** Signatura: **K.22-4-2/9** Nr. negativ:

Jewish ID from 1941

## **Jewish Community in Dubrovnik during the Holocaust**

In 1941, the Dubrovnik community had 148 members, 87 of whom lived in the city of Dubrovnik (Tolentino, 1971, Stulli, 1989).

After the Nazis came to power in Germany, refugees began to arrive from Germany and Austria, and later from Romania. In 1940, refugees from Italy also arrived in Dubrovnik.

Already in the middle of 1941, there were 1,600 refugees in Dubrovnik, mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, the Jewish community in Dubrovnik provided assistance to the communities in Sarajevo and Mostar and to the refugees who were housed in the camps in Čapljina (147 Jews from Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and Gacko (117 refugees from Germany).

A major role was played by the president of the Dubrovnik Jewish community, Julius Mandl, who later suffered himself.

The Jews of Dubrovnik were also under the attack of racial laws and prohibitions. As early as June 1941, they began to take Jews from Dubrovnik to Jasenovac. In addition to the destruction and looting of Jewish property, Nazi also took registers, archives and records from the synagogue. It was possible only to save Torah scrolls and items needed for synagogue service. After the arrival of the Italians who in the fall of 1941 took over the civilian government in Dubrovnik, the deportations stopped.

Nevertheless, camps were established in that area as well (in the fall of 1942) in Kupari, Gruž and on the island of Lopud. In 1943, Jews from all the camps in the area of Dubrovnik were transferred in three transports (May 28, June 20 and June 30, 1943) to the camp on the island of Rab.

The few Jews who remained in Dubrovnik, after the capitulation of Italy, were taken by the Germans to camps or killed immediately.

## **Jewish community in Osijek during the Holocaust**

Osijek's Jewish community suffered particularly during World War II, because it was persecuted not only by the Nazi Ustasha but also by members of the German minority (Volksdeutchers) who were significant in Osijek and Slavonia. A commissioner (Binder from Osijek) was appointed to the Osijek Jewish community, but he did not stay long, because the German group in Osijek and the local police fought for power over the Jewish community.

At the beginning of March 1942, the construction of a special Jewish settlement (like a ghetto) began outside Osijek, on Tenjska cesta (about 3-4 kilometres from Osijek). A contract was concluded according to which the Jews would build the Tenje settlement at their own expense by June 1942 and move to it (in stages). The representatives of the authorities declared that this would be the "final solution of the Jewish question". A record was made signed by Dr. Marko Leitner from the Jewish community, who was later sent to the camp, and the record disappeared.

Construction of the settlement in Tenje began in April 1942. The works were managed by Žiga Wolner and Žiga Mautner, councillors of the Jewish community. The labour service was led by Lev Kister, and the camp also had guards led by Hinko Bauer.

Already in mid-July, an SS officer arrives from Zagreb and sends the first transport of Jews from Tenja to the German camps.

After the arrival of Jews from places around Osijek, the camp administration was expanded with Milan Feliks from Donji Miholjec, Bela Štraus from Podravska Slatina and Maks Kohn from Đakovo. Dragutin Glasner from D. Miholjec took care of the supply. The medical service was led by Dr. Kovač and Dr. Kraus.

The situation was getting worse. The Ustasha took over the guards of Tenje and thus the settlement of Tenje was turned into a camp from which people could not leave without a special pass. All the Jews of Osijek were in the camp, except for the councillors of the Jewish Religious community and Jews who were in mixed marriages.

Jews from the surrounding towns, Valpovo, Donji Miholjec, Slatina, Našice, Đakovo were also sent to the Tenje camp, so that the number of inmates increased to more than 3,000 Jews, for whom the Jewish Municipality is trying to provide food.

On July 19, 1942, 150 experts from Tenje went to Jasenovac at the invitation of Engineer Pichili.

On July 29, 1942, the representatives of the Jewish community Osijek (Slavko Klein and Julio Sternberg) were invited to Zagreb for an interview. They were ordered to stop work in the Tenje camp and that all Jews would be transported to Germany for forced labour despite the opposition of the aldermen and the agreement and minutes reached earlier.

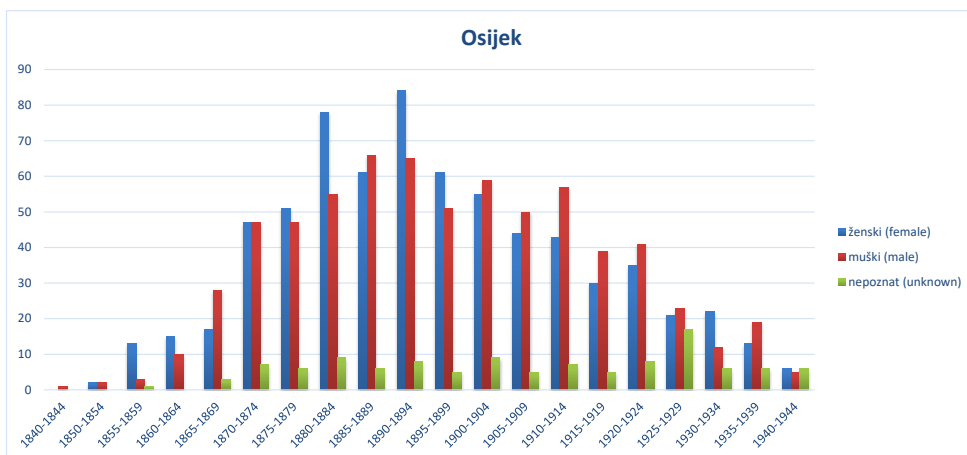
Already in mid-July, an SS officer arrives from Zagreb and sends the first transport from Tenja to the German camps.



Općina Osijek

**Raspodjela po godini  
rođenja**

Row Labels	Column Labels			Grand Total
	ženski (female)	muški (male)	nepoznat (unknown)	
1840-1844		1		1
1850-1854	2	2		4
1855-1859	13	3	1	17
1860-1864	15	10		25
1865-1869	17	28	3	48
1870-1874	47	47	7	101
1875-1879	51	47	6	104
1880-1884	78	55	9	142
1885-1889	61	66	6	133
1890-1894	84	65	8	157
1895-1899	61	51	5	117
1900-1904	55	59	9	123
1905-1909	44	50	5	99
1910-1914	43	57	7	107
1915-1919	30	39	5	74
1920-1924	35	41	8	84
1925-1929	21	23	17	61
1930-1934	22	12	6	40
1935-1939	13	19	6	38
1940-1944	6	5	6	17
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>698</b>	<b>680</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>1492</b>





## **Jewish community in Split during the Holocaust**

During the Second World War, the Jewish community in Split played an important role in the reception and care of Jewish refugees, although a relatively small community (Dr. Albert Vajs states a figure of 415 Jews). Split was under Italian occupation from the spring of 1941. There were a serious attacks on Jews and their property, for example on June 12, 1942, (reported by Paolo Zerbin) :

“It was a “revenge” for throwing a bottle of ink on a blackboard with information about the entry of the Italian army into Split. At 6:30 a.m. on June 12, 1942, fascists from the “Toscanba” battalion destroyed the local synagogue, made a bonfire out of the furniture on the People’s Square and looted valuables. The Jews who were in the synagogue were beaten. They entered Jewish apartments, threw things out and burned them at the stake”.

Numerous refugees from Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland sought shelter in the Italian zone on the Adriatic coast. Temporary camps were established for them, and the Jews of Split helped the inmates in camps in Čapljina and Makarska and tried to ensure their escape, usually to Italy.

Even more refugees arrived in Split when Yugoslavia was occupied and the state of NDH was founded. It is assumed that there were around 3,000 refugees in Split. They are located in private houses and in the premises of the Jewish cultural society “Jarden”.

In the Jewish community, a special Emigrant Committee was established headed by the president Viktor Morpurgo (who later himself died in the camp), with the help of the secretary Jehiel Kamhi.

Thanks to the efforts of the Jewish community in Split, the Italian authorities allowed the refugees to stay in Split and granted them tickets for food supply and financial aid. Connections were established and help was sought from international organizations, especially Dellasem in Italy.

The Jews of Split sent food, medicines, and even money to the Jews who were in the camps Jasenovac, Krušćica, Loborgrad and Đakovo.

When the Italians, under pressure from the Germans, confined Jewish refugees to Italy about 1.100) and the island of Korčula the Jewish community continued to take care of them, collected clothes and shoes, and even had “couriers “for the link between the camps (Dr. Jakica Altaras).

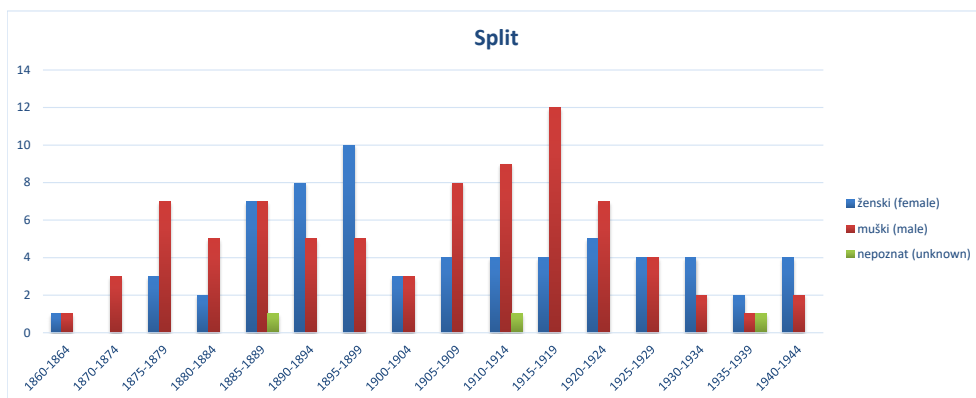
They provided in camps health care and education for refugees. The “Jewish Infirmary” was run by Dr. Milan Zon, and as doctors Dr. Silvija Altaras, Dr. Samuel Baruh worked.

In Split, Jewish pupils were removed from regular schools, and the community organized an elementary school (four classes) and a high school course (eight classes) for them. The initiative was given by Markus Finci, and the organization of the classes was led by Professor Sigmun Šteg. Other emigrant professors also participated.

Općina Split

Raspodjela po godini rođenja				
Row Labels	Column Labels		nepoznat (unknown)	Grand Total
	ženski (female)	muški (male)		
1860-1864		1	1	2
1870-1874			3	3
1875-1879		3	7	10
1880-1884	2	5		7
1885-1889	7	7	1	15
1890-1894	8	5		13
1895-1899	10	5		15
1900-1904	3	3		6
1905-1909	4	8		12
1910-1914	4	9	1	14
1915-1919	4	12		16
1920-1924	5	7		12
1925-1929	4	4		8
1930-1934	4	2		6
1935-1939	2	1	1	4
1940-1944	4	2		6
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>149</b>

Ukupan broj žrtava registriran u bazi za Split je 162, 174 su preživjeli



## **Jewish community of Rijeka and Sušak in Holocaust**

After the passing of the Italian Law on the Protection of Race, all quaestors of cities and regions were ordered to compile lists of Jews (data obtained from Tito Krešić, Rijeka). Every Jew received a decision (in 1939) that he is a Jew according to this Law. On June 18, 1940, the Ministry of the Interior of the Kingdom of Italy ordered the arrest of about 500 Jews and placed them in the Toretta School in Rijeka. After some time (about 1-2 weeks) they released some of the arrested, and some were sent to internment.

In Rijeka, the Dellasem humanitarian aid group was formed, and every person registered as a Jew received 8 lira's a day and food documents from Dellasem.

Refugees from Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland come to Sušak, and the Jews of Rijeka send help for them. Rabbi Deutsch in Sušak helped the refugees with the help of Dellasem from Genoa. With this action, the rabbi introduced the quaestor and gave him the list. The quaestor, who promised the rabbi help, had them arrested and handed over to the Ustashes who sent them to Jasenovac. He also arrested Rabbi Deutsch and sent him to the Ferramonte camp, where he fell ill and ended up in the Nocera Inferiore asylum in Italy.

There were special "channels" that made it possible to escape from the Italian zone. Mention is made of the "Military Channel" (Command of the Italian II Army) and the "Police Channel", which was organized in Rijeka by Chief Quaestor Giovanni Palatucci, who was the head of the Office for Foreigners. After the capitulation of Italy, SS Captain Höpener was assigned to Palatucci in Rijeka. This led to the arrest of Palatuccio on September 13, 1944, who was taken to Dachau via Trieste, where he died on February 10, 1945. After the war, he was declared righteous.

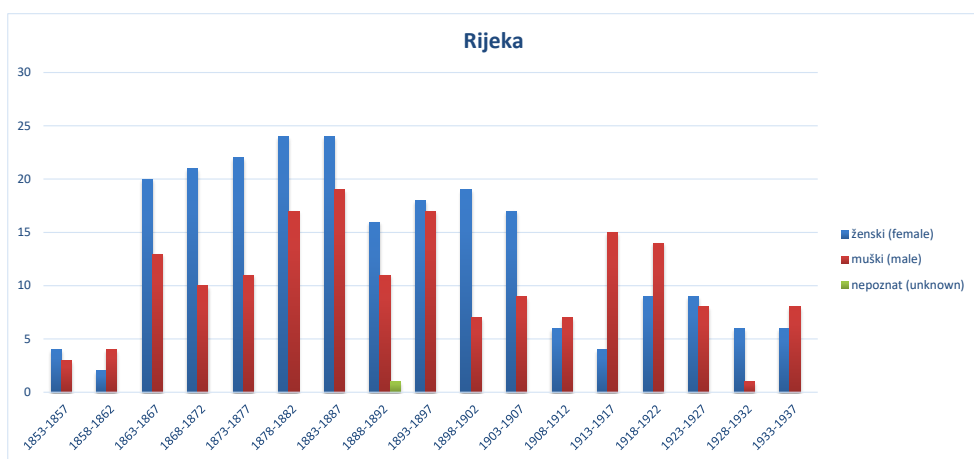
Jews were taken to concentration camps via Trieste. From 7.12. 1943 until February 24, 1945. 22 convoys were dispatched (18 convoys to Auschwitz and the last 4 to Ravensbruck). When the trains stopped running (due to cut connections), the camp inmates were liquidated in the Trieste camp (Polizeihaftlager) San Sabba (in which there were about 3,000 people, including about 50 Jews).

Općina Rijeka

Raspodjela po godini  
rođenja

Row Labels	Column Labels			Grand Total
	ženski (female)	muški (male)	nepoznat (unknown)	
1853-1857	4	3		7
1858-1862	2	4		6
1863-1867	20	13		33
1868-1872	21	10		31
1873-1877	22	11		33
1878-1882	24	17		41
1883-1887	24	19		43
1888-1892	16	11	1	28
1893-1897	18	17		35
1898-1902	19	7		26
1903-1907	17	9		26
1908-1912	6	7		13
1913-1917	4	15		19
1918-1922	9	14		23
1923-1927	9	8		17
1928-1932	6	1		7
1933-1937	6	8		14
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>402</b>

Ukupan broj žrtava registriran u bazi za Rijeku je 423, preživjelih 174



## Children during World War II

During World War II many children died in camps, ghettos, military operations, bombings, escapes. Entire generations of Jewish children disappeared in the death camps. It is assumed that around one and a half million children were killed in the Holocaust. Children were victims of medical experiments and sick children were “euthanized” even before the death camps were established. In Poland, thousands of children who met the criteria of a “Higher race”, i.e. they had light hair, blue eyes and other “Aryan” characteristics, were abducted and handed over to German families to be (re)educated. A large number of these children ended up in the camps.

In the Terezienstadt ghetto (in the Czech Republic) there were about 11,000 children who were sent by transport to Auschwitz (the most in 1944). There were hundreds of large and small ghettos and camps in Poland and Eastern Europe where children lived in terrible conditions. Nevertheless, (illegal) education was organized for these children, so for example in the ghetto in Lodz there were 63 schools with 22,330 pupils and there was a puppet theatre, there was a children’s choir in the Warsaw ghetto.

What survived them were their drawings (later found), which were created under the guidance of the drawing teacher Friedl Dicker-Brandejs, and which were published after the war by the Jewish Museum in Prague. There are thousands of drawings, notes and diaries, testimonies that have outlived their authors or were written down by Holocaust survivors.

Helene Frankle, who survived the Holocaust, described the conditions in the Warsaw Ghetto: “There were hundreds of little children crying and begging for a little bread in the streets of the ghetto...”

Irena Sendler, a Pole, led the children’s welfare sector in the illegal organization “Zegota” and managed to save 2,500 children from the Warsaw Ghetto. She was recognized by Yad Vashem. In Yad Vashem, a monument was erected (sculptor Boris Skitzer) to the teacher Janusz Korczak, who did not want to leave the children of the orphanage in Warsaw and perished together with them in the Treblinka camp.

We have in Croatia also action to save children.

In July 1942, activists and sisters of the Red Cross took several hundred children from the Stara Gradiška camp. That transport with 650 children arrived in Zagreb on July 12, 1942, but some of the children died during the transport, and the survivors were transferred to a children’s camp in Jastrebarsko. Due to the large number of children arriving, another camp was established in the village of Reka near Jastrebarsko, where 2,000 children were placed. The children were in a difficult condition, exhausted, starving and sick, so the mortality rate was high. From July to the end of October, 449 boys and girls under the age of 14 died.

Several hundred children in better condition were freed from the Jastrebarsko camp by an antifascist action and sent to the “liberated territory”, and 1,637 children were taken over by the citizens of Zagreb, Jastrebarsko and its surroundings, and by Karitas, which was under the administration of the Catholic Church.

In total, there were 3,336 children in the Jastrebarsko and Reka camps, of which 2,887 were rescued.

In 1942, there were established three collection centres for children and one illegal home in Zagreb. Many children were saved thanks to the Red Cross and the great action of the National Aid and AFŽ organizations as well as health and social institutions.

Groups of women and children arrived at the different shelters, for example the barracks of the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb at Ilica Street 113. A total of 5,612 children between the ages of 1-16 years passed through that shelter during 1942. The children were sick and weak, so 157 of them died and 215 were sent to Zagreb hospitals for treatment. Children are handed over to citizens or relatives...

Jewish children who were of preschool age in 1941, or were born during the War, today represent the largest group of Holocaust survivors (28%) in Croatia.

Their desire to learn was great, even if it took place in almost impossible conditions. Schools for Jewish children were established in Jewish community during the time they were active in the War. In Zagreb, the elementary School started to work on September 9, 1941 in new premises where Jewish community was by Nazi ordered to move (in Trenkova Street). At the beginning of the school year, only 94 pupils were enrolled in the school which operated until 1942. Secondary school was organized until 1943 by Rabbi Miroslav Šalom Freiburger. For some time, worked also a kindergarten in the apartment of Miriam Weiller. About the position of the children, it is written in the record from that time: "Misery reigns in the families of school children. Many parents were left without any income, while others were sent to camps. For these reasons, it was decided that all school children would be given free breakfast".

In Split, at the beginning of the NDH, Jewish students were forbidden from attending school, and the Jewish community Split organized an elementary school (four grades) and a high school course (eight grades). The school operated for two school years from 1941 to 1943.

During 1942 and 1943, a school for about 40 children aged 6-14 was organized in the Ferramonti camp (Italy). Schools and gymnasiums are established in the refugee camps (in Egypt in El Šat) for 1,194 students). A Jewish fishing school (hašhara jamit) operated on the island Korčula.

At the end of the war, their schools switched to normal schooling, but still schools and gymnasiums must be founded, which enabled children to make up for the lost years of schooling.

In Zagreb, there was a "Partisan gymnasium" in Gundulićeva Street, which operated from 1945 to 1948 and it was possible to complete two years' worth of material in one school year.

In that school, there were students from all over Yugoslavia, children who were couriers in the partisans, young people who fought or worked illegally, children refugees from mountain Kozara and other victims of the war.

They were also schooling many Jewish youth who were not allowed to attend school during the NDH.

This school was a special school where the students were happy to be able to learn and the professors were happy to be able to teach them.

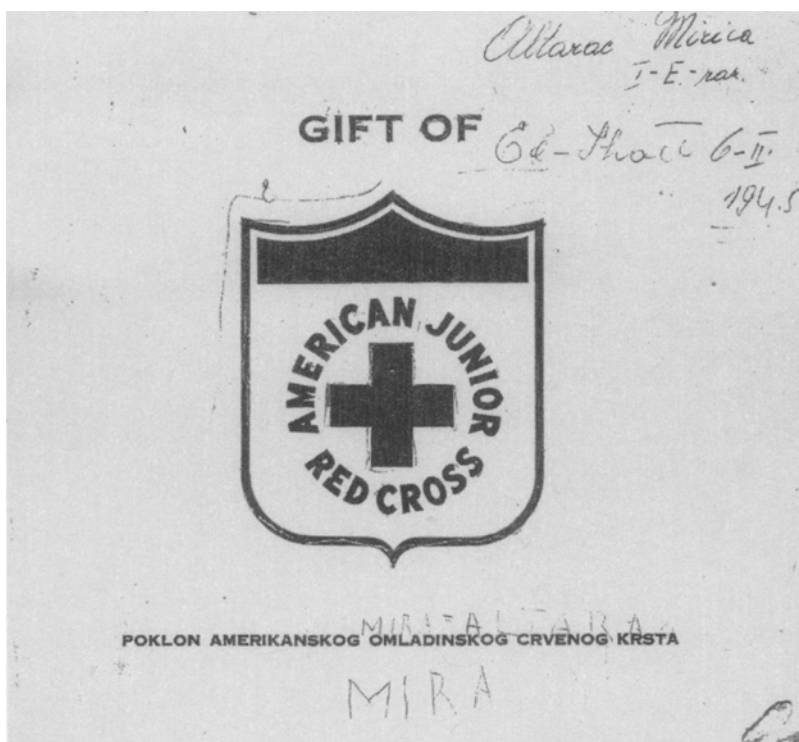
Similar schools were established in Osijek and some other places.



Jewish children who arrived in Nonatola on the evening of 14 April 1943 at 7.30 p.m. from Split:

Attias Sarina (rodena 2.4.1930)	Israel Sida (19.4.1936)
Attias Moritz (18.8.1931)	Israel Albi (19.12.1932)
Altarac Lea (14.10.1934)	Kaweson Lezo (Eliezer) 22.11. 1929
Altarac Ella (19.5.1931)	Kajon Flora (21.12. 1928)
Altarac Buni (27.4.1926)	Kajon Leone (25.11.1925)
Altarac Lezo (29.6.1928)	Koen Aron 6.10. 1936)
Albahari Albert (7.10.1927)	Levi Rikica (7.10.1931)
Danon Josef (21.3.19259)	Levi Leone (7.9.1931)
Brodski Sarina (1.10.1927)	Levi Sida (18.9.1932)
Danon Moric (18.7.1925)	Markus Charlotte (28.2.1929)
Gaon Reli (24.1.1931)	Maestro israel (20.7.1924)
Gaon Tina (28.12.1928)	Maestro Jokov (15.8.1919)
Grof Bela (3.8.1928)	Papo Giuseppe (5-1- 1926)
Halpern Velimir (22.11.1927)	Sternberg Danko (9.3.1930)
Hoffmann Marcel (15.5.1922)	Schmidt Zdenko (8.1.1924)
Israel Lotica (13.12.1925)	Schlesinger Nelli (25.3.1928)





Exercise book for pupils in refugee camp El Shatt



Jewish school



## Croatian Jews in the anti-fascist resistance

A relatively high percentage of Croatian Jews (7 % of the Jewish population) participated in the NOB, even though it was difficult for them to join the “partisans” or the “liberated territory” due to the racial laws that were promulgated immediately after the establishment of the NDH. Jews are excluded from the citizenship, political, economic and cultural life of the country and exposed to merciless plunder and persecution. Their movements were restricted and strictly controlled not only by the Ustasha forces but also by the Gestapo, which prevented activities, association or escape.

Jews were among the first to be arrested or sent to camps in the NDH, because the Ustashes had all the information on “suspicious” persons, especially on Jews who were members of the KPJ, SKOJ, trade unions or some other “leftist” organizations<sup>1</sup>. But in addition to members of the KPJ and SKOJ, and volunteers in the Spanish war<sup>2</sup>, members of the Jewish youth societies, especially Hashomer Hatzair<sup>3</sup> and Maccabi, members of the URSS trade union (although it was dissolved), SBOTIČ, B’nei Brith, and Zionist organizations<sup>4</sup>.

“Maček’s Watch” began operating at night just before the founding of the NDH (from 30 to 31 March 1941), arresting suspicious “revolutionaries and communists” and then handing them over to the Ustashes who imprisoned them in the Kerestinec camp. At the Kerestinec camp, the prisoners organized a breakout (on the night of 13/14 July 1941), in which 19 Jews were killed. The remaining prisoners were, after that, transferred to camps Gospić and Pag where they were killed, among them: Miroslav Brichta, Mila Erceg, Julia Weiner, Dora Vinski-Mayer, Edita Goldberger, Vera Klein, Ernest Goldstein, Galja Korporić, Dragan Mautner, Velji Bleiweiss and others.

On 27 May 1941, 165 Jewish youths were arrested and sent to “work” in the Danica camp near Koprivnica and then to Gospić and Jadovno on Velebit, where they were soon after killed. Among them, Romano mentions the following “activists”: Alai Savić (Schwarz), Ivan Braun, Petar Gotlieb, Aleksandar Hirschl, and Sam Hochberger.

When, in July 1941, the first anti-fascist movement was organised, many Jews capable of fighting had already been sent to the camps or killed<sup>5</sup> (7). Jews were hostages who were shot in retaliation for any action or diversion. For the above reasons, there was a relatively small number of Jews who went to NOB in 1941, and most of them were killed.

According to J. Romano, in 1941, 72 Croatian Jews participated in NOV (40 died), of which

<sup>1</sup> Significant number of Jews participated in the pre-war revolutionary movement, and it is known that the “Court for the Protection of the State (Yugoslavia)” sentenced 20 Jews to “slavery” and 9 to prison.

<sup>2</sup> There were 39 Jews participating in the Spanish war.

<sup>3</sup> Pavle Wertheim, Artur Keršner, Magda Bošković, Ivo Levi, Ivica Švarc and others had a great influence in the Hashomer hatzair.

<sup>4</sup> It is an interesting fact that “left”- oriented young people (members of SKOJ) wanted to take the lead in organizations led by Zionists, for example in the Jewish canteen and the Academic Support Society in Zagreb, which they succeeded in around 1933.

<sup>5</sup> Goldstein, Slavko: *Židovi Hrvatske u antifašističkom otporu. U Antisemitizam, holokaust, antifašizam*, Zagreb, 1996.

40 were from Zagreb (33 died). In 1941, 116 Croatian Jews participated in the NOP (96 died), and 60 of them were from Zagreb (46 died). When analysing the data on the participation of Jews from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, we have the following data: 4,556 Yugoslav Jews participated in NOB, 2,897 as fighters in the NOV (National Liberation Army), and 720 perished. In NOP (National Liberation Movement) 1,569 Jews participated and 599 of them died<sup>6</sup>.

In Croatia, 1,737 Jews participated in NOB of whom 325 perished. In total, among the surviving Jews, there are 26 bearers of the "Partisan Memory 1941" (from Zagreb 17) and 4 are "national heroes": Robert Domani, Ilija Engel Andžić, Pavle Pap and Adolf Steinberger.

From the beginning of 1942 until September 1943, 266 Jews from Croatia and Slavonia joined NOR (61 died), 22 from Dalmatia (6 died), and 6 from the Croatian Littoral (Primorje) (2 died).

In 1942, 28 doctors who were sent to Bosnia to combat endemic syphilis joined the partisans, as well as 30 fugitives from Ustasha camps. In the list of Jewish doctors, NOB participants<sup>7</sup> (10) from the work of B. Belicza and S. Jevtović, there are 152 names. There is a special list with 144 names of Jewish doctors participating in NOR and a list of 108 doctors – victims of fascist terror (mainly in camps)<sup>8</sup>.

In the table from Romano's book, on page 281, NOB participants are shown according to their place of residence before the start of the war, although most of them joined the NOR when they were in exile in the Italian zone. Thus, there were 52 Jews from Split, but 36 of them were refugees, and this also applies to the 20 people confined on the island of Korčula.

Jews who managed to escape from the Ustasha-ruled NDH to the Italian-ruled area (Italian Zones I and II) were interned in Italian camps for civilians, where they were held until the capitulation of Italy (September 1943).

According to J. Romano, on the initiative of Dr Ivan Raguz (BiH), 68 doctors, 1 pharmacist, 1 engineer and 1 medical student from Croatia were sent to Bosnia to combat endemic syphilis. They were joined by 12 doctors from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Out of 83 persons included in the team, 64 of them joined the partisans, and 7 were killed or died in the camps.

According to the writing of I. Goldstein (2001), who quotes Dr Samuel Deutsch, a participant in the action against endemic syphilis, the entire action was planned by Dr Ante Vuletić and Dr Miroslav Schlesinger in order to save Jewish doctors and their families. Thus, 76 Jewish doctors were hired by the NDH Ministry of Health. The doctors were promised that their families would be protected, to which, however, the Ustashes did not always adhere. Some doctors received permission for their families to go to Bosnia with them.

During that time, almost all Jews from the NDH area had already been sent to camps and a large number of them were killed. The last deportation from Zagreb was in May 1943, when the Jews were handed over to the Germans and sent to Auschwitz.

<sup>6</sup> Romano, Jaša: *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve genocida i učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog rata*, Beograd, 1980

<sup>7</sup> Belicza Biserka i Jevtović Saša: *Udio Židova u medicini u Hrvatskoj i Zagrebu, u Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture Židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Romano, J.: *Jevreji zdravstveni radnici Jugoslavije 1941-1945. Žrtve fašističkog terora*. Zbornik 2. Studije

From September 1943 until the end of the war, the largest number of Jews joined the NOB (1,203 from Croatia and 868 from Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>9</sup>), mostly those who were saved in camps in Italian zones I and II.

It is necessary to explain the position of Jews in the NDH under Italian-ruled Zones I and II, which were created by an agreement made between Mussolini and Pavelić<sup>10</sup> on 18 May 1941, and referred to the territory of Dalmatia, part of the Croatian coast and coastal islands.

There were differences in those two zones and the position of the Jewish refugees in them was different. In the Italian zone, there was no strict application of racial laws (although Italy also passed them). In Zone II, the Ustasha applied their laws against the Jews and at first, the Italians did not interfere in the persecution. Romano believes that the attitude of the Italians changed after the terrible Ustasha massacre in their camps on the island of Pag (Slano and Metajna).

Zone I, which was annexed by Italy<sup>11</sup>, included the area of Rijeka province (Sušak and hinterland), all the islands of the Croatian Littoral (except the island of Pag), the area from Split to Novigrad with the islands (except Brač and Hvar), and Boka Kotorska.

Zone II comprised the islands of Pag, Brač and Hvar, as well as the area beyond Zone I, to the borderline: Vinica – Plitvički Leskovac – Plješivica Šator – Malovan – Prenj – Troglav. Dubrovnik was also located in that zone, as well as Makarska, Herceg-Novi, Crikvenica, Kraljevica, Novi Vinodol, Senj, and Selce.

Command of the Italian Army<sup>12</sup> ordered the Jews in Zone II to be interned in special camps (some believe that this was to protect the Jews from the Ustashas). Italian camps were established with 2,554 Jews (according to other sources 2,661 Jews).

Dubrovnik camp (in Kupari, Srebreno, Mlini, Gruž, and the island of Lopud). On Lopud, the internees were accommodated in the former hotels “Grand”, “Glavović” and “Pracat” (around 400–600). The camp in Kupari was located in the hotel “Kupari”. There were about 1,000 internees, mostly from Bosnia, and 117 refugees who were previously held in Gacko.

The camp in Gruž was formed in the former hotel “Vreg” with Jews from Dubrovnik and the surrounding area (about 100).

In total, there were about 1,700 internees in the Dubrovnik camp, mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina (which, together with Croatia, made up the NDH).

At the end of May 1943, the Jewish inmates from Italian camps in Kraljevica (about 1.250 internees), Brač, Hvar and Dubrovnik, from Italian Zone II were sent to camp Kampor on island Rab (Italian zone I), where a camp for captures Slovenian partisans already existed since July 1942. According to investigation in camp Rab, there were more than 3.500 Jews (15% children, 38% men and 47% women). Both camps, Slovenian and Jewish, were under the command of colonel Cului.

<sup>9</sup> Goldstein Ivo. *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 2001, str 520.

<sup>10</sup> This division was carried out according to the plan of the German Supreme Command of 12 April 1941. Jaša Romano: *Jews in the camp on Rab and their involvement in the war of national liberation*.

<sup>11</sup> In Zone I, the Italians had both civil and military power; in Zone II, the Italians had military power, and the NDH (Ustasha) had civil power.

<sup>12</sup> Act numbered 7037 of 27 June 1941

In both, people had been preparing for liberation actions and organised fighting training for men. Women and girls were trained as medical staff (nurses).

After the capitulation of Italy, inmates in the Jewish Rab camp disarmed the guards, captured the weapons, food, and clothes, and took command of the camp. On 8 September, the first gathering of the future partisan unit (battalion) was held. A Jewish battalion was formed with 243 fighters and a medical team. The commander was David Kabiljo, and the commissar was Ewald Ehrlich.

All inmates from Italian camps had to be evacuated from the island of Rab to the mainland before the invasion by the Germans in September 1943.

The Jewish battalion went by boat to the mainland and later to Lika, and it was decided that they should join the 7<sup>th</sup> Banija division. In 1943, about 20 Jewish doctors, 40 nurses, and other medical staff joined the partisans.

The remaining Jewish inmates of the Rab camp, mostly older men, women and children, were shipped from the island to the mainland and evacuated to "liberated territory" in Lika, Kordun and Banija. Some were interned in Italy, Switzerland and El Shat, and 45 were killed by Nazis or in the bombing.

One group of mostly old and sick Jews (204 persons) remained on the island of Rab. When the Germans came, these people were taken to Auschwitz.



In partisan - Pal Alfred



Jewish Doctors in partisan in the middle dr. Steiner



Hospital in Petrova Gora





Jewish girls in Partisan



NOB doctor



The Jewish battalion



Beba Samokovlija



Survivor from Jewish battalion



## **The organisation of Jewish communities after the World War II**

After the Second World War, Jewish communities were gradually organised, and life returned to them. Dr Friedrich Pops, the president of the Union of Jewish communities in Yugoslavia before the war, tried to restore the work of the Union already on October 22, 1944 (immediately after the liberation of Belgrade).

In 1945, thirty-eight communities were restored, but some were represented only by a few surviving members. The first Jewish conference of communities was held in Belgrade, already in November 1945.

The data in “Memorial 1919–1969” show that of about 75,000 Jews living in Yugoslavia in 1941 (about 4,000 of whom were refugees), only 15,000 Jews survived the Holocaust, of which about 13,000 returned to the country.

In 1947, the “Legal Department” was established in Zagreb. Still, it operated only until 1952, when all the collected materials and documents were moved to Belgrade, where the Jewish Historical Museum and Archive were founded.

When comparing the lists of Jewish communities from 1947 and 1969, it is evident that the number of their members almost halved, which was a consequence of the substantial emigration to Israel – Aliyah.

After the establishment of the state of Israel, from 1948 to 1952, nearly 8,000 Jews with family members left the country. Consequently, there were more Jews of Yugoslav origin (about 10,000 with pre-war and war migrations) in Israel than in the country itself.

At first, after the war’s end, the Jewish communities functioned as refugee centers that provided initial protection and assistance to Jews returning from camps, exile, and partisans. The communities were turned into reception centers, hospitals, public kitchens, and humanitarian aid distributors and provided help in searching for surviving family members.

Social activities were under the jurisdiction of a special “Autonomous Committee for Assistance”, which acted in agreement with JOINT from Bucharest. The committee was composed of representatives of the communities; the president was first David Alkalaj and later Dr Lavoslav Kadelburg. During its years of activity, from 1945 until 1952, the committee’s task was to independently set any requests and distribute the aid mainly provided by JOINT.

The distinctiveness of the Jewish community of Croatia (and Yugoslavia) was the participation of a large number of Jews in the National Liberation Struggle (NOB) and the National Liberation Movement (NOP). They were the great victims of World War II, and the fight against fascism was a common ground for Jews and the communist regime that brought mutual understanding and cooperation at that time.

According to some opinions, there was no so-called “state anti-Semitism” in the country at the time, as in some communist countries, or there were records of only sporadic cases.

Great attention was paid to the memory of the victims of fascism and the commemorations of Yom Ha-Shoah, the construction of monuments, organization of visits to cemeteries,

former camps and other places where Jews were killed during the Holocaust. These commemorations gradually became a kind of political manifestation with many political and other representatives and official program.

One of the objectives of those commemorations was to confirm the participation of Jews in the NOB, which in the post-war period was the main criterion of political and social position. At that time, the leaders in Jewish communities were mainly well-known anti-fascist fighters, partisans and activists.

In the official censuses, only a part of the Jews declared themselves either as "Jews" (either by religion or nationality) or as Croat-Jews (or Jews of other nationalities). In this case, only nationality declaration has been recorded. That is why the number of Jews in the population censuses was significantly lower than the number of Jews who were members of communities.

Jewish communities functioned in a reduced traditional form. Their activity was predominantly social and cultural and less religious.

At the rabbinic consultation organized in March 1947, there were only five surviving rabbis, but the majority (like the surviving cantors) later moved from the country or died. Therefore, it was in 1968 that only one rabbi remained in Yugoslavia, Menahem Romano in Sarajevo, who died at the age of 87.

However, it was not only the lack of qualified staff to hold religious ceremonies that influenced the secularization of life in the Jewish communities. It was also an adaptation to the conditions in the atheist society of Tito's Yugoslavia.

Only a small number of religious Jews, mainly of the older generation, came to the synagogue, mostly during major Jewish holidays (Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, and Sukkot). Their number also increased at Passover, for Seder. The Jewish communities took it upon themselves to maintain the Jewish tradition that had disappeared from family life.

The Jewish religious tradition has almost disappeared from the family and the Jewish lifecycle (circumcision, wedding in the synagogue, Bar Mitzvah and Bat Mitzvah). It was challenging to maintain Kashrut (kosher) diet.

Perhaps the only remnant of religious ceremonies was in cemeteries (Kaddish).

The communities are now different from the pre-war Jewish communes. Their change from religious to predominantly social and cultural institutions made it possible for non-Jew partners from numerous mixed marriages to participate in community life. Mixed marriages enabled the demographic survival of the community and saved many Jewish lives during the Holocaust.

General conditions and organization in the Jewish communities can be studied from the annual reports of the Union of Jewish communities.

Dr Albert Weiss writes in the article "Review and Perspective" (Jewish Almanac 1957–58) in the review of the period from the VII Conference in October 1956 to the end of 1958:

"The life and work of the community moved mainly along the same basic lines established in 1945 and which were gradually realized over the past 13 years, of course with the necessary adaptation to changing general and special conditions...

...There was no anti-Semitism or other discrimination against our organization and its members. We know of only two insignificant cases when drunk persons made insulting remarks about Jews. The authorities strictly applied the law in both cases, and the persons were found guilty and punished by imprisonment.

The number of communities is still 35, and all of them are members of the Union. The executive board of the Union has been expanded with representatives of the five largest communities. The General Board includes representatives of the 12 largest communities, with more than 90% of the Jewish membership. A significant step is also the establishment of coordination committees of the women's organizations, youth organizations and Jewish choirs.

In addition to cultural and educational work, the most important sector of our activity in this period is social and humanitarian work.

Religious life in the community goes on regularly. The Union and the communities are meeting the wishes and needs of believers within the limits of possibilities, but the interest, especially among young people, shows a decline.

The most significant success in the field of humanitarian work is represented by our new Home for the Elderly in Zagreb. It accommodates 115 residents, and 35 people outside the Home receive food from its kitchen. All this could be achieved thanks to the community's outstanding efforts especially that of the home construction board, comprised of members and experts of the Jewish community in Zagreb."

However, reality is different. Due to the impoverishment of the Jewish population, its damaged demographic and family structure, and general economic and living conditions, humanitarian and charitable work was one of the leading community activities.

There were no more differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, between "Orthodox" and "Neologists", between "assimilationists" and Zionists, rich and poor, highly educated and less educated, those who were natives or who immigrated. The common denominator was the Holocaust.

Property confiscated during the Nazi rule was not returned to the Jews; if it was returned, it was confiscated again (nationalized).

As opposed to Jews in countries of Western Europe and Israel, who received reparations and other types of compensation, Jews in Croatia did not receive them until the fall of communism. Instead, these funds probably ended up in the hands of the Yugoslav state (Tito-Brandt agreement on Brijuni Islands).

After the state of Israel was established in 1948, many surviving Jews from Croatia chose to leave; this cut the Jewish population in half. But because of political situation and Tito's connection with Arab countries ("pokret nesvrstanih" - non-aligned movement). There was a little possibility to have contact or visit Israel and contact with Croatian Jew who emigrated. At that time there was big political changes in Croatia (Yugoslavia) – Tito break with Stalin (SSSR) and camps on island "Goli otok" has been established, in first case, for communist who don't immediately agree with the new politic.

The Jewish community particularly honored the memory of the Holocaust, but also the participation in the anti-fascist resistance (NOB), which became the basis of numerous joint

commemorative ceremonies shared by Jews and communist government. Such activity ensured the Jewish community a recognized place in society. The Jews simultaneously had the status of a victim and the status of a victor.

Attention was paid to memorial architecture, while the old Jewish heritage, several synagogues and numerous Jewish cemeteries, was neglected. The same applies to archive and journalistic activity dominated by the cult of suffering.

How different is the organization of the Jewish community today from the organization at the time of communism and Yugoslavia as a state.

In Yugoslavia, there was a centralization and concentration of all decisions in central Board in Belgrade, although formally Jewish communities were independent. This independence is reflected only in the way some activities are organized, but the main activities were decided in Belgrade. This particularly applied to the relation between communities and government, and international relations, including with Israel. Membership in a political organization (except membership in KP) would be immediately condemned. Nevertheless, elections for members of the board and various section in communities was enabled, albeit controlled.

Today Holocaust still occupies a significant place in the activity of the Jewish community, but in the social environment is more antisemitism, property is not returned and support to community is based on number of Jews and is given from Central governmental board for minorities in Croatia.

After the fall of communism start post-communist transition in political, sociocultural and intellectual development in countries under the former "Iron Curtain". The attitude towards anti-fascism, which is now equalized with communism, changed.

After fall of Yugoslavia and war for independence in Croatia, what is still favorable memory in social and political life in Croatia, at first there were no significant changes in the structure of the Jewish communities, but community received a big number of Jewish refugees from Sarajevo. There was a special office and radio station in Community. This refugee was only on the care of Jewish organizations, they have no official status of "refugee" and help of government as other refugee have. Younger people with children migrate further, but old generation stay in our country, many in old age home until nowadays.

Jewish communities in Croatia gained independence in decisions, and have "Coordination of Jewish communities in Croatia" and start to be member in international Jewish organizations. The relations with other communities in the former Yugoslavia are predominantly among families and friends with the organization of occasional meetings.

In the countries ruled by or allied with the Nazis during World War II, they try to change perception of their role in Jewish annihilation with methods of denial of the Holocaust, rejecting the existence of camps, and diminish number of victims. Official Monument to the Holocaust victims is made without their names. Testimonies and participation from "mnemonics agents" (survivors) should be included in the teaching process about the Holocaust.

Gradually, perhaps due to turbulent time in the country the community is changing. Religious life is returning to community and rabbi has been engaged. Rabbis starts to be most important (and expensive) person in post communistic countries. Some community made mistake to engage orthodox rabbi in secular community what can results in division

between members in community, especially if politicians are included.

Community expected from new state a lot but gained almost nothing. There was still no restitution and return of property, right political parties have been formed, antisemitism grow, concentration camps are denied and number of holocaust victims diminished.

When in building of Jewish community Zagreb in Palmotičeva Street 16 (and on Jewish cemetery) has been planted bomb which cause big damage, Croatian government help in reconstruction of community and people in Zagreb spontaneously gathered for support.

Investigations showed that this bomb was planted with help of Secret Yugoslav political organization with purpose to "demonstrate" that Croatia is anti-Semitic country.

Today good ties with Israel, youth exchanges and trips to kibbutzim, seminars, and summer and winter youth camps contribute to Jewish identity in young generation and learning about Jewish tradition. Education about Holocaust in schools now depend from the interest of individual teacher, but new agreement with Agency for education will help to include these lessons in school curriculum. Education of teacher organized by Yad Vashem and in Shoah academy in Zagreb are of great importance.

Jewish women no longer limit themselves to charitable activities but are active in numerous cultural and educational committees, actions and leadership.

The second generation, born after World War II, are mostly highly educated and well-situated, respectable society members. The third generation are in less favorable conditions looking for employment. Young families with small children looking for the community's support.

The change of Jewish communities from religious to predominantly social and cultural institutions enabled the participation of non-Jewish partners in numerous mixed marriages, and these partners further influenced the life of the community. Marriages during socialism were mostly civilian. In a small community, there was little chance of finding a Jewish marriage partner. There was no Jewish religious education in the schools, but is organized by communities and need firm curriculum program.

In the decimated population of Jews, with a damaged demographic structure (they disappeared entirely generations), mixed marriages dominated. The process of assimilation is in progress, but is different. These is reverse process, because numerous non-Jewish members influence on assimilation process from inside, in community.

Opening community to society can have promotive effect but in limited financial resources when staff cover their activity with projects financed from their community instead from other sources , can limited possibilities for other activities.

In some countries structure in community were changes – it is also reverse process – from democracy back to centralization. They have no more different boards (for culture, information, education, etc.) in which can participate members of community, there is no more many voluntaries, there is no limit for re-election of leaders, there is not organized general Assemble where members can ask questions and give suggestion, there is no information about budget and they installed bureaucratic applying procedure for supporting every activity that enable control community.

This is important that social and health support for Holocaust survivors is assured and controlled from the Claims conference funds, and social workers are paid from Claims. The generation of Holocaust survivors and their social, economic and health situation indicates that they are a population with unique needs, which are now mainly supported by the Social Fund of the Claims Conference, as long as they are in their households. It becomes a big problem when survivors can no longer stay in their homes and need institutional care.

It becomes a community concern when survivors can no longer stay in their homes and need institutional care. The community, unfortunately, has neither the means nor the ability to repair the earthquake-damaged old age home Lavoslav Schwartz. Jewish old age home has no governmental support as other such institution have, even those organized from religious organizations.

Future of Jewish communities is in hand in new young generation.



Adapted hospital in Palmočićeve street for survivors, 1945

## **Jews in Post World War II Censuses**

### **Research in communities**

Before World War II, the 1931 census of Croatia registered 21,505 Jews (Savska and Primorska Banovina), but it is assumed that on the eve of the War there were about 25,000 Jews including refugees who fled from Nazism. Around 80 percent of Jews in Croatia killed in the Holocaust.

The post-war census data differ a great deal in the number of Jews because all Jews did not declare themselves as such by nationality or religion (as the question was formulated). The first post-war census in 1948 only registered 6,538 Jews in the territory of the whole of Yugoslavia. This number represented 10 percent of the pre-war Yugoslavian Jewish population (68,405 Jews in 1931). Jewish communities in 1948 numbered more members, 11,934. After establishment of Israel, In the 1948-1953 period, 7,739 members of Jewish communities in Yugoslavia left for Israel.

The second post-War census in 1953 made it possible to declare in two ways: by nationality and by religion. Then 2,307 Jews in Yugoslavia declared themselves Jews by nationality and 2,563 as Jews by religion. In Croatia in 1953 there were 413 Jews according to nationality and 1,011 according to religion.

Data about nationality which declare the members of the "Moses" faith are: , 61 percent of them declared themselves to be Croats by national affiliation.

In the 1991 census it was possible to declare both by nationality and by religion. In this census 600 Jews were registered by nationality and 633 Jews were registered by religion in Croatia.

The Jewish population differed from the total population of Yugoslavia in the greater number of women per 100 men, smaller average number of household members and smaller share of population younger than 18 years.

The special research organized in Jewish communities in 1971 was carried out in 30 Jewish communities (5,696 members). The survey comprised 85,6 percent of the members (4,702) in 2,557 households. In Croatia 1,027 households were researched

The results are presented of the number of non-Jewish household members, the total number of household members, mothers and fathers' origin and marriages (mixed).

In Croatia both parents of 74.5 percent of the respondents (1,241) were Jews, 5.3 percent (88), had a Jewish mother and 13,7 percent (229) a Jewish father, while the other parent was non- Jewish. Community members were also persons with no Jewish parents (wives of Jews).

If we compare both researches in Jewish communities (1957 and 1971) it can be seen that the number of the members of Jewish communities decreased and so did the number of Jewish households and the number of Jews in them. On the other hand, the average number of household members increased.



When Austria Conquered Belgrade in 1717, many craftsmen and tradesmen from Austrian successor states came to this town, among them Jews. In 1739 Belgrade came again under Turkish rule and thereupon the newcomers left the town, the Jews together with them, and 19 Jewish families settled in Zemun. Empress Maria Theresa allowed these families live in 15 houses. Even later, when the settlement of Jews was restricted, the descendants of these families were allowed to stay, while the fugitives who had come during the First Serbian rebellion were obliged to leave Zemun.

According to V. Sabljarić's data in "Miestopisni rječnik", in 1857 there were 2,055 Jews in Civilian Croatia or 0.37 percent and 3,172 Jews or 0.97 per cent of the total population in Civilian Slavonia. At the same time in the Kingdom of Dalmatia there were 404,499 inhabitants, 390 of them were Jews who mainly settled in Dubrovnik (120) and Split (80). In Medimurje there were 551 Jews (0.93 per cent) of the total 58,721 inhabitants.

The results of the 1857-population census according to M. Gross (1989) differ from those of V. Sabljarić: in narrower Croatia there were 608,594 inhabitants and in Slavonia 256,425, thus all together in the civilian part of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia there were 865,009 inhabitants, 5,132 of whom were Jews.

The difference according to these two sources amounts to 16,876 inhabitants and 95 Jews. In his preface to the book by Mirko Korenčić *Naselja i stanovništvo SR Hrvatske 1857- 1971*. (Settlements and Population of the Republic of Croatia 1857-1971) Vladimir Stipetić calls attention to the differences of data in some places according to *Miestopisni rječnik*, which are probably the result of including some places from other census areas.

The data on the number and kind of the settlements in 1857 also differ. According to V. Sabljarić, there were 7 counties, 57 districts, 9 towns, 12 suburbs, 56 market towns, 2,121 villages, 746 small villages and 111,986 houses.

According to M. Gross, there were 9 towns, 53 market towns, 2,968 villages, 108,138 houses and 126,536 tenant families.

According to the data by V. Sabljarić on the Military Frontier there were 10 towns, 6 suburbs, 10 market towns, 20 castles, 1,612 villages, 344 hamlets and 78,794 houses.

M. Gross mentions 7 towns, 8 market town, 1,500 villages and 66,550 houses with tenant families.

In order to better understand the settlement pattern in those days, we need to know that in Croatia and Slavonia there were only a few settlements of more than 2,000 inhabitants at that time, especially rare were those of more than 10,000 inhabitants. According to Stipetić and Korenčić in 1857 82,000 inhabitants or 3.7 percent of the total population lived in four towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants.

The number of settlements with more inhabitants increased gradually so that in the year 1900 302,000 inhabitants or 9.6 per cent of the total population lived in 11 towns, while in 1931 the number of inhabitants living in 16 towns of more than 10,000 dwellers (including Zagreb with more than 100,000) amounted to 593,000 or 15.7 percent of the total population.

Along with the growth of the number of towns and population living in them, the number of Jews also increased and this increase was even more rapid. In this way 38.9 percent of the



total number of Jews lived in towns in 1857, in 1900 this number amounted already to 54.5 percent, while in 1931 it reached 77.5 percent.

It can be concluded that, taken on the average, a greater number of Jews lived in towns than was the case with other population.

At the time when Jews were settling in Croatia and Slavonia, other peoples also settled there, mostly Germans and Hungarians. The settlement of Germans was favored by the freedom of confession of 1859.

The ethnic picture of Croatia, especially of the part conquered by Turkey (Slavonia), changed during the war with the Turks, and also in the post-war period. The original population escaped to be replaced by a new population, which, after the Turkish defeat, fled in its turn (Turkish, Muslim and partly Wallachian), while new fugitives, coming from the regions, which were still under Turkish rule, settled (Wertheimer-Baletic, 1993).

The majority of settlements were devastated. The feudal social system lasted until as late as 1848. Most Croatian noblemen lost their lives (Srsen, 1994) and liberated territories were given to foreign nobility.

A great number of Germans and Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and others arrived on the invitation of the owners of estates who needed labor forces. The Germans came from Banat and Backa and formed large estates.

The Hungarians first lived in bordering settlements, but later they spreaded on the invitation of country estate owners and established new settlements. Particularly later on, in the time of Khuen Herdervary, they settled in great numbers. Hungarian railway schools were founded as well as many other Hungarian and German schools, which were attended by Jewish children, also (Lakatos, 1814).

Along with the immigration of foreign population to Croatia, a considerable number of Croatian people left the country.

The greatest concentration of Jews in 1857 was in Pozeska, Osjecka, Viroviticka, Sri- jemska, Zagrebacka, Krizevacka and Varazdinska County. There were almost no Jews in the territory of Lika and Krbava, while in Rijecka county only in Susak was there a larger settlement (54). Not even later, when Krajina was demilitarized and in 1881 became part of civil Croatia, did a more considerable number of Jews settle there owing to slow economic growth, which caused the emigration of population from this part of Croatia.

In the other parts of Croatia Jews gradually settled those areas, which were formerly part of the Military Frontier. So in the 1880 population census they were to be found in Bjelovar, Petrinja, Slavonski Brod (and other settlements) where they had not previously lived. Their number rapidly increased in Karlovac although there were a few of them in that town already in 1857 but in the suburb where they had their synagogue.

## Aliya

Generally, there were a small number of departures from Yugoslavia to Palestine before the Second World War, although the Zionist movement was developed in Yugoslavia, especially between the two world wars.

The Jewish youth, inspired with Zionism, was the connecting link among the communities and the initiator of changes.

Only about 60 persons immigrated legally to Palestine and there were also illegal immigrants mainly from Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia (Bitola).

From the First World War until 1933, only several hundred young people arrived to Palestine and about 1,500 Jews from Bitola.

From 1933 to 1940 Jews from Yugoslavia immigrated to Palestine (650) and just before the Second World War (March 1941) 760 persons immigrated in the framework the immigration quota. (According to the data from Zvi Loker, Archive Eventov, Jerusalem).

During World War II, there were very little Aliyot, although there had been some actions for saving the Jews. In one of this action, the so-called "Kindertransport" eleven children had been saved.

Some of the Jews succeeded to escape to Italy or Switzerland and part of them were in the camp of El-Shat in Egypt. Larger number of refugees was in Bari, south of Italy. They tried to move to Palestine and the first group (158 persons) departed in spring 1944. In March 1945, a group from Brindizzi went to Palestine and a group of 295 children and youth arrived from Barcelona after long and tiresome trip.

Yugoslavia was the first socialistic country to allow a free immigration of Jews to Israel (June 21, 1948). This action was called "Repatriation" that is "the return to your own country". They permitted an unlimited number of Aliyah, with also non-Jewish family members and children of mixed marriages. Some restriction was to medical doctors.

After the big Aliyah to Israel (1948-52), the Jews of Croatia did not immigrate in a large number, although they could freely go out from the country since the borders were open (not like as in countries "behind the iron curtain").

# Program

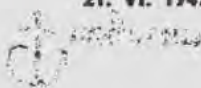
## OPROŠTAJNE AKADEMIJE

Jevrejske vjeroispovjedne općine u Zagrebu u  
čast pripadnika, koji se iseljavaju u državu Izrael

1. HIMNE: HEJ SLAVENI, LIJEPA NASA, HATIKVA  
(izvodi mali orkestar)
2. OPROŠTAJNI POZDRAV ISELJENICIMA  
(Rafael Montijo, član Predsjedništva JVO i predsjednik Komisije za iseljenje)
3. Z. Hiršler: HEDER KATAN (pjeva D. Halpern)
4. VI. Nazor: EXODUS IZ EGÍPTA (recitira Ivka Singer)
5. H. Singer: HEBREJSKA POEMA (izvodi mali orkestar)
6. \* \* \* : TROJANAC — NARODNA IGRA  
(plešu M. Šrajber, E. Pavlaković i D. Szilagyi)
7. a) A. Dvoržak: NOĆNOM STAZOM  
b) F. Chopin: ETUDA C-MOL — REVOLUCIONARNA  
(na klaviru Antonija Geiger-Eichhorn)
8. OPROŠTAJNA RIJEČ ISELJENICIMA  
(David Lévi, tajnik Općine)
9. \* \* \* : SOLO PLES (Marika Ferber)
10. S. Heimbach: ZDRAVO, ZAGREB-GRADE (S. Heimbach)
11. J. S. Roskin: PJESMA JERUSALIMA (pjeva D. Halpern)
12. H. Šinger: IZ PARTIZANSKOG ŽIVOTA — DIVERTISEMENT  
(izvodi mali orkestar)
13. OPROŠTAJNA RIJEČ ISELJENIKA (Stevo Fišer)

Glasovirska pratnja: Karlo Sorger

21. VI. 1949.



Program of the farewell academy in Zagreb on June 21, 1949.

It is calculated that between 1882 and 1948 about 550,000 Jews came to Israel in the six great Aliyas, and after 1948 about 2.5 million more Jews. The first three Aliyas were "formative". Immigrants were predominantly from Eastern European countries and created the Jewish community "Yishuv", which organized the first kibbutzim and moshavim and founded the new city of Tel Aviv.

Between the two world wars, about 30% of Jews went to Palestine (the Zionist movement), about 40% to the USA, and about 30% to Latin America and other Western countries. Between 1919 and 1948, 1.6 million Jews migrated. After 1948, the majority of Jewish migration was directed to Israel.

In Germany, between 1946 and 1948, about 200,000 Jews waited in refugee camps in Berlin, Frankfurt and Bergen-Belsen to leave Germany, which they considered to be responsible for their suffering. These were the Jews who survived the concentration camps and the Polish Jews who were saved in the USSR. Only after the establishment of the state of Israel and the permission of the USA and some other countries, they are resettled with the help of JOINT and other Jewish and international humanitarian organizations.

However, there is also emigration from Israel (yeridah) and it is much smaller than immigration. This is most often a return migration to the country of origin, after several years of residence in Israel. It is estimated that about 338,000 Jews left Israel from 1973 to 1996.

The entry in a short period of time of such a large number of Jewish immigrants from different countries had considerable consequences for Israeli society in demographic, social and economic terms (Ben-Porath, 1986).

The creation of a new Jewish community in Israel led to its separation from the Jewish diaspora and its opening to the world. From the beginning, the name "Jews" was avoided and the name "Hebrew" was accepted. All institutions had the name "Hebrew". The learning and speaking of the Hebrew language, which was thus transformed from the language of prayer and study of the holy books into a modern spoken language, was particularly encouraged. The Hebrew language made it possible to ensure unity and mutual communication in the state, which was created by immigrants from about 120 different countries.

Over time and with the arrival of new immigrants, the policy of "absorption" (klita) of new immigrants (olim) changed in Israel. "politics" according to new immigrants (olim). Berthomiere (1996) distinguishes several stages, or "politics" according to immigrants: In the first stage, it was about the urgent resettlement of refugees from the Diaspora, called "Kibbuc Galujot". This was followed by the "Mizug Galujot" policy of integration and national identification.

In 1954, the "Battle for the Village" operation was carried out, in which new settlers (olim) were placed in Israel's development zones.

Not all immigrants adapted equally or had equal conditions. Thus, at the end of the 50s, , there were great tensions in the community due to difficulties in the social integration of Oriental Jews (Mizrahim) who were settled on the outskirts of large cities, in development zones or worked in jobs that were poorly paid and did not enable social advancement.

Generations of Jews who were born in Israel (Sabra) are gradually reducing these differences, especially in education, family size and advancement.

The biggest differences in Israel are between Jews and Arabs.

## **Zionism and aliyah in Croatia**

After the First World War, the Zionist movement developed rapidly and hopes for a Jewish state increased. In many countries, including ours, numerous Zionist organizations are founded who collected money (organization "Narodni fond") for land, kibucim and different equipment in Palestina. Youth groups are oriented to work in agriculture. In 1920, the first "halucin" group was founded on the estate of Finci in Bijelina (16 young men and 2 girls), then in Vilova near Titel on the estate of Dr. Grossman, in Vinkovci on the estate of Jakob Schleinger (16 young men) and in Nova Gradiška on the "Ljupina" of the Vaksler family. There were also young people from Sarajevo and refugees from Nazism in Germany. Preparations for the establishment of similar groups were made in Mostar, Tuzla, Oraštica and in Macedonia. Two gardening colonies were founded in Zagreb in 1919, which did not last long.

Between the two wars, only about 60 people immigrated to Palestine (legally), and there were also illegal immigrants, mostly from Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia (Bitola).

Even the Zionist youth, who were enthusiastic supporters of going to Palestine, did not realize this to a greater extent. The first youths, 16 of them, went to Haifa on the ship "Kampidolio" and then worked on the construction of the Haifa-Džeda road. Land was bought and a "Moshav ovdim" was founded in Bet Šearim, which had to be abandoned due to lack of water, only to be rebuilt later (it existed until 1936). Through the Hashomer Hacair organization, a group of young people arrived at Kibbutz Mišmar Haemek, and later in Kibbutz Shaar Haamakim was founded, when a large Haluc group came (1932). This kibbutz later played a major role in accepting refugees.

In total, from First World War to year 1933, only a few hundred youth and about 1,500 Jews from Bitola came to Palestine. From 1933 to 1940, 650 Jews immigrated from Yugoslavia, and immediately before World War II. world war (March 1941), 760 people from Yugoslavia came through the immigration quota.

Immigrants from Yugoslavia founded their Association "Hidahdut olej Jugoslavija" on February 5, 1935. First president was Ljuddevit Freundlich from Donji Miholjec. More activity developed in 1944 due to helping those who managed to escape. Work was especially intensified after World War II, when together with the Association of Yugoslav Jews in USA, (founded 1939 by dr Pavle Neuberger) they helped Holocaust survivors, and during time of Aliyah helped immigrants to Israel.

Since 1952, the "Bulletin" (Later "Most") has been published in Israel, started by Dr. Joel Rosenberg, Dr. Cvi Rotem, Mihajlo Levi, Hans Bramer and others.

In 1954, Hidahdut olej Jugoslavija founded Historical Museum Subcommittee (Jakir and Etelka Eventov). Eventov's archive was long time run by Cvi Loker (with Rahela Loker and Ita Lador). There have a rich research and publishing activity.

It is necessary to mention another action of Hidahdut. When on June 13, 1967 diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel were broken, representatives of the Hidahdut visited the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Israel ( Vojimir Šobajić), and handed a "petition" that

was not recorded in the Yugoslav press or in V. Šobajić's book published in Skopje in 1982.

During World War II, there were few Aliyas, although there were actions which try to save Jews. In one such action, on the initiative of Marija Bauer (from Vinkovci but who lived in Constantinople) in the so-called "Kindertransport" only eleven children were saved.

From year 1943 to 1945, only 495 Jews, mostly refugees, entered Palestine. Some Jews escaped from NDH to Italy or Switzerland, some were in the camp in El Shat in Egypt. A particularly large number of refugees were in Bari, in southern Italy, and they founded their own Jewish community there. They tried to go to Palestine, and the first group (158) left from Barri in the spring of 1944; in March 1945 one group from Brindisi arrived in Palestine, and 295 children arrived from Barcelona (Joško Indig, Riki Kohn) with ship "Plus Ultra" in Haifa in 1945.

After the end of World War II, Jews who survived Holocaust mainly returned to Yugoslavia and it was not until 1948 that the first mass Aliyah to Israel took place.

Yugoslavia was the first socialist country that allowed (June 21, 1948) the free emigration of Jews to Israel. She called emigration repatriation, i.e. returning to her country. The condition for leaving was the renunciation of Yugoslav citizenship and the loss of ownership of immovable property.

Unlimited Aliyah was allowed, non-Jewish family members, wives and children from mixed marriages were also allowed to migrate.

During my visit to the Events Archive at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, I had the opportunity to review and obtain lists of the names of Jews from Croatia and Zagreb who went to Israel, which were made available to me by the head of the archive, Zvi Loker, and his colleagues.

I also received documents collected by Riki Kohn, the head of the Palestinian office of the Union of Zionists of Yugoslavia (1933-1941), which was stored in the "Archive of Events" (under number E-67), and related to arrival in Israel. From Yugoslavia migrated to Israel, 1.698 Jews between years 1933 and 1941, and after the WW II (until end of 1952) came 7.764 Jews.

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Yad Vashem  
The Holocaust Martyrs'  
and Heroes Remembrance  
Authority



Centre of Organizations  
of Holocaust Survivors  
in Israel



Conference on  
Jewish Material  
Claims Against  
Germany, Inc.

## **The Third International Conference**

# **The Legacy of Holocaust Survivors: *The Moral And Ethical Implications For Humanity***

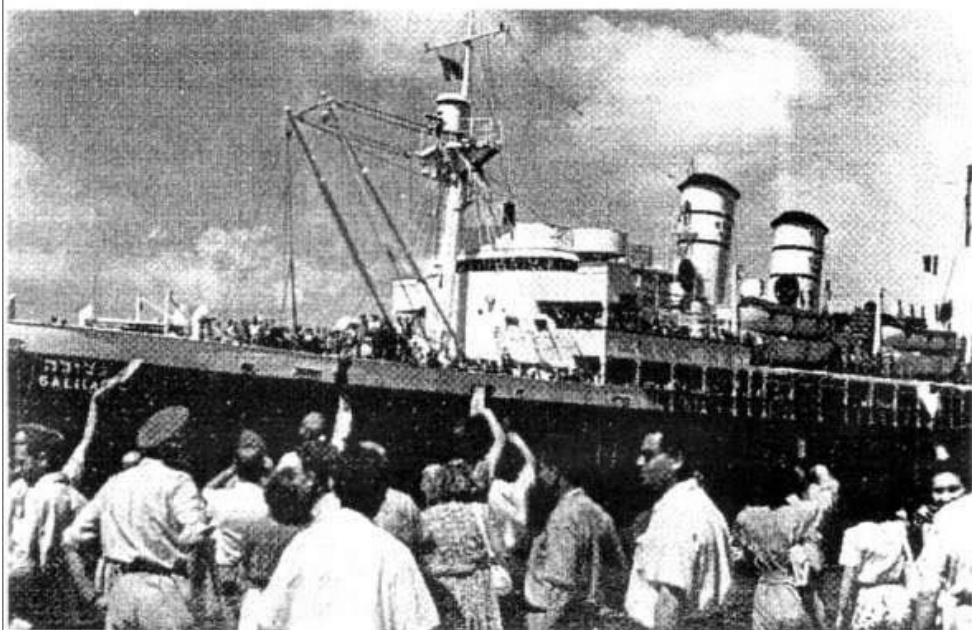
**April 9-11, 2002**

## **Educational Workshops**

**The International School For Holocaust Studies, Yad  
Vashem, Jerusalem, Israel**

A letter from Yad Vashem





*Izraelska lada "Galila" stiže sa useljenicima iz Jugoslavije u haifansku luku.*

Arrival of ship Galicia in Haifa



Miriam Aviezer received an award for working with the righteous





Annual gathering of Hidahtut oley ex-Yugoslavia



Commemoration for Jewish children

HITACHDUT OLEY EX YUGOSLAVIA  
108, Alenby St., P.O.B. 2705, Tel-Aviv 61026  
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12. 11. 13

Poštovana Švoh dr. Melita  
Najsrdačnije vam se zahvažujem  
za knjige i diskoove koje ste nam  
poslali za arhivu Eventov.  
Oni su uvedeni pod rednim brojem  
DM16, DM17 (2 diska) DM18, DM19  
DM20 diskoovi  
Kug 971, Kug 865 Kug 1122  
Knjige  
Sve najkrože i još jednom hvala  
Zvezdana Finer Yehesuel  
Arhiv Eventov Jerusalem

Thank you letter for books

## Demographic research in the post-war Jewish population

According to a demographic survey in the Jewish communities of Yugoslavia **in 1957**, there were 6,021 Jews, of which 2,178 are in Croatia (90% are members of Jewish municipalities). In Zagreb, there were 1,340 Jews (576 men and 764 women).

Such was the situation after the great “Aliyah”, the departure to Israel (1948-1953), when according to data of the former “Union of Jewish Municipalities of Yugoslavia” 7,739 Jews immigrated to Israel, and from Croatia about 1,000.

**In 1957 survey** in Croatia, 2,178 Jews (905 men and 1,273 women) were included or 92% of the total number of Jews. There were 1,217 households with an average of 1.79 members. The number of people over 18 was 1,842, and 336 under 18.

**1971 survey** in Jewish communities in Yugoslavia provides more data about changes in the Jewish population of Croatia after the Holocaust. The research was conducted in 30 Jewish communities with 4,702 members (85% of the membership of 5,696).

2,557 households with 6,457 members were surveyed, of which 1,027 households were in Croatia with 2,566 members and 1,733 of them are Jews or an average of 68%. 21% of the total respondents come from mixed marriages. Marriages between Jews and non-Jews were more common than marriages between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews (4%).

In Croatia, there were 1,241 members of Jewish communities who had both Jewish parents (74.5%); 88 had a Jewish mother (5.3%), and 229 (13.7%) a Jewish father, while the other parent was non-Jewish. There were 107 people in communities whose parents were not Jewish. Most of them were women (399) who married Jews and did not convert to the Jewish faith. 66 men did not have no Jewish parents.

The highest percentage in all surveyed households consists of two members (30.2%), followed by single-person households (1 member) 25.1%, households with three members (22.9%), 4 members 16.2%, 3.9%, 6 members 1.1% and with 7 or more members in household 0.5%. In the old age home Lavoslav Schwarz in Zagreb, there were 94 Jews out of 102 residents.

The analysis of the place of birth of the respondents showed that only 40% of them lived in the place where they are lived before World War II.

From the extensive research, they would also extract information on the marital status of persons older than age of 15: 55.1% are married, 17.4% are widows/widowers (91% women), 4.2% divorced (63% men); and 23.3% unmarried.

Number of children of women who are older than 15 years: 52% had children. One child had 49.1%; 38.9% two children, 8.7% three children, 1.8% four children and 1.5% more than 4 children.

**In comparison with the results of research in Jewish communities in 1957, the research in 1971, it showed:**

- There are fewer Jews who are members of municipalities.
- The number of households was significantly lower in 1971 (2,557) than in 1957 (3,299).
- The number of non-Jewish household members has increased
- The average number of people in one household has increased
- We can assume that the number of household members increased due to children born from 1957 to 1971.

## **Survey 2005**

Ten years after the first survey on the social and health problems of elderly members of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (Melita Švob, 1995) was conducted, new data was needed to help organise social services and plan future social actions. The social claims conferences began to work for the Jews of Eastern Europe only after the fall of the Berlin Wall, i.e., after the fall of the so-called “Iron Curtain”.

The survey was conducted in 2005 using questionnaires sent by mail to the home addresses of members over 65 years of age, whom we included based on the Community’s membership list. The survey questionnaire could be filled in on the Community premises, and if necessary, respondents were assisted in their homes.

In the preparatory stage, we first analysed the list of members of the Jewish Community to get an accurate picture of the demographic structure of the Jewish population (without affiliated members, absent members, and deceased members). We studied the latest research on the world’s Jewish population and data on earlier research on the Jewish population in Yugoslavia and Croatia.

Based on our analysis of the membership list, there were 1,182 Jews in the Zagreb Jewish Community in 2005. On the Community’s membership list, which we analysed, we found the names of 492 people who fit the criteria of our survey (over 65 years old).

In 2005, the age structure of the Zagreb Jewish population differed from the population structure in 1941. There is a visible increase in the older age group.

From the survey sample (the Community’s list), we excluded people who died in the meantime and those who lived abroad for longer than 12 months. The sample also excluded those who moved or whose mail returned with the indication that “the person was unknown” and persons who had already been taken care of in one of the old people’s homes. Thus, our final sample had 230 respondents.

The questionnaire included the following groups of basic questions: personal information, health, nutrition, housing situation, income, received assistance, their needs, and relationship with the Jewish Community.

The survey results helped the organisation of social and medical assistance for the elderly in

their homes (medical care, household help, physiotherapy, food delivery), enabling them to stay longer (and more humanely) in their homes.

Results of the survey from 2005 pointed out the most critical problems of the elderly population, especially those who survived the Holocaust, which is why they have more significant and specific needs.

The Social Claims Conference Fund for Holocaust Survivors helps address many of the issues explored in the 2005 survey.

## Results (2005)

### Age (N=230)

Age	Men	Men %	Women	Women %	Total	Total %
65-69	8	10 %	27	18 %	35	15%
70-74	17	21 %	21	14 %	38	17%
75-79	19	24 %	36	24 %	55	24 %
80-84	18	23 %	33	22 %	51	22 %
85-89	11	14 %	16	11 %	27	12 %
90-94	6	8 %	15	10 %	21	9 %
95 or more	1	1 %	2	1 %	3	1 %
<i>Total</i>	80	100 %	150	100 %	230	100 %

### Household structure (N=230)

<i>Members of household</i>	Men	Men %	Women	Women %	Total	Total %
Live alone	14	18 %	57	38 %	71	31 %
Live with partner	47	59 %	31	21 %	78	34 %
Live with children	3	4 %	25	17 %	28	12 %
Live with partner and children	7	9 %	6	4 %	13	6 %
Live with another member of the family	4	5 %	4	3 %	8	3 %
Live in home for the elderly (new data)	3	4 %	27	18 %	30	13 %
Unknown	2	3 %	0	0 %	2	1 %
<i>Total</i>	80	100 %	150	100 %	230	100 %



**Number of members in household (for all community)**

One person	223	32 %
Two persons	168	24 %
Tree and more persons	299	43 %
Jewish Community Zagreb	690	100 %

**Marital status (N=230)**

<i>Marital status</i>	Men	Men %	Women	Women %	Total	Total %
Not married	4	5 %	17	11 %	21	9 %
Married	53	66 %	37	25 %	90	39 %
Divorced	10	13 %	15	10 %	25	11 %
Widowed	13	16 %	81	54 %	230	41 %
Total	80	100 %	230	100 %	100 %	100 %

**Income (N=230)**

<i>Pension</i>	Men	Men %	Women	Women %	Total	Total %
Tenure-based pension	76	95 %	103	69 %	179	78 %
Family pension	0	0 %	42	28 %	42	18 %
Invalidity pension	3	4 %	2	1 %	5	2 %
Full-time employed	1	1 %	1	1 %	2	1 %
Part-time employed	0	0 %	1	1 %	1	0 %
Supported by another	0	0 %	1	1 %	1	0 %
Total	80	100 %	150	100 %	230	100 %

Pension is almost the only source of income for the old generation and needs to be higher to ensure a normal life and cover living expenses and needs.

**Health problem - mobility (N=129)**

<i>According to the respondent's statement</i>	Men	Woman	Total
Severely ill	0	1	1
Disabled people	5	4	9
Move with great difficulty	5	19	24
Have limited mobility	27	58	85
Can move only with the assistance	0	10	10
Total – mobility problems	37	92	129
Percentage of the total number of respondents	46 % from 80	61 % from 150	56 % from 230

More than half of the total number of respondents (56 %) have problems with mobility, of which 46 % of the total number of men (80) and 61 % of the total number of women surveyed (150).

**Israel**

Studies of the Jewish population in Croatia have concentrated almost exclusively on those who remained in Croatia and their problems, and family members and friends who went to Israel, they almost ignored it, which was contributed to by the political circumstances and the attitude towards Israel at the time communist Croatia and its “non-aligned” policy.

That is why it is interesting to hear some details from the period of the first migrations to Israel. Miriam Steiner-Aviezer, who worked at Yad Vashem and conducted numerous interviews with survivors, sent most of these details to us. As a member of the Commission for the Recognition of the Righteous, she wrote two editions of the book “Croatian the righteous”. She described to us the opportunities that greeted our “Olim Hadashes” who, upon arrival, were placed in tents and tin or wooden barracks. From the state they got only “Sohnut beds” and petrol cooker.

We learn much more from the book by Ženi Lebl “Yesterday, today - the contribution of Jews from the former Yugoslavia to Israel” in which she described the biographies of 300 of the most famous immigrants who made a great contribution to Israel. The association “Hidahdut oley ex-Yugoslavia” brings together Jews from Yugoslavia and their children, and their archive “Eventov” preserves precious material and documentation.

During the 1991 war, the first 100 young people from the former Yugoslavia came to Israel (Aliyat Hano’ar), and later also adults - a total of about 1,600, 80% of whom remained in Israel

## Organization of Jewish communities in Croatia

Jewish communities are religious organizations that gather Jews to pray in synagogues, they provide religious education and holiday celebrations. They also allow that vital events in a Jewish family are carried out according to the Jewish tradition (marriages, giving names to a child, Brit milah (circumcision) of boys, ceremonies at the onset of puberty for boys (Bar Mitzvah) and girls (Bat Mitzvah), divorces, funerals, bereavement, preparation of kosher food, etc.).

Jewish communities are not only religious but also social communities that take care of their members, especially to the neediest: the poor, widows, children without parents, married couples without dowry, sick, refugees, etc. In the Jewish municipalities, the activity took place thanks to membership fees (tax) that were paid in proportion to members' income. Besides that, funds and endowments were established, houses and other assets were bequeathed, and donations were made.

Although it seems that the organization of Jewish communities did not fundamentally change throughout the centuries of the Diaspora, they had to adapt to the circumstances, time and society in which she found herself.

Jewish communities today gather Jews around synagogues, even when part of the membership is secular. Gradually, new institutions were developed, for example, Jewish schools of summer resorts, hospitals, clubs, cultural, sports and other organizations, but some activities also disappeared.

The organization of Jewish communities in Croatia has always depended on legal requirements. In 1852, their existence was first time legalized and they had to create their own rules, which were then needed be approved. It is known (Gross 1885) that the Jewish municipalities of Zagreb and Karlovac (and probably and others) drafted municipal rules that were approved in 1859.

Jewish communities in **the Western European** social system are mostly considered religious communities. Jews in these countries have individual civil rights, and the relationship towards communities depends on society's attitude towards minorities and on the degree of tolerance in society.

There are especially large differences between communities in Western and Eastern European post-communist communities' countries where Jewish communities are considered ethnic or national groups (minorities).

The ratio of births and mortality, the ratio of immigration and emigration, and if there is, connection with Judaism (secularization), significantly influence to the demographic picture of the population.

Family and marriage are one of the most important factors in preserving the Jewish population regardless to the fact that new forms of family appeared (cohabitation, registered partnership without marriage, families with only one parent and families with partners of the same sex).

Recently, there has been an increase in the number of Jewish adults (aged 30-39), who they never married or married. For example, in Italy there are 46% of women and 56% of men at that age who had never married.



For the growth of the Jewish population, it is important how many “Haredi” communities there are because of their high fertility.

The importance of mixed marriages in the Jewish population is great because the number of children from these marriages comes to Jewish communities and accepts Judaism.

Anti-Semitism, but also the very perception of its existence, has a great influence on the decisions of Jews whether to stay or migrate to other countries. The size of a community is also important, because large communities have a greater influence on society of the country where Jews live, because they can improve their status and influence their security, achievements.

## Jewish youth after the War



Building of "Partisan gymnasium" in Zagreb for children who cannot go to school during WW II



School immediately after the WW II



Youth in action for building new roads after WW II



Dancing group in Partisan gymnasium (high school)

## **Association of Holocaust survivors in Croatia**

The Association of Holocaust Survivors in Croatia was founded in 2001 in the Jewish community in Zagreb with the task of organize Jews in Croatia who survived the Holocaust, representing their interests and helping them to get support and compensation for suffering during the Holocaust.

The association is a member of the international organizations World Federation of Jewish Survivors of the Holocaust and Descendants - WFJSHD, (New York) and member of European Association of the Holocaust Survivors – EUAS, which is now non-acting (Covid).

The president of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Croatia is Dr. Švob Melita, who was elected as a member of the executive board of the World and as secretary of European Organization.

The association played a key role in recognizing the rights of Holocaust survivors in Croatia to compensation funding from Germany that are organized and distributed by Claims conference, what had already been achieved by Jews in Western European countries and Israel.

After the fall of communistic regime in East European countries, Jews who lived under “the iron curtain” were included in the Claims social and pension programs. In premise of Jewish community has been established special office (Dr. Melita Švob) which work on very demanding action to register survivors in Croatia, recognize their right to CEEF pensions and other funding and to search and translate documentation. Almost 500 requests were processed, and mostly approved, sometimes even after years of correspondences with Central office in Germany or Israel. English. At first, our CEEF pensions were significantly lower than the pensions received by Jews in the West, under the pretext that life is cheaper here. In order to change this, international actions were launched and numerous conferences of Holocaust survivors were held. We organized several conferences in Croatia and Zagreb. For this purpose, we organized a survey on the social and health status and needs of members aged over 65, (JOINT 2005) and thus contributed to solving the problems. The survey results were published in Croatian and English.

The abundant documentation collected for the application approval process, contributed by the survivors themselves, has enabled the creation of an archive, library and computer database for victims and data base for Holocaust survivors financed by the Claims Conference and Joint. With the support from these organisations and Ministry of sciences, Ministry of culture and Council national minorities in Croatia many research programs have been developed and articles and book printed.

A special fund of the Claims Conference, called “Cafe Europa”, was established with the aim to enable and develop social and cultural activities of Holocaust survivors. With the help of that fund (and other organizations), every year, from 2007 onwards, we organized a seven-day gathering on Adriatic seaside (Opatija and Selce) with a cultural and recreational program. During that week, many activities, lectures, excursions, visits to other communities’ concerts, social games, education, films, book promotions, and finally a festive Shabbat

dinner with a rabbi and guests. Films were shot, photo albums and books printed, reports were written and a DVD was made for all participants.

Workshops, seminars and exhibitions were organized abroad, in the former republics of Yugoslavia and in the Jewish communities. We organized several international conferences of Holocaust survivors, and cooperated with a number of Jewish and other organizations. We participated on commemorating Holocaust Remembrance Day and other activities organized by Jewish community Zagreb who kindly give to Association room for office without charge.

WE established our WEB page [www.preho.hr](http://www.preho.hr) with news and information on English and Croatian language.

The association organized and equipped a computer “workshop” with computer courses, through which about fifty our “students” went. Recreational gymnastics was organized with professional guidance in two groups, twice a week, and during the pandemic, the exercises were conducted via the “Zoom” application.

There is intensive cooperation with the Women’s Section and the Seniors’ Club. The association maintains the memory of the victims of the Holocaust and fights against anti-Semitism.



## **“Cafe Europe” program Claims conference for Holocaust survivors**















**In this book, we translated to English material and documents  
from the following books and articles:**

**“Lecture by Lidija Kasić”**

**1 - Book: Melita Švob: *Jews in Croatia - Jewish communities*, 2004.** Supported by Ministry of culture and Ministry of Science and Technology of the Republic Croatia.

- Translated from chapters:
- Introduction
- Historical and legal Foundation of Jewish Settlement
- Jews in 1857 Population census
- Jews in Censuses in Croatia and Slavonia from 1880 till 1910
- Jews in Dalmatia
- Changes in territorial and political division of Croatia
- Jews in 1921 and 1931 Censuses
- Jews in towns
- Organizing and Uniting Jewish communities
- Jewish schools
- Children and schools during World War II
- Women organizations
- Camp or women Đakovo
- Women in holocaust
- Youth organizations
- Old age home Lavoslav Schwarz
- Jews in Croatia during World War II
- Jewish communities during World War II
- Aid to refugee
- Jewish community Zagreb during the Holocaust
- Origin of the members of Jewish community Zagreb 1941

- Members of Jewish community Zagreb ( 1941) by occupation Research of the Jewish community register books
- Sephardim in Croatia
- Computer database
- Jewish community Dubrovnik during the holocaust
- Jewish community Split during the world war II
- Jewish community Osijek during the holocaust
- Jewish community Rijeka and Sušak during the holocaust
- Jews in Italian camps
- Jews in National Liberation War
- Holocaust survivors
- Jews in Post War II censuses
- Aliya
- Organization of the Jewish communities after World War II

**2 - *Migracijske teme No 10***, Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb, 1994;

Article: Švob, M.; Brčić, K.; Podgorelec, S.: *Jews in Croatia, Jews in Zagreb*

**3 - Book: Melita Švob: *Židovi u Hrvatskoj - Migracije i promjene u židovskoj populaciji***, 1997. Supported by Ministry of Science and technology of the Republic Croatia

Chapters:

- Refugee crises and Jews
- Izrael

**4 - *Migracijske teme No 13***, Institut za migracije i narodnosti 1997,

- Melita Švob: *Jews in Croatia and Israel*

**5 - Book: *Migration in Croatia, regional approach***, Institut za migracije i narodnosti 1998,

Chapter:

- Melita Švob: *Jewish settlement in Slavonia*



**6 - Book: *Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture Židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj*, 1998.** Zbornik supported by Ministry of science and technology

Chapters:

- Melita Švob: *Development of the Jewish female organizations*
- Melita Švob: *Changes in the Jewish population in Croatia from XVII to XX century*

**7 - Book: Melita Švob: *Jews in Croatia: Holocaust victims and survivors*, 2000,** Supported by Claims conference grant no 82-6212-1

- Maps and illustrations

**8 - The prime Minister's international conference** on legacy of Holocaust survivors, Yad vashem, Israel, 2002

- Melita Švob: *Holocaust survivors in Croatia*

**9 - Symposium Social and cultural History of the Jews on the Eastern Adriatic Coast,** Dubrovnik, 2004

- Melita Švob: *Sephardim community in Zagreb*

**10 - Book: Josef Held: *Jugendintegration durch participation*, Argument Verlag, Hamburg 2005; Symposium: *Youth in Europe***

Chapter:

- Čaldarović, Ognjen; Švob Melita: *Approaches to participation and the research on the youth in Croatia*

**11 - Voice, Jewish community Zagreb, 2005**

- Švob Melita: *Jews in Croatia. What the last research reveals*

**12 – Symposium: *Inrculturelles lernen von Jugendlichen und Kindern in Europa-Vergleichende Studien zur Integration*. ICCU Dubrovnik, 2006**

- Švob Melita, Hermanović Ana, Cvetković Saša: *Orientation of Jewish Youth in Zagreb*

**13 - International conference Social and cultural history of Jews on the eastern Adriatic**

**Coast**, ICCU Dubrovnik, 2008

- Švob Melita, Hermanović Ana, Gospodnetić Mateja: *Jewish women in Holocaust*

**14 - Book: Melita Švob: Židovska populacija u Hrvatskoj i Zagrebu**, 2010

Chapter:

- Conclusions

**15 - Book: Melita Švob: 20 years of the Research and Documentation Center CENDO**, 2020

Chapter:

- Survey 2005

**16 - Book: Melita Švob: Židovi u Hrvatskoj - baza podataka Cenda**, Cendo, 2021

Chapter:

- Jewish communities

**17 - Book: Melita Švob: Jews in the war and after the war (Židovi u ratu i poraću)**, CENDO 2022

Chapter:

- Holocaust survivors

**And from other my publications and books**

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## **Curriculum vitae**

### **Melita Švob**

Melita Švob (maiden name Steiner) was born in Zagreb in 1931. She is a Holocaust survivor. During World War II, she hid in the surrounding villages, whereas many members of her family perished in Holocaust. After war ended, she finished Gymnasium and graduated Biology from the Faculty of Science, University of Zagreb (1958).

She married prof. Tvrtko Švob and moved to Ljubljana, where she worked at the Oncological hospital (1956-1960). In 1960, they moved to Sarajevo, where she first worked as an Assistant at the School of Medicine, University of Sarajevo. She obtained her Ph.D. in 1964, and completed her postdoctoral training at the Wayne State University, Detroit, USA in 1968/69. Later she worked as an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Science and Senior Research Associate at the Institute for Skin Diseases in Sarajevo. In 1974, she gave birth to daughter Dubravka. Melita Švob was also elected as an Associate Professor at the School of Medicine, University of Tuzla (1977-1983) and in 1980 as an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Science, University of Split.

In 1979, the family moved back to Zagreb, where Melita Švob worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Institute for Migration and Nationalities until 2000. She was the P.I. of several (inter)national research projects on children and family in migration, national minorities and refugees, as worked as a president of the Scientific Council of the Institute. She was one the major collaborators on the large international projects "Internationales Lernen" and "Youth in Europe between European and National Orientation" in which seven European countries were involved.

For the last 20 years, Melita Švob has been engaged in the research of the Jewish population in Croatia. She was director of Swiss Humanitarian Fund for Croatia and Slovenia, and Claims Conference Funds for Holocaust survivors in Croatia, as well as the president of the Union of Jewish Women in Zagreb and member of the Council of the Jewish Community in Zagreb. She was also for some time president and member of the Social Committee of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, and member of the "Curatorium" of the "Lavoslav Schwarz" home for the elderly.

She is an author of 11 books, including textbooks and manuals for students, as well as books concerning Jews: "Jews in Croatia - Migrations and changes in Jewish population" (1997) "Jews in Croatia - Holocaust victims and survivors" (2000), "Jews in Croatia - Jewish communities" (2004) and "Jewish population in Croatia and Zagreb" (2010)., "20 years of Research and documentation center CENDO" (2020), "Jews in Croatia- database of holocaust victims" (2021) , "Jews in the war and after the war" (2022) . " Jews in Croatia Demographic and historical research" (2023).

She has written numerous scientific and professional papers (over 100), and organized various conferences and symposia, seminars, and exhibitions.

Currently, Melita Švob is the president of the Association of Holocaust Survivors in Croatia, member of the Executive Board of the World Federation of Jewish Survivors of the Holocaust and Descendants (WFJSHD) and has been secretary of the European Association of

Jewish Child Survivors of the Holocaust (EUAS), and organized several EUAS international conferences in Zagreb.

She is also the president of the Union of Jewish Women in Croatia and member of the Executive Board of the International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW).

In addition, Melita Švob is the director of the Research and Documentation Center (Cendo), where she created a database of victims and survivors of the Holocaust in Croatia and where she has been conducting many research projects and surveys.



