

# **JEWISH HERITAGE SITES IN CROATIA PRELIMINARY REPORT**



**United States Commission for  
the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad**

**2005**



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**888 17<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., Suite 1160  
Washington, DC 20006  
Ph: (202) 254-3824 Fax: (202) 254-3934  
E-mail: [uscommission@heritageabroad.gov](mailto:uscommission@heritageabroad.gov)**



UNITED STATES COMMISSION  
FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA'S HERITAGE ABROAD

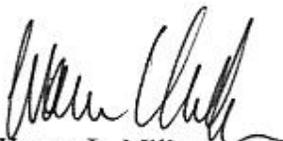
October 10, 2005

## Message from the Chairman

One of the principal missions that United States law assigns the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad is to identify and report on cemeteries, monuments, and historic buildings in Central and Eastern Europe associated with the cultural heritage of U.S. citizens, especially endangered sites. The Congress and the President were prompted to establish the Commission because of the special problem faced by Jewish sites in the region: The communities that had once cared for the properties were annihilated during the Holocaust. The atheistic Communist Party dictatorships that succeeded the Nazis throughout most of the region were insensitive to American Jewish concerns about the preservation of the sites. Properties were converted to other uses or encroached upon by development. Natural deterioration was not counteracted. Vandalism often went unchecked.

This report preliminarily identifies and discusses Jewish cemeteries, synagogue buildings, and Jewish monuments located in the Republic of Croatia. The Commission plans to report on a more thorough survey of Jewish sites in the country. We hope that these reports will encourage preservation efforts and assist American Jews of Croatian descent to connect with the last remnants of their heritage in Croatia.

The Commission is also required by U.S. law to seek assurances from the governments of the region regarding the protection and preservation of these cultural heritage properties. I am pleased to note that the Governments of the United States and Croatia entered into a Commission-negotiated agreement regarding the protection and preservation of certain cultural properties earlier this year. The agreement covers the sites identified in this report.



Warren L. Miller  
Chairman

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# Map of Croatia



## I. Jewish History in Croatia

Jews lived on the Dalmatian Coast in ancient Roman times and are also known to have had ancient settlements inland. Archaeological finds from the second, third, and fourth centuries have revealed traces of Jews in Istria, Dalmatia and inland Slavonia, but the only evidence of permanent ancient settlements has been found at Salona (Split) and Mursa (Osijek).

There were a few Jewish settlements in what is now Croatia during the Middle Ages. These settlements were mainly on the coast, where major Jewish communities linked to sea-going commerce developed. Jews were mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the towns of Zadar (1303), Dubrovnik (1326), and Split (1397), and, later, in Sibenik (1432) and Rijeka (1436). In inland Croatia, there is evidence of a Jewish presence in Zagreb in 1355.

Most of inland Croatia came under Hapsburg rule in 1526. The Hapsburgs ordered the wholesale expulsion of Jews from the territory, and few Jews lived in inland Croatia until Emperor Joseph II issued an Edict of Tolerance in 1783. It allowed Jews freedom of movement and other civil rights in Croatian territory. Ashkenazic Jewish immigrants from Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria soon moved south and founded most inland Croatia Jewish communities. Jews in this part of Croatia achieved full emancipation only in 1873 but by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most Jewish communities of the region were prosperous, integrated, and upwardly mobile.

Along the coast, small medieval Jewish communities were bolstered in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries by waves of Sephardic Jewish refugees fleeing Spain, Portugal, and parts of Italy. None of the communities (except that in the Istrian port of Rijeka) ever reached more than a few hundred people. They wielded considerable economic influence however.

About 25,000 Jews lived in Croatia on the eve of World War II. In April 1941, after the Nazi conquest of Yugoslavia, Croatia was proclaimed an independent country. It was ruled as a Nazi puppet state by the ultra-nationalist, fascist Ustasa movement. The Ustasa implemented harsh anti-Semitic legislation and carried out horrific atrocities against Jews, Serbs, and Gypsies (Roma). A number of transit and concentration camps were set up, including the Jasenovac death camp south of Zagreb, sometimes referred to as the “Auschwitz of the Balkans.”<sup>1</sup>

Most of the Dalmatian Coast area, however, was occupied by the Italians, who were generally more lenient and refused to carry out mass deportations to German death camps. Most Jews in the area were interned on Rab Island.

About 5,000 Croatian Jews survived the Holocaust. Most were either in the Italian-occupied zone or were fighters in anti-fascist partisan units. Many immigrated to Israel after the war.

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<sup>1</sup> For chronology of the Jewish Holocaust in Croatia, see Lengel-Krizman, Narcisa, “The Chronology of the Jewish Ordeal,” in *Voice*, No. 1, Spring 1996, Zagreb, 31-37.

Yugoslav Jews belonged to local communities linked in autonomous republic-wide organizations, which in turn were members of a nationwide Federation of Yugoslav Jewish Communities based in Belgrade. The country had only one rabbi. Most Jews were concentrated in Zagreb, capital of Croatia, Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Belgrade, capital of Serbia and the federal capital.

Legally, the Jewish community – consisting of about 6,000 people throughout the former Yugoslavia – was recognized as both an ethnic and a religious community.

Yugoslavia was not a member of the Soviet bloc, and Jews were not persecuted or isolated as were Jews in other communist states. Instead, they assimilated into society and lost contact with religious life; they were Yugoslavs first and Jews second.

The Federation of Yugoslav Jewish Communities was responsible for caring for Jewish cemeteries, synagogues, and other infrastructure in towns where no communities existed. As Ivan Ceresnjes, a former president of the Sarajevo Jewish community and current researcher for the Center for Jewish Art at Hebrew University, put it: “Some of these cemeteries were moved elsewhere; while others were maintained at considerable expense. In addition, the [Yugoslav] Jewish community erected close to thirty memorials around the country to commemorate the Jews who lost their lives during the war.”<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the 1980s, participation of Jews grew in wide-ranging programs and activities run by the Federation and individual Jewish communities. International Jewish philanthropic organizations helped.

Though Yugoslavia had broken diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War in 1967, commercial and cultural ties as well as cooperation in the areas of sports and tourism grew during the 1980s.

About 2,000 Jews lived in Croatia on the eve of the 1990s civil wars. They were highly integrated into mainstream society: Of the post World War II generations, about 80 percent were intermarried, or the children of mixed marriages. Only a small minority were religious.

## **II. Effects of the 1990s War**

### **II.1. Jews**

The new government of Croatia that came out of the wars appeared to use support for Jews as a means of counterbalancing an image of nationalism and historic revisionism that the country had acquired.

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<sup>2</sup> Ceresnjes, Ivan. *Caught in the Winds of War: Jews in the Former Yugoslavia*. Jerusalem: World Jewish Congress, 1999, 27.

The government funded the reconstruction of the Zagreb Jewish community building after it was hit by a terrorist bomb in 1991. It provided other financial assistance, fostered cooperative relationships with aid organizations, such as the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and awarded honors to Jews and Jewish causes. President Tudjman also toned down statements in his memoirs that were viewed as anti-Semitic and apologized for giving offense. Local Jewish leaders met with Tudjman and other senior officials, and several Jews occupied prominent government positions. Many Jews, however, chose to emigrate.

Among those who stayed, a number found their identity by reclaiming affiliation with the Jewish world. This sparked a revival of communal life. Though most members remained non-observant, a rabbi took up a position in Zagreb in 1998 for the first time since World War II.

## **II.2. Cultural Sites**

The bitter fighting sparked by Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in 1991 took a heavy toll on cultural heritage sites.

According to the report, "Heritage at Risk 2001-2002: Croatia" prepared by Vlado Ukraincik for the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), more than 2,000 cultural monuments were damaged, or destroyed in Croatia by Serb paramilitary forces and the Yugoslav Army between 1991 and 1995.<sup>3</sup>

The total number of registered and protected cultural monuments amounted to 5,926. About 37 percent suffered at least some damage, and nearly seven percent were destroyed during the fighting. "This destruction was undertaken without military necessity, but rather with the aim of destroying a culture, a people, and their continuity in a large segment of the territory of the Republic of Croatia," wrote Ukraincik. "During 1991 and 1992, the historical centers of towns and villages, which had no military units or strategic assets or targets, were shelled or mined over many months."

According to the report, the greatest concentrations of damaged cultural monuments were located in Dubrovnik-Neretva County (683 cultural monuments, most of them in Dubrovnik) and in Osijek-Baranja County (356 cultural monuments, most of them in Osijek). The most severely damaged historical buildings were in the devastated town of Vukovar (21 completely destroyed and 50 partly demolished).

Ukraincik reported that civilian buildings listed as cultural monuments suffered the most damage: 1,759, most located in historical urban centers, were harmed.

Religious cultural monuments came second on the list, amounting to one-fifth of the total number of damaged or destroyed monuments. Roman Catholic sites were hit most often.

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<sup>3</sup> Ukraincik, Vlado. "H@R! Heritage at Risk 2001-2002: Croatia". ICOMOS. [www.icomos.org](http://www.icomos.org). This section is drawn from this report: See <http://www.international.icomos.org/risk/2001/croa2001.htm>.

The roof of the historic synagogue in the center of Dubrovnik was hit by shells in December 1991 and suffered considerable damage. Also, the building housing the Jewish community headquarters in Osijek was damaged. In Zagreb, both the Jewish community building, and the Jewish cemetery were hit by terrorist bombs.

### **III. Historic Monument Preservation Policy**

Croatia's Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments began to systematically register historic cultural monuments in 1991 and report damage to government ministries, news media, and international bodies including UNESCO and the Council of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

A Special Central Commission for Registering and Estimating War Damage to Cultural Monuments was also set up at the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments to formulate a method to register and evaluate war damage to cultural monuments.

### **IV. Jewish Heritage Sites in Croatia**

Croatia's sites of Jewish heritage range from archeological relics, to medieval ghetto areas, to synagogues, and to Jewish cemeteries with designs that reflect both Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions. In addition, there are Holocaust sites, including memorials.

Over the course of history, sites of Jewish heritage existed in more than 80 cities, towns, and villages. These included about 70 synagogues, 30 of which were built as synagogues and 30 of which were located in converted rooms in residences. (There is no documentation for the remaining 10.) Most of Croatia's synagogues have been destroyed.<sup>5</sup>

There are believed to be at least 67 Jewish cemeteries existing in Croatia. Most date from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Some are well maintained, but others -- probably the majority -- are neglected and overgrown.

The Adriatic Coast cities of Split and Dubrovnik both have centuries-old synagogues within Jewish ghetto areas in the ancient city centers.

In northern and inland Croatia, where Jewish settlement began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many towns boasted large, ornate synagogues dating from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The synagogues served prosperous, highly acculturated, and upwardly mobile Jewish communities. Some were designed by leading architects of the day: The synagogue in Rijeka, for example, was designed by Budapest architect Lipot Baumhorn, the most prolific modern European designer of synagogues. The synagogues in Slavonski Brod and Krizevci were designed by Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch, whose firm designed "almost every twentieth building erected in Zagreb

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<sup>4</sup> See the ICOMOS report, *Ibid.* Much of the following section of this report is drawn from the ICOMOS report.

<sup>5</sup> Karac, Zlako. "Synagogue Architecture in Croatia in the Age of Historicism," in *Voice*, No. 3, Autumn 2000. Zagreb.

between 1890 and 1910.”<sup>6</sup> In some towns, two synagogues existed, either for the Ashkenazic community or the Sephardic communities, or for orthodox and reform congregations, or old and new buildings.

Almost all Croatian synagogues that stood before World War II has been destroyed -- many by the fascist Ustasha regime that ruled the Nazi puppet Independent Croatia. Others destroyed by the Nazis, by Allied bombing, by partisans, or, after World War II, by the communist authorities.

At least two other synagogues, which survived World War II, although in a damaged condition, were subsequently demolished by the Jewish community.

After World War II, several other surviving synagogues were transformed for other uses, ranging from churches to cultural venues to schools. Jewish community officials would like to have these buildings publicly identified and would prefer to see them serving an “appropriate” function.

“If nothing else, we would at least like to have the synagogue buildings serving some cultural purpose and marked by memorial plaques,” said Ognjen Kraus, president of the Coordination Commission of Jewish Communities in Croatia. “Some of them have already been designated in this way. We would also prefer that the synagogue buildings being used for inappropriate purposes be converted for utilization, which would be more in keeping with their former function and present memorial character.”<sup>7</sup>

During the 1990s, there were several instances of vandalism against Jewish sites in Croatia, including terrorist bombs at the Jewish community center and Jewish cemetery in Zagreb, and vandalism at the cemeteries in Karlovac and Koprivnica.

## **IV.1. Status of Sites**

The information on most of the Jewish heritage sites listed here was collated from material from several sources. These included Center for Jewish Art researcher Ivan Ceresnjes, published information, the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies Cemetery Project, and the JewishGen Web site, which includes information provided by Srdjan Matic, a former official of the Zagreb Jewish Community who now lives in New York. Information was also gained through visits to some of the sites.

## **IV.2. Major Sites**

### **1. Zagreb**

Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, is the site of the country’s largest Jewish community: about 1,500 out of Croatia’s 2,000 to 2,500 Jews there.

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<sup>6</sup> Laszlo, Aleksandar and Zlatko Juric. “Hönigsberg & Deutsch. An Architectural Opus: A Blueprint for a Critical Retrospective,” in *Voice*, No.1, op cit, 61.

<sup>7</sup> Kraus, Ognjen, “The Memory and the Identity,” in *Voice*, No. 3, op cit

Jews are believed to have settled in Zagreb around 1355. They were expelled a century later, however, and were not permitted to establish a permanent community again until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The first Jewish religious community comprising about 75 members was formally established in 1806. By 1940, nearly 12,000 Jews lived in Zagreb and the highly assimilated community was the most prosperous in Yugoslavia. It included many businessmen, professionals, and intellectuals. Most were killed in the Holocaust.

The Jewish community headquarters is in a building at Palmoticeva 16, built in 1857.<sup>8</sup> The building houses community offices, a synagogue, a kindergarten, an art gallery, club premises/function room, a Holocaust research and documentation center, and the Lavoslav Sik Library, the largest Jewish library in the Balkans. This is a collection of 2,000 bound periodicals, 6,000 documents, and other materials. Its Hebraica collection consists of books printed by Jewish printing houses in Italy and Central and Eastern Europe. Most date from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but some rare books in the collection date from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. These include a 16<sup>th</sup> century edition of the *Shulhan Aruch* by Joseph Caro, printed in Venice, Italy.

The Jewish community building was seriously damaged by a terrorist bomb in August 1991. The Croatian government funded repairs and the building was formally reopened in September 1992. Down the street at Palmoticeva 22, a plaque marks the building that once housed the Maccabee sports club. The community also has an old age home in a separate building.

There also a Judaica collection at the Zagreb Arts and Crafts museum.

A parking lot now occupies the site at Praska 7 where Zagreb's main synagogue stood until its destruction at the end of 1941/the beginning of 1942 on the orders of the Ustasha mayor of Zagreb. (Pictures taken by an anonymous photographer exist, showing various stages of the demolition.<sup>9</sup>) A shopping center was built on the site after the war, but it burned down about 30 years ago. A memorial plaque on the wall of an adjoining building commemorates the synagogue.

Built in 1867, the synagogue was designed by architect Franjo Klein. The design was influenced by Ludwig von Forster's Tempelgasse synagogue in Vienna, Austria.

After years of legal wrangling, the empty plot was restituted to the Zagreb Jewish community in 1999. The community plans to erect a new Jewish complex on the site, including a memorial synagogue, a cultural and community center, and a museum.

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<sup>8</sup> For date, see Wall, Alexandra J., "Comeback in Croatia," in *Jewish Community News*, vol. 14, No. 17, Nov. 19, 1999.

<sup>9</sup> See, among others, *Voice*, No. 1, op cit, 30, and Knezevic, Snjeska. *Reliquiae Reliquiarum: Zagreb Synagogue*. Zagreb: Jewish Community of Zagreb, 1990. The photographs have been preserved in the Zagreb City Museum and in the Directorate for the Protection of the Cultural Patrimony of the Ministry of Culture. The demolition was also filmed, but only one minute of the film survives. Mira Wolf used this footage from an Ustasha propaganda film in her Croatian Television (HTV) documentary "The Zagreb Synagogue 1867-1942."

The question of just what to build has been a major point of debate among local Jews and a significant issue for the city. The question is whether a totally new, modern building should be erected or whether the new structure should recreate the facade of the destroyed landmark.

Zagreb's central Mirogoj cemetery was established in 1876 to replace several smaller, older cemeteries. This was the city's first central cemetery serving all religions, where Catholics, Muslims, Jews, and other were buried. The Jewish section, established in 1878, replaced two earlier Jewish cemeteries – one opened in 1811 and used for burials until 1877, and one opened in 1858, and used for burials until 1878. Some of the monuments from these cemeteries were moved to Mirogoj.

Mirogoj is among the most impressive and the best maintained cemetery complexes, not only in Croatia, but also in the whole region. Architect Herman Bollè, who died in 1926, designed it to be a beautiful park and an open-air art gallery, as well as a place of burial. It is a monumental composition of arcades, pavilions, and domes, intermingled with rich vegetation and sculptures. His plan was to encircle the entire cemetery with impressive arcades, but these remained unfinished due to lack of funds.

The Jewish section at Mirogoj originally had 13 separate sections: 10 for Ashkenazic Neolog, two for Sephardic, and one for Orthodox Jews. Prominent Zagreb Jews also had family tombs located in one of the cemetery's arcades.

At its peak, the cemetery had 4,000 to 5,000 monuments but now it has about 1,500. The city of Zagreb has title to the property.

A number of the Jewish tombs have been replaced with the graves of non-Jews. The local law provides that graves that are not maintained after a generation may be sold as burial plots to others. During the Communist period, in 1961 approximately 1,000 Jewish graves were exhumed and moved into a mass grave in the Jewish section of the main cemetery in Zagreb. This City subsequently sold the plots. Some of the old tombstones have been replaced by new monuments but in other cases the name of a newly buried person has been added to a tombstone.

An imposing statue of Moses by the sculptor Antun Augustincic serves as a Holocaust memorial. (Originally, it was intended to form part of a family tomb, but the family in question donated it for use as a memorial after the war.)

A terrorist bomb exploded in the Jewish section of the cemetery in 1991 but the damage was soon repaired.

## **2. Osijek**

Osijek, the biggest town in the eastern region of Croatia known as Slavonia, is on the Drava River near the border with Serbia. It has three sections -- the Lower Town, Upper Town, and Fortress -- which merged into one city in 1786.

Osijek's Jewish community was formally established in 1849 and it included prosperous merchants, businessmen, and professionals. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Osijek had the largest Jewish community in Croatia: In 1880, its 1,585 members were more than the Zagreb community's 1,296. Jews made up nearly nine percent of Osijek's population.

The area was the scene of fierce fighting during the 1990s wars.

Today's Jewish community has about 100 members. Headquarters of the community is in the former Jewish school at Radiceva 13.

In a park across from this building is a striking Holocaust memorial, a sculpture by Oscar Nemon called "Mother and Child."

Osijek's main synagogue was designed by the architect Theodor Stern. It was built in 1869 on the upper town's main commercial street, opposite the county hall. It was a massive brick building with a plaster facade and terracotta decoration. Built in a style utilizing both neo-Romanesque and neo-Moorish forms, it had two towers topped by lotus domes and was taller than any other building in the town. The synagogue burned in 1941 and its ruins were torn down in 1948-1950. An apartment building now stands on the spot.

A smaller synagogue was built in Osijek's Lower Town in 1903. The architect is not known. It is a freestanding building combining neo-Romanesque and neo-Moorish elements, with a slightly projecting central facade flanked by two towers topped by 'onion' domes. This synagogue was sold by the Jewish community and, since 1970, has functioned as a Pentecostal church. It is in good condition. The tablets of the Ten Commandments from its synagogue history can still be seen – below a cross – at the peak of the central part of the facade. The Ark, crowned by Tablets of the Law, remains in place, as do Stars of David in the round windows of the former women's gallery.

The Jewish cemetery in the Upper Town (at Cepinska 11-13), dating back to 1850, and still in use by the community, has a neo-Romanesque ceremonial hall in good condition, and is surrounded by a fence. Many of its 500-600 tombs denote the prosperity of the pre-war community. Inscriptions on the tombs are in Hebrew, German, Hungarian, and Croatian. The condition of the cemetery is good; maintenance is fair.

The Lower Town Jewish cemetery was established in 1860, and has 70-100 tombs with inscriptions in Hebrew, German, and Hungarian. Though surrounded by a wire fence with a gate, it is overgrown and not well maintained. The small cemetery chapel was slightly damaged in the 1990s war but it has been repaired.

### **3. Split**

Jews lived near Split in Salona in ancient Roman times (see Archaeological Sites on page 17). After Salona was destroyed by invaders in the seventh century, Jews presumably took refuge within the walls of the nearby palace and founded the core of the eventual Jewish community in

the new settlement, which grew into the city of Split. The first documentary evidence of a Jewish community in Split dates from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, when Episcopal records mention a “great synagogue” within the walls of the palace.

The Jewish community grew markedly with the arrival of exiles from Spain and Portugal in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and the early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Today about 100 Jews live in Split.

The existing synagogue is believed to date from about 1500, but it has been rebuilt and renovated many times since then. It was incorporated into a residential building in the northwestern corner of the palace walls. During the Italian occupation in 1942, Italian fascists devastated the tiny sanctuary, and destroyed most of the synagogue’s ritual objects, archives, Torah scrolls, books, and ancient archives in a public bonfire in the main town square.

On some of the interior walls of the palace, archaeologists have discovered carvings of menorahs with four to six branches and a base dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century concentrated in an area believed to have been the site of the earliest Jewish settlement or gathering place.

The synagogue was restored after the war. It is a rectangular room with windows set into arches, and a stone ark flanked by columns set under a decorative arch delineating the eastern wall. It was again fully renovated and ceremonially reopened in September 1996.

The synagogue is located on Zidovski prolaz (Jewish passage), a narrow alley in the cramped old Jewish quarter in the northwestern part of the palace, which is still known as the ghetto. Another alley is called “Jews’ Place” and the northwestern tower of the palace is known as “Jews’ Gate.”

The large, old Jewish cemetery is located on the eastern slope of Mt. Marjan above the town. The plot is more or less rectangular (with one side longer than the other). Jews obtained the site as a cemetery in 1573 after Jewish exiles from Spain and Portugal found refuge in Split but the earliest extant tombstone is from 1717. Jews were buried at the cemetery until World War II.

The cemetery includes some 700 tombstones. There are two types of stones, both horizontal in the Sephardic fashion: one in the shape of a sarcophagus roof, and the other a flat slab. Both types have inscriptions in Hebrew, in often elaborate calligraphy. The modern tombs have additional inscriptions in Italian or Croatian but there is no elaborate graphic or figurative decoration. Two 17<sup>th</sup> century tombstones brought to Split from the islands of Hvar and Brac do have figurative decorations. The one from Jelsa on Hvar shows a dove with an olive branch and the one from Bol on Brac shows an angel climbing a ladder to the sky with the inscription “This friend has mounted/Into angelic heights/To take a rest in the garden of Eden/In the Grove of Salvation.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Efron, Zusja and Dusko Keckemet. *Zidovsko Groblje u Splitu 1573-1973*. Split: Jewish Community of Split, 1973, 24.

The cemetery is a unique monument as one of the oldest cemeteries in this part of Europe. The attractive location, on the forested slope above the city, makes it particularly picturesque. It is surrounded with a wall and has a gate. But, although the cemetery is designated a cultural monument, maintenance is not good; it is partly overgrown and traces of vandalism are visible.

There is a cemetery chapel, now used as a coffee house.

There is a Holocaust memorial in the new Jewish cemetery, which is a section of the Lovrinac municipal cemetery.

#### **4. Dubrovnik**

Dubrovnik was an important maritime and trading center. For centuries, it was an independent city-state republic known as Ragusa. Jewish presence was first recorded in 1356 but the community began to flourish with the arrival of refugees following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492.

Today, the Jewish community numbers 46 people, only about 20 of whom actually live in Dubrovnik.

A Jewish ghetto was set up in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century on a single street, Zudioska (Jewish Street). A steep, narrow alley originally called Lojarska, it is located in the center of the city just off the Stradun, the wide promenade that forms the heart of the Old Town. The ghetto had 11 houses and a synagogue, and it was closed by gates at either end. The houses were connected to each other and also with the synagogue by interior passageways, so it was possible to move through the ghetto from house to house, without setting foot outdoors.

The synagogue was established in 1408. It is on the upper floor of a narrow, two-story stone building at Zudioska 5 and, probably, dated to 1300. The exterior is similar to other buildings on the street, though noteworthy for its windows framed by pointed Saracen arches on the first (U.S. second) floor. The sanctuary was redesigned in the baroque style in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and features a delicately carved wooden lecturne, and a wooden ark flanked by Corinthian columns with twisted shafts.

The synagogue survived a major earthquake in 1667 and World War II. During World War II, the local Toletino family smuggled the precious ritual objects – and even the ark – to safety using the internal passages that linked the synagogue to neighboring houses. These objects include valuable silver and textiles, as well as Torah scrolls from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries that were brought to Dubrovnik from Spain after 1492.

When Dubrovnik was attacked in 1991 and 1992, two shells hit the synagogue roof and caused serious damage. Restoration work was begun in 1996, overseen by the Dubrovnik Rebuilding Fund, a nonprofit organization established jointly by the Dubrovnik tourist agency Atlas and the American Society of Travel Agents. A non-Jewish couple from Washington, DC spearheaded fundraising after visiting the synagogue in June 1996. The restoration was completed in 1997 and the synagogue was rededicated that year during Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year.

For several years during the 1990s, Dubrovnik Jews engaged in a legal battle to regain more than 50 of their ritual objects that had been taken to the United States in 1993-4 by a former president of the community, Michael Papo. The objects were sent to the United States on loan for an exhibition at Yeshiva University Museum. Papo then argued that the objects would not be safe in Dubrovnik given the continuing Balkan conflicts. Backed by the Croatian government, the Dubrovnik Jewish community took the case to court in Zagreb and New York and eventually got the objects back in late 1998.

Since then, two rooms on the floor beneath the synagogue were refurbished and equipped with alarm systems as exhibition halls for the treasures.

In addition, the community moved its office to a nearby building, at Zudioska 3, where it hoped to renovate two apartments for community use.

The Jewish community purchased a plot for a cemetery in 1652. It was located in the Ploce district, outside the old city near the northern ramparts. The community sold the land at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and transferred the graves, to the still in use Boninovo cemetery outside of the town. (The site of the original cemetery is now a parking lot.) The exhumation and transfer was completed in 1911. About 30 tombstones from the old cemetery lean against the wall, and fragments of old tombstones have been cemented into the wall.

Boninovo has about 200 tombstones. It is well maintained and surrounded by a high wall with a gate. There is a small, but well maintained cemetery chapel. The site is designated as an historic landmark. There are several main types of grave markers, with inscriptions in Hebrew, Ladino, and Croatian. These include:

- traditional Sephardic style horizontal slabs with ornamental carving and Hebrew inscription;
- horizontal tombs with ornamentation that exhibits a Turkish influence -- sun, moon, stars, and stylized plant motif;
- horizontal tombs shaped like sarcophagi with peaked or gabled roofs and Hebrew inscriptions on the sides; and
- upright Ashkenazic style upright tombstones and other markers.

A number of old Jewish tombstones were used in the construction of the northern side of the city walls. Some sources say that this occurred during reconstruction work in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to repair the damage caused by a devastating earthquake in 1667. Others say that it was done during World War I.

## **5. Rijeka**

A Jewish presence in Rijeka dates back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and a Jewish community was formally established in 1781. The first synagogue was founded in 1832 in the home of Mozes Halevi in Calle del Tempio. Rijeka (known as Fiume in Italian) was a major seaport on the Istrian peninsula and attracted Jews from all over the Hapsburg Empire. Later, when Istria

became part of Italy after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in World War I, the city attracted many Jews from Italy.

As many as 2,500 Jews lived in Rijeka between the two world wars. In addition to the main Neologue community, there was a smaller Orthodox congregation, mainly comprised of immigrants from Poland, Russia, and Galicia.

The ornate, domed Neologue synagogue designed by Lipot Baumhorn and built in 1902-3 was destroyed in 1944. Its grandeur testified to the prosperity of the local Jews, who included merchants, businessmen, and other prominent citizens.

The modest, modernist Orthodox synagogue built in 1928, survived the war and is in use today by the 70-member Rijeka Jewish community.<sup>11</sup> It is one of only three synagogues in Croatia (along with Dubrovnik and Split) that were not damaged, destroyed, or converted for other use during or after World War II. Designed by G. Angyal and P. Fabbro, it has an asymmetrical, three-part façade, featuring a brick tower and two entrances of different heights. Inside, there is a vestibule and a sanctuary divided into three sections. There is little decoration aside from the stone and brick wall facing. The synagogue contains a beautiful, elaborate Ark made of Carrara marble that was brought to Rijeka from Ancona, Italy.

The synagogue has been designated for protective status as a cultural monument by the Rijeka Commission of the National Bureau for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage.

The old Jewish cemetery was founded in 1840 or earlier outside the city walls and was used for burials until 1874.

In 1875, a Jewish section was established in the new Kozala municipal cemetery. It has a ceremonial hall, about 550 monuments, and is listed as a historic landmark. A score of tombstones from the old Jewish cemetery were moved here and incorporated into a commemorative wall. In 1981, the Jewish community erected a Holocaust memorial in the cemetery. Designed in white Istrian stone by architect Zdenko Sila, it bears the names of the 278 Holocaust victims from Rijeka.

### **IV.3. Holocaust Sites**

The Fascist Ustasa regime established some 30 concentration camps to isolate and eliminate "non-Croatian" elements of the population and political opponents. Jews were considered "foreign" as were other non-Catholic minorities, including Serbs, Roma (Gypsies), and Muslims. Inmates were murdered at the camps or deported to the German death camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. There are monuments at some of these places.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For Details, see Musafia, Josip. "The Orthodox Synagogue in Rijeka," in *Voice*, No. 2, Autumn 1998, Zagreb, 38-39.

<sup>12</sup> The Jewish community in Zagreb has an extensive Holocaust Documentation Center that has begun to publish material and set up a database on Holocaust topics, including victims and survivors. See, for example, Svob, Melita. *Jews in Croatia: Holocaust Victims and Survivors*. Zagreb: Jewish Community of Zagreb, 2000.

## **1. Jasenovac**

The largest of the Croatian camps were a complex of five subcamps along the Sava River known as Jasenovac. Four -- at Krapje, Brocica, Ciglana, Kozasa -- were close to one another about 60 miles (97 kilometers) south of Zagreb. The fifth -- Stara Gradiska -- was further away.

Estimates of the number of Jews killed at Jasenovac range from 8,000 to 20,000. Noted historian Dr. Slavko Goldstajn, former President of the Council of the Jasenovac Memorial, puts the number at 16,000 to 17,000. In addition, most of the 7,000 Jews estimated to have been sent to Auschwitz from Croatian camps were sent from Jasenovac.

A museum was established at Jasenovac. In 1991, archives, tapes, documents, and other relics documenting the camp were removed for safekeeping during the wars of the 1990s. In 2000, the material was sent to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, where it was catalogued and restored.

In December 2001, trunkloads of this material were returned and reinstalled in the Jasenovac Museum, which had been restored to house the relics.

## **2. Danica**

The first Ustasa concentration camp was established in this town near Koprivnica during April 1941. About 600 Jews were interned there. During July 1941 they were transferred to other camps and most were killed. A monument shaped like a giant gallows was erected at Danica in 1981.

## **3. Djakovo**

Djakovo was the site of a World War II transit camp for Jews. It was set up in a local mill and operated from December 1941 to the summer of 1942. Initial transports from Sarajevo brought more than 1,800 women and children. These were followed in February and March 1942 by further transports bringing more than 1,100 women and children from the camp at Stara Gradiska. Nearly 570 people died during detention at Djakovo. The remaining 2,450 were taken to Jasenovac where they were killed between June 15 and July 5, 1942. The Jews who died at the Djakovo camp were buried in a special part of the municipal cemetery in 1942. Each individual grave has a metal marker showing birth and death dates. The site is designated a historic landmark. There is also a monument to the Holocaust victims.<sup>13</sup>

## **4. Rab**

Some 3,500 Jews were interned by the Italians on Rab Island.

A plaque erected at a ceremony in 1993 honors the "Jewish Partisan Battalion," a unit formed by Jewish Rab internees after Italy capitulated to the Allies in September 1943.

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<sup>13</sup> See Goldstein, Ivo. "The Genocide of the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in *Voice*, No. 1, op cit.; 35.

Photographic documentation of conditions on Rab exists. These are photographs taken clandestinely by Elvira Kohn, a Jewish Croatian photo-journalist who smuggled her camera and rolls of film with her when she was interned on Rab in 1943.<sup>14</sup>

#### **IV.4. Archeological Sites**

##### **1. Salona (Solin)**

Salona (now a suburb of Split called Solin) was the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia and one of the most important Roman commercial seaports on the Adriatic. Archeological finds dating to the second and third centuries C.E. reveal traces of a well established Jewish community. These include a pendant, ceramic oil lamps decorated with menorahs, a fragment of a Jewish sarcophagus marked with a menorah, and the tombstone of a Syrian Jew named Malhos.

Salona was destroyed by Avar invaders in the early seventh century. Jews from Salona are presumed to have sought refuge with other survivors in the neighboring palace of Diocletian and formed the core of the Jewish community of Split.

##### **2. Senj**

A third century tombstone of a Jew, Aurelius Dionisius, was found in Senj, a town on the northern Adriatic coast that was an ancient Roman port at the intersection of two main trade routes. There is no indication of a permanent Jewish settlement. The tombstone's inscription is in Greek.

##### **3. Mursa**

The ancient Roman settlement of Mursa (now Osijek), was a major inland commercial center. Archeological evidence indicates that there was a Jewish community with a synagogue. A fragment of an excavated slab bears an inscription noting the "renewal of the *proseuche*" – *proseuche* was a Greek term for synagogue used by the Romans.

#### **IV.5. Site List**

##### **1. Cernik**

A Jewish cemetery established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was reported in the 1990s to still exist.

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<sup>14</sup> See Ivanus, Rhea. "The Photographs of Elvira Kohn," in *Voice* No. 2, op cit, 58 ff.

## **2. Cakovec**

Jewish Community  
Travnik 28  
40000 Cakovec  
Tel: 040/363339

The Jewish cemetery is part of the municipal cemetery established in 1897 and is still actively used today. It includes tombstones from the old Jewish cemetery, which was located in the center of the town and in use for burials from 1794 through 1927. There is a monument to

Holocaust victims but the ceremonial hall built in 1891 was demolished in 1991. Its foundations are still visible as a huge rectangle, opposite to the main entrance.

The cemetery is listed as a historical landmark and maintained by local authorities and the Cakovec Jewish community. It is fairly well maintained, although some of the stones are lying on the ground.

The gate is decorated with two menorahs. There are three family mausoleums, built at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century. The tombstones are inscribed in Hungarian, German, Hebrew, and Croatian.

The synagogue was built in 1836, damaged during World War II, and demolished after 1945. The plot was confiscated in 1959.

## **3. Daruvar**

Jewish community:  
Vinogradska St.  
43500 Daruvar

The synagogue, part of a complex including a rabbi's house and cheder (Jewish primary school), was built in 1860 and was used until 1941. The property was nationalized in 1948 but the building still stands. The synagogue was extensively rebuilt in 1951 and converted into a theater. All Jewish symbols were removed. In 1999, it was reportedly being transformed into a Pentecostal church.

The Jewish cemetery on Vinogradska Street was established in 1860 and is listed as a historic landmark. It is still actively used and has about 200 gravestones protected by a wire fence. It was restored in the 1990s and has a Holocaust memorial. Ivan Ceresnjes reports that the cemetery is under the personal protection and care of Zlatko Bienenfeld, the head of the Jewish community. It is, he says, "wonderfully maintained ... The whole plot is one of the best-preserved small cemeteries in the area."

#### **4. Dakovo**

The Jewish cemetery, established in 1879, is located next to the municipal cemetery. It has about 700 tombs and a neo-Romanesque Ceremonial Hall, also built in 1879, with a Holocaust memorial to the women and children victims of the Dakovo concentration camp.

Dakovo was the site of a World War II transit camp for Jews from December 1941 through the summer of 1942. Initial transports from Sarajevo brought more than 1,800 women and children. These were followed in February and March 1942 by further transports bringing more than 1,100 women and children from the camp at Stara Gradiska. Nearly 570 people died during detention at Dakovo. The remaining 2,450 were taken to Jasenovac where they were killed between June 15 and July 5, 1942. The Jews who died at the Dakovo camp were buried in 1942 in a special part of the municipal cemetery in individual marked graves. The site is designated a historic landmark, and there is also a monument to Holocaust victims.

The synagogue was built in 1880 and abandoned in 1941; the building was sold in 1948.

#### **5. Djurdjevac**

The Jewish cemetery was established in 1860 and its former size remains unknown. Today, only two tombstones exist, lying damaged in a Gypsy (Roma) village that was built on the site of the cemetery. On one of them, the carved blessing of the Cohanim is still visible.

#### **6. Gola**

There is a ruined Jewish cemetery next to the Christian cemetery. There are only about ten partly destroyed tombstones without legible inscriptions. Local authorities have promised to erect a fence around the site to protect it from further decay.

#### **7. Karlovac**

The cemetery dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is listed as a historical landmark. It has a fine, late-19<sup>th</sup> century ceremonial hall and about 200 tombs. In the past 15 years, it has suffered at least two instances of vandalism.

A street in Karlovac called Zidovska varos (Jewish town) marks the site of the former Jewish quarter. The synagogue designed by Ernest Mühlbauer and built in 1870-71 was built on the edge of the historic Jewish quarter area. It was used as a warehouse during World War II and was sold to the municipality in 1946. It was torn down around 1960.

#### **8. Koprivnica**

Jewish Community:  
Frankopanska 19  
43300 Koprivnica

The Jewish community founded around 1850 built a synagogue in 1875-76 located on Svilarska Street outside the city center. It had a tripartite facade with a taller middle section, clearly influenced -- as was the synagogue in Zagreb -- by Ludwig von Forster's synagogue in Vienna, Austria. During World War II, it was used as a prison. After the war, it was used as a warehouse and industrial site. In 1999, plans were made to convert it into a concert hall as part of a nearby music school. A memorial plaque was put up to honor Holocaust victims in 1996.

There is a Jewish cemetery dating from 1842 with a Ceremonial Hall and about 250 tombs, including five family mausoleums. The inscriptions on the oldest tombstones are in Hebrew and the later ones in German and Croatian, with a few in Hungarian. Bullet-scars from the battles fought in this region during the 1990s war mark the majority of the tombstones. The cemetery has a monument to Jewish soldiers who died in World War I. In 1975, a monument to Holocaust victims was erected. The ceremonial hall, long in disuse, was recently reconstructed and its entrance wall and the main façade serve as a Holocaust memorial. The whole cemetery is surrounded by a wall and is fairly well maintained by the tiny Jewish community. The community was reestablished at the end of the 1990s and has a few dozen members.

## **9. Kotoriba**

In the mid-1990s, the Jewish cemetery had the remains of a few monuments.

## **10. Krapina**

The Jewish section of the Municipal Cemetery was established in 1890 and has 30 well-maintained tombs, with inscriptions in Hebrew, German, and Croatian. The ceremonial hall was destroyed about 20 years ago but its foundations are still visible. There is no separation between the Jewish section and the rest of the cemetery.

## **11. Krizevci**

The synagogue was built in 1895 by Bernard Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch. It had a tripartite facade in pointed brickwork and rough plastering with a raised, semi-circular central section topped by the Ten Commandments and enclosing a rose window. Neo-Renaissance decorative elements included arched windows, corner finials with the Star of David, and a balustrade on the roof. The synagogue was abandoned in 1941 and nationalized in 1949. It was converted into a youth center in 1956. All decorative elements were removed. The building exists, housing cultural offices and, as of the mid-1990s, a radio station.

There are two Jewish cemeteries. The old cemetery was established in 1840 and nationalized in 1958. Designated a historical landmark, the site exists with 70 tombs.

The New cemetery is a section of the main municipal cemetery, established in 1899 and surrounded by a high wall. It has about 100 monuments with inscriptions in German, Hebrew,

and Croatian and is well maintained. There is a monument to Jews from Krizevci who served and died in World War I.

There is no ceremonial hall, but there are monumental arcades with tombs of prominent members of the Jewish community. There are five family mausoleums adjacent to each other with burials dating from 1920-38. Despite the general good maintenance of the cemetery, the entire complex is in a state of serious decay.

The original registry book of the Krizevci Chevra Kadisha from 1868 is kept in the archives of the Zagreb Jewish community. It contains a history of the organization and of the two cemeteries, statutes, plans of both cemeteries, and a list of persons buried in the cemeteries.

## **12. Kutina**

The Jewish cemetery is a part of the extremely large, main municipal cemetery. It has about 70-80 monuments. It is difficult to locate, since it is situated in a distant, un-maintained part of the cemetery and is heavily overgrown with vegetation. All the tombstones are heavily damaged and vandalized. Many tombs were broken open long ago, and the inscriptions are barely legible. The languages used in the inscriptions are German, written sometimes with Hebrew characters, and Croatian. The situation of the cemetery is desperate.

## **13. Legrad**

The Jewish cemetery was located outside of the village. Today the site is covered with thick underbrush and almost totally inaccessible. The remnants of only two tombs are apparent.

## **14. Lipik**

The Jewish cemetery is part of the main municipal cemetery and was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It has some 30-40 monuments, all of them damaged and, possibly, vandalized. All inscriptions have been destroyed.

The area was the scene of fierce battles between Serbs and Croats in 1991 and traces of heavy fighting are visible on every stone.

## **15. Ludbreg**

The synagogue, which was built in 1895, was abandoned in 1941, sold in 1948, and transformed into a residential building that still exists as a private property.

A Jewish section of the municipal cemetery was established in 1890 and still exists with 29 monuments and one family mausoleum. A number of monuments have the date of birth marked with a Star of David and the date of death with a cross. It appears that tombs marked like this are relatively well maintained. The other, "purely" Jewish tombs (that is, without the cross marking date of death), however, do not seem to be well cared for, although there is no significant distance between them and the rest of the cemetery. A couple of these stones are lying on the

ground, but it was not possible to establish if they were toppled deliberately or had fallen because of the condition of the ground.

The names on the tombs are all Ashkenazic, and inscriptions are in German, Hebrew, and Croatian. Overall maintenance is relatively good.

#### **16. Nasice**

The synagogue was built in 1898 and destroyed in 1942.

The cemetery dates from 1865 and still exists. It has about 60-70 tombs. It is completely overgrown and does not have a fence.

#### **17. Nova Gradiska (Cernik)**

There appears to have been an old Jewish cemetery established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Nova Gradiska but Ivan Ceresnjes reported that "no relevant information about its destiny could be found." Neither the municipality nor the local museum had any information about it. (Note: This contradicts information provided by former Zagreb community activist Srdjan Matic and published on the JewishGen Website that an 18<sup>th</sup> century cemetery with 50-70 monuments exists and is listed as a historic landmark. According to Matic's information, the cemetery was renovated in 1990, damaged during the war in 1992 and renovated again in 1994.)

Jews from Nova Gradiska used the Jewish cemetery in nearby Cernik. This cemetery, established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, is inaccessible due to the overgrowth of vegetation and a huge pile of timber blocking the gate. The cemetery is partly fenced. A cemetery chapel exists in ruins. The cemetery also has one mausoleum but Ceresnjes was not able to examine it closely as access was impossible.

#### **18. Opatija**

The cemetery, which was established in 1908, exists today. It has about 75 monuments and also a Holocaust memorial.

#### **19. Orahovica**

The cemetery was destroyed immediately after World War II.

#### **20. Pakrac**

The cemetery, which was established in 1875, still exists.

## **21. Pitomaca**

The Jewish cemetery was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but there are no more monuments left; they disappeared without a trace. Ivan Ceresnjec could not find out from neighbors just what happened to them. He speculates that, since the Catholic cemetery is on the other side of the street, there is a possibility that stones from the Jewish cemetery were stolen and reused there.

## **22. Pleternica**

A dozen or so monuments were reported to exist in the 19th century cemetery.

## **23. Podravska Slatina**

No trace remains of the Jewish cemetery that was established in 1858. Remains from the cemetery were exhumed in the 1970s.

## **24. Podravske Sesvete**

Nineteenth century cemetery still exists.

## **25. Sisak**

The synagogue, built on the main town square, dates from about 1880. It was sold in 1949 and as of the late 1990s was used as a music school.

The cemetery was established in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. It suffered heavily from Allied bombing during World War II and remains were exhumed in 1960. According to Ivan Ceresnjec, about 150 tombstones were still standing a few years ago but on a more recent visit he found only "a few broken stones." The cemetery, he says, "literally disappeared after the last war."

## **26. Slavonska Pozega**

The Jewish cemetery was established in 1900. It is large, with approximately 600 monuments but it is very neglected and overgrown. It has not been used for burial for decades and is not being maintained. Many monuments are lying on the ground; there appears to be little chance that they will be re-erected in the foreseeable future. Also there are scars of the recent war (maybe even the previous one?) visible on many monuments. Inscriptions are in Hebrew, German, and Croatian.

## **27. Slavonski Brod**

The Jewish community was founded in 1873. The massive freestanding synagogue with two towers and a big rose window was built in 1896 by Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch on the site of the community's first synagogue, which had been in a private home. The synagogue was devastated in 1941 and appears to have been fully demolished in Allied bombing later in the war.

The Jewish cemetery was established in 1880, still exists, and is well maintained, with about 100 tombstones surrounded by a high wall of brick masonry and a gate. Languages used for inscriptions are Hebrew, German, Hungarian, and Croatian. The cemetery has a Holocaust memorial, a family mausoleum of the Cohen family, and a large ceremonial hall dating to 1880, which is in a seriously-neglected condition.

## **28. Suhopolje**

A small Jewish cemetery with 10-15 monuments is located inside the Catholic cemetery but visibly separated from the other tombs. There have been no burials since World War II but the cemetery is well maintained. The languages used for inscriptions are Hungarian, Croatian, Hebrew, and German.

## **29. Uljanik**

A cemetery founded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century still existed in the mid-1990s and had 15-20 monuments.

## **30. Varazdin**

Jews settled in Varazdin, about 50 miles northwest of Zagreb, in 1777. The first Jewish school in Croatia was founded in the town in 1826.

The facade of the Neo-Moorish Synagogue, built in 1861, had a central section with an arched top above a small rose window. This was flanked by two side towers, topped by 'onion' domes.

The synagogue was damaged in 1941 and rebuilt in 1946. In 1969, it was turned into a movie theater. The rear exterior remained intact, with blond stone and high, arched windows, but the front part was replaced with a red entryway in a socialist-realist style. The cinema has since vacated the premises.

The large walled Jewish cemetery, dating from 1806, has 500-700 tombs. Located just out of town on the road to Koprivnica, it is in a relatively good condition, recently restored, and well maintained, though it has been the victim of vandalism. Ivan Ceresnjec found a number of monuments lying on the ground. A significant number of the monuments are older slabs with Hebrew and German inscriptions. The newer monuments are in the style of the Christian monuments from the same era and are richly decorated. On the newer monuments, it is common to see inscriptions in Croatian and, sometimes, in Hungarian. The cemetery chapel, built in 1900, is designated a historical landmark.

## **31. Vinkovci**

The large Jewish cemetery was established in 1870 in a complex with cemeteries of other religions. It is totally overgrown with vegetation, though the other cemeteries in the same complex are very well maintained. Only the foundations of the cemetery chapel remain.

### **32. Virovitica**

The Jewish cemetery is located outside town, at ulica Ericha Shlomovica 1. Established in 1870, it has 181 monuments and a seriously rundown cemetery chapel. The oldest tomb is that of Moritz Wilchek and is dated October 26, 1872. Listed as a historical landmark, the cemetery also has monuments moved from the old cemetery located in the neighboring village of Antunovac. The cemetery was used from 1830 to 1870. There is an imposing stone block at the entrance. It has an inscription in German (in Gothic characters) and Hebrew urging that the tombs be cared for.

Many monuments have been damaged, broken, or knocked down, and a couple of dozen stones are missing. There was serious fighting in the area in the 1991-92 war, and traces of bullets scar all the stones. Some slabs have been moved and it is obvious that some tombs have been opened. On some monuments, traces of pickaxes and hammers are visible.

A significant part of the plot, between the cemetery chapel and the first line of tombs, is used for agricultural purposes by an elderly couple who live in the chapel and serves as caretakers for the cemetery. Behind the chapel, are a few tombs, mainly of children.

Restoration of the cemetery has been scheduled. It was recently cleared of vegetation, so all monuments are accessible. Languages used for inscriptions are German, Hungarian, Hebrew, and Croatian.

### **33. Voloder**

The Jewish cemetery no longer exists.

### **34. Vrbovec**

The Jewish cemetery, established before 1914, is located at the edge of town. It has about 50 monuments. Though fenced with barbed wire, it is overgrown and seriously neglected. Inscriptions are in Hebrew, German, and Croatian. Access is through a private property between a henhouse and a pigsty.

### **35. Vukovar**

The Jewish cemetery, established in 1850 in a suburb of the town, is well maintained by the city's public works service. It has some 75 to 100 monuments with inscriptions in Hebrew, Hungarian, German, and Croatian, and is surrounded by a fence without a gate. The imposing ceremonial hall, one of the largest in the region, was heavily damaged in the 1990s war, when much of the town was destroyed.

Vukovar's first synagogue, dating from 1857, was turned into a church and demolished in the 1950s.

Its splendid “new synagogue,” designed by Viennese architect Ludwig Schone and inaugurated in 1889, was the first domed synagogue in Croatia. It was partially destroyed in 1941. In 1958, the Federation of Jewish Communities sold it for the material and had it demolished.

**36. Zala**

There is a small Jewish cemetery next to the Christian one, with just six monuments. Only one of them has a legible inscription - the name Pichler. There is no fence and no maintenance.

**37. Zupanja**

A cemetery that was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century still existed in the mid-1990s on property confiscated after 1945.

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**United States Commission for  
the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad**

**888 17<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, Suite 1160  
Washington, DC 20006**

**Phone: (202) 254-3824 Fax: (202) 254-3934**

**e-mail: [uscommission@heritageabroad.gov](mailto:uscommission@heritageabroad.gov)**

**Website: [www.heritageabroad.gov](http://www.heritageabroad.gov)**