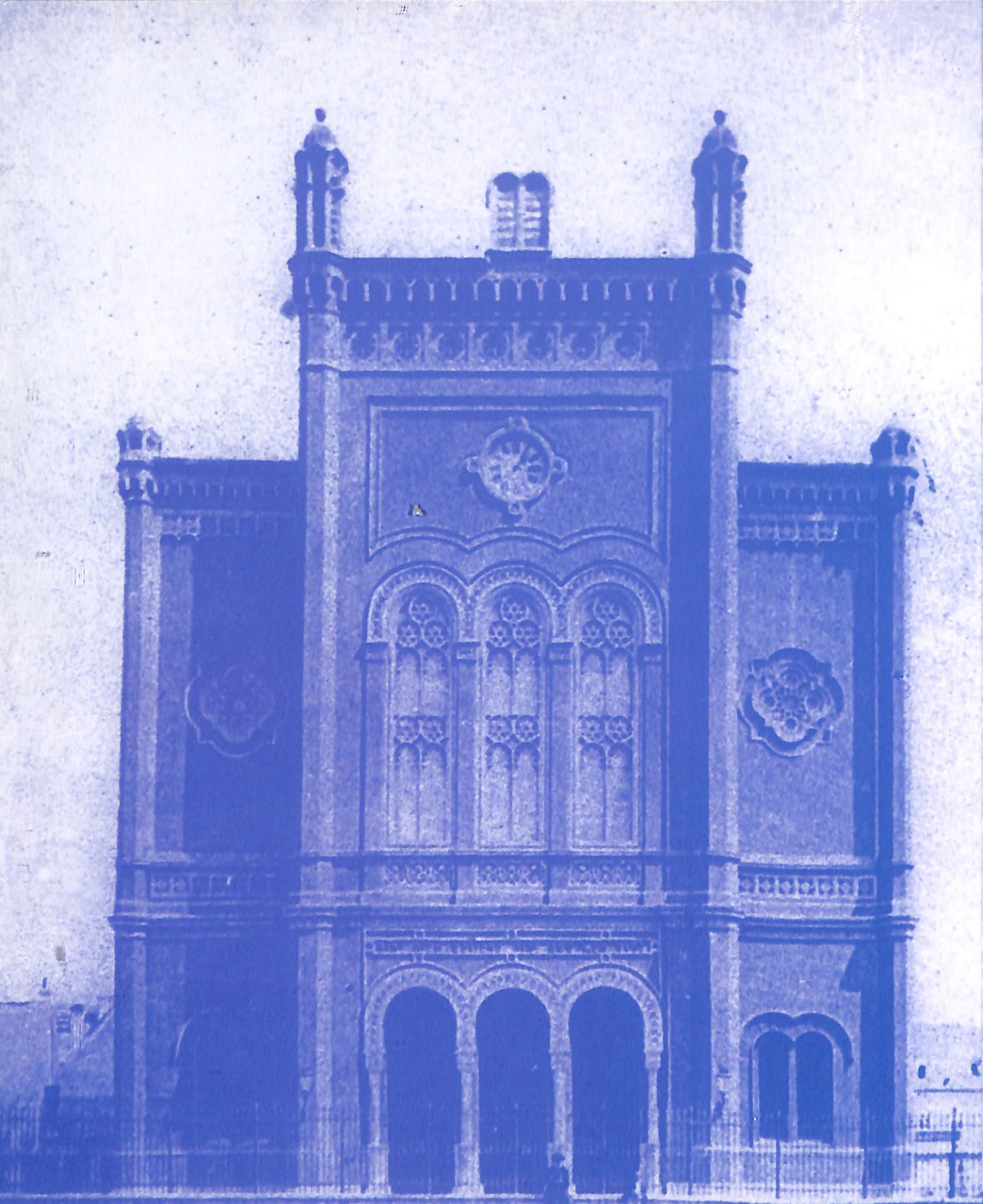


THE SYNAGOGUE AND ZAGREB



The Jewish Community in Zagreb
2007.



Front page: Aerial photograph of the Centre of Zagreb with the Synagogue, about 1930; City of Zagreb museum, photograph records, 16401

Zagreb Synagogue after 1867. Photograph by Ivan Standl; City of Zagreb Museum, photograph records, 2210



Zagreb Jewish Community

THE SYNAGOGUE AND ZAGREB

EXHIBITION

Archeological Museum in Zagreb

The Jewish Community in Zagreb was experiencing a process of social and cultural growth when it started building its Synagogue. The Synagogue was consecrated in 1867, five years before the Jews in Croatia achieved full civil equality. As one of the first really outstanding buildings in the Lower Town it clearly expressed the identity of the Jewish Community of Zagreb and made an important contribution to the development of the new city centre in the Lower Town.

All the Zagreb chroniclers recorded the Synagogue as a significant landmark. The visit of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Francis Joseph I to the Synagogue carried an important ideological message. While in Zagreb, the Emperor also visited the Cathedral, and the Orthodox and Lutheran churches. The vital and creative energy of the European Jewry was very apparent in those liberal times and Croatian Jews followed suit. In spite of internal ideological controversies among the Jews of Zagreb at the turn of the century, the Synagogue remained their spiritual and symbolic fulcrum.

The Synagogue was torn down between from the autumn of 1941 and late spring of 1942 with primitive tools and almost bare hands. It is a historical symbol of the tragedy of the Jews in Zagreb and Croatia. The Holocaust started for them with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia and the Ustasha government on the 10th of April 1941. Only one-fifth of the Jewish population in Zagreb survived the greatest Jewish tragedy.

The survivors from the death camps and returnees from all kinds of exile met again on the rubble of Zagreb after May 1945. Patiently and with perseverance they gradually renewed the life of the small community, made even smaller by the Aliyah to the newly founded State of Israel. In the beginning, everything revolved around the healing of the wounds and spiritual and material care. In the atmosphere of secularization pervading the society of that time, the Jews expressed their identity by loyalty to traditions and customs. As always, they turned to culture and, afterwards, exhibited the remnants of their heritage. In the spirit of the Union of Jewish Communities from before the war and the new experience of the Shoah, there developed a new social cohesion that enabled the Jews to survive in spite of challenges and pressures from all sides.

In the nineties the Jews experienced major changes connected with political and social upheavals in their homeland. The Jewish Community in Zagreb became the rallying point of Jewry for the Republic of Croatia. Today, it is firmly embedded in the present and looks self-consciously to the future. In the spirit of the Jewish tradition it keeps alive the remembrance of its history and, particularly, of the victims of the Holocaust.

We want to build a house on the spot where the Synagogue has been missing for sixty years but continues to exist in our hearts and minds. Here, we will bring together the past, the present and the future. With this exhibition we announce the Jewish Cultural Centre and Synagogue at 7, Praška Street.

When the Jewish Religious Community in Zagreb informed in 1864 the city authorities that it intended to build a temple, it received the following answer: *"Propose a plan in accordance with the dignity of the Temple and this capital and of the site where it will be built"*.

In the twenty-first century the Jewish Community in Zagreb will endeavour to reaffirm on this site the relations between Jews and the City of Zagreb in accordance with this message, the symbol of which was the Synagogue until 1941.



Capital from a forecourt column, found in the ruins of the Synagogue after the Second World War

Note to the English edition of the exhibition catalogue
The Synagogue and Zagreb

After the exhibition it was decided to publish the catalogue in English, and we now present it to the international and Jewish public, to make the history of the old Synagogue and its site part of the preparations for the building of the Jewish Cultural Centre and Synagogue. This is why the English edition includes the story of the construction of the Synagogue in the nineteenth century and its history up to its demolition in 1941. This publication will, we hope, arouse the interest of individuals and institutions and their readiness to provide moral and material support for this undertaking. We also hope that it will come useful to the designers of the new building, which should symbolize both the tragedy and history and reflect our wish to confirm, on this site and in the twenty-first century, the vitality of the Jewish community in Zagreb and Croatia.

Dr Ognjen Kraus
President of the Jewish Community

The Synagogue — The symbol of the fate of the Zagreb Jews

This exhibition presents the fate of the Synagogue in the twentieth century, i.e. the history of a vacant site, which gaped in the centre of Zagreb after the destruction of the Synagogue in 1941/42. The site was given back to the Zagreb Jewish Community on the last day of 1999.

The Synagogue on Maria Valeria Street, later J.J. Strossmayer Street and, finally, Praška Street, was the only stately synagogue in Zagreb. However, after it had been built in some buildings and in various parts of the city centre there still existed places of worship of the Orthodox and Sephardic communities. The Temple was substantially and symbolically a place of gathering for the whole Jewish community of Zagreb, especially during important holidays, regardless of the differences in the service. An indirect testimony to it is the parokhet presented in 1914 to the synagogue by David, the son of Josip Hochstädter, the Rabbi and founder of the Orthodox Community, in memory of his father. It is one of the few preserved sacral objects from the Zagreb Synagogue. In this exhibition it serves primarily to evoke memory along with the pitifully small quantity of the surviving heritage.

The community, which numbered 3,000 members in 1900, found the Synagogue with its 400 seats too small. The idea of internal renovation was therefore considered. From 1901 to the mid-thirties famous Zagreb architects, mostly members of the Community, proposed several renovations, but only one was actually carried out in 1921. It involved an inconspicuous architectural and symbolic modification of the aron ha-kodesh behind which the organ was moved in order to free the western gallery for new seats. A special section of this catalogue is devoted to the ideas and blueprints regarding the architecture of the Synagogue from the first three decades of the twentieth century, described by the architect Aleksander Laslo who discovered, studied and explained the blueprints.

In 1933, the date of the last of these blueprints, the Jewish Community of Zagreb provided shelter and protection to many Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany (55,000 persons). Huge effort and energy were devoted to caring for these people and sending them to the free countries of the world. The Jewish intellectual elite issued warnings in the media about the growth of anti-Semitism and its dangerous implications, not only for the Jews but also for the future of the world.

Even before the outbreak of the World War Two the first anti-Jewish laws announced what would happen to the Jews first in Croatia, then in Bosnia - Herzegovina with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, the satellite of the Third Reich, and the Fascist Ustasha government in 1941. The genocide, "the final solution" of the Jewish question, reduced the Jewish population to four-fifths of the pre-war figure. The mass killing of people was accompanied by the destruction of all forms of their cultural expression and heritage. The demolition of the Zagreb Synagogue from autumn 1941 to spring 1942 was the symbol of the beginning of the Holocaust in Zagreb and Croatia. The photographs of its destruction, systematically recorded by Ustasha propaganda, were presented to the public in Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Sarajevo, Vukovar and Zemun in 1942 at an exhibition entitled: "*Jews – an Exhibition of Jewish Development and Their Devastating Activities in Croatia before 10 April 1941 – the Solution of the Jewish Question in Croatia*".

Ivo Kraus, one of the surviving Zagreb Jews who endeavoured to rebuild the life of the remnants of the Community after the liberation in 1945, managed to dig out a few fragments of the Synagogue from the rubble and to bring them as relics to the historic seat of the Zagreb Jewish Community at 16 Palmotičeva Street. A department store in a prefabricated building was erected on the empty site in the fifties. It burned down on the last day of 1980. A few years before that, studies had been made about what to build on the empty site, which was nationalized and designated as "social property". On the site so marked by so much tragic symbolism, these studies envisioned another department store to replace the prefabricated building. In 1977 tenders were invited for the project but nothing has ever been built.

It was only after 1986, when the Jewish Community started considering building a Jewish cultural centre and memorial synagogue at 7 Praška Street, that the site and its historic symbolism have stimulated Zagreb architects to consider the project. Within the scope of the planning for the Lower Town, the architect Branko Siladin, who participated in the competition for the department store with Hildegard Auf Franić in 1977, proposed an alternative solution for 7 Praška Street. The architect Branko Morsan, the author of the first prize-winning project, without any outside incentive, drew a sketch for a Jewish centre instead of the department store. The Jewish Community did not accept the Siladin project, which was the first to develop the symbolism and the aims of the Jewish cultural centre with a synagogue.

The intensive discussions within the Community finally shaped the concept of a cultural centre with a synagogue and outlined the preparations for construction after the international competition for the architectural plans. However, in spite of support from home and abroad, the city authorities delayed the issue of the relevant documents and as a result the implementation of the project was postponed.

With the fall of Yugoslavia in 1991 the Croatian Jewish Communities withdrew from the Union of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia. The Zagreb Community became the hub of the Jewish community in Croatia. In the same year the Community building at 16 Palmotičeva Street was seriously damaged in a bombing attack. The building was repaired and renovated with government assistance in 1992. After that, while aggression against Croatia was still under way, the idea of building a cultural centre resurfaced. The first condition for it was the restitution of the site at 7 Praška Street, expected by the Jewish Community in accordance with the Laws on Denationalization and Restitution of Property. It took years to pass the law. Finally, in the beginning of 2000 the site was restored to the Community.

Since 1996, when the Zagreb Jewish Community celebrated its 190th anniversary and when news started to spread about preparations to build in Praška Street, the interest of the public has grown continuously. Eight students of the School of Architecture at the University of Zagreb chose the project for their graduation thesis. As of 2001 the project is also the theme of an undergraduate workshop at the School involving ten students. Starting from the still incompletely defined brief for the centre these students, led by experienced teachers, will express the views of young, open-minded people about the project, which will be fully outlined by the expected international competition.

At the same time *Ha-Kol*, the Jewish Community paper, has initiated a survey about the form of the future building. A similar survey was run in 1987 and 1988 by the Community *Bulletin*. All the participants supported the idea of the building and agreed that the future centre must convey a strong symbolic message about heritage destruction during the Holocaust.

The responses published in the press and of other media over the last two years bear witness to the identification of the public with the project. They also clearly demonstrate the awareness of the importance of the ethic, urban and cultural challenge which the empty site on Praška Street poses for the Jews and for the City of Zagreb.

This exhibition is only a small step towards its realization.

Projects for the reconstruction of the synagogue 1901 – 1931

The Jewish temple on Praška Street, from its construction in 1867 to its destruction in 1941/42, was only renovated twice: after the big earthquake in 1881 and again in 1923. Stjepan Srkulj, on the eve of his second term as Mayor of Zagreb briefly noted both in his 1928 guide, "Zagreb in the Past and in the Present". He mentioned the renovations in two subsequent and somewhat abbreviated 1930 and 1936 editions of the guide. The editors of the "Zagreb City Almanac" published by "Albrecht-Acinger" in 1931 also confirmed this information.

The extent of the repairs carried out in 1881 after the earthquake can only be guessed in the photograph of the interior in Ivan Standl's album: "Images of the Zagreb Earthquake of November 1880". It shows the damage to the bay vault above the almemor and to the buttresses at the crown of the last pair of arches above the galleries of the side naves of the Synagogue. From this photograph and from the account of Josip Torbar in "Signs of Damage to Buildings" printed in 1882 in the "Report on the Zagreb Earthquake of 9th November 1880" there is no indication of any collapse in the interior of the Synagogue. Klein's building took the strong quake very well and confirmed the high quality of construction. The repairs needed to restore it to its original condition were minimal.

The real character of the "restoration" of 1923 has been made clear only relatively recently owing to a lucky coincidence. In 1996, as the preparations for the exhibition "Zagreb Synagogue – Reliquiae Reliquiarum" were under way, and the estate of the architect Aleksander Freudenreich was being studied in the archives of the Administration for Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, many blueprints for the various reconstruction projects of the Synagogue made between 1901 and 1931 were found. The blueprints were produced by the Hönigsberg & Deutsch studio, the architect Oton Goldscheider and, in particular, the Freudenreich & Deutsch studio. These projects were meant to increase the number of seats in the Synagogue for the ever-growing Zagreb Jewish Community. The plans were preserved in the extensive records of Hönigsberg & Deutsch, deliberately hidden or perhaps mistakenly included in the technical documentation for the construction of a four-storey apartment and office building of the Jewish Community on the corner of Amruševa and Petrinjska Streets in 1927 - 1929.

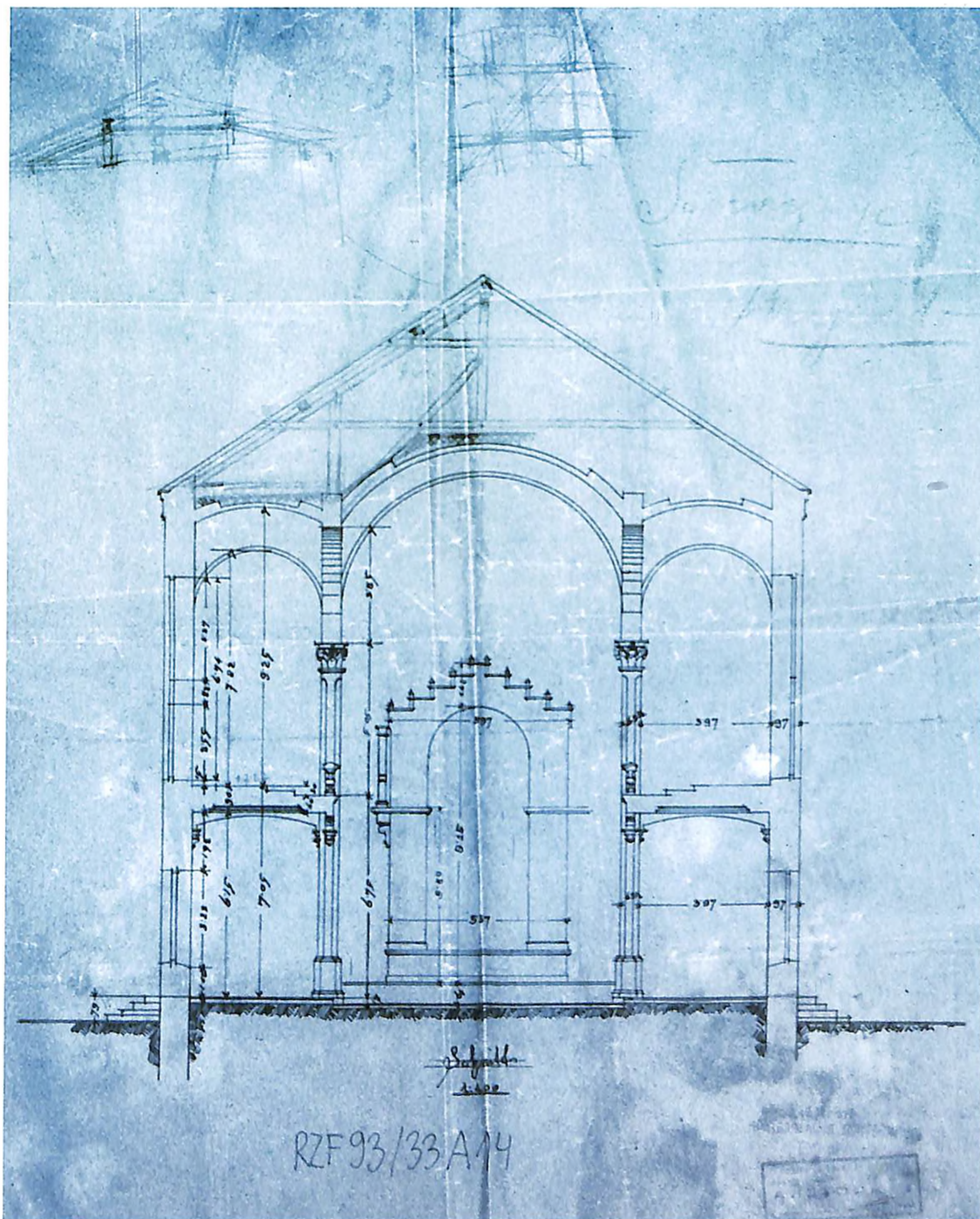
The first project was entrusted, at the turn of the century, to the most important studio in Zagreb, the Imperial and Royal Contractors Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch. At the time the Zagreb Jewish Community already had over 3,000 members. The plan was to obtain additional space by moving the organ from above the entrance to a niche above the aron ha-kodesh and by adding a new gallery in the side naves of the Synagogue. This problem took time (1901 - 04) and quite a few variants were considered. Later, when the idea of adding new galleries was abandoned, the younger members of the firm also took part in the project (the work of Alois Bastl can be recognized by his characteristic handwriting on the plans). On two occasions, in 1903 and 1904, the projects were submitted to the city authorities for approval.

The number of seats was increased twenty years later when the Community grew to twice as many members, based on the plans of Oton Goldscheider, former chief architect and partner of Hönigsberg & Deutsch. The project marked the beginning of his own career. Goldscheider added a shallow reinforced concrete frame anchored to the side naves by means of spiral staircases. This was added to the eastern front of the Synagogue. In the frame, above the aron ha-kodesh he placed a platform for the organ. In the same year the construction of the courtyard wing of today's Supreme Court building was completed. He also added washrooms between the floors of the frame. These had formerly been planned for the then ground floor in the north-eastern corner of the site. An adaptation of the western organ gallery increased the number of seats in the temple from 488 to 708. At the same time, however, the appearance of the frame of the niche for the aron ha-kodesh was radically changed.

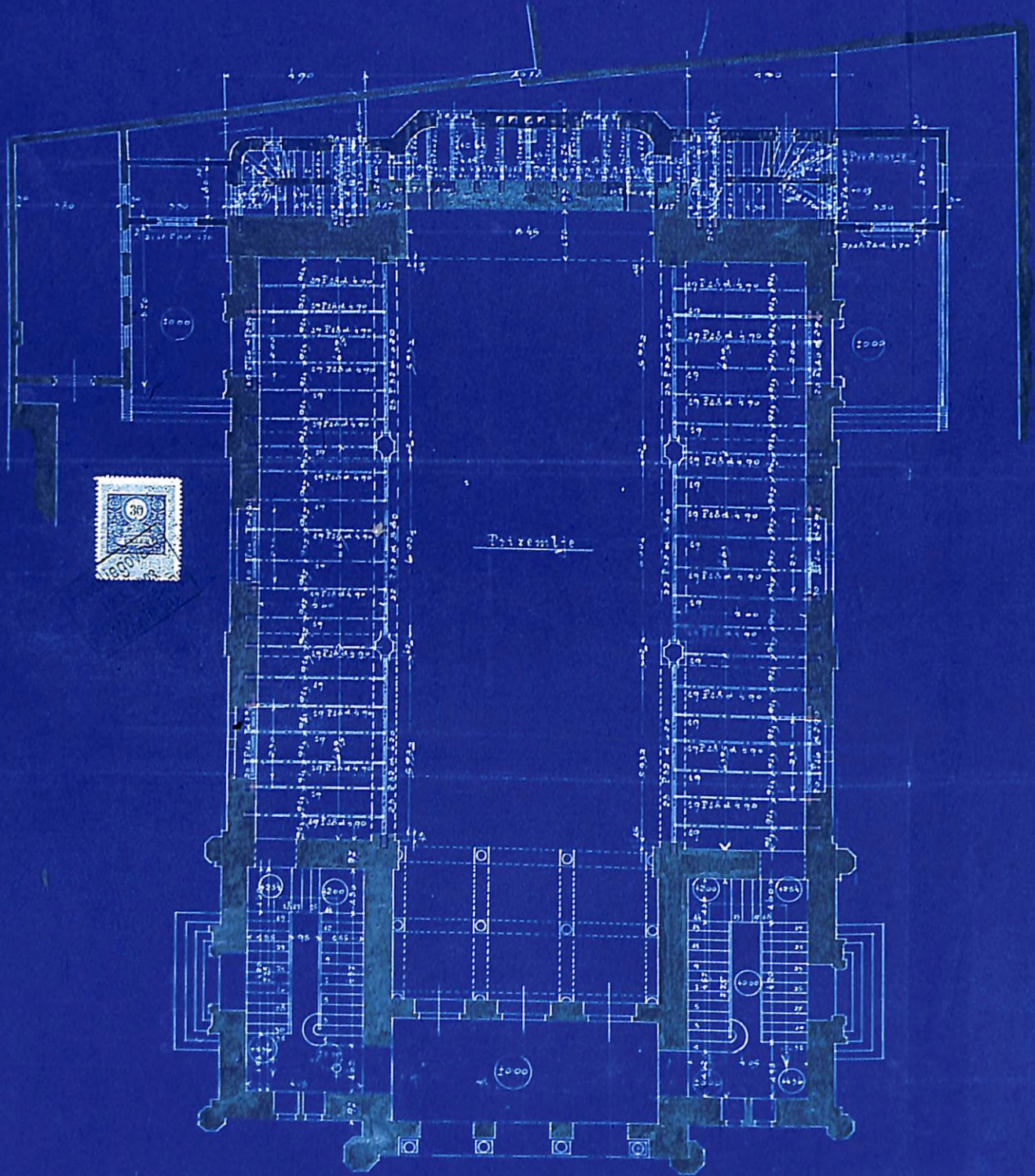
Only ten years later the renovation proved insufficient and Aleksander Freudenreich and Pavao Deutsch, the successors of the Studio Hönigsberg & Deutsch, planned a new renovation in 1931. They wanted to use the framework of the side naves to carry crossbeams in order to build two new galleries and increase the number of seats to 944. Their plan would have expanded the ground floor laterally and resulted in changes to the windows. These plans were given up and only a room for central heating was added on the ground floor.

Regardless of the intentions and extent of planned and executed renovations, the preserved blueprints are, for the time being, the only reliable source of data concerning the history of the Jewish Temple in Praška Street. Goldscheider's detailed photographs of the seats are a fragmentary but precious record of its internal decoration.

Leo Königsberg and Julius Deutsch
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 Ground-floor, Scale 1 : 100. Zagreb, February 1901.
 Water-colour on blueprint, 49.2x41.6 cm.



Plan za pregledniw imalebičkog kvama u Zagrebu.

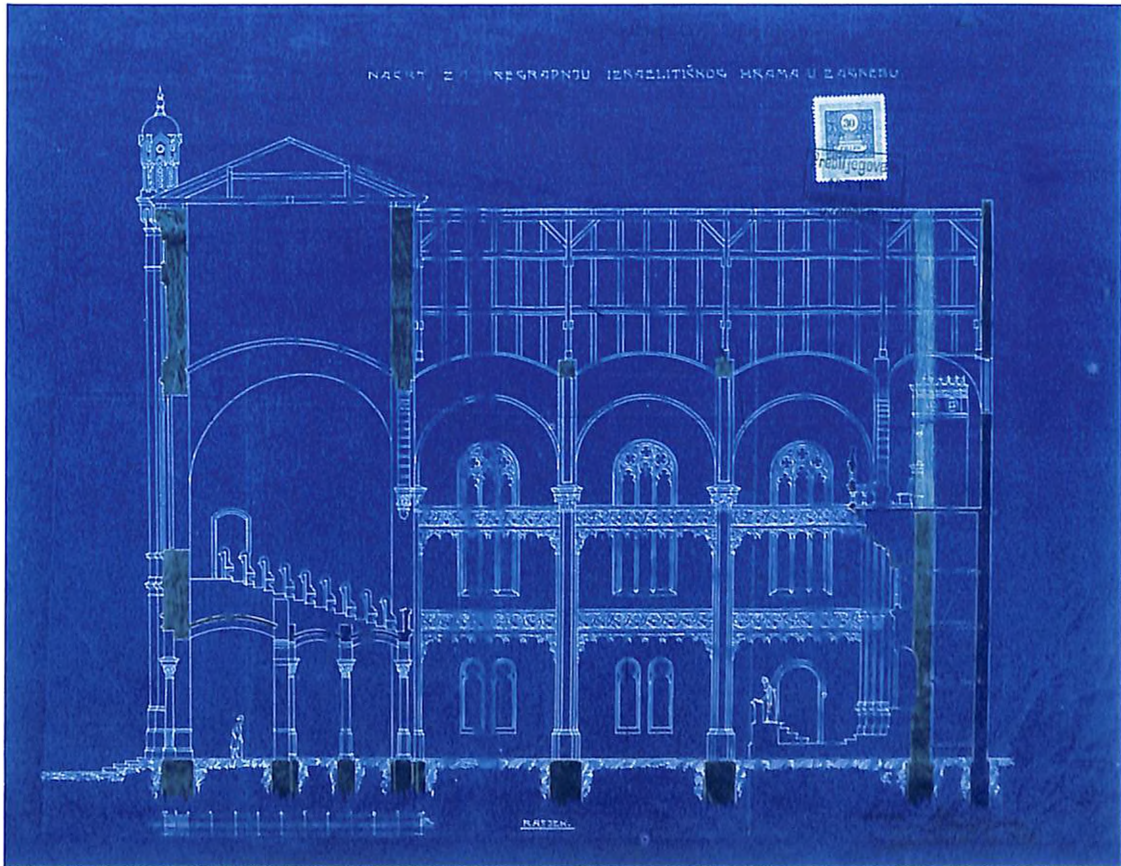


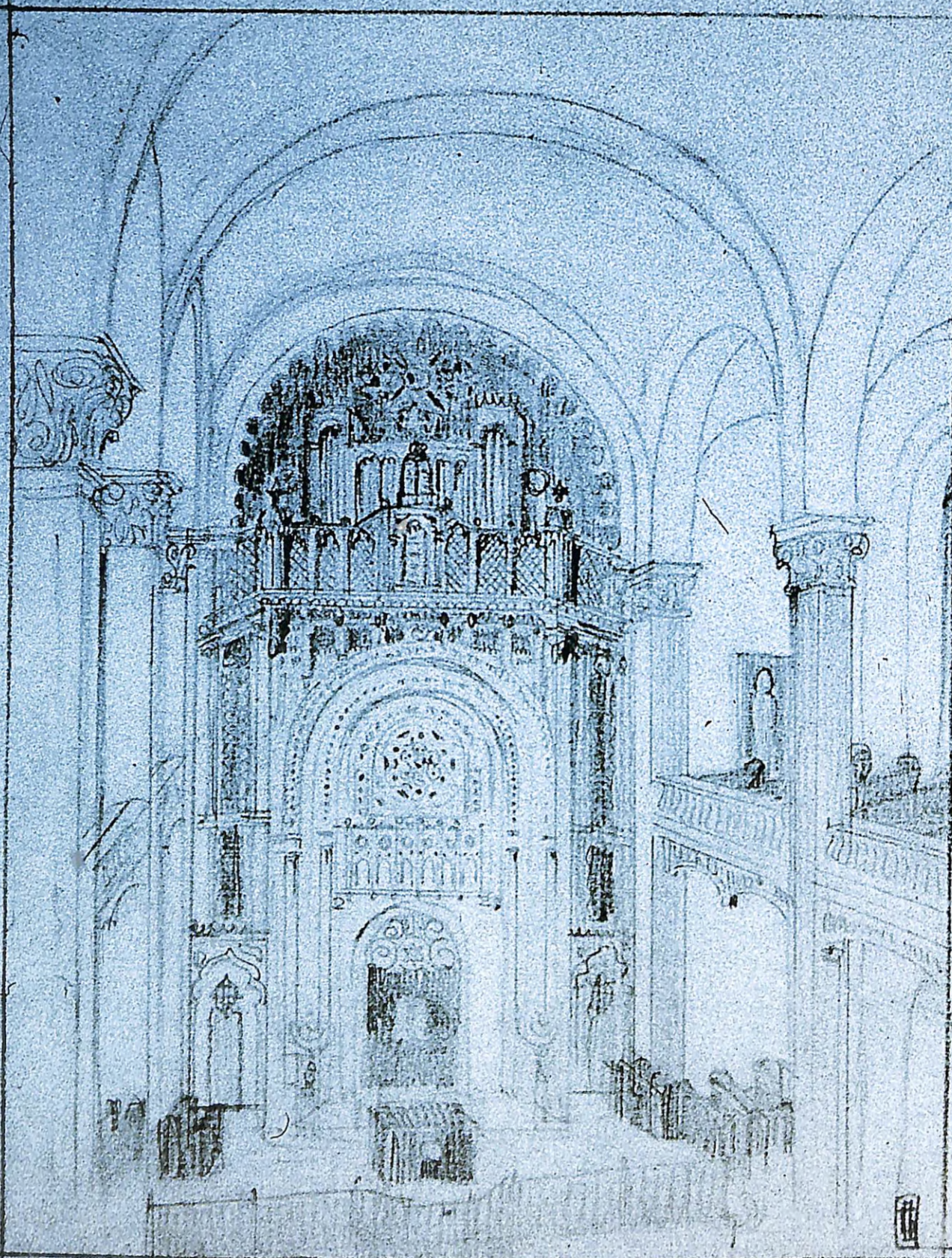
Mjerilo 1:100

Zagreb, 1900

Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Ground floor. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, February 1901
Water-colour on blueprint, 49.2 x 41.6

Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch
Plan for reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
Longitudinal cross-section. Scale 1 : 100. Zagreb, February 1901.
Water-colour on blueprint. 38.4x47.8 cm.





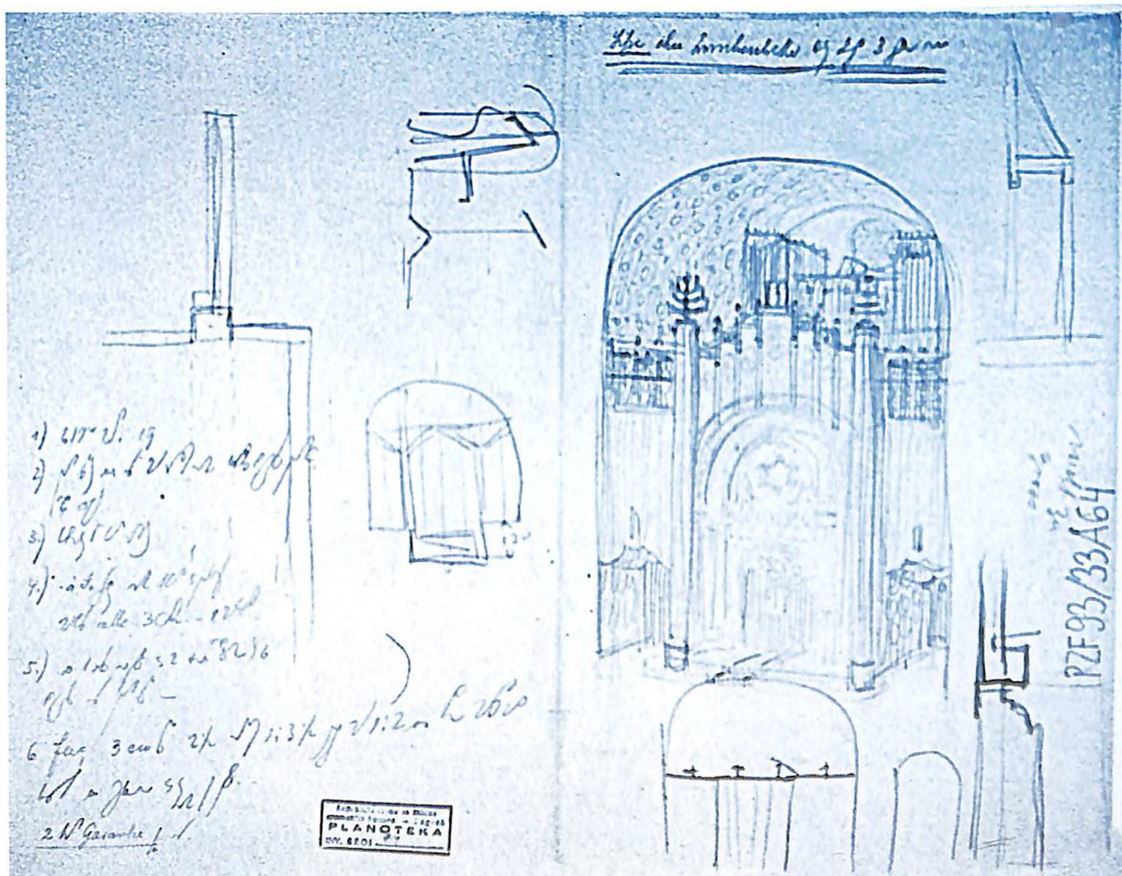
STUDIE FÜR DIE VERLEGUNG DER KORBEL ÜBER DAS ALTERNHÖLSTEN

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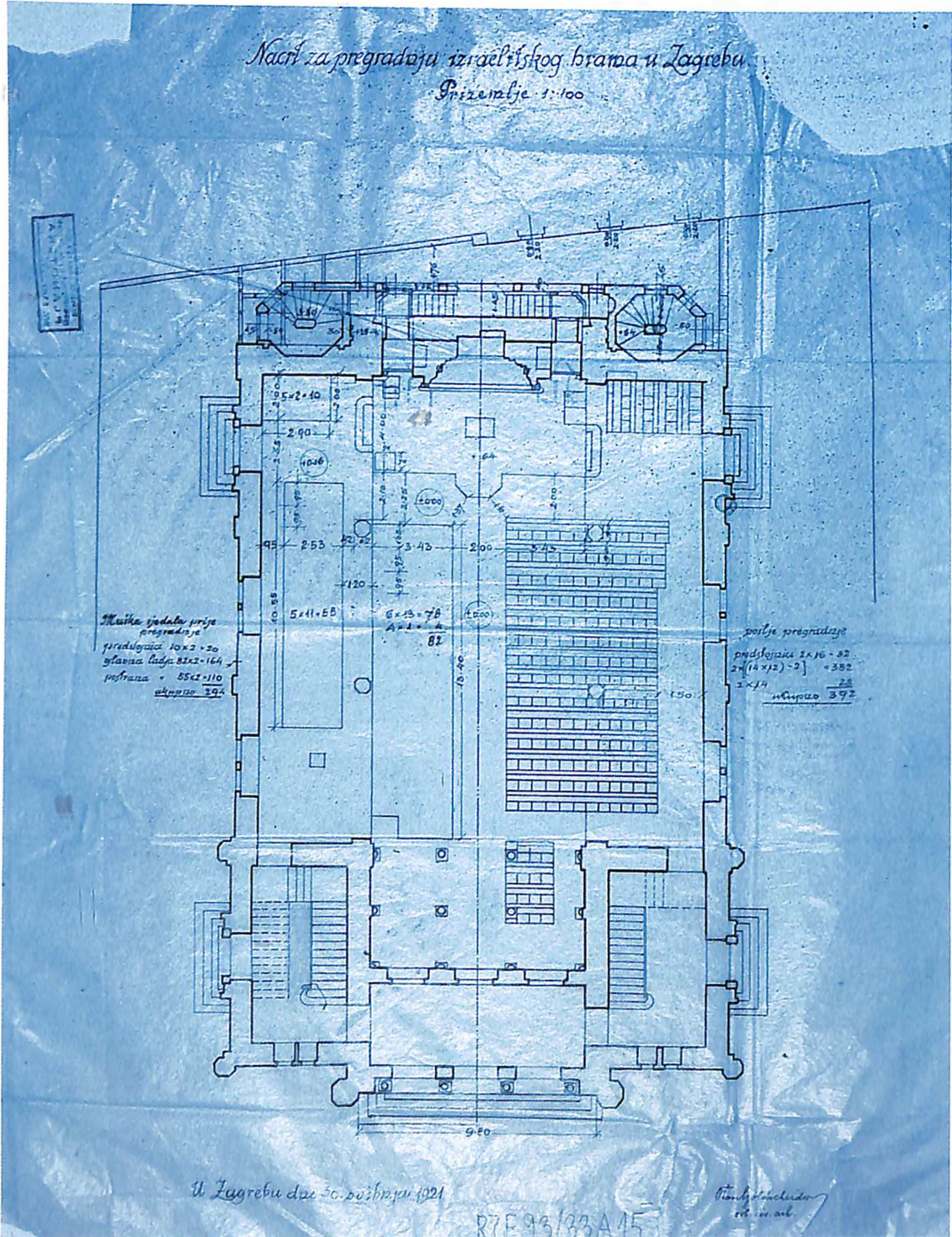
PLANOBERKA
1924

Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 Perspective study of the relocation of the organ above the Holy of
 Holies - the aron ha kodesh
 Zagreb, 1903/1904?
 Pencil on tracing paper; initialed AB (Alois Bastl?); 42.0x30.5 cm.

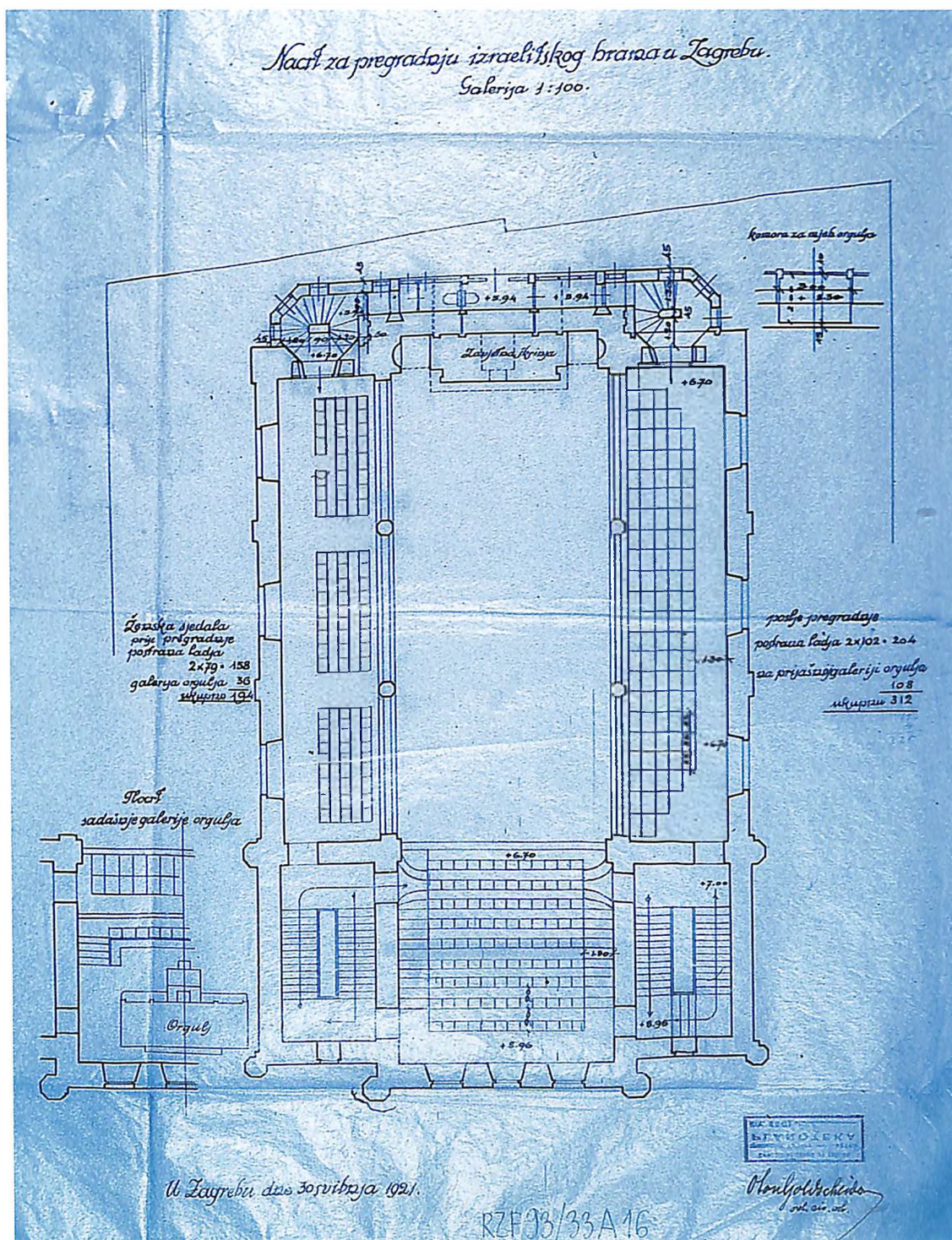
Oton Goldscheider (attr.)
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 (Perspective sketch of the aron ha kodesh, structural sketches of
 the seats by the organ; description on Hebrew)
 Zagreb (1921?)
 Pencil on tracing paper, 34.0x21.0 cm



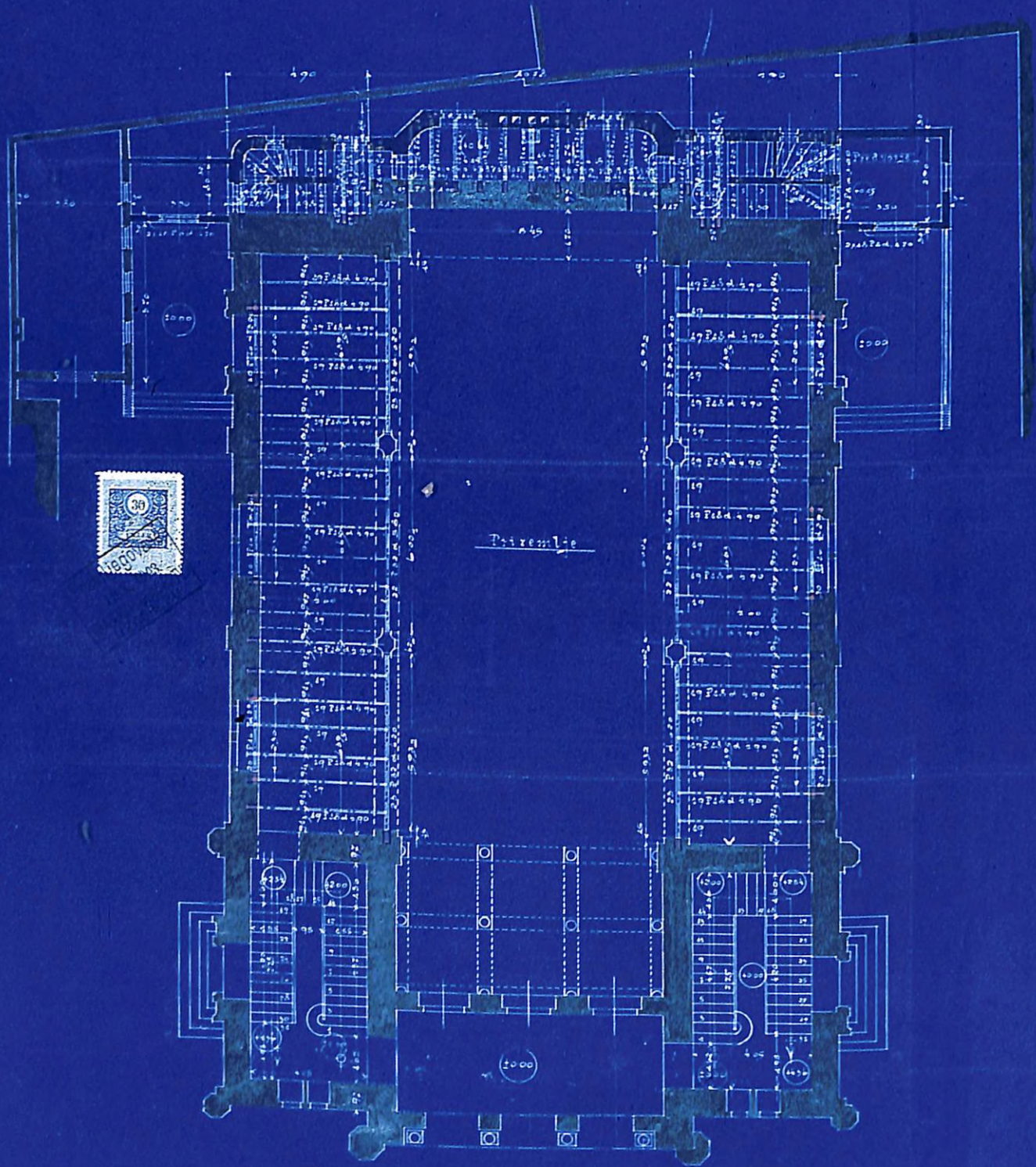
Oton Goldscheider
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Ground-floor. Scale 1:100. May 1921.
Indian ink on tracing paper. 58.2x43.0 cm



Oton Goldscheider
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 Gallery, Scale 1 : 100. Zagreb, May 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 69.6x43.0 cm



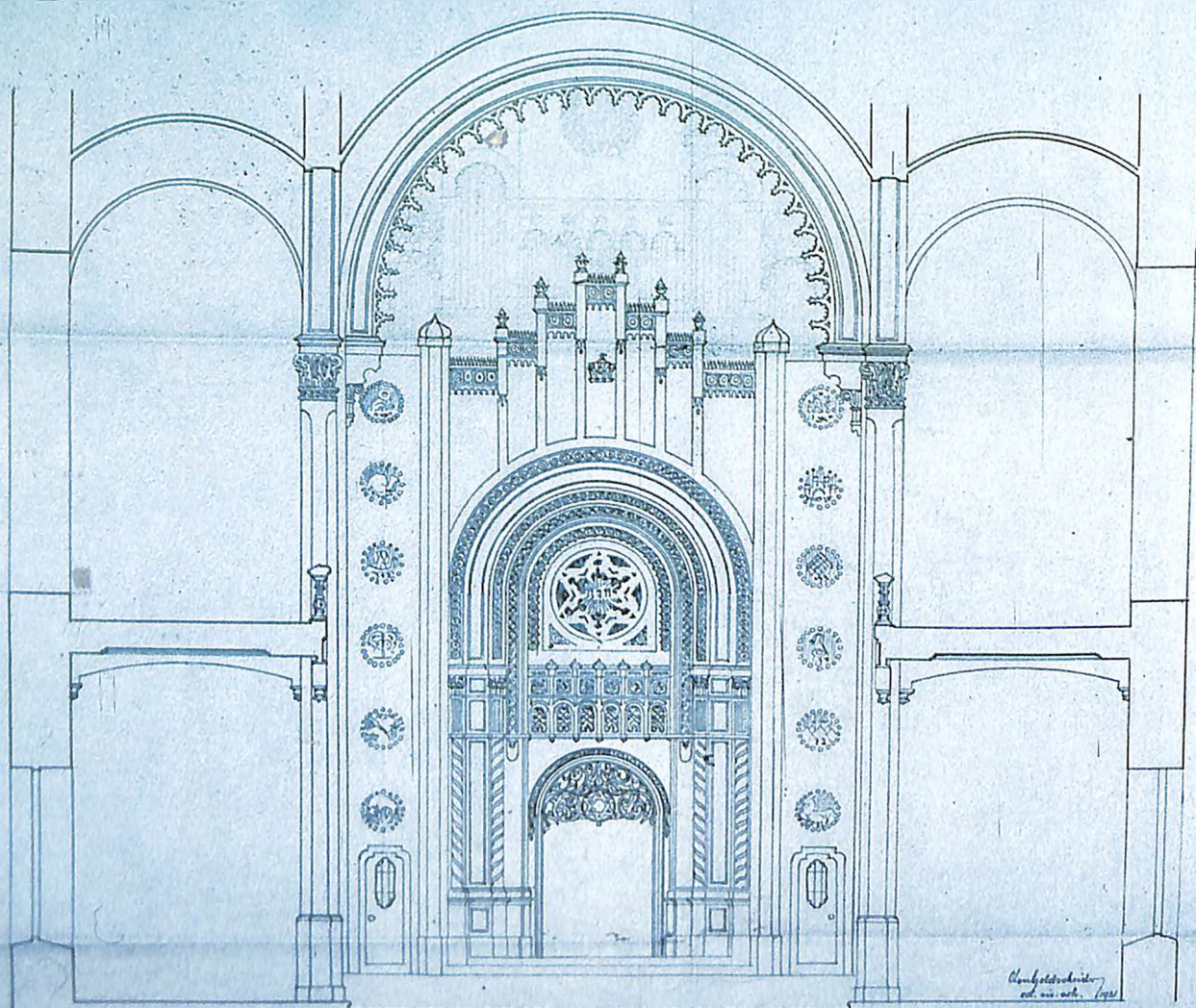
Nacrt za preglednicih izraelskog hrama u Zagrebu.



Mjesta: 1:100

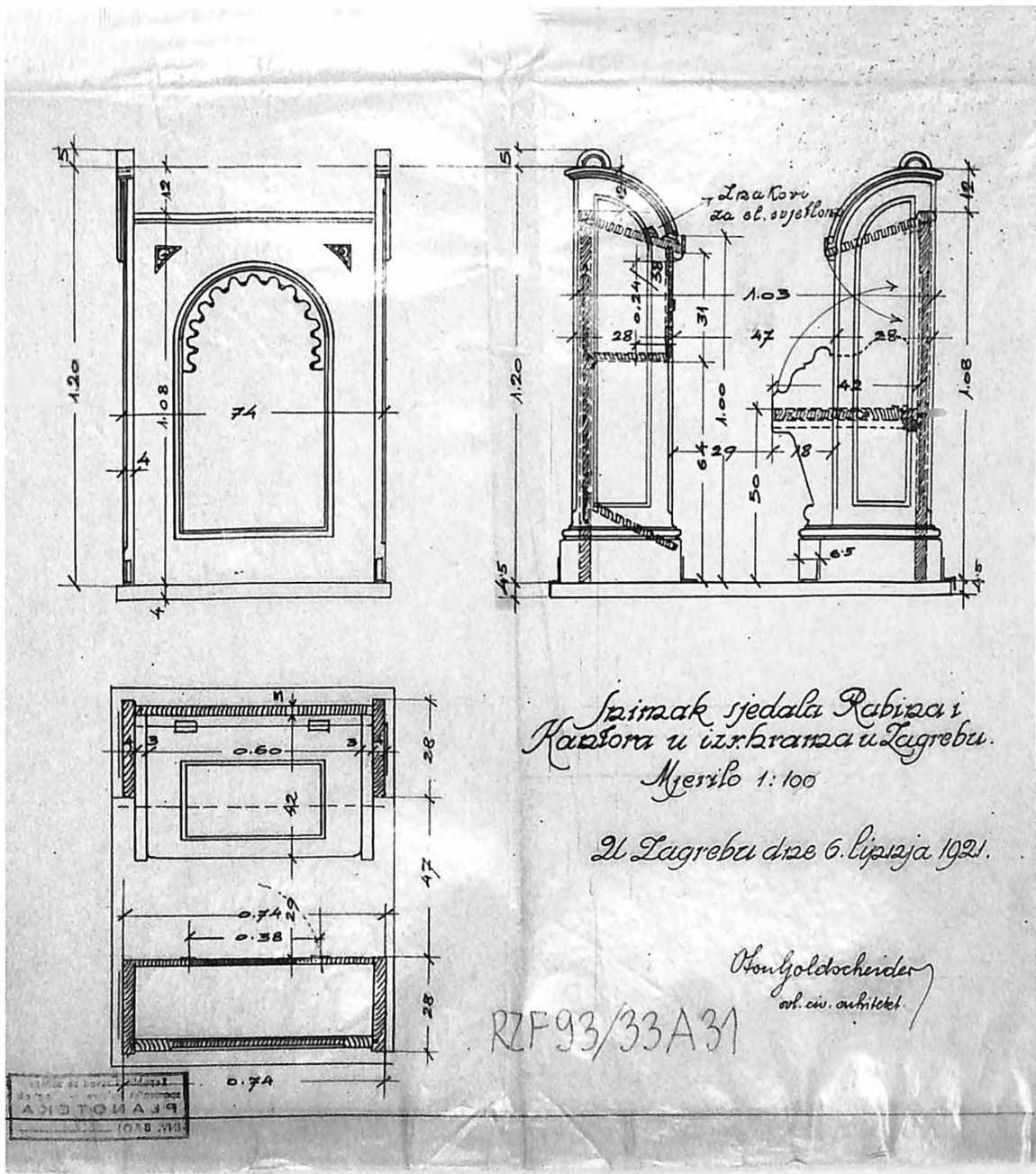
Oton Goldscheider
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
View and cross-section of the aron ha kodesh. Scale 1:100.
Zagreb, 1921
Indian ink on tracing paper, 43.6x59.8 cm

RZF93/33A28



NASRT ZA PRESRADNJU IZR. HRAMA U ZAGREBU. POSLED. NA ŽRTVENIK. 1:50.

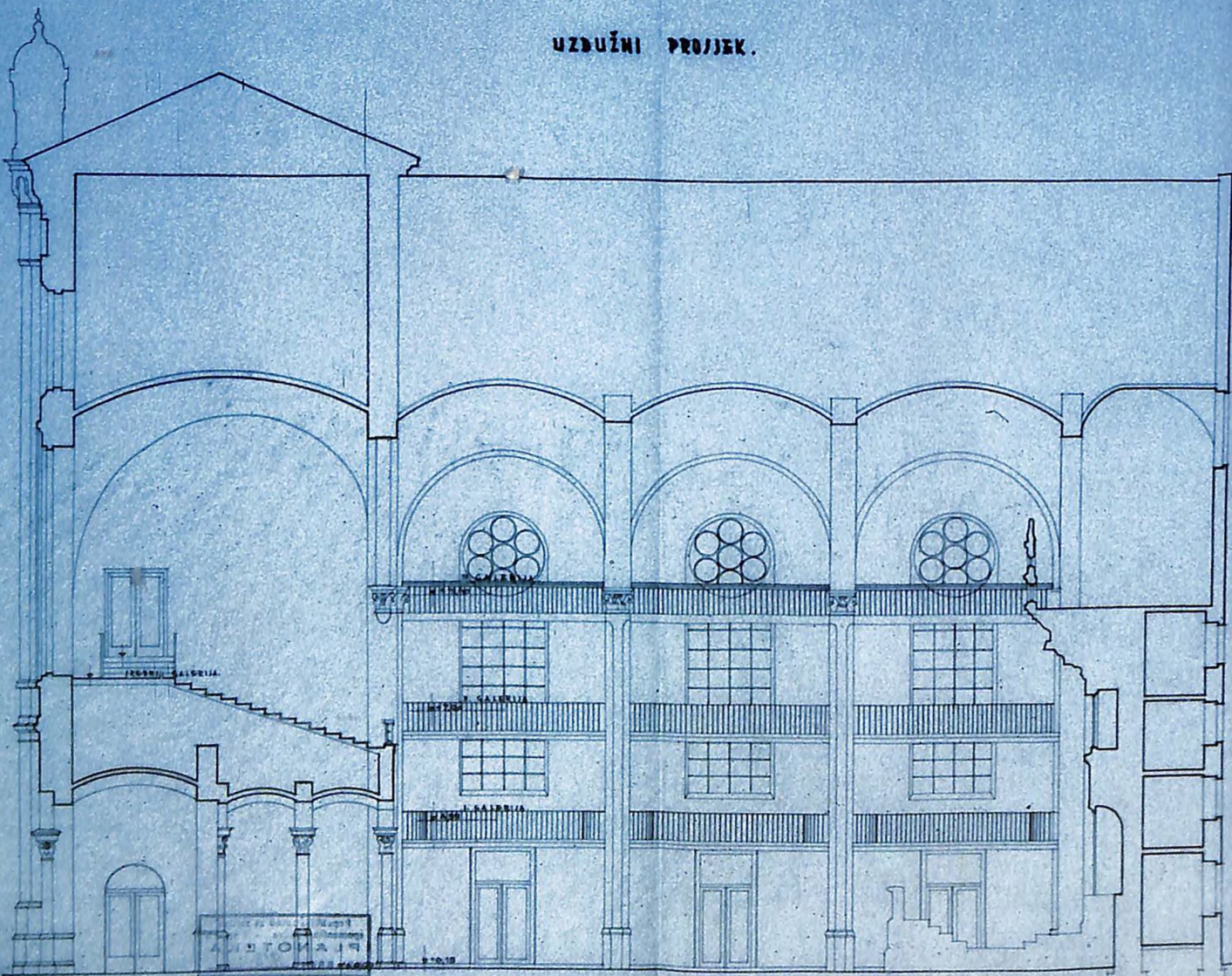
Oton Goldscheider
 Seats for the Rabbi and Cantor in the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 Scale 1:100. Zagreb, June 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper. 36 x 34.6



Aleksander Freudenreich and Pavao Deutsch
Adaptation of the Jewish temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
Longitudinal cross-section. Scale 1 : 100. Zagreb, May 1931.
Indian ink on tracing paper, 39.0x50.2 cm

ADAPTACIJA IZRAELIT/KOŠ HRAMA U ZAGREBU PRAŠKA ULICA. MJERILO 1: 100.

UZDUŽNI PROJEK.



ZAGREB U /VIŠNJIU. 1931.

VLA/NIK:

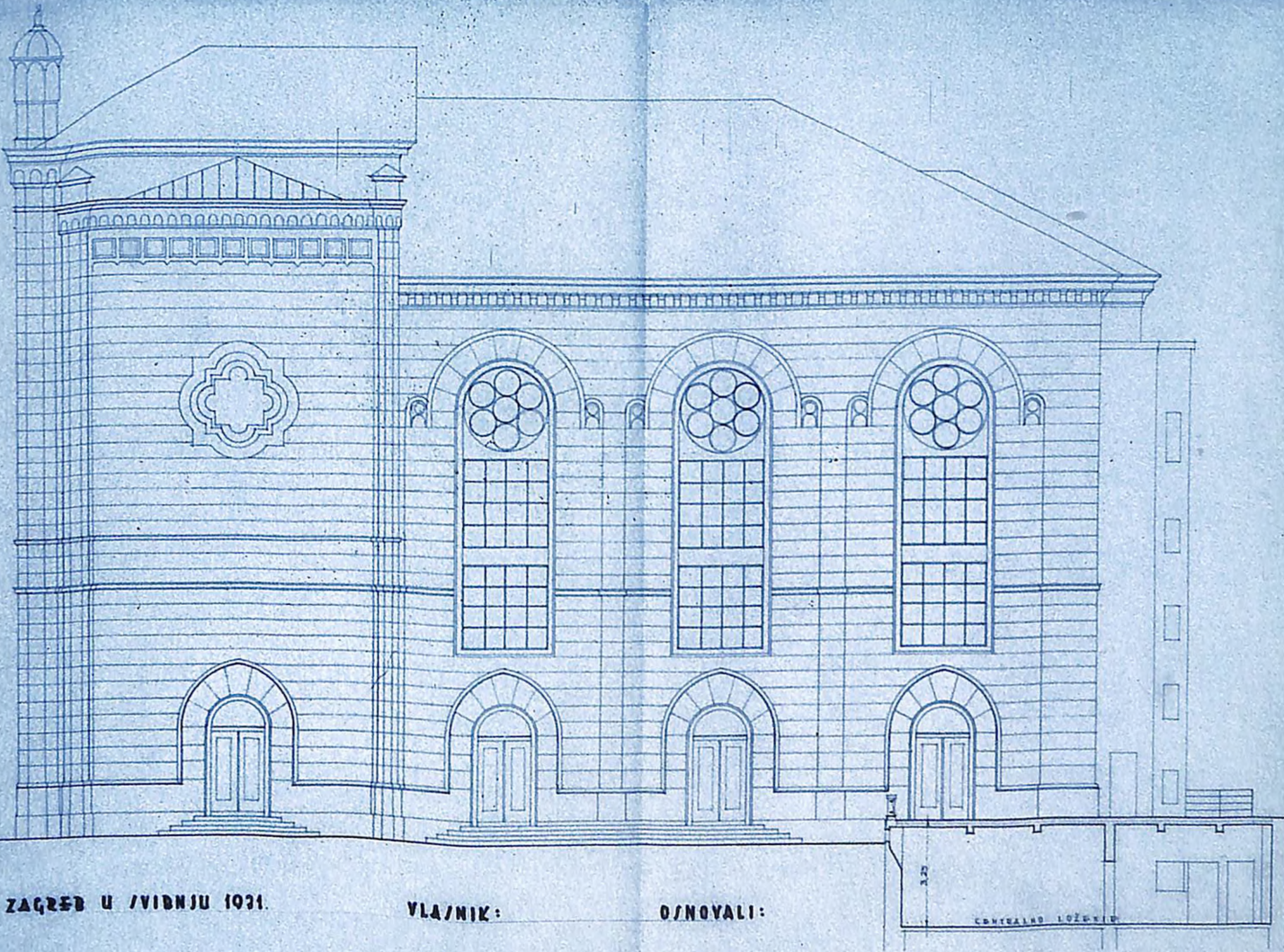
O/NOVALI:

RZF 93/33A43

Aleksander Freudenreich & Pavao Deutsch
Adaptation of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
Side façade. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1931
Indian ink on tracing paper. 39 x 50.2

ADAPTACIJA IZRAELIT/KOG HRAMA U ZAGREBU PRAŠKA ULICA. MJERILO 1:100.

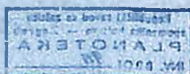
POSTRANO PROČELJE.



ZAGREB U /VIDNJU 1931.

VLA/NIK:

O/NOVALI:



RZF 93/33A 45

The Genocide against the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia

In the genocide perpetrated against the Jews in the Independent State of Croatia from 1941 to 1945, between 75% and 80% of the Jews on the territory of the present-day Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina were killed. In other words, only one Jew in five lived to see the year 1945.

There was nothing in previous Croatian history to indicate that such a crime might be committed: it is true that there were anti-Semitic pamphlets and incidents, and even political parties with anti-Semitic tendencies in their ideologies and programmes, in Croatia in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, but anti-Semitism had never reached extreme forms – pogroms and murders – seen, for example, in Poland and Russia.

The Ustasha movement was essentially anti-Serbian, and since its founding in 1931/3 it spread hatred mainly against the Serbs. As the ties between the Ustasha and the German Nazis grew stronger, and Ustasha ideology grew closer to that of the German Nazis, they adopted racist anti-Jewish theories. In the late thirties, anti-Semitic outburst in the right-wing Croatian press grew more and more frequent, and most of their authors later joined the Ustasha movement. The growing strength of German Nazism certainly contributed to the creation of an anti-Semitic atmosphere, especially during the first stage of World War II, when the Germans were successful. The Yugoslav royal government succumbed to the pressure; two laws passed in 1940 abolished the equality of Jews and, as regards their legal status, set it back a century. These laws required that the number of Jews enrolled in secondary schools and universities should correspond to the percentage of Jews in the total population, and wholesale in food-stuffs was practically forbidden to all enterprises owned or co-owned by Jews. Following the example of the Nazis, from whom they frequently received instructions, the Ustasha added to their plans for killing Serbs even more severe measures against the Jews. All this was planned in advance and resembled the German plans in that it involved three stages: excommunication, concentration, extermination.

Only a few days after his arrival in Zagreb, on 22 April, the newly appointed Minister of the Interior, Andrija Artuković, stated for *Die Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien* that the government of the Independent State of Croatia “would soon solve the Jewish question in the same way in which the German government had solve it”, stressing that “the most stringent measures would be taken to see that racial laws were strictly enforced in the near future”. In early May, Ante Pavelić gave the same statement for the same paper: “The Jewish question will be radically solved according to our racial and economic positions.” In the meantime, on 30 April, the *Official Gazette* published the “Legal Provision on the Protection of the Aryan Blood and Honour of the Croatian People”, which banned marriages between Jews or other persons of “non Aryan” origin and persons of “Aryan” origin. Jews could not get around this provision the way Serbs could, by converting to the Catholic faith, because the status of the Jews was clearly defined by the provision on racial affiliation. All Jews over 6 years of age had to wear a yellow sign in public, and their movements were restricted.

In June, the “Racial Political Committee” was established within the Ministry of the Interior with the major aim of establishing racial affiliation, especially in “dubious cases”. At the same time, under the “Legal Provision on the Protection of the National and Aryan Culture of the Croatian People”, Jews were banned from “participating in the work, organizations and institutions of the social, youth, sports and cultural life of the Croatian people in general, and especially in literature, journalism, the arts and music, town planning, the theatre and film”.

Almost from the beginning of the Ustasha state, the authorities cast an eye on Jewish (and Serbian) property. Thus special “legal provisions” were enacted according to which Jewish movables and real estate were qualified as “state-owned”. In other words, looting was possible in the name of the state. However, in practice, there was even more open robbery carried out by officials of the regime. Although, from time to time, views were expressed that such acts

were “illegal”, the regime obviously did nothing to prevent them, but, on the contrary, encouraged them. A drastic example was the extortion of 1004 kg of gold which the Zagreb Jews had to collect in May 1941 to save their lives. This helped only a few people, and something similar happened in Osijek.

Arrests of Jews began during the first days of Ustasha rule. At first they took away individuals, prominent and influential members of the Jewish community. In May, arrests were organized on a larger scale, and in June there were still more. On 21 June, for example, all the members of the Zagreb “Makabi” were arrested. The campaign was then intensified and channelled toward the “final solution”. It was conducted under the slogan “In the ISC (Independent State of Croatia) there is no room for Jews.” In late June, Pavelić stated, in the “Emergency Legal Provision and Order” that “the Jews are spreading false information...and hindering the distribution of supplies to the population” and that they were therefore “collectively considered responsible and therefore measures will be taken against them and they will be put away, because of their criminal responsibility, into prison camps under the open sky”. Throughout the ISC, this was the signal for large-scale arrests and deportations to camps. Women and children were included. Thus the great majority of the Jews in places such as Koprivnica, Karlovac, and Varaždin were arrested by the end of July. Varaždin was declared to be the first town “cleansed” of Jews. Only those who hid or escaped avoided arrest. That is why Pavelić, quite rightly, declared in late August: “...as regards the Jews, I can tell you they will be finally liquidated shortly. The Jewish question was of a very serious nature. In Zagreb alone there were 18,000 of them, but now there are barely 4,000 and these, too, will be sent to forced labour or to concentration camps.” (Whether deliberately or not, Pavelić made a mistake, the number of Jews in Zagreb in 1940 was 11,000). The Ustasha regime made careful plans for this, the last stage of “solving the Jewish question”. It established almost thirty “assembly camps” or “transit camps” in which Jews who had been arrested were put temporarily, soon to be deported to the death camps or concentration camps that were established at the same time. The first of these – Danica near Koprivnica – was opened in April. By the summer, camps had also been organized in Gospić and in Jadovno on Velebit, and the camps of Metajna and Slano were opened on the island of Pag.

In the last two camps, mass murders were perpetrated as early as in July, but they soon stopped because their location was unfavourable: communications were threatened by the development of the uprising in Lika, and the closeness of Croatian territory under Italian occupation brought into question the secrecy of the operation. That is why in the autumn of 1941 a new complex of death camps was set up in the Jasenovac-Stara Gradiška area. This continued to function almost until the end of the war. Most of the Jews from northern Croatia and Bosnia were killed there, about 18,000 of them. The surviving internees from the transit camps of Kruščica near Travnik, Tenja near Osijek, Vukovar, Đakovo, Lobar-grad and others also arrived in Jasenovac. People died in these camps, too, mainly from starvation.

Taking and shooting hostages was another way of killing Jews. When opponents of the regime carried out a diversion or assassinated an official, the “Jews” who had already been arrested, as well as “Communists”, were, as a rule, shot as the “intellectual originators” of such actions. In Zagreb alone, several hundred Jews lost their lives in this way by September 1941.

The actions of the Ustasha were often more cruel and barbaric than those of the Germans (sadistic torture, massacres in which cold steel was used and throwing into pits).

Thus the Jews of Croatia and Bosnia shared the terrible fate of the Jews in other Yugoslav territories – they were the first victims of the “final solution”. Until 1941, in the countries under Nazi control, Jews were persecuted and taken away to concentration camps while smaller groups were killed. Mass killings acquired their final, organized form in early 1942.

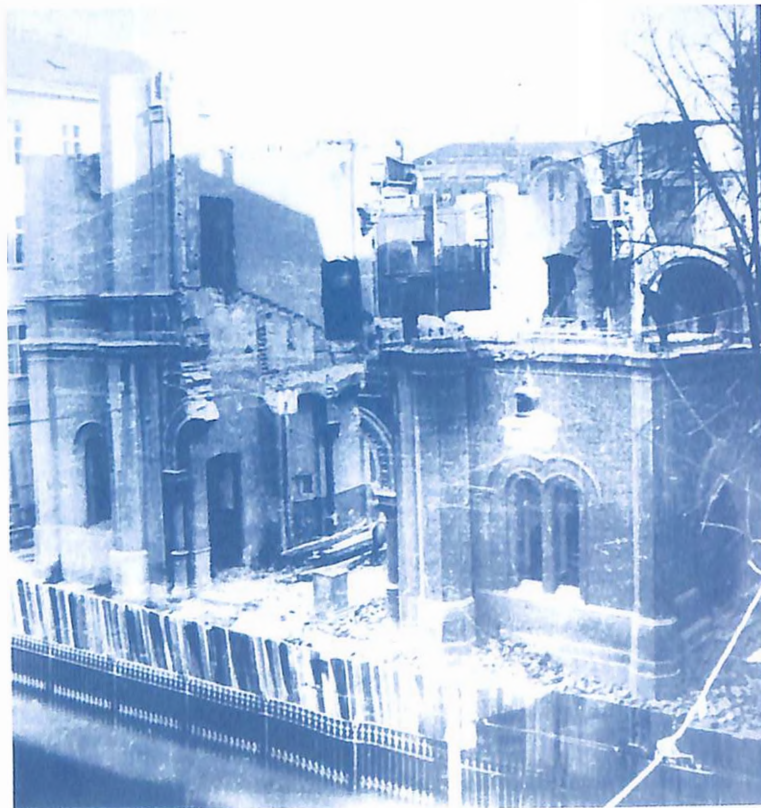
In early 1943, German officers from the headquarters of the SS (Eichmann’s department IV/2) submitted a report saying that the Ustasha authorities, in spite of their cruelty, had not car-

ried out the "final solution" sufficiently thoroughly on the territory of the ISC. According to this report, there were about 5000 Jews still alive and free on the territory under the control of the Ustasha authorities, owing to personal and family connections, corruption, and the intercession of the Catholic Church in Zagreb for people in mixed marriages and their children and for some individuals. In the spring of 1943, for the first time on the territory of the ISC, the Germans took a direct and active part in capturing large numbers of Jews on the basis of this report. Most of the Jews were transported to Auschwitz.

Only a few Jewish inmates of Jasenovac survived, and only rare individuals returned from Auschwitz. Only a small number of Jews survived on the territory directly ruled by the Ustasha, and this happened only by chance or due to the exceptional agility of the survivors or the people in their immediate environment. There were 150-200 survivors in Zagreb, mostly from mixed marriages, and about the same number of survivors in other parts of the ISC. The Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, managed to save 55 inmates of the Jewish Old People's Home who lived in Zagreb or its vicinity throughout the war.

However, in mid-1943 Danijel Crljen claimed that "the Jewish question has been solved with a thoroughness and persistence that should give food for thought to anyone who crosses the path of the Ustasha social revolution".

An anonymous photographer recorded the various stages of the demolition of the Synagogue at 7 Praška Street, Zagreb, from his flat across the street. The demolition began in October 1941 at the order of Ivan Werner, the Ustasha mayor of Zagreb.



Over the past fifty years, researchers have established the basic facts regarding the genocide against the Jews on the territory of the ISC and, within that area, the territory of present-day Croatia. There are lists of individual members of Jewish communities: before that war, about 38-39,000 Jews lived on the territory of the ISC, and only about 9,000 lived to see the end of the war. The figures according to region are basically the same: out of 14,000 Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina, only 4,000 i.e., nearly 30% survived, and out of 25,000 Jews in northern Croatia, Slavonia and Sirmium, only about 5,000 or about 20% were saved. The situation was a little better in Dalmatia, but there were only about 400 Jews living there before the war, out of whom about 250 survived the war.

A certain number of Jews saved their lives by fleeing to the Italian zone within the ISC, to the parts of Croatia occupied by Italia in 1941, and finally by fleeing to the Italian, western coast of the Adriatic. Quite a large number arrived from Serbia into purely Croatian milieus (for example, the island of Korčula), where they lived until the end of the war or joined the Partisans.

The stock phrase that any peace "heals the wounds of war" does not apply to the Jewish communities of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. These wounds, which are a consequence of the loss of four-fifths of the members of the community, cannot ever get better. The Croatian Jewish community could not be renewed: most of the pre-war Jewish communities were unable to go on with their work after 1945, most of the synagogues are no longer used as such, cultural life is much poorer, sports activities are almost non-existent. Some activities have been preserved, but badly impaired and impoverished. Those who planned the genocide against the Jews have achieved their goals to a great extent, and this is why new generations of Croatian Jews find it hard to shake off the distressing burden of remembrance of the times of the Ustasha reign of terror.



A History of Preparations for the Building of the Jewish Cultural Centre and Synagogue at 7, Praška Street

1986

In May, the *Glas koncila*, catholic newspaper, proposes the construction of a synagogue on the place of the old one, pulled down in 1941/42. The Jewish Community accepts the challenge and starts considering the possibilities.

In September, the Community submits to the authorities a request for the construction of a Jewish Cultural Center at 7 Praška Street. It would consist of a small synagogue, a library, a venue for concerts, lectures, and exhibitions, a museum on the history of Jews in Croatia, and archives for historical documents.

On 9th September 1986, the President of the Jewish community, Slavko Goldstein, submits a memorandum to the State and city authorities: the building will be a lively cultural centre and a symbol of the condemnation of the Ustasha terror over the Zagreb Jews.

1987

The London *Economist* is the first paper to be informed about the plan of the Community. Afterwards the Zagreb *Vjesnik*, and a number of other periodicals and dailies from Boston to Tel Aviv are informed.

Written and oral support comes from persons around the world and international Jewish institutions: *JOINT, United Jewish Appeal, World Jewish Congress...*

Contributions and inquiries about contributions...

Expecting the assessment of the *Institute for City Planning of the City of Zagreb* and of the *Committee for the Relations with Religious Communities* of Croatian Parliament and permission to prepare the construction by the *Committee for Civil Engineering* of the Community of Zagreb – Centre

The Jewish Community ponders the foundation of an international committee to gather contributions from the world Jewry

The newly started periodical of the Jewish Community, *The Bulletin* opens a poll, mostly among the members, about the shape and aim of the building.

1988

In the spring the *Committee for the Building of the Synagogue and Centre* is founded in the Jewish Community. It decides the aim of the building. The Community will be the investor and the architectural proposal will be obtained through an international tender.

At a meeting on the 12th of May, the representatives of Croatian Parliament, Central and City Committee of the League of Communists and of the City of Zagreb support the programme for the construction of the Synagogue and Cultural Centre. An immediate issuing of building permits is recommended.

The *City Committee for Planning, Housing, Transportation and Communications* does not act in accordance with the May 12th meeting and informs the Jewish Community that the question of the building of a Jewish cultural centre and synagogue will be solved within a public discussion about the plans for the development of the Lower Town.

On the 27th of December, the Executive Board of the Jewish Community submits a request to the parliamentary *Committee for the Relations with Religious Communities* to hasten the procedure of issuing the permit for the construction in Praška Street.

1989

On the 7th of July the Executive Board of the Zagreb City Assembly, within the framework of the public discussion about plans for the development of the Lower Town, considers the plans for the building of a Jewish cultural centre according to the plans of Branko Siladin, an architect. The Board had ordered this commission from some renowned architects to explore the possibilities at five important locations in the city centre which included 7 Praška Street. The Board officials informed the authorities that Jewish Community accepted Siladin's plan.

The *Bulletin* 12/1989 publishes an interview with the architect Branko Siladin.

Preservation study of the block bounded by Republic square – Praška street – Zrinski square – Petrinjska street, Regional Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb, 1989. Author: Dubravka Kisić, assistant: Leonida Kovač.

1990

An exhibition in the Upper Town Town Hall on the 8th of May initiates the public discussion about the planning for the City centre. For the location at 7 Praška Street a four-storey building is proposed (4,450sqm) with the possibility of adding two underground levels (up to 6,000sqm). The Jewish Community is the only future tenant.

On 25th September the Town Assembly informs the representatives of the Jewish Community that the new city authorities accept its request for building of a Jewish cultural centre and synagogue. The Community is advised to solve the legal problems about ownership of the plot and to obtain the permit to use it.

On the 27th of September Siladin's plan is introduced to the Jewish Community. The Community claims that it has never accepted this plan in spite of what was said at a session of the Executive Board of the Town Assembly of the City of Zagreb. The majority of the participants reject the plan and the intention to issue an international tender is reaffirmed.

The *City Committee for Planning, Housing, Transportation and Communications* orders a study from the *City Institute for Planning* on the opening of a public concourse for the building in accordance with the programme of the Jewish Community.

Planning parameters for a Jewish cultural centre and Synagogue at 7, Praška street, *City Institute for Planning*, Zagreb, October 1990. Authors: Kristina Kiš and Dubravka Žic.

1991

18th August 1991 – explosion in the building of the Jewish Community at 16 Palmotičeva Street and on mass mausoleum in the Mirogoj Cemetery. The building is seriously damaged. Public outcry and expressions of solidarity come from home and abroad.

1992

The reconstruction of the Community building at 16 Palmotičeva Street begins in February.

21st – 23rd September – opening ceremonies for the reconstructed Community building. Renewed discussions about the building of a cultural centre and synagogue in Praška Street. The first condition is the restitution of the plot to the Community.

Public discussion about the proposed *Act of Restitution of Property* starts.

1993 – 1996

Anticipating the restitution of property, the Community restarts discussions about aims of the centre.

European Parliament in Strasbourg passes the *Resolution about Jewish Property*.

1996 – 1997

By the end of 1996, the Parliament passes the *Act of Reimbursement of Property Confiscated by the Yugoslav Communist Government*. It covers the period from 1945 to 1990.

Jewish Community proposes that the Constitutional Court reconsiders in accordance of the *Act of Reimbursement...*, i.e. to reject it and start procedures for the restitution of the property confiscated from the period 1941 to 1945 or reimbursement for it.

1998

On the 20th of January, 1998, the Jewish Community requests from the Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice the return the plot of the synagogue at 7 Praška Street, and the buildings of the Chief Rabbinate and Hevra Kadisha at Petrinjska and Amruševa Streets as an act of good faith.

On the 30th of January, the President of the Jewish Community, Dr. Ognjen Kraus, informs the Mayor in writing about the preparations for the construction at 7 Praška Street.

1999

The Constitutional Court decides that the property confiscated from the period 1941 to 1945 should also be restituted.

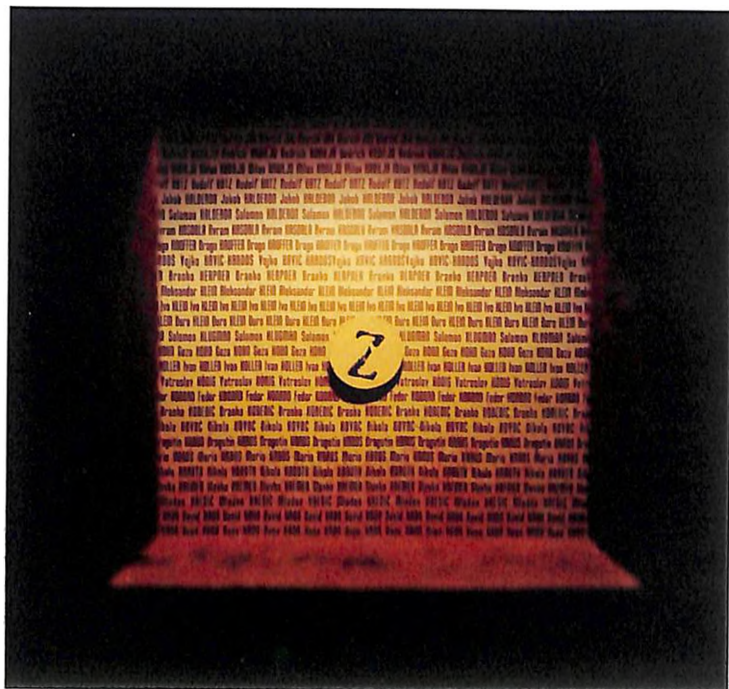
On the 31st of December, the Government of the Republic of Croatia decides to restate the plot at Praška Street to Jewish Community.

2000 – 2001

Discussions in the Jewish Community take place about the final aims of the JEWISH CULTURAL CENTRE (synagogue, museum of the Jews in Croatia, a gallery with an international programme, archives, and a venue for various events)

Preparations for an international tender for architectural plans.

The *Ha Kol* newspaper researches public opinion in Zagreb.



History of the Jewish community in Zagreb

1806

✧ The Jewish Community of Zagreb was founded (75 members)

1809

✧ First Rabbi: Aaron Palotta

✧ First place of worship, Lukačić House (Petrinjska Street)

1811

✧ First cemetery, St. Roch

1833

✧ Place of worship and rabbi's apartment, 6 Petrinjska Street – 3 Amruševa Street

1838

✧ The merchants of Zagreb demanded the expulsion of all Jews from the city

1839

✧ 18 May – the Jewish Communities in Zagreb and Varaždin petitioned the Parliament of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia for civil status on behalf of all Jewish Communities

1840

✧ The place of worship moved to Čačković House (7 Gajeva Street)

1841

✧ Foundation of the school

✧ A rift developed between the "Orthodox" and "Reformist" schools over the reform of service

✧ Orthodox place of worship in Ružična (Kurelčeva) Street

1842

✧ Foundation of "Peter's Cemetery" behind St Peter's Church in Vlaška Street

1843

✧ 23 April – The Zagreb Community, on behalf of all the other Jewish communities, presented a petition to the Parliament for the emancipation of Jews

1846

✧ On 12 September the County of Zagreb decided: there is one Community, but Orthodox Jews are entitled to their own place of worship and a rabbi at their own expense. It further decided that they should share the costs of the single community.

✧ Jacques Epstein founded a philanthropic society (Humanitätsverein)

1850

✧ The Emperor's Constitution granted the Jews in the Hapsburg Monarchy full equality with Christians

✧ The first Jew, Gjuro Hirschler, was elected to the city Assembly

1853

✧ Reforms in the service were annulled; reconciliation

1855

✧ 30 October – Decision to build a new Synagogue

1857

✧ 756 Jews lived in the County of Zagreb

✧ The plot at 7 Petrinjska Street was purchased as the seat of the Community and place of worship

- 1858**
✧ 26 February – Orthodox place of worship closed
- 1860**
✧ By the Emperor's decree of 18 February, Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy were allowed to own buildings and land
- 1865**
✧ In the Zagreb Jewish school Croatian became the language of instruction
- 1867**
✧ Consecration of the synagogue on Maria Valeria (Praška) Street
- 1873**
✧ The Law of 21 October granted the Jews in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia full civil equality
- 1879**
✧ Foundation of the Orthodox Jewish Community
- 1880**
✧ The Jewish Community of Zagreb totalled 1,285 members
- 1885**
✧ Rabbi Dr Hosea Jacobi introduced Croatian into the service
- 1887**
✧ Foundation of the "*Jelena Prister*" Jewish Ladies' Society
✧ The first Jew, Dr Ljudevit Schwartz, was elected to the Croatian Parliament
- 1890**
✧ 2,000 Jews in Zagreb
- 1898**
✧ Foundation of the secondary school society "*Literary Meetings of Jewish Youth*"
✧ Consecration of the new Community building at 16 Palmotićeve Street
- 1900**
✧ The Jewish Community totalled 3,237 members
54% of Zagreb Jews stated that Croatian was their mother tongue
- 1902**
✧ Rabbi Dr Gavro Schwartz published the first prayer book in Croatian
- 1904**
✧ Foundation of the "*Judea*" Club of Croatian Jewish Students
- 1906**
✧ The Law on the Organization of Jewish Communities was enacted and passed on 7 February
✧ In accordance with the Law the Orthodox Community ceased to exist; an Orthodox Society was founded within the Community
✧ The "*Jewish Review*" (*Židovska smotra*) appeared in Osijek and later in Zagreb; it was the first Jewish paper in the South Slav region
✧ From the bequest of Lavoslav Schwartz, the foundation for a "*Home for the Old, Handicapped and Sick*" was established

1910

✧ Opening of the "*Lavoslav Schwartz*" Home

1913

✧ Foundation of the Jewish Sports and Gymnastics "*Maccabi*" Society and the Jewish Vacation Camp, "*Tilda Deutsch Maceljska*"

1917

✧ The first issue of "*The Jew*" (*The Jew*) appeared in Zagreb; it was the most influential Jewish paper until 1941.

1919

✧ Foundation of the Union of Jewish Communities in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
✧ Foundation of the Union of Zionists of Yugoslavia

1920

✧ The Zionist list won the elections in the Jewish Community of Zagreb

1921

✧ First Congress of the Union of Jewish Communities in Zagreb
✧ The Jewish Community of Zagreb had 5,970 members

1922

✧ Foundation of the Society of Jewish Assimilants and anti-Zionists in Croatia

1923

✧ Reconstruction of the "*Vacation House*" (*Villa Antonia*) in Crikvenica with support from the *Tilda Deutsch Maceljska Foundation*
✧ Foundation of the Union of Rabbis of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Belgrade

1924

✧ Foundation of the Society of Jewish Scouts "*Ahdut Hatsofim*" (later "*Hashomer Hatsair*")

1925

✧ Foundation of the "*Maccabi union*" for Yugoslavia
✧ Foundation of the "*Esperanza*" Sephardic Students' Society

1926

✧ Foundation of the autonomous Orthodox Community in Zagreb

1927

✧ Foundation of the autonomous Sephardic Community in Zagreb
✧ Foundation of the B'nai B'rith lodge in Zagreb

1928

✧ Foundation of the *Union of Zionist Women* of Yugoslavia

1931

✧ Closing of the international architects' competition for a Jewish hospital (225 entrants)

1939

✧ Consecration of the "Winter" Synagogue at 8 Amruševa Street
✧ about 1,000 Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany who fled the Nazis came to Zagreb

1940

- ☆ The Jewish Communities in Zagreb totalled 9,367 members: 8,712 Ashkenazim, 625 Sephardim and 130 Orthodox. It was estimated that there were, in addition, about 2,000 persons who were not members of the Communities or lived in mixed marriages

1941-1945

- ☆ The foundation of the Independent State of Croatia on 10 April, 1941 marked the beginning of tragedy for the Jews throughout Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina
- ☆ 18 April – 5 June 1941 – Racial and anti-Semitic laws were passed as the basis for persecution, plunder, court marshals and deportations to concentration and labour camps, and later to death camps; in the biggest camp, Jasenovac, established in August 1941, between 17,000 and 18,000 Jews were murdered
- ☆ 10 October 1941 – Beginning of the destruction of the Synagogue in Zagreb
- ☆ In 1941 and 1942 the majority of the Zagreb Jews, including women, children and the elderly, were deported to the camps
- ☆ 3 to 5 May 1943 – 1,500 Jews from Zagreb with Rabbi Miroslav Shalom Freiburger and Community President Dr Hugo Kohn were deported to Auschwitz; there were no deportations after that; about 800 persons survived in Zagreb as “protected Jews”, in hiding or in mixed marriages
- ☆ The Jewish Community of Zagreb survived in the ISC under horrible repression; in 1941 the Ashkenazim, Sephardim and the Orthodox merged into a single Community
- ☆ Out of the 12,000 Jews in Zagreb, only 3000 survived the war and genocide

1945

- ☆ Surviving members and returnees partly revived the Community
- ☆ In November the first conference of the Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia took place

1948-1952

- ☆ Almost one half of the membership opted for emigration to Israel which left membership at between 1,200 and 1,500 persons

1954

- ☆ Beginning of the construction of the new “*Lavoslav Schwartz Home*” (opened in 1957)

1960

- ☆ The “*Dr Lavoslav Šik*” Library catalogued

1986

- ☆ The Jewish Community of Zagreb placed a commemorative plaque on the site of the destroyed Synagogue at 7 Praška Street

1988

- ☆ Exhibition “Jews in Yugoslavia” opened in Zagreb, organized on the initiative and with the cooperation of the Jewish Community of Zagreb; it was the first presentation of Jewish culture and art; it later toured Sarajevo, Belgrade, Novi Sad, New York, Toronto etc.

1991

- ☆ The Jewish Community of Zagreb ceased to be a member of the Union of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia; with Croatian independence it became the leading Jewish community in the Republic of Croatia

1995

- ☆ Foundation of the Coordination of the Jewish Communities in Croatia with 2,500 members and 9 Communities (currently 10 Communities)





List of exhibits

1

Architects Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch
Photographic portraits, 14 x 10.5 (15 x 10.8)
G. & J. Varga Studio, Zagreb (around 1900)

2

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Ground floor. Scale 1:100, Zagreb, February 1901
Water-colour on blueprint, 49.2 x 41.6
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A2

3

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Longitudinal cross-section. Scale 1:100, Zagreb (February 1901)
Water-colour on blueprint, 38.8 x 47.8
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A8

4

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Cross-section of the choir and small staircase. Scale 1:100, Zagreb, February 1901
Indian ink and water-colour on tissue paper with corrections in pencil, 38.6 x 39.4
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A6

5

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Ground-plan of the space for the organ. Scale 1:100, Zagreb, February 1901
Indian ink and water colour on tissue paper with corrections in pencil. 27 x 42.6
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A5

6

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
Cross section, as built. Scale 1:100, Zagreb (February 1901)
Ink on tissue paper with sketches in pencil 49.2 x 41.6
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A14

7

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
View of the aron ha-kodesh (view and cross section). Scale 1:50, Zagreb (January 1904)
Indian ink and water colour on silk paper, 64.5 x 90.4
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A13

8

Architects Hönigsberg & Deutsch
Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb

Perspective study of the relocation of the organ above the Holy of Holies. Zagreb, (1903/04?)
 Pencil on tracing paper, initialled AB (Alois Bast?), 42 x 30.5
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A63

9

Architect Oton Goldscheider
 Photographic portrait, around 1925

10

N.N. (attr. to Oton Goldscheider)
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
 Perspective sketch of the aron ha-kodesh and organ, structural sketches and sketch of the seat by the organ.
 Description in Hebrew (1921?)
 Pencil on tracing paper, 34 x 21
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A64

11

Oton Goldscheider
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
 Ground-floor. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 34 x 21
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A15

12

Oton Goldscheider
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
 Gallery. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 69.6 x 43
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A16

13

Oton Goldscheider
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
 Cross sections of the former organ gallery and main staircase. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 47 x 66
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A24

14

Oton Goldscheider
 Plan for the reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb
 View of the altar (cross section and view of the aron ha-kodesh). Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 43.6 x 59.8
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A28

15

Oton Goldscheider
 Seats in the side nave of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
 Scale 1:10. Zagreb, June 1921
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 29.5 x 33
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb

Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A29

16

Oton Goldscheider
Seats in the Jewish temple in Zagreb. Seats on the ground-floor. Seats in the gallery.
Scale 1:10. Zagreb, June 1921
Indian ink on tracing paper, 53.5 x 39.9
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A30

17

Oton Goldscheider
Seats for the Rabbi and Cantor in the Jewish temple in Zagreb
Scale 1:100. Zagreb, June 1921
Indian ink on tracing paper, 36 x 34.6
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A31

18

Oton Goldscheider
Layout of seats on the ground floor of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
Scale 1:100. Zagreb, June 1921
Indian ink on tracing paper, 36 x 34
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A50

19

Oton Goldscheider
Layout of seats in the gallery of the Jewish temple in Zagreb
Scale 1:100. Zagreb, June 1921
Indian ink on tracing paper, 36 x 34.6
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A52

20

Architects Julius and Pavao Deutsch, 1916
Architect Aleksander Freudenreich
Photographs

21

Architects Aleksander Freudenreich & Pavao Deutsch
Adaptation of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
Ground-floor. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1931
Indian ink on tracing paper, 38.5 x 50.5
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A39

22

Architects Aleksander Freudenreich & Pavao Deutsch
Adaptation of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
Longitudinal cross section. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1931
Indian ink on tracing paper, 39 x 50
Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
Sign. RZF 93/33A43

23

Architects Aleksander Freudenreich & Pavao Deutsch
 Adaptation of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
 Side façade. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1931
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 39 x 50.2
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A45

24

Architects Aleksander Freudenreich & Pavao Deutsch
 Adaptation of the Jewish Temple in Zagreb, Praška Street
 Layout and central heating. Scale 1:100. Zagreb, May 1931
 Indian ink on tracing paper, 38.5 x 56.2
 Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Zagreb
 Files – Freudenreich (Hönigsberg & Deutsch) Collection
 Sign. RZF 93/33A46

25

Aerial photograph of the centre of Zagreb: Ban Jelačić Square and surroundings; Synagogue in Praška Street, about 1930
 City of Zagreb Museum, photograph records, 16401

26

Inscription on the entrance into the Synagogue
 Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, we have blessed you out of the House of the Lord (Psalms 118,26)

27

Parokhet of the Orthodox rabbi Josip Hochstädter
 Satin with floral ivory-coloured design, golden band border, profiled gold embroidery. Height 188 cm, width 144 cm
 Decorated with stars; in the middle a wreath of flowers and leaves, two rearing lions holding the crown of the Torah; Hebrew text within the wreath:
 This is a gift of the respected Rabbi David Hochstädter in memory of his father Rabbi Josef son of Aharon, founder and president of the Agram Holy Community of the Orthodox rite, and his mother Schindel Haia daughter of Moshe 5674
 Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

28**THE TORAH****The Torah**

Parchment, wooden lacquered black sticks
 Height 105 cm
 Inscription on the sticks: *Donated by Hinko Schwartz 1908*
 Originates from Križevci
 Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

Meil

Red silk satin, profiled gold embroidery, appliqués
 Height 82 cm, width 4 cm
 On top a crown, underneath a wreath consisting of two branches with flowers and leaves; in the wreath Croatian text: *of Dr M. Engel*
 Originates from Križevci. During the Holocaust the Torah and the meil were saved by Adela Weisz. It was donated to the Jewish Community by her daughter Renée Weisz-Maleček in 1988.
 Collection of Jewish Community Zagreb

Keter Torah (the crown)

Silver, cast, chased
 Height 82 cm, Ø of base 16 cm
 Type with calotte. Ring with chased flowers and rose leaves. Six foliate bands with roses and leaves. On top a small crown and calotte with Anjou lilies; ends with a bud on a two-step base. Seven bells have been preserved.
 Hallmarks: Austria-Hungary, Diana Kopf (1872 – 1922); Master VC (Vincent Czokally, employed in Würbel & Czokally

Silver Works in operation 1868 – 1899)
Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

Rimonim

Vienna 1864

Silver, chased and pressed

Round base decorated with flowers and leaves. The leg has three nodes with the same ornaments. The upper part develops into a funnel carrying a calotte with roses and leaves. On top, on a short stem, a crown with an acorn ornament. Around the calotte six larger bells, around the crown three smaller bells.

Hallmarks: City of Vienna 1864, master, AW in a rectangle

Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

Tass

Central Europe, second half of the 19 century

Silver gilt copper, pressed

29 cm high, 26 cm wide

Rectangular with a richly decorated vignette rim. Inside, two fluted pillars – Yahin and Boaz, on top a crown and beneath an inset for plates with names of holidays, three flowers. Text in Latin characters: *Ida Grünwald*.

Plate and chain missing.

Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

Yad

Vienna, 19th century

Silver, iron chain

Length without chain 30 cm, with chain 63 cm

Round handle with floral decorations. Two rings with geometric design. Smooth.

Hallmarks: Austria-Hungary, master V.C.D. (Co. Vincent Carl Dub, active from 1838 – 1922).

Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

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Ivana & Tomislav Kušan: Computer Reconstruction of the Zagreb Synagogue, 1996 – 2000, video

30

The interior of the Synagogue, 1881

Photograph by Ivan Standl

City of Zagreb Museum. *Images of the Zagreb Earthquake of November 1880*

Photo records

31

Zagreb Rabbis 1809 – 2001

- Aaron Palotta
Rabbi 1809 – 1843
- Moritz Goldmann
Rabbi 1843 – 1849
- Leopold Lavoslav Rockonstein
Rabbi 1852 – 1858
- Jacob Eisner
Deputy Rabbi 1858 – 1967; Rabbi from 1880
- Dr Hosea Jacobi
Rabbi 1867 – 1925, Chief Rabbi 1880 – 1925
- Dr Gavro Schwartz
Rabbi 1919 – 1926; Chief Rabbi 1926 – 1941
- Dr Mojsije Margel
Rabbi 1926 – 1937
- Dr Miroslav Šalom Freiberger
Rabbi 1937 – 1941; Chief Rabbi 1941 – 1943
- Hinko Urbah
Rabbi 1946 – 1948
- Kotel Da Don
Rabbi from 1998
- Josip Hochstädter
Rabbi of the Orthodox Community 1879 – 1906

- Silberstein
Rabbi of the Orthodox Community 1926 – 1941
- Dr Samuel Romano
Rabbi of the Sephardic Community 1927 – 1941

32**Chronology of the Zagreb Jewish Community****33****Presidents of the Zagreb Jewish Community 1807 – 2001**

- Jakov Stiegler 1806 - 1832
(Třebíč, Moravia, 1787 – Zagreb)
- David Blum 1833 – 1838; 1843 – 1844; 1847 – 1853
(Velké Meziříčí, 17908 – Zagreb, 1855), merchant
- Jakov Spierer 1838 - 1840
(1802 – Zagreb, 1867)
- Jakov Spitzer 1840 - 1843
- Josua Epstein 1844 -1846
(Nová Paka, Bohemia, 1797 – Zagreb, 1854)
- Jakov (Jacques) Epstein 1853 -1854
(Zagreb, 1822 – Baden near Vienna, 1959), merchant
- Josip Hochstädter 1855
(Vészprem, Hungary, 1817 – Zagreb, 1909), founder and Rabbi of the Orthodox Community
- Dr Moritz Mavro Sachs 1855 - 1860
(Jánosháza, Hungary, 1817 – Zagreb, 1909), physician, town and county councillor
- Emanuel Priester 1860 - 1861
(Gradisca, Italy, 1814 – Zagreb 1882), wholesale merchant, town councillor
- Samuel Moses 1861 – 1873 (with Vilim Schwartz)
(Varaždin, 1823 – Zagreb, 1912), banker and industrialist
- Vilim Schwartz 1861 – 1873 (with Samuel Moses)
(Nagykanizsa, Hungary, 1832 – Zagreb, 1905), printer and publisher
- Josef Josip Siebenschein 1873 – 1881, 1891-1907
(Hranice, Moravia, 1836 – Zagreb, 1908) contractor, town councillor
- Makso Stern 1881 - 1901
(Zagreb, 1840 – Zagreb, 1891), wine wholesale merchant, town councillor
- Leo Hönigsberg 1907 - 1912
(Zagreb, 1861 – Zagreb, 1912), architect and contractor, town councillor
- Dr Robert Siebenschein 1912 - 1919
(Zagreb, 1864 – Zagreb, 1938), attorney, town councillor
- Dr Hugo Kon 1920 – 1935, 1941 - 1943
(Zagreb 1871 – Auschwitz, 1943) attorney, town councillor from 1921
- Dr Marko Horn 1935 - 1941
(Osijek, 1885 – Zagreb, 1941) attorney, town councillor from 1920
- Dr Robert Glücksthal 1943 - 1946
attorney
- Dr Arpad Hahn 1946 - 1951
(Zagreb, 1903 – Zagreb, 1967), physician, university professor
- Dr Lav Singer 1951 - 1978
attorney, Judge
- Dr Dragutin Kohn 1978
(Zagreb, 1904 – Zagreb, 1997) physician
- Dragan Volner 1978 - 1986
(Virovitica, 1920), businessman
- Nenad Porges, M.A. 1990 - 1992
(Zagreb, 1946), economist
- Dr Ognjen Kraus from 1993
(Zagreb, 1945) physician, university professor

Orthodox Community (1878 – 1906; 1926 – 1941)

- Vilim Vuk Engelsrath 1878 - 1906
- Leon Hessel 1926 – 1941

Sephardic Community (1927 – 1941)

- Juda Levi 1927 - ?
- Cesar Gaon 1941

34

Hannukya

Central Europe, second half of 19th century.

Silver gilt copper, cast.

Height 72 cm, width 62 cm, Ø of base 24 cm

Menorah type. Four low double legs. Three-step base developing into a pillar with four flowers, and a pear-shaped knot with floral decorations. Branches with knots. On top of the branches calyces - receptacles for candles.

Collection of the Jewish Community Zagreb

PUBLICATIONS

35

Jewish Review, periodical

Library of the Jewish Community of Zagreb

36

The Jew, periodical

Library of the Jewish Community of Zagreb

37

Annals of the Zagreb Jewish Community for the year 5688 (1927/28)

Library of the Jewish Community of Zagreb

38

Memorial of the Board of the Lavoslav Schwartz Home issued on its 30th anniversary, 1909 – 1939, Zagreb, 1939

Library of the Jewish Community of Zagreb

39

Gavro Schwartz: History of the Zagreb Jewish Community from its founding in the fifth decade of the 19th Century, Zagreb, 1939.

Dr Lavoslav Šik Library (Library of the Jewish Community of Zagreb)

40

Protocols of the Elders of Zion

National and University Library, Zagreb

41

Sensation – A Modern Sensation, pamphlet

Private collection

42

Ustasha, paper

National and University Library, Zagreb

43

Croatian People, paper

National and University Library, Zagreb

44

Catalogue of the exhibition: "Jews – An Exhibition of Their Development and Destruction in Croatia before 10 April 1941 – The Solution of the Jewish Question in Croatia", Pavilion of Arts in Zagreb, 1 May – 1 June 1942

Croatian Museum of History

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Wedding photograph of Piroška and Vilim Löwy, 1941

Private collection

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Jewish Sign
Private collection

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Destruction of the Synagogue 1941/42

Sequence from Mira Wolf's documentary: "The Zagreb Synagogue"

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The site of the Synagogue
Photograph by Vladimir Guteša
City of Zagreb Museum, photo records 5568

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Department store built on the site of the synagogue, 30 July 1959
Photograph by Vladimir Guteša
City of Zagreb Museum, photo records 5568

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Miroslav Begović: Urban Planning Study for the Praška Street – Zrinski Square – Amruševa Street – Petrinjska Street – Ban Jelačić Square Block, 1976

51

Boris Morsan: Two projects

- a. "Standard konfekcija" Department Store, First competition prize 1977
- b. Jewish Centre on the site of the "Standard konfekcija" Department Store, study after the competition, 1987

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Aleksander Laslo: A proposal for Praška Street, 1977

53

Branko Siladin: A proposal for Praška Street, 1987

- a. First version
- b. Second version

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Studies by students of the School of Architecture on the Theme: Jewish Cultural Centre – Synagogue, 1996 – 2001

55

CHRONOLOGY OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE BUILDING OF THE JEWISH CULTURAL CENTRE AND SYNAGOGUE AT 7 PRAŠKA STREET

56

Bulletin of the Zagreb Jewish Community 1987 and 1988

57

Ha – Kol 2000 and 2001, poll

58

Mira Wolf, The Zagreb Synagogue 1867 – 1942
Documentary produced by Croatian Television

MARK ON THE SITE OF THE SYNAGOGUE
Praška 7

Snješka Knežević

The Synagogue of Zagreb 1867-1942

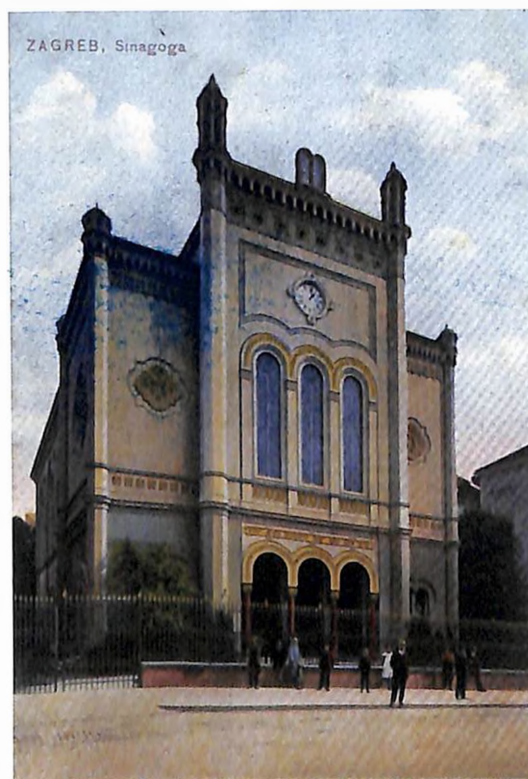
Jews began to settle in Croatian territory under Habsburg rule soon after the proclamation of the Tolerance Edicts (1781-1783) by Joseph II, the reformist emperor. The Edicts proclaimed the freedom of worship and took away the position of the Catholic church as the state church. The most severe restrictions on the Jews, the ban on real estate ownership and handicraft and farming activity, remained in force until the mid-nineteenth century, during which time the Jews were allowed to engage only in those traditional activities which they had previously pursued in the Catholic community – commerce and monetary transactions. In Croatia, permanent settlement was also limited, so that until the nineteen-fifties the Jewish communities in Croatian cities and townships were small compared with other places in the Habsburg Empire.

The revolutionary events of 1848 marked a turning point: the constitutional equality of all citizens was proclaimed regardless of their religious or any other affiliations. However, in the period of absolutist rule (1851-1860) the pre-revolutionary anti-Jewish rules were again introduced, including the ban on ownership of real estate. They were revoked with the restoration of the constitutional order in 1860, and in 1867 the Austrian law granted Jews full equality. The Croatian Parliament enacted the law on the equality of Jews in 1873 as part of modern liberal reforms.

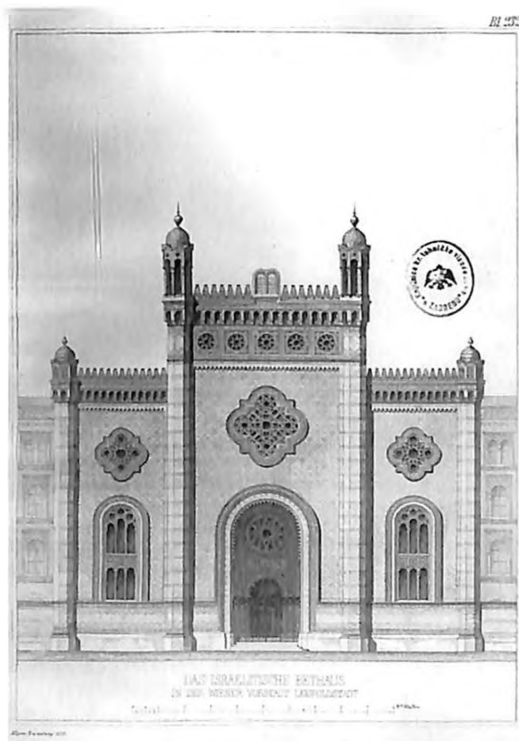
Jews first settled in Zagreb in the late eighteenth century, and in 1806 some seventy of them founded the Jewish Community. In 1809 the community had a rabbi and in 1811 it had its own cemetery. The Hevra Kadisha charity was active from 1828 onwards. The Ashkenazi Jews who arrived in Croatia from different parts of central Europe settled in the suburbs of the two medieval Zagreb settlements – the free royal city of Gradec and Kaptol, the bishop's see. Kaptol subsequently became the Lower Town (Downtown) and underwent urban development in the second half of the nineteenth century, which made it the center of Zagreb. It was there that the first places of worship serving the Jewish community in Zagreb were founded.

In 1855, with some seven hundred members already, the community decided to build a temple. The preparations started in 1861 with the appointment of the committee responsible for construction and funding. In 1862 the committee cast an eye on a site near the city's main (Jelačić) square. Negotiations with the city authorities lasted three years before the construction of the Synagogue could begin in 1866. The negotiations took so long because the site was selected in an area intended for a new street, which, however, could not be completed because of the lack of money. The building of the street was also substantially supported by the Jewish religious community and by individual Jews, owners of the building sites along the planned facility, which was opened in 1867 simultaneously with the opening of the Synagogue. The completion of the street marked an important step in the urban development of the Lower Town.

The Synagogue was officially consecrated on 27 September 1867 in the presence of repre-



View of the Zagreb synagogue, postcard, around 1900 (Private property)



The Synagogue at Tempelgasse, Vienna, by Ludwig von Förster
Drawing from *Allgemeine Bauzeitung*, XXIV, 1859

representatives of city and regional authorities, Zagreb public figures and many citizens. It was the first prominent public structure in the Lower Town, and its architecture and scale aroused general admiration.

The architect commissioned by the Jewish religious community to build the Synagogue was Franjo Klein (1828-1889), the only artist among the local builders of the time and the most important representative of romantic historicism. The model for the Synagogue in Zagreb was the great synagogue in the Viennese Jewish district of Leopoldstadt, in Wallischgasse (later Tempelgasse), designed by Christian Friedrich Ludwig von Förster (1797-1863), a leading representative of romantic historicism. The Viennese synagogue was built in 1856/58 and razed to the ground in 1938. Förster's synagogue in Tempelgasse was one of a series of impressive Moorish synagogues built in major cities, such as those in Leipzig (designed

by Otto Simonson, 1854/55), Frankfurt (Georg Kayser, 1855/60), Stuttgart (Gustav Breymann and Adolf Wolf, 1859/61), and Berlin (Eduard Knoblauch and Eduard Stüler, 1859/66). All of them were extensively reviewed in the leading journals in the eighteen-sixties and became models for synagogue design in central Europe. Förster's synagogue in Vienna, the first prominent synagogue to be built in the Habsburg Empire after 1848, soon became a prototype - in Austria as well as in other European countries - and was subsequently varied until the end of the century. This was due largely to Förster's eclectic-oriental style, a singular variant of the Moorish style, which was accepted by many Jewish communities as the expression of their cultural and religious identity.

Franjo Klein took over the concept of Förster's synagogue in Vienna, but not its complex symbolism, expressed most evidently by its style. That is, he did not take over Förster's early oriental motifs, but used the already developed round arch style (*Rundbogenstil*). The Synagogue was one of the most impressive examples of the style in Zagreb.

The Synagogue occupied the greater part of the 1540 square metre plot. It faced west, and it receded somewhat from the regulation line in accordance with the still enforced rule from Emperor Joseph's times whereby non-Catholic places of worship could not have a public entrance from the street, nor could they have spires or bells; it was also separated from the street by a fence. The central projecting part was 24 m, and the sides 18.5 m high; the width was 19.7 and the length 30 metres. The Synagogue was longitudinal with a wider and almost imperceptibly higher central nave, and two narrower naves; it did not have a basilical plan like the synagogue in Vienna. The internal layout followed the Viennese model. The western forecourt led into the main hall, with the *bima* and the *aron ha-kodesh* on the eastern side. The sacral axis dominated the strictly symmetrical layout. The synagogue had five entrances: the main one on the façade, and two on each side of the forecourt and the side naves, accessed by four low steps. The plastered walls were lined with smooth rustic ashlars.



Computer reconstruction of the Zagreb Synagogue, 1996
Ivana and Tomislav Hušan

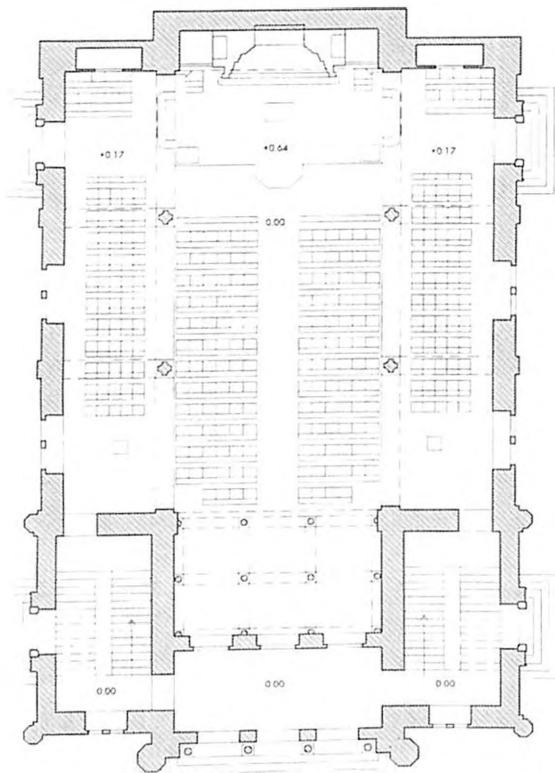
Separate staircases on either side of the forecourt led to the women's gallery above the side naves and towards the western gallery with the organ. The forecourt and the staircases were intended to constitute a separate unit, each with a separate roof, while their external faces – the impressive façade of the synagogue – had a pronounced esthetic and symbolic charge.

The composition of the main façade, with its dominant, drawn out and elevated projection and the two symmetrical, lower lateral parts, reflects the internal division into three naves. At ground-floor level the front was distinguished by the three-arch entrance and biforia, whereas the first floor level had a high triforium with an elevated arch and quadrifoliate rosettes on the staircases. The latter two types were taken over from the Viennese model. There were biforia at ground-floor level of the lateral façades and on the cen-

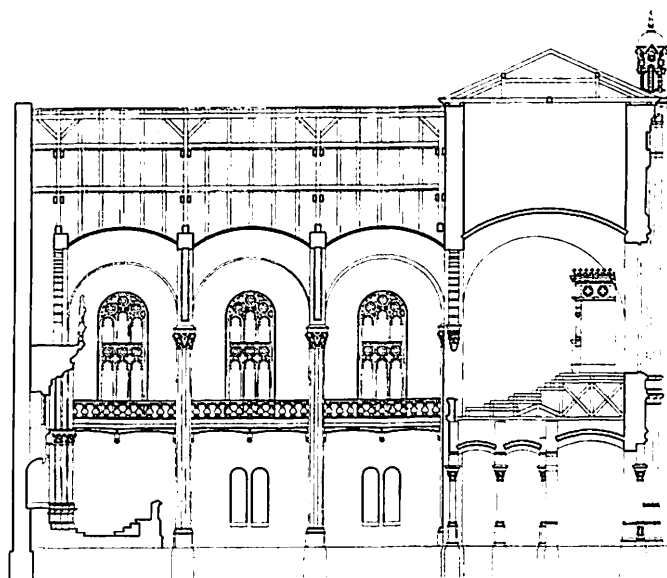
tral façade, while the first floor windows imitated the Viennese design. They marked the three bays dividing the interior.

Klein devoted the greatest attention to the two most important carriers of symbolic messages: the façade and the *aron ha-kodesh* with the *Bimah*, composed as a unity. By changing the form of the openings and the layout he structurally and semantically rearranged Förster's concept of the temple façade, and actually created a variant. He rejected the early oriental motif of the high portal, preferring the more Byzantine-style openings with elevated semicircular arches, and reduced the share of early oriental and Islamic motifs in the decoration.

Klein used monosemic Jewish symbols on the front. A decorative Hebrew inscription with a biblical quotation (Psalms, 118, 26),



Ground-floor layout. computer reconstruction



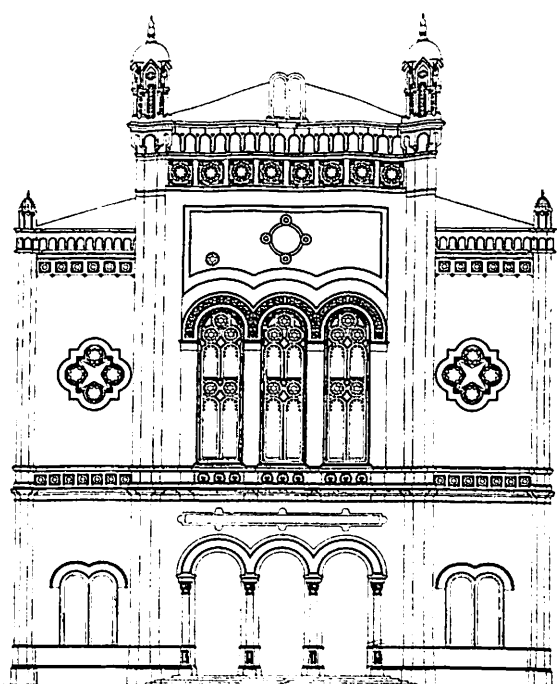
Longitudinal section, computer reconstruction

Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord; we have blessed you out of the house of the Lord. The six-pointed star, magen David, in the internal window structure is incorporated into the overall system of the temple decoration. The horizontal division of the front into two zones gave the temple a more profane character as compared with its Viennese model. With its high three-part window on the front and the clock – anything but an unimportant detail – in the central axis, above the Tablets of the Law (luhot), the Synagogue stood up to traditional, representative public buildings.

The sumptuous sacral interior contained stylistic and symbolic elements replicating Förster's and other reformist synagogues of the time. The decoration is unequivocally Moorish. The design of the eastern side with the *aron ha-kodesh* was taken almost literally from the Viennese synagogue. The rosette was not blind as in Vienna, but let eastern light in through the arabesque of its mesh. It was surrounded by the five medallions, symbols of the Pentateuch, the *Torah*, with a quotation from David's psalm (Psalms, 19,8): *The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart*. It symbolized justice and the law-giver, and indirectly referred to the Jewish kingdom, Jerusalem and the Temple.

The *aron ha-kodesh* had a three-dimensional, stepwise sunk frame with several joined and differently profiled arches, carried alternately by pilasters and slender fluted columns. The star, *magen David*, was within the archivolt, just above the *parohet*. The structure and the phials of the step-like gable above the archivolt were reminiscent of the gables of Northern Gothic town halls, and could be interpreted as a symbol of Jerusalem and, therefore, of the Temple.

Over its seventy-four years the Synagogue underwent only one major modification. At the turn of the century, when the Jewish Religious Community had 3237 members, the temple was adapted in order to accommodate a larger congregation. The project was entrusted to Zagreb's design

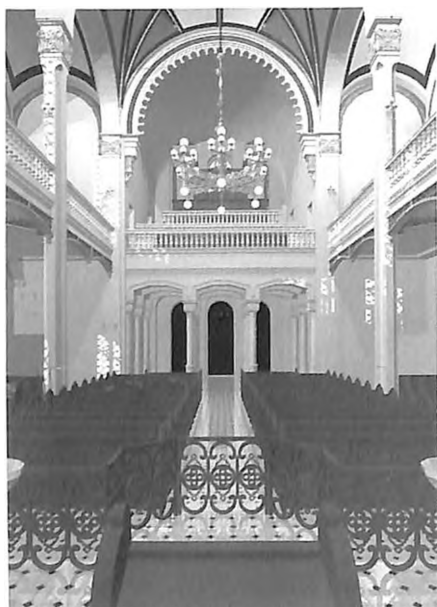


The façade of the Zagreb Synagogue, computer reconstruction

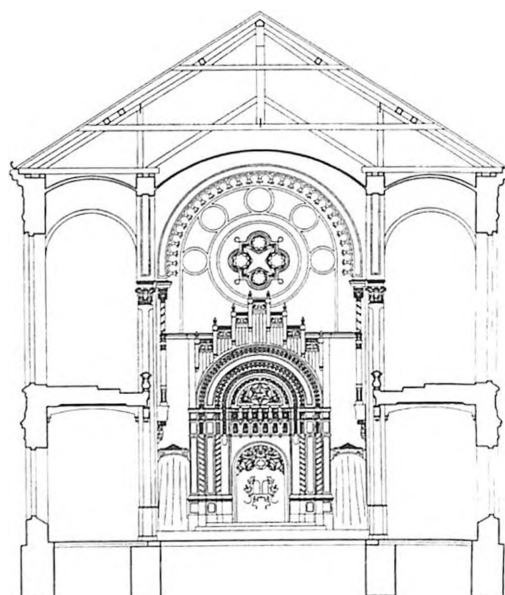
studio of Leo Hönigsberg and Julius Deutsch, also members of the Community. The actual reconstruction of the eastern part was not carried out before 1921, when the Community had grown to 5970 members. This was done by Oton Goldscheider, a professional employee from 1904 and co-owner from 1914 onwards of the Hönigsberg & Deutsch Studio. After 1921 he worked as an independent architect. The niche with the *aron ha-kodesh* was modified on that occasion: the rosette with the medallions was removed, the gable extended, and the organ placed behind it; the staircases were also completed. In 1933 the central heating system was installed.

At the height of the Holocaust, during the Independent State of Croatia and the Ustasha terror, the Synagogue was torn down by the decision of the mayor of Zagreb, ostensibly because it did not fit into the city's master plan. The demolition took place from the autumn of 1941 to the spring of 1942. Only a few fragments of the building have been preserved: the was-basin and two memorial tablets from the forecourt, today in the City of Zagreb Museum, and part of a column, also from the forecourt, today in the historic seat of the Zagreb Jewish Community at 16 Palmotićevea Street.

Several photographs from the nineteenth century and the blueprints for the adaptation of the temple from the early twentieth century provided the basis for the computer reconstruction of the Synagogue, produced in 1996 on the occasion of the 190th anniversary of the Community. It made possible the art-historical presentation of this lost monument of Zagreb's architecture and the most important testimony of Jewish presence in Zagreb. Finally, it renewed the memory of the building, fifty years after it disappeared from the cityscape.



Interior, view of the western side, computer reconstruction



Cross section with the *Aron ha-Kodesh* computer reconstruction



Interior. view of the eastern side with the *aron ha-kodesh*. computer reconstruction

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The interior of the Synagogue, 1881
Photograph by Ivan Standl

