

Final Report



RESTITUTION OF MOVABLE PROPERTY IN CROATIA

Naida-Michal Brandl Zagreb, 2020

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INTRODUCTION

This research report details the findings from an extensive study of documents in archives of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia that provide information about movable property after the Shoah. The archival collection that was researched was the Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments, so called KOMZA.

The goal of this research was to map movable property, especially Jewish owned, after the end of the Second World War. This goal faces a lot of methodological difficulties, first and foremost establishing the ownership over the movable property due to the nature of movable property. This is the reason why, as a result, there is a complete list of all the cases found in the KOMZA collection in the Excel format.

Unlike with the research of immovable/real property, the biggest challenge of this research is the fact that the majority of the movable property changed its location during the War:

- (1) After owners or tenants, defined as Jews by the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) "Racial laws" were evicted from their apartments/houses/businesses, rarely could they take their movable property with them, so it remained there for new beneficiaries or was taken by someone in between. Later it could be taken, sold etc.
- (2) There were warehouses/storages in all the localities in the NDH where there were Jewish communities. During the war the giveaways or sales were organized.
- (3) The relevance of addresses where individuals mentioned in this collection lived as well as addresses of where these individuals owned the real estate.
- (4) Special methodological issue is owners changing their names after the war, due to marriage, death and inheritance of movable property.

The research resulted in the creation of a comprehensive list of movable property in the territory of post-war People's Republic of Croatia, if its data passed through the KOMZA.

These extensive lists are attached as appendices.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

For historical contexts see Naida-Michal Brandl, Restitution of The Jewish Property in Croatia (Zagreb, 2019): 8–19.

SPECIFIC DIFFICULTIES FACED BY CROATIAN JEWS AFTER THE WAR

Croatian Jews were significantly disadvantaged in their efforts to recover and retain the property and assets they owned before the Shoah.

Among the factors that negatively impacted their ability to regain their property were:

- (1) A significant portion of Jewish-owned property was rendered heirless as a result of the Shoah and was consequently not returned;
- (2) Many Croatian Jews did not return home after the war and they, or their surviving heirs who lived abroad, were excluded because of the post-war requirement of repatriation and citizenship for the restitution of property;
- (3) Jews who did return home faced the problem of resuming their lives amid the devastation committed against them personally and against their community;
- (4) Some Jews were targeted by individuals and the Communist authorities; and
- (5) Many Jews who returned to Croatia later emigrated and were deprived of their property once again.

More on this see Naida-Michal Brandl, Restitution of The Jewish Property in Croatia (Zagreb, 2019): 20-24.

TYPES OF PROPERTY AND LEGAL CONTEXT

The Jewish community in Croatia was almost obliterated in the Shoah. Approximately 80 percent of Croatian Jewry were killed, and their property was looted and/or destroyed. After the Second World War, the majority of pre-war Jewish communities and societies were not reestablished. Their property had been ransacked, often destroyed. Jewish cemeteries and other forms of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, were also desecrated or destroyed.

When defining the term "Jewish property", we should distinguish between private property (personal property and capital assets) and communal property (the property of Jewish communities and different Jewish organisations).

The problem with property issues (i.e., nationalisation, or confiscation — just to mention two) is that there was not one, but different sets of laws regulating this subject (different laws for large, medium-sized, and small businesses, for pharmacies, etc.), so relevant files are also scattered.

Finally, confiscation was a tool used by post-war Yugoslav authorities to readily obtain property. The policy of the communist authorities was to nationalise different kinds of property, in particular "to take over all means of production", and to expropriate all sorts of private property. Therefore, there was a need to trace and re-examine cases where Jews were accused of various crimes, including collaboration.

Jewish property 1941–1945

Most Croatian Jews had their property confiscated immediately after the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, when it passed a series of legal provisions, a number of them regarding Jewish property.¹

At first, this deprivation had all the characteristics of legalised robbery, where individuals or groups came to Jewish apartments or premises and looted them or took over the property.²

The legal provisions concerning Jewish property during the NDH included:

• Legal Provision on the Preservation of Croatian National Property (*Zakonska odredba o sačuvanju hrvatske narodne imovine*) 19 April 1941;

¹ For the implementation of these legal acts and nationalisation of Jewish property in the NDH, see Nada Kisić Kolanović, "Podržavljenje imovine Židova u NDH", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 30:3 (1998): 429–453; Zlata Živaković Kerže, "Podržavljenje imovine Židova u Osijeku u NDH", *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 39:1 (2007): 97–116; Brandl, "Židovski identitet/i u Hrvatskoj nakon Drugog svjetskog rata: kratak pregled," 167–194. A list of nearly all legal regulations passed against Jews can be found in Boško Zuckerman, "Političke prilike tijekom ustrojstva NDH i psihologija Holokausta Židova u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941. godine", *Prilozi* 39 (2010): 65–67.

² Goldstein/Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, 105–117.

- Implementing Order on the Legal Provision on the Preservation of Croatian National Property (*Provedbena naredba zakonske odredbe o sačuvanju hrvatske narodne imovine*) 19 April 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Appointment of Commissioners in Business Enterprises (*Zakonska odredba o imenovanju povjerenika kod privrednih poduzeća*), April 19, 1941;
- Legal Provision on Ordinary Operations and the Prevention of *Sabotage* in Business Enterprises (*Zakonska odredba o redovitom poslovanju i sprečavanju sabotaže u privrednim poduzećima*) 30 April 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Establishment of an Office for Economic Reconstruction (*Zakonska odredba o osnivanju ureda za obnovu privrede*) 2 May 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Duties and Rights of Commissioners, Appointed by Business Enterprises (*Zakonska odredba o dužnostima i pravima povjerenika, imenovanih kod privrednih poduzeća*) 16 May 1941;
- Implementing Order on the Legal Provision on the Vacating and Occupancy of Residential and Business Premises for Reasons of Public Safety (*Provedbena naredba zakonskoj odredbi o ispražnjenju i naseljenju stambenih i poslovnih prostorija iz razloga javne sigurnosti*) 5 June 1941;
- Legal Provision on Preventing the Concealment of Jewish Property (*Zakonska odredba o sprečavanju prikrivanja židovskog imetka*) 5 June 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Compulsory Reporting of Jewish Property and Business Enterprises (Zakonska odredba o obveznoj prijavi imetka židova i židovskih poduzeća) 5 June 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Expropriation of Buildings in Favour of the State (*Zakonska odredba o izvlastbi zgrada u korist države*) 9 June 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Expropriation of Printing Houses (*Zakonska odredba o izvlastbi tiskara*) 12 June 1941;
- Legal Provision on the Establishment of the State Directorate for Reconstruction (*Zakonska odredba o osnutku Državnog ravnateljstva za* ponovu) 24 June 1941;
- Legal Order on the Nationalisation of Jewish Property and Jewish Business Enterprises (*Zakonska naredba o podržavljenju imetka Židova i židovskih poduzeća*), 10 October 1941, and
- Legal Provision on the Nationalisation of Jewish Property (*Zakonska odredba o podržavljenju židovske imovine*) 30 October 1942.³

Jewish property after 1945

There is no unique legislation regulating property relations after 1945. During the war, the second session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije – AVNOJ) and the State Anti-Fascist

³ Zuckerman, "Političke prilike tijekom ustrojstva NDH i psihologija Holokausta Židova u Bosni i Hercegovini 1941. godine", 65–67.

Council of the National Liberation of Croatia (*Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Hrvatske* – ZAVNOH) and their presidencies had begun to deal with property issues as one of the matters under the responsibility of these legislative bodies of the new "people's authorities". After May 1945, the passing of legislation continued, and laws were issued to regulate property relations in the new Yugoslavia.⁴

The main intent of these legal acts, comprised of decisions, orders and other legislation, was to return to the situation, regarding property issues, which existed before 6 April 1941. These legal acts were passed not only regarding Jews, but also with regard to Serbs and all those whose property was unjustly confiscated by the occupiers and their collaborators — everyone could, at least in principle, apply to get it back. Inheritance petitions could be accepted for one year after the end of the war. The other aim was to establish a direct link of repatriation and citizenship with the right to the return of property or its ownership. Together, as evidenced later, these laws enabled a change to be made in the property structure of the new state.

The first step was to annul all the laws, not just those on property issues that were promulgated after 6 April 1941. After this step, all the property was to be identified by both those who occupied it as well as those who owned it before the Second Word War. In this context, a new office for managing national resources was founded, the State Administration of National Goods (*Državna uprava narodnih dobara* – DUND), with its subordinate offices at local levels.

Having first identified the pre-war ownership of the property, the new Yugoslav legal system created a framework to nationalise all the private property in the country (regardless of the nationality or religion of the owners or its legal status during the war), thus changing the property structure of the new Yugoslavia.

There were several methods of seizing property in Communist Yugoslavia: sequestration, confiscation, nationalisation, expropriation, and the agrarian reform.⁵

⁴A broader context of the postwar legislation dealing with property relations is given by Marijan Maticka "Zakonski propisi o vlasničkim odnosima u Jugoslaviji (1944–1948)," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 25 (1992): 123-148. The author gives a broader context of property relations immediately after the war, and I am relying on that article. I am not listing all the laws dealing with property relations, but only those which are directly relevant to the theme of this article. For more information on property issues see Jadranko Crnić, Ana-Marija Končić (eds.), *Konfiskacija, nacionalizacija, ratna dobit, agrarna reforma, kolonizacija i drugi oblici prisilnoga prestanka vlasništva; Zakon o pretvorbi društvenog poduzeća* (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1991); Slobodan Nešović, ed., *Zakonodavni rad Pretsedništva Antifašističkog veća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije i Pretsedništva Privremene narodne skupštine (19. novembra 1944 – 27. oktobra 1945) po stenografskim beleškama i drugim izvorima (Beograd, 1951).*

⁵ An explanation of the terms *sequestration* (temporary dispossession or management of the total property or a part of it until a final court ruling), *expropriation* (taking away some property with compensation); *confiscation* (official removal of someone's possession in favour of the state without compensation); *nationalisation* (nationalising different forms of private possession) can be found in Tomislav Anić, "Normativni okvir podržavljenja imovine u Hrvatskoj/Jugoslaviji 1944–1946", *časopis za suvremenu povijest* 39:3 (2007): 25–62.

Sequestration is the act of temporarily removing, separating, or seizing anything from the possession of its owner under the process of law, and putting it under state control until a final court ruling. Confiscation is the forced removal of someone's possession(s) in favour of the state, without compensation. It can be complete (taking away the entire property) or partial (taking away a specific part of the property). The property of an individual is defined as the possessions which are his personal property, or his share in the joint property with other individuals. Property also includes all property rights. Nationalisation is a state measure by which, under the law, all sorts of private property are nationalised. This measure can include some forms of compensation, but it can also be without compensation. Expropriation is the seizure of certain property with some compensation and this measure is mainly applied when changes in landowning relations are introduced.⁶ Agrarian reform is the redistribution of agricultural land by the government.

Although in historiography Jews are not associated with land ownership, Croatian Jews, especially those in Slavonia, were the owners of large areas of land. Due to the limited scope of this article, laws relating to agrarian reform will not be covered here.⁷

More on legislative regarding property issues for both War and Postwar periods see Naida-Michal Brandl, Restitution of The Jewish Property in Croatia (Zagreb, 2019): 29–43 (laws regarding immovable and movable property) and 44–46 (movable property).

Laws on Movable Property, Notably Art Objects

The Period 1941–1945

The first set of laws was promulgated during the period of the NDH and includes: 8

- Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiques and Artworks, Cultural, Historical, and Natural Monuments from the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia (*Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*) 14 May 941;⁹
- Ordinance on the Export of Artwork (Pravilnik za izvoz umjetnina) 20 June 1941;

⁶ Maticka, "Zakonski propisi o vlasničkim odnosima u Jugoslaviji (1944–1948)", 125.

⁷Crnić/Končić (eds.), *Konfiskacija, nacionalizacija, ratna dobit, agrarna reforma, kolonizacija i drugi oblici prisilnog prestanka vlasništva,* 109–114 and 259–331. They are the Act on Land Reform and Colonisation, its amendments and interpretations, a series of laws connected to land areas, the Act on Agricultural Land, its amendments, ordinances on the amount of compensation, etc.

⁸ Martina Juranović Tonejc, "Zakonska regulativa u zaštiti pokretne baštine u doba Nezavisne države Hrvatske," *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, 33/34:33/34 (2012): 15-22.

⁹ Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year I, No. 2 (Zagreb 5 July 5 1941): 85–86. No. 130.

- Legal Provision on the War Archives and Museum of the Independent State of Croatia (Zakonska odredba o ratnom arkivu i muzeju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske) 5 July 1941;¹⁰
- Legal Provision on Croatian Cultural Monuments (*Zakonska odredba o hrvatskim kulturnim spomenicima*) 15 August 1941;¹¹
- Legal provision on the establishment of the Croatian State Museum in Osijek (March 11, 1942);¹²
- Legal Provision on the Establishment of the Croatian State Museum in Osijek (*Zakonska odredba o osnutku Hrvatskog državnog muzeja u Osijeku*) 11 March 1942;¹³
- Legal Provision on the Replacement of Two Paintings by Vittorio Carpacci from the Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb for the Baptistery of the Croatian Duke Višeslav from the Museo Civico Correr in Venice (Zakonska odredba o zamjeni dviju slika Vittora Carpaccia iz Galerije Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnost u Zagrebu za krstionicu hrvatskog kneza Višeslava iz Museo Civico Correr u Mletcima), 11 June 11 1942.¹⁴

Already with the first legal provision (Legal Provision on the Prohibition of the Alienation and Export of Antiques and Artworks, Cultural, Historical, and Natural Monuments from the Territory of the Independent State of Croatia) in May 1941, it was prescribed that whoever owns any object of art, cultural, historical, or private monuments should inform the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. The Conservation Institute would send its envoys to list, record and study these objects, and the owner was provided with certificates on the results and financial value of their works of art. The items were to remain in the owner's possession or, if they could not take care of them, they were to be given to the Croatian National Museum (Hrvatski narodni muzej, today the Museum of Arts and Crafts). Cultural, historical (archaeological, ethnographic, architectural, artistic) and natural monuments (which had scientific, artistic, or aesthetic value or were thought to be of general national value) were considered as Croatian national monuments, which could not be the subject of private legal transactions. The Minister of Education was obliged to implement the Legal Provision and was responsible for potentially granting permission to export works of art.

¹⁰ Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year I, No. 2 (Zagreb 5 July 5 1941): 120. No. 178.

¹¹ Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year I, No. 4, (Zagreb 15 August 1941): 224.

¹² Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year II, No. 7 (Zagreb 11 March 1942): 229. No 210.

¹³ Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year II, No. 7, (Zagreb 11 March 11 1942): 244–246.

¹⁴ Croatian Parliament, *Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia*, Year II, No. 16 (Zagreb, 11 June 1942). No. 597.

The Period after 1945

Post-war legislation on moveable art objects is divided into those adopted at the federal level (Yugoslavia) and the federal unit level (Croatia). They were based on the Federal Constitution and other laws such as the Criminal Code (*Krivični zakon*), the Basic Act on Expropriation (*Osnovni zakon o eksproprijaciji*), the Act on the Protection of Archival Material and Archives (*Zakon o zaštiti arhivske građe i arhivima*) and the Act on Museums (*Zakon o muzejima*).¹⁵

The federal level legislation includes: the Decision on the Transfer into State Ownership of Enemy Assets, the State Administration of Property Belonging to Absent Persons, and the Sequestering of Property Taken by Force by Occupying Authorities (Odluka o prelasku u državno vlasništvo neprijateljske imovine, državnoj upravi nad imovinom osoba koje su izbjegli ili su bili nasilno odvedeni i o sekvestru nad imovinom koju su okupatorske vlasti prisilno otuđile) of 1944, the Decision on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (Odluka o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina), the Act on the Gathering, Preservation, and Distribution of Books and Other Cultural, Educational and Art Objects that Became Government Property according to the Resolution of the Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (Zakon o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih kulturno-naučnih i umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državna svojina prema odluci Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije), and the Act on the Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia (Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije), all from 1945. In 1946, the Basic Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities (Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti) was promulgated.

Croatia adopted the following regulations in 1945: the Decision on the Establishment of the Commission for Ascertaining War Damage Inflicted by Occupying Forces on Cultural and Historical Objects and Natural Landmarks of the Federal Republic of Croatia and Their Return to the Country (Odluka o osnivanju Komisije za utvrđivanje ratne štete učinjene po okupatoru na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Federalne Države Hrvatske i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju) and the Regulation on the Education of the Commission for Gathering and Protecting Cultural Monuments and Antiquities on the Territory of Federal Croatia (Uredba o obrazovanju Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske). In 1949, the Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities (Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti) was adopted.

Later post-war legislation regulating art objects consisted of two laws: one at the federal level, the Basic Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (*Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture*)

¹⁵ Martina Juranović Tonejc, "Pokretni umjetnički predmeti u zakonskoj regulativi od 1941. do 1999. godine", https://www.transcultaa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/poster01.pdf (20 June 2021).

adopted in 1959, and the other at the level of the People's Republic of Croatia, the Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (*Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture*) in 1960.

The following Table lists a set of laws on movable property after 1945, at both the federal level and at the level of the Croatian federal unit:

Federal level	Federal unit (Croatian) level
Decision on the Protection and Preservation of	Decision on the Establishment of the Commission for
Cultural Monuments and Antiquities; Act on the	Ascertaining War Damage Inflicted by Occupying
Gathering, Preservation, and Distribution of Books	Forces on Cultural and Historical Objects and Natural
and Other Cultural, Educational and Art Objects that	Landmarks of the Federal Republic of Croatia and
Became Government Property According to the	Their Return to the Country
Resolution of the Antifascist Council of the People's	
Liberation of Yugoslavia	
Act on the Preservation of Cultural Monuments and	Regulation on the Education of the Commission for
Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federative	Gathering and Protecting Cultural Monuments and
Yugoslavia	Antiquities on the Territory of Federal Croatia
	Act on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and
	Natural Rarities

Some of the key persons in both conservation institutes were individuals who served in both the NDH and in the post-war communist period, namely Ljubo Karaman and Tihomir Stahuljak. Stahuljak was already an employee of the Conservation Institute of Banovina Hrvatska (1939–1941). However, it is still unclear why so little movable property under Jewish ownership is registered in KOMZA if we take into account the way legal provisions were passed and implemented, with the obligations of owners to report heritage and works of art to the Conservation Institute and the fact that the same people were in charge in this institute during the period of the NDH and in the Federal State of Croatia, later called the People's Republic of Croatia from 1945 to 1950.

N. M. Brandl, Movable property in Croatia

¹⁶ KOMZA, description of archival collection; Martina Juranović Tonejc, "Zakonska regulativa u zaštiti pokretne baštine u doba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske", *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, 33/34:33/34 (2012): 16–17.

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

Ministry of Culture: The Commissions for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (KOMZA)

The Commission for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities (KOMZA) is a post-war commission that operated within the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1945–1946) and within the Conservation Institute of Croatia (1946–1967). KOMZA was founded on 28 June 1945 by the order of the Minister of Education of the Federal Republic of Croatia and is based on the Decision on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia of 20 February 1945.¹⁷

After the official decision to transfer state-owned property to the various scientific and cultural institutions, the Commission chose the selected confiscated and sequestered movable property — paintings, sculptures, furniture, dishes, rugs, pianos, books, various collections, libraries, museums, and archives. As a rule, accurate records were kept regarding the name, surname and address of the owner, the description and number of items, as well as the total amount of confiscated property. Minutes were also taken of the handover, but for a certain number of cases, no further route can be established (for example, there is a note "surrendered at the request of the Federal Executive Council").

Data on movable property of different provenance is to be found in the KOMZA archives: seized and sequestered property of German nationals, occupiers and collaborators, property of unknown owners or movables suspected of having been fraudulently acquired, such as items purchased or selected in *Ponova* (1941–1945) or in storage in 2 Praška Street and in the City Slaughterhouse in Heinzelova Street where items of families taken to camps or from synagogues and Serbian Orthodox churches were stored.

The Commission also had a special "Team for libraries", and a way to return movable property to owners after court proceedings. It should be noted that the collection of documents has not been preserved in its entirety and that the Commission did not have full authority to inspect and select all the confiscated and abandoned items, and that the data mostly relate to the city of Zagreb, although the collection should cover all of Croatia.

N. M. Brandl, Movable property in Croatia

¹⁷ Milan Balić, "Trideset godina zaštite spomenika kulture u Slavoniji, 1945–1975", *Muzeologija* 19 (1975): 144–152; Marina Vinaj & Žarka Vujić "Muzealnost Knjižnice Prandau-Normann u Muzeju Slavonije Osijek", *Muzeologija* 48/49 (2012): 124–132.

List of Private Collections

In addition to drawing up the minutes and distributing the items to the various institutions, the Commission listed the private collections taken over by the Commission with requests for protection. Decisions on the protection of private collections and the premises in which they were kept were issued by the Ministry of Education, and from mid-1946 by the Conservation Institute.

All the data on these collections are to be found in KOMZA, but they were stored separately, so these private collections are listed below. Those that belonged to Jewish individuals or families are listed in bold. Out of 121 private collections presented in KOMZA, only 10 are obviously Jewish owned, as defined by the NDH *racial laws*.

- 1. Ivana Aleksander, 49/IV Ilica Street
- 2. Collection Aleksander-Mirnik, 32/II Mihanovićeva Street
- 3. Danica Antolić
- 4. Josip Antonić
- 5. Ognjeslav Aranicky, 40 Radnički dol
- 6. Milica Arko¹⁸
- 7. Pipa Arko (Tavčer)
- 8. Teodora Barac Repenski
- 9. Jelica Bačić
- 10. Ivan Barešić
- 11. Vilma & Milka Bedeković
- 12. Antun & Antonija Bauer¹⁹
- 13. Zora Bedeković
- 14. Draga Brlić
- 15. Family Brlić, Slavonski Brod²⁰

¹⁸ Vladimir Arko (1888–1945) was the founder of a spirits factory and was engaged in the distillation of alcohol and in the production of yeast, liqueurs, chemicals and enamelware in Zagreb. The house of Vladimir Arko in Basaričekova 24 was one of the most modern in the Upper Town at the end of 1930s. It is interesting that later, in the 1970s, the residence was adapted by the collector Ante Topić Mimara. Today it is used by the Croatian Society of Writers and by the Croatian P. E. N. Centre.

¹⁹ Antun Bauer (1911–2000) was a Croatian museologist and collector. He received a degree in history and archaeology in Zagreb in 1935, where he also obtained his PhD in 1937. He served as the director of the Glyptotheque (nowadays Glyptotheque HAZU) in 1937–1952, as the director of the Croatian School Museum (until 1966) and as the director of the Museum Documentation Centre in Zagreb (until 1975). He collected art, art-historical literature, documents and materials, having contributed with his own collections to the establishment of numerous museums and gallery institutions in Croatia: Glyptotheque (1937), Archive of Fine Arts as part of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Museum Documentation Centre (1955), Art Gallery in Osijek (1941), and the Art Gallery within the Vukovar City Museum (1959). The collection "Bauer" is regarded as one of the most comprehensive collections of Croatian art of the 19th and the 20th century.

²⁰ Home of Ivana Brlić Mažuranić (1874–1938), Croatian writer, first female corresponding member of JAZU, and granddaughter of the Croatian poet, linguist, lawyer, politician and "Ban" Ivan Mažuranić (1814–1890).

- 16. Cvijeta Butorac
- 17. Dagmar pl. Chavrak²¹
- 18. Frane Cota²²
- 19. Milan Čurčin
- 20. Andrija & Štefica Daič, 25 Vlaška Street (Daič or Deutsch)
- 21. Beata Delić
- 22. Jerka & Lelja Dobronić, 31 Mošinskoga Street / 35 Nazorova Street²³
- 23. Rafael Dolinšek
- 24. Jelisava Drašković
- 25. Dubrovnik²⁴
- 26. Tilla Durieux & Zlata Lubiensky²⁵
- 27. Ivana Gjurić
- 28. Jelka Eisner, 10 Dalmatinska Street
- 29. Paula Erber
- 30. Krešimir Filić
- 31. Kamilo Firinger
- 32. Jelka Fischer (nee Egersdorfer), 3 Demetrova Street. This private collection was preserved by the State in 1946. Ivana Fischer wrote to the Conservation Institute that JAZU and the Ethnographic Museum bought her paintings in 1950.

²¹ Dagmar pl. Chavrak (1881–1952) was daughter of Zagreb mayor Adolf pl. Mošinsky, one of his most important Zagreb mayors. His achievements include building the Zagreb sewer system from scratch, turning the Medveščak stream into an underground channel, laying out the "green horseshoe", and constructing the Zagreb National Theatre. During his time as a mayor, Zagreb grew by one third. Mošinsky also saw the introduction of the Zagreb taxi, being the first passenger in 1901.

²² Frane Cota (1898–1951) was a Croatian sculptor, architect, and Olympian.

²³ Lelja Dobronić (1920–2006) was an art historian, daughter of the composer Antun. She graduated in 1943 from the Faculty of Philosophy (history of art and culture with classical archaeology, national and general history) and received a doctorate in 1946. From 1944 to 1948, she was a curator in the Glyptotheque, from 1957 a research associate at the Zagreb City Museum, and from 1962 to 1966 a research associate of the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and the Museum Documentation Centre in Zagreb. From 1967 until her retirement in 1980 she was the director of the Croatian History Museum (since 1967 a senior research associate, since 1973 a scientific advisor). She married Pavao Vuk-Pavlović in 1947 and they had a son, Stanimir (b. 1949).

²⁴ This file includes several collections, located in Dubrovnik, mainly furniture: Katica Bašić, née Haller; Stefi Bizzarro-Ohninčević (?); Danica Flori; Ana Filaus; Baldo Gradi; Ernest Katić; Antun Kurajica; Nella Mohr-Mirošević Sorgo; Rajmund Negrini; Artur Saraka; Ivo Saraka.

²⁵ Tilla Durieux (born Ottilia Godefroy, 1880–1971) was one of the most important figures in the acting world of Germany. She was a great star of the Berlin theatre of the golden twenties. She belonged to the up-and-down period of the Weimar Republic. For her, the period between 1903 and 1918 was marked by two key figures. Max Reinhardt created her as an actress, and Paul Cassirer brought her into the centre of the most advanced goings-on from the fin de siècle. The second period ended with the Hitler persecutions of 1933. The Zagreb period of 1934 to 1952 brought her refuge, peace and repose before new efforts. In the foyer of the Croatian National Theatre, she met Zlata Lubiensky, and from 1938 lived in 27 Jurjevska Street. She returned to Berlin in 1955, devoting herself to acting until the end of her life. In 1982, in the Parliament building, Ms Erika Danhoff signed a deed giving part of the collection to the city of Zagreb. Her words went: "My great friend, and artistic mother, T.D. loved your city. She loved Zagreb, which was her own city for so many years, and to which she was later always connected. So, I am convinced that she would be happy always to be here in it in this way." The newly formed Commission accepted part of the collection in the name of the Museum. It included a total of 19 artistic objects. (Source: http://www.mgz.hr/en/display/tilla durieux/ seen on 29 March 2020).

- 33. Slavko Flogl
- 34. Vatroslav Florschutz
- 35. Leo Frais
- 36. Marko Frangeš
- 37. Robert Frangeš Mihanović, 2 Rokov perivoj²⁶
- 38. Živko Frković
- 39. Olga Gaj²⁷
- 40. Family collection Geresdorfer-Tiller²⁸
- 41. Franjo Glavina
- 42. Milan Gmaz
- 43. Gavro Gojković
- 44. Ivan Govorković
- 45. Ante Grgić
- 46. Ivana Gundrum
- 47. Jelka Gussich
- 48. Anka Gvozdanović²⁹
- 49. Rihard/Rikard Halpern Sigetski (castle/palace Škarićevo Gornje)
- 50. Verena Han
- 51. Vilim & Mara Heinz
- 52. Collection Hellenbach (castle/palace Marija Bistrica)
- 53. Anna Hennenberg
- 54. Sofija Hirc
- 55. Ferdinand Hodler (Besim Korkut)
- 56. Milka Hren
- 57. Hugo Holzmann, 6 Opatička Street (missing collection inventory list!)
- 58. Radoslav Horvat
- 59. Svetozar Ivković
- 60. Stanislava Janković
- 61. Janko Jelačić, 22 Basaričekova Street
- 62. Leposava-Lura Jovanović, 2 Petrinjska Street
- 63. Marija Junković

²⁶ Robert Frangeš-Mihanović (1872–1940) is considered a pioneer of modern Croatian sculpture. He was also one of the initiators and organisers of the artistic life in Zagreb at the turn of the twentieth century as one of the founders of the Croatian Artists' Society (1897), the folklore society of Lado (1904), and the Art Academy (1907). ²⁷ Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) was a Croatian linguist, politician, journalist and writer. He was one of the central figures of the pan-Slavist Illyrian Movement.

²⁸ Marija Vera Tiller, née Meid, 7 Demetrova Street (Palace Jelačić – Đuro Jelačić, brother of Josip Jelačić Bužimski).
²⁹ Anka Gvozdanović (Budapest, 1887 – Zagreb, 1968). Together with her husband Dragutin (1851–1920), she collected and stored a valuable collection of furniture, silver, glass, porcelain, rugs and paintings in her apartment in 8 Visoka Street in Zagreb; she donated her apartment and collection in 1966 to the city of Zagreb. The Anka Gvozdanović collection (since 1967 as part of the Museum of Arts and Crafts) shows the ambience of rich citizens of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (https://www.muo.hr/zbirka-anke-gvozdanovic/; https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=23931 seen on 29 March 2020).

- 64. Juraj Kallay³⁰
- 65. Krešimir Kargačin, 16 Demetrova Street
- 66. Olga Kichl, 49 Pantovčak Street (ethnographic collection)
- 67. Đuka Kavurić
- 68. Marta Kiepach
- 69. Vladimir Kirin (2 files)
- 70. Marijan Kiseljak
- 71. Matilda Knežević

72. Blanka Kolmar (nee Machnik), 13 Jurjevska Street

- 73. Eugenija Korejzl
- 74. Nikola Kostrenčić, 27 Mesnička Street
- 75. Milan Košutić
- 76. Terezija Kovačić
- 77. Bernard Krešić
- 78. Vida Krizman Nikolajević
- 79. Collection Kršnjavi, 8 Istarska Street ³¹ (Štefa Kršnjavi)
- 80. Ferdinand Kulmer & Aleksandar-Šandor & Ivan, 2-3 Katarinski Square (no list!)
- 81. Viktor Kučinić
- 82. Gjuro Kumičić, 8/II King Tomislav Square³²
- 83. Julka pl. Kušević
- 84. Emilije Lazić
- 85. Emil(ij) Lazowski
- 86. Ana Lenarčić
- 87. Adela Lovraković/Lovreković
- 88. Antun Lovrenčić

89. Greta Lustig, New York, now 27 Klaićeva Street

- 90. Collection of late Alfred Makanec, 69/II Gjure Deželića Street
- 91. Naum Mallin, 2 Naumovac Street
- 92. Dragutin Mandl, 16 Dvorničićeva Street (Croatian tram engineer and constructor)
- 93. Jovo Marcetić
- 94. Family Marjanović (castle/palace Mali Tabor)
- 95. Margita Marković

³⁰ Juraj Kallay (1901–1989) was a Croatian dentist and dental anthropologist He was a dentist at the Ljubljana State Railways (1932–1941), then head of the dental departments at several Zagreb hospitals. In particular, he dealt with focal infections, paradentosis, and odontosurgery. He was associate professor at the Zagreb School of Dental Medicine. In 1968 he founded and headed the Department of Dental Anthropology at JAZU. Studying the fossils of the Krapina prehistoric man, he published fundamental works in the field of dental anthropology and comparative odontography (https://enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=29979 seen on 29 March 2020).

³¹ Štefa Iskra Kršnjavi (1869–1952) was a poet and translator. In Križevci, she completed two classes at the Girls' High School, and from 1892 to 1893 she attended lectures in literature at the Paris Sorbonne, and from 1893 to 1895 she studied at the University of Bern. From 1895 onwards, and from 1905 until her retirement in 1925, she was a full-time teacher at the Women's Lyceum in Zagreb. In 1919 she married the art historian Izidor Kršnjavi.

³² Gjuro Kumičić was the son of Croatian writer, Eugen Kumičić.

- 96. Lujza Matić
- 97. Irma Meixner
- 98. Maksimilijan Melkus
- 99. Ivan Meštrović, Mletačka 8
- 100. Petar Meštrović, 3/II Jelačić Square
- 101. Edmund Mihailović
- 102. Pavla Mihailović
- 103. Juraj Mikuličić
- 104. Milica Mladić
- 105. Viktor Mondecar
- 106. Emilia Monteccucoli
- 107. Ivan pl. Mošinski, 2 Pavlinovićeva Street
- 108. Janko Mraović
- 109. Erich Muller
- 110. Paula Nestoroff, 1/I Gundulićeva Street
- 111. Aleksandra Nestoroff-Mažuranić, 5 Jurjevska Street
- 112. Vera Nikolić Podrinska, 203 Pantovčak Street ³³
- 113. Mićo Novak
- 114. Pavao Vuk-Pavlović (Wolf), 14 Ludbreška Street (until 1941 6 Preradović Square)³⁴

³³ Vera Nikolić Podrinska (Zagreb, 1886 – Zagreb, 1972) was a Croatian painter and baroness. After the Second World War, her property was either nationalised or bought by the Communist Yugoslavia below its value and the Vila Zagorje, an estate of Josip Broz Tito, was built on the estate. She published the travel book "From Zagreb to Bangkok" in 1957. Gabriele van der Mühll/Muhl, née Habsburg-Nikolić, daughter of Vera's sister Dagmar, married to Leopold Habsburg, attempted to achieve the restitution of this property in the 1990s.

³⁴ Pavao Vuk-Pavlović (Koprivnica, 1894 – Zagreb, 1976) was born as Pavao Wolf. His mother was daughter of Ignjat Granitz. The Wolf family was baptised in 1900. After finishing elementary school, he went to Zagreb, where he finished high school. As a high school student, he showed great interest in languages and literature. After completing high school in 1912, he enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig, where he attended classes by Wilhelm Wundt, Johannes Volkelt and Eduard Spranger, among others. Due to the First World War, he abandoned his studies and, drafted in 1914, he spent four years in the army. After the war, Vuk-Pavlović continued his studies of philosophy at the University of Zagreb, where he earned his PhD in 1921. From 1922 he taught at a high school in Zagreb, then at the College of Education, and from 1929 at the Faculty of Philosophy. In 1947 he married Lelja Dobronić (also mentioned in the list of KOMZA private collections!). He became a corresponding member of JAZU (HAZU) in 1928. Upon the establishment of the NDH, he was evicted from an apartment in 6 Preradović Square (today the Shopping Mall Cvjetni) and moved to a small cottage in the suburbs. With the recommendation of the Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, he requested Aryan rights, but he was suspended and retired anyway, and his mother was taken to Savska Prison, from where she was to be deported to one of the camps but was rescued by his students. In 1945 he regained the position of professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. Due to his rejection of Marxist dogma, he clashed with the authorities in 1947 and resigned. He then worked at the University Library in Zagreb (until 1951), then at the University of Skopje as an associate professor (from 1958) and a full professor (1961-1971) of aesthetics and ethics; he is considered the founder of contemporary Macedonian philosophy.

MOVABLE PROPERTY

As it is evident in "Ponova" collection, there were different types of movable property owned by private persons, communities, different organizations, and associations as well as different types of enterprises. They included:

- (1) Works of art,
- (2) Furniture, personal items;
- (3) Bank accounts and insurance policies etc;³⁵
- (4) Very interesting example of the "hidden property" are goods of different enterprises. Wood industry is great example, as goods around the country can be worth several millions of Dinars;
- (5) Capital in different enterprises/businesses.

CASE STUDIES

Collection of Robert Deutsch Maceljski (Zagreb, 1884 – Auschwitz, 1943), 2 N Square

Before the First World War, Robert Deutsch Maceljski joined the management of the Filip Deutsch and Sons family-owned company. They were involved in the timber trade and forest industry. In the late 1920s, he dropped the family name Deutsch and used only Maceljski. However, as ordered by the NDH, he reverted to the name Deutsch, alongside Maceljski. They resided on what was then 2 N Square (today the Square of the Victims of Fascism).

After the NDH was established, the Gestapo arrested him and his brothers and took him to Graz for questioning, after which he was released.

At the end of May 1941, he and his wife Hilda, née Stern, and his daughter Vanja were on the list for obtaining "Aryan rights" and he was "not obliged to wear a Jewish sign", but there is no confirmation that he received these rights. In June 1941 they converted to Catholicism.

In May 1941, he placed all his works of art, paintings, rugs, and antique furniture under the protection of the *Hrvatski narodni muzej* (Croatian National Museum, today the Museum of Arts and Crafts). At the end of June 1941, under the pretext of better preservation, representatives of the Croatian Conservation Institute inspected the apartment and identified "art objects of significant artistic and national importance" in the Robert Deutsch Maceljski collection. The cataloguing process in the Deutsch Maceljski apartment began in as early as

³⁵ Sometimes, there are examples of persons having up to 5 insurance policies each on Din. 100.000, which equals price of a smaller building or a house. See Naida-Michal Brandl, Restitution of The Jewish Property in Croatia (Zagreb, 2019).

May 1941, and the collection was appropriated in September 1942. Most of the collection was stored in the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and part of the collection remained in the apartment. A high NDH official, Milovan Žanić, moved into the apartment during this process.

Robert and Hilda Deutsch Maceljski were arrested in May 1943 and deported to Auschwitz where they were murdered. Their daughter Vanja survived. She tried to gain restitution of her parents' collection but did not succeed.

After the war, the artworks stored in the Museum of Arts and Crafts were managed by the Commission for Collecting and Preserving Cultural and Historical Monuments (KOMZA). In 1947, part of the collection kept in the Museum of Arts and Crafts was further dispersed: the Old Masters Paintings were transferred to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters (a total of 26 paintings from the Collection), and modern art paintings were transferred to the Modern Gallery of Zagreb. Vanja (1923-1996), the daughter of Robert and Hilda Deutsch Maceljski, unsuccessfully attempted to gain restitution of this collection in 1958 and 1967.³⁶

Collection of Albert Deutsch Maceljski (Zagreb, 1867 – Zagreb, 1952), 25 Jurišićeva Street

Albert Deutsch Maceljski was one of the founders of the Union of Industrialists and Traders of Forest Products of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Zagreb (1928) and was its president until 1941. He was also vice-president of the Zagreb Stock Exchange (1932–1939) and vice-president of the Association of Industrialists of Savska Banovina (an administrative region in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia with its centre in Zagreb in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) and the head of the industrial department and a member of the Customs and Traffic Committee in the Chamber of Commerce and Crafts in Zagreb.

In the *Ponova* file of Albert Deutsch Maceljski, it is stated that objects and paintings from the apartment were sealed and "placed under the protection of the Croatian Museum" (today the Museum of Arts and Crafts). These data are also seen in the KOMZA report of 8 June 1945: "The rest of the collection was catalogued from No. 1–232 by the commission of the National Conservation Institute in Zagreb, on 29 May 1941, No. 94/1941. The items are partially in the National Museum of Arts and Crafts (MUO) / see No. 2134 Poh III-105 MUO/, and partially in Mr. Deutsch's apartment".³⁷

³⁶ Ministry of the State Treasury, Office for Nationalised Property. Series of "P" reports (HR-HDA-1076 Ministarstvo državne riznice NDH. Odjel za novčarstvo, državnu imovinu i dugove. Ured za podržavljeni imetak – Ponova), Robert Deutsch Maceljski file, box 665; Darija Alujević, "Jewish-owned Art Collections in Zagreb: The Destiny of the Robert Deutsch Maceljski Collection", *The Transfer of Jewish-owned Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Region*, Lucca, 18–19 September 2017. For more on the Deutsch Maceljski family, see Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević: "Deutsch Maceljski", *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 3 (Zagreb, 1993).

³⁷ Ministry of the State Treasury, Office for Nationalised Property. Series of "P" reports (HR-HDA-1076. Ministarstvo državne riznice NDH. Odjel za novčarstvo, državnu imovinu i dugove. Ured za podržavljeni imetak – Ponova), Robert Deutsch Maceljski file, box 665. KOMZA-002-45, file Albert Deutsch Maceljski.

A record made on 8 June 1945, in the apartment of Mr. Albert Deutsch in Zagreb, 24/II Jurišićeva Street, mentions 32 items, mainly small objects. It is listed below in its entirety, as an example.

The following cultural and historical items are recorded:

- 1. Porcelain figurine. Spanish woman in a red dress. Hgt. 25 cm.
- 2. Jardinière with an accompanying porcelain salver with punctuated rim and gilded handles, embellished with 6 medallions depicting mythological scenes, size 30x15 cm.
- 3. Drinking glass made of ruby glass with ground transparent ornaments. Glued, 12 ... [word after 12 unreadable]
- 4. Red velvet cushion with a gilded laurel wreath and tendril, bearing the inscription: "Ljubeznoj predsjednici zahvalna družba 1917." (To the kind President from the grateful fellowship, 1917)
- 5. Two small bowls, flock covered, decorated with embroidered medallions with flowerets.
- 6. Vase made of green glass with gilded ornaments and rim. Hgt. 13 cm.
- 7. Three faience figurines: caricature depictions of a cow, goat, and donkey. Hgt. 9 cm.
- 8. Vase made of transparent ground glass with flowers. Hgt. 10 cm.
- 9. Cylindrical glass made of ruby glass with a massive handle. Ground rococo ornaments and hunting scenes.
- 10. Etching bearing the inscription: Palais im Grossen Garten. 6x4 cm.
- 11. Salver with an accompanying set: coffee pitcher, milk pitcher, sugar bowl, with lids. Ornamented with gilded and green leaves.
- 12. White porcelain vase with a photograph of a married couple around 1890.
- 13. Kerdić's plaquette, squared and gilded. A woman with a cornucopia and work symbols on parchment. Inscription: *Komora za trg., obrt i ind*. (Chamber of Trade, Craft, and Industry). 1852 32 (6x6)
- 14. Medal with the profiles of Spanish sovereigns, gilded.
- 15. White porcelain vase with gilded garlands and roses. Hgt. approx. 30 cm.
- 16. Porcelain figurines, 2 Napoleonic soldiers painted.
- 17. Gray jug with classicist alabaster appliqués. Mythological scenes and vine wreath along the upper edge. Hgt. 12 cm.
- 18. *Bilikum* (a three-part jug) made of ground glass with a long stem. A deer in a blue field. 22 cm.
- 19. Fruit set with 2 bowls and 20 shell-shaped small bowls. Transparent glass with gilded ornaments.
- 20. Glass: the lower part is octagonal transparent glass, and the upper part is round ruby glass with a jumping deer, house, and trees. Hgt. 14 cm.
- 21. Porcelain figurine: a girl lifting her skirt. Hgt. 38 cm.

- 22. Plate ceramics. Painted, with reddish-brown and green leaves. 1715. Glued. Diameter 31 cm.
- 23. Plate ceramics with an attached bowl in the middle, 1786. Inscription: *Die Schiesel ist auf der ersten Gemacht wan ich zu bricht der Haffer lacht*. The base colour is light brown, white and green twigs with flowers. Diameter 29.5 cm.
- 24. Plate ceramics with an attached bowl in the middle. The base colour is light brown. Four yellow fish with green scales. Diameter 32 cm.
- 25. Two porcelain figurines /dancers/, gilded dresses and pedestals. 18 cm.
- 26. Vase on a stand, made of opaque glass, decorated with twigs of tropical fruits and leaves. The upper rim is conically raised on 4 sides. Hgt. 24 cm.
- 27. Squared bottle made of milk glass with a lid, embellished with a silver and blue ornament. Hgt. 11 cm.
- 28. Belly-shaped vessel with compartments in the shape of digitalis flowers with gilded rims, probably used to hold toothpicks. An opening with flattened sides at the top. Hgt. 10 cm.
- 29. Laced tulle and Pag lace, 12 pieces.
- 30. Graphics: a man's head, by Glumac.
- 31. Oil painting. Iveković: Horsemen.
- 32. Two oil paintings. Family portraits by A. Sitzer, 1902. 77x56 cm.

Ends with number 32.

Note: The rest of the collection was catalogued from No. 1-232 by the Commission of the National Conservation Institute in Zagreb, on 29 May 1941, No. 94/1941. The items are in part at the National Museum of Arts and Crafts (MUO) / see No. 2134 Poh III-105 MUO/, and in part in Mr. Deutsch's apartment.

In Zagreb, 8 June 1945.

Collection of Julio/Julije König (Hroznová Lhota, Czech Republic, 1877 – Canada, after 1945), 18/I Palmotićeva Street

Julio König settled in Croatia in 1899. He was the co-owner and director of the candy and chocolate factory "Union" (today "Kraš") and the mill "Rosa". The other co-owner of "Union" and "Rosa" was his wife Julia.

He was very active in Jewish activities in Zagreb: König was co-founder and chairman of the Maccabi Sports Society in Zagreb (1923–1937), president of the Jewish National Society (from 1923), a member of the Central Administration of Keren Hayesod, and a member of the B'nei B'rith lodge "Zagreb 1090" established in 1927.³⁸

³⁸ Loža "Zagreb" 1090 N.O.B.B (Nezavisni Orden B'ne Brit). Spomenica 1927-1032, Zagreb, 1932; Andrija Radenić, "Bene berit u Srbiji i Jugoslaviji 1911–1940". *Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u* Beogradu (1997): 3–71, 7.

Julia König (Đakovo 1885 – Canada, ?) was also actively involved in different activities in the Jewish community. In 1926 she was elected the first president of the Zagreb branch of the International Zionist Organization of Women (WIZO). When the Union of Zionist Women of the Kingdom of SHS (after 1929, Yugoslavia) was founded in Zagreb in 1928, she became the first president of that organisation. On the eve of the Second World War, she became involved in helping refugees from Germany, especially in accepting a group of several hundred Jewish children who arrived in Zagreb in May 1940 with plans to continue to Mandate Palestine. Just days before the Axis attack on Yugoslavia, most children were sent to Palestine via Greece and Turkey. In June 1941, she filed a report with the NDH authorities (*Ponova*), stating that German authorities had requisitioned household items from the apartment in 18 Palmotićeva Street (it is the house next to the Jewish Community building in 16 Palmotićeva Street), and that she had given her valuables for the "Jewish contribution".³⁹

Upon the establishment of the NDH, Julio was arrested with about forty prominent and wealthy Jews in Zagreb for intimidation and was thus forced to collect contributions, but soon they were released, and König's name, along with six others, appeared on the list of members of the Contribution Committee. Julio then seems to have fled Zagreb because he did not take over the badge of a Jew. After the war, he lived with his wife in Canada.

A KOMZA record of this collection was made on 8 June 1945. It is interesting that the apartment is listed as the "apartment of Dr. Edo Bulat (previously belonging to Julije König)". Edo Bulat was a high-ranking NDH official. He was the NDH ambassador in Romania, director of the Croatian Bibliographic Institute (HIBZ), and, following the capitulation of Italy, he was appointed a member of the NDH government and a minister for the liberated regions. He left Zagreb in May 1945, and from 1947 lived in Argentina.

..."A record made in the apartment of Dr. Edo Bulat (previously belonging to Julije König), in which comrade Simonović, army post office manager, Zagreb, 18/I Palmotićeva St., is temporarily residing, on 8 June 1945, by the undersigned members of the Committee for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities pursuant to the Decision on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities issued by the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia on 20 February 1945..."

³⁹ Ministry of the State Treasury, Office for Nationalised Property. Series of "P" reports (HR-HDA-1076. Ministarstvo državne riznice NDH. Odjel za novčarstvo, državnu imovinu i dugove. Ured za podržavljeni imetak – Ponova), Robert Deutsch Maceljski file, box 682. For more on Julio and Julia König, see David-Dale Levi ed., *Spomenica Saveza Jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1919–1969.* (Beograd: SJOJ-Srboštampa, 1970); Goldstein/Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*; Snješka Knežević / Aleksandar Laslo: *Židovski Zagreb. Kulturno-povijesni vodič* (Zagreb 2011).

⁴⁰ KOMZA-003-45, file Julije König.

It seems that the record of the collection was made at the moment the new tenant, Simonović, army post office manager, was moving from the apartment to 37 Gundulićeva Street. He requested this collection not to be removed from the apartment while he was residing in it, and he would inform KOMZA of his pending departure.

The following cultural and historical items were recorded:

- 1. Grandfather clock in a case decorated with wooden intarsia with brass appliqués and a dial with Roman numerals. A work from the 19th century in the style of the first half of the 18th century. Brand F. Kunz in Vienna. Size 73x36x15 cm.
- 2. Grandfather clock made of gilt bronze. A relief of Bacchanalian practices on the base. Next to the clock case, statue of Bacchante (nude) and her attributes. Size 57x38x14 cm. Company Badier, Paris, around 1800.
- 3. Biedermeier table made of polished walnut wood, embellished with plastic bars. Two legs in the shape of two columns, connected in the upper part with a Gothic arcade, and in the lower part with a cross rail. Around 1840. Size 77x125x65. With a drawer. From a castle in Rateče.
- 4. Three glasses made of ruby glass. One of them is damaged. 19th c. Different heights.
- 5. Four etchings, showing vedutas of the city of Rab. By Dušan Kokotović. In a glass picture frame.
- 6. Colour etching: Dolac by M. Cl. Crnčić. In a glass picture frame.
- 7. Idem: a view of Dolac and St. Mary's Church from Jelačić Square.
- 8. Oil-on-canvas painting: an islet in the sea by M. Krušlin. 50x64. Behind, study of a man, sitting on the floor.
- 9. Wall clock made of bronze-coated wood from the period around 1835-1840. Roman numerals on the dial, 59x47 cm.
- 10. Biedermeier display cabinet made of polished walnut, with four low prismatic legs and brass fitting on the keyhole, with three shelves and a mirror in the back. 157x85x43 cm.
- 11. Grandfather clock made of brass. Round case between two columns on an oval base. The prop is shaped like a lyre. On the top, a brass relief figure of Nikola Šubić Zrinski on a horse. On the sides, two dancing couples. Brand W. Schönberg in Vienna from 1866. Height 47, width 28 cm.
- 12. Glass with a stem made of blue painted glass with enamelled artwork. Height 18 cm.
- 13. Three milk pitchers and one cup with a saucer from the first half of the 19th c. Vienna porcelain.
- 14. Two figurines made of porcelain, painted. 19th c.
- 15. Roman terracotta oil lamp with a figure of a soldier.
- 16. Earthenware plate. Brand Wedgwood, type Ferrara. Blue decoration. 24.5.
- 17. Idem. Brand Staffordshire England. Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Diameter 23.5.
- 18. Idem. Brand Davenport. Pastoral scene. Diameter 22 cm.
- 19. Idem. Florentine Opaque China. Brand London. A chinoiserie decoration. Diameter 23 cm.

- 20. Three earthenware plates. Scenes from a novel. Black on white. Porcelain opaque. Creil et Montereau. Medailles d'or 1834 et 1839. Lebeuf Milliet et Co. Diameter 20 cm.
- 21. Earthenware saucer with a multicolour rose decoration. A.N. in A.R.b.C. Type Bouquet. Diameter 15.5 cm.
- 22. Elliptical miniature, portrait of a lady. Signed by M.K. 9x6.5 cm. In a deep quadrilateral black frame.
- 23. Folder with ethnographic maps, Bucharest, 1940.
- 24. Painting, oil copy of Rembrandt: Rabbi from the Hermitage. Black deep-profile frame. Gilt along the inner rim.
- 25. Painting, copy, oil. An old lady with glasses reading. Dutch painter, 17th c. Deep black frame.
- 26. Frame, gilded wood with rococo decorations, 83x43 cm.
- 27. Painting, oil. Kokotović. Coastal landscape.
- 28. Painting on metal. Colour reproduction: A guitarist by Watteau. Below, a longish text in French. 15x21.5 cm. Black wooden frame, damaged.
- 29. Idem. 18th c. French master. Inscription: Le serment d'amour. 11x9. Black frame.
- 30. Idem: La cachete découverte by Fragonard. Below the painting, text in French. 15.5x21 cm. Black frame.
- 31. Cup without a saucer. Bienenkorb. Cobalt with gilt. In the middle, a mythological scene.
- 32. Dresser with 4 drawers, three metal fittings on each. Inlaid lyres in the right and left upper corner next to the drawer.
- 33. Mirror in the shape of a portable dressing table with a drawer. Intarsia on the surface above the drawer: a young man and woman dancing, two satyrs playing. Intarsia of a garland on the drawer. Inlaid tendril on the back of the mirror. Width 56, depth 36, height of the drawer 12.5, height with mirror 66 cm.
- 34. Four Biedermeier chairs with slim sabre legs. The backrest is connected with two cross rails. Seats with removable upholstered pillows. 1 chair, damaged.

Ends with number 34.

"

Fröhlich Collection (Oskar Fröhlich, Zábřeh, Czech Republic, 1879 – Italy, 1944), 15 Josipovac Street

Before the Second World War, Oskar was the director and shareholder of "Croatia", a company operating in the timber industry. In the *Ponova* files, Oskar and Berta, née Pater, owned and resided in a house in Tuškanac 15. They had two children, Franjo (1922) and Adriena or Adrienne (1924). By 1941, Berta was in a sanatorium in Vienna, while Oskar and his children had converted to Catholicism in 1938.

However, in KOMZA, this address is listed as 15 Josipovac Street. On 6 June 1945, a "...record was compiled in the apartment of 15 Josipovac Street, formerly the Fröhlich and Kvaternik

mansion, by the undersigned members of the Committee for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities..."⁴¹

This is the longest list of those found in KOMZA in our context. It may be due to the fact that this villa was occupied by Slavko Kvaternik, one of the founding fathers of the Ustasha movement, a person who proclaimed the NDH and formed a temporary government. He was commander-in-chief of the Croatian Armed Forces with the rank of marshal (*vojskovođa*) from 1941 until his retirement in 1943, when he moved to Austria. After the war he was extradited to Yugoslavia and sentenced to death.

The following cultural and historical items were recorded:

- 1. [MUO] Writing desk, 18th c., richly decorated with intarsia. [II No. 33]
- 2. [MUO] Box for letters with intarsia similar to No 1. Size 27x33x18 cm (damaged)
- 3. [MUO] Large grandfather clock, 18th c., brand Rich. Colley-London. [II/34]
- 4. Dresser with 2 drawers, 19th c., with brass fittings. /damaged/ [Museum of Zagreb]
- 5. Oil painting (a portrait of Olga Kvaternik) size 124x66.5 cm in w(ooden) f(rame) [M.G.]
- 6. [PO] Statue (sculpture) of St George made of wood, painted, 17th c., size ?, height 93 cm.
- 7. [MUO] Writing desk with 2 drawers, decorated with intarsia. [II No. 32]
- 8. Carved chest, size 116x55x57 cm, 17th c. [Academy]
- 9. Small table with a marble top and intarsia with 4 legs. [Museum of Rijeka]
- 10. Small table with an inlaid top and carved legs. [?]
- 11. Large two-door wardrobe with compartments, 18th c. [M.U.O]
- 12. [MUO] Table richly decorated with intarsia, sig. 1712 Freiburck im Breisgau
- 13. Candelabrum, wooden, with three candles, early 19th c. Two pieces A. and B. [*Museum of Zagreb*]
- 14. [MUO] 8 zinc-plated plates, 1 zinc-plated bowl.
- 15. [MUO] 2 bilikums (three-part jugs), 1 tea pot (zinc-plated) 1 zinc-plated milk pitcher.
- 16. [MUO] 2 candelabra (zinc-plated)
- 17. [MUO] 13 porcelain bowls, brand Bienenkorb, Vienna
- 18. [*M.G.*] Painting: Landscape. Oil-on-wood. Signature illegible. Size 30x38.5 cm w(ooden) f(rame)
- 19. [*M.G.*] Painting: Portrait of a woman in an interior. Size 28.5x21.5 cm w(ooden) f(rame) (oil-on-wood)
- 20. [M.G.] Painting: Landscape with a group. Size 32x44 cm w(ooden) f(rame) (oil-on-canvas)
- 21. [M.G.] Painting: A group of people at the market, size 205x170 cm (oil-on-canvas)
- 22. [PO] Armchair, elaborately carved seat and backrest upholstered.
- 23. [MUO] 2 rococo mirrors (with a repoussé tin frame)
- 24. [PO] 24 Sofa (chaise longue) with 6 legs, upholstered, carved.

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⁴¹ KOMZA-007-45.

- 25. [M.G.] Painting: The Descent from the Cross. Size 66x51 (oil-on-canvas)
- 26. [M.G.] Painting: Horseshoeing, size 54x46 cm, oil-on-canvas.
- 27. [M.G.] Painting: The baptism, allegedly Paolo Veronese, size 51x84 cm, oil-on-canvas
- 28. [PO] Painting: A child, ink drawing, Likan.
- 29. [M.G.] Painting: Colour lithography, Fragonard: Le baiser à la derobée, size 55x45 cm
- 30. [M.G.] Painting: Colour copper engraving "Le Verrou" size 56x45 cm.
- 31. [MUO] Small table with one three-piece leg and drawer, coloured top with intarsia.
- 32. [MUO] Jewellery box made of metal, richly decorated.
- 33. 1 escritoire, early 20th c., decorated with intarsia. [Academy]
- 34. 1 small dresser with three drawers decorated with intarsia. [Museum of Rijeka]
- 35. [MUO] 1 nightstand with one drawer and one door
- 36. [MUO] 1 small folding table [PO?]
- 37. [PO] 1 small oval table with 4 legs made of brown wood
- 38. [PO] 1 upholstered armchair with a seat cushion.
- 39. [MUO] 1 two-door wardrobe, with intarsia and 6 legs, late 18th c.
- 40. [MUO] 1 porcelain bilikum / Krapina? / painted.
- 41. [M.G.] Painting: Lithography "Uebergang ueber die Drau am 11.sept.1848.
- 42. [M.G.] Painting: Lithography "Die Kroatisch-slavonische Armee auf dem Marsche bei Plattensee in Ungarn am 20.sept.1848.
- 43. Table with intarsia on 4 cabriole legs. [MUO]
- 44. 1 porcelain chandelier, with 6 candles. [?]
- 45. 111 pieces of various books [+ 165 see No. 78]
- 46. Painting: A group in the park, oil-on-canvas, size 84x105 cm [M.G.]
- 47. Iron camera stand [MUO]
- 48. Brass samovar [*MUO*]
- 49. Mounting made of porcelain [MUO]
- 50. 2 cups and 2 saucers made of zinc [MUO 3 pieces]
- 51. Painting: Peasant woman by the hearth, size 58x82 cm, oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame) [Gallery!]
- 52. Painting: Portrait, size 69x57 cm, oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 53. Painting: Potrait size 56x69 cm, oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 54. Painting: Potrait size 56x68 cm, oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 55. Painting: Zagreb Old Town. Colour copper engraving. Size 64x45 cm w(ooden) f(rame) [Public Library]
- 56. Painting: Drawing of a child's head. Pen. Size 54x64 cm w(ooden) f(rame)
- 57. Painting: Crnčić: Zagreb Old Town. Colour copper engraving. Size 65x45 cm w(ooden) f(rame)
- 58. Painting: A half-naked woman in an interior. Size 55x45 cm. Oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 59. Painting: Landscape. Size 45x35 cm. Oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 60. Wardrobe, large, three-door, richly decorated with intarsia. 19th c. [MUO]

- 61. Painting: Portrait of a woman with a diadem on her forehead. Size 85x63 cm. Oil-on-board w(ooden) f(rame)
- 62. Painting: Portrait of a woman. Oval. Size 30x41 cm. Pastel. w(ooden) f(rame)
- 63. Painting: Portrait of a woman with a blue ribbon in her hair. Size 30x41 cm. Pastel w(ooden) f(rame)
- 64. Painting: A sick woman. Size 81x65 cm. Oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 65. Painting: Portrait of a man with a letter in hand. Size 105x84 cm. Oil-on-canvas w(ooden) f(rame)
- 66. Escritoire, richly decorated with intarsia, with brass fittings. [Academy]
- 67. [PO] Painting: Mother of God with a saint, landscape in the background. Size 128x74 cm, oil-on-board
- 68. Small baroque angel. Wood. Painted. [Museum of Zagreb, of History?]
- 69. Painting: Likan: Landscape. Size 40x50 cm. Watercolour w(ooden) f(rame)
- 70. [III] 3 bronze casts of Hellenistic figurines. [Modern]
- 71. [MUO] Small table with two legs and three patent drawers.
- 72. [MUO] 2 sofas and 1 small table. Painted light green with flowers. Very damaged.
- 73. [MUO] Sewing kit storage box. Baroque. Very damaged.
- 74. Painting: Landscape. Size 24.5x18 cm. oil-on-tinplate.
- 75. [PO] Easel / painter's /, carved, partially decorated with gold colour
- 76. Statue of the Madonna. Painted wood. 15th c. [?]
- 77. [MUO] Candle wall sconce made of wrought iron.
- 78. 165 various books [*University Library*]
- 79. 15 albums of reproductions / art / Damaged. [History?]
- 80. [MUO] 2 freestanding lamps. Wood gilded and decorated with carvings.
- 81. [MUO] 1 wooden bed with intarsia. Baroque.
- 82. Painting: The Coronation of the Virgin. Size 170x110 cm. Oil-on-wood w(ooden) f(rame) [Modern Gallery].

There is an addendum to this record stating that on 15 June 1945, with a specially issued certificate, the following objects were delivered:

- 83. [MUO] one baroque table richly decorated with intarsia, size 103x80x80 cm
- 84. [MUO] one antique iron chest (hand-made), size 73x40x40 cm.

Collection of Malvina Hermann, née Steingraber (1886 – Zagreb, 1942), 21 Bijenička Street

Another example is the collection of Malvina Herman. It is the only list of movable art objects found in the *Ponova* collection.⁴² Others may have been removed to a special archival

⁴² Ministry of the State Treasury, Office for Nationalised Property. Series of "P" reports (HR-HDA-1076. Ministarstvo državne riznice NDH. Odjel za novčarstvo, državnu imovinu i dugove. Ured za podržavljeni imetak – PONOVA), Malvina Herman file, box 676. Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević: "Deutsch Maceljski", *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 3 (Zagreb, 1993); Goldstein/Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Židovska općina – Novi liber 2001).

collection, most probably in the archives of the Conservation Institute in the then Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia, now probably in the Ministry of Culture.

Malvina Hermann was the wife of Mirko Hermann/Herrmann from Osijek (1868-1927). He initiated the founding of the Sugar Factory in Osijek and the company "Sjemenar", and was cofounder of the Osijek Iron Foundry and Machine Factory. Mirko took part in the organisation and management of water cooperatives for flood protection and obtaining arable land (Almatian Water Cooperative). He was an expert in the administration and subdivision of property at the Croatian Land Bank (Hrvatska zemaljska banka) and a member of its management. He was also one of the founding members of the Freemasons in Osijek. 43

He was a patron and art collector. His widow Malvina donated much of his collection to Osijek Museum, ⁴⁴ and, on 27 January 1941, to the director of the Zagreb Glyptotheque, Antun Bauer, himself from Osijek, for the same museum. Jelica Ambruš mentions 50 works of art, including paintings by Emanuel Vidović, Vladimir Becić, Vlaho Bukovac, Ivan Tišov, Bela Čikoš-Sesija, Maksimilijan Vanka, Nasta Rojc, Menci Clement Crnčić, Vladimir Filakovac, Oton Iveković, etc.), on which a written confirmation was issued on 9 May 1941 by the already mentioned Director of the Zagreb Glyptotheque, Antun Bauer. This donation came to Osijek in the summer of 1941 and the Gallery was opened in the autumn. The list of artworks received was not complete since detailed inventory lists started only after the Second World War. ⁴⁵ In the *Ponova* file, 73 works are mentioned.

On the same day, the NDH authorities evicted her from a villa at 21 Bijenička Street in Zagreb. She was also the owner of 5 Slavujevac Street in Zagreb. According to Melita Švob, she was either murdered or committed suicide in Zagreb in August 1942, while some other sources claim she was murdered in the Ustasha concentration camp in Đakovo. However, according to data of the communal cemetery of Mirogoj, she was buried there on 6 May 1942, two days after her death.⁴⁶

Works of Art of Unclear Provenance

Another problem is movable art objects in Croatian museums that probably came from elsewhere, notably from the Ante Topić Mimara Collection in the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters or from the Mimara Museum itself. For example, Ante Topić Mimara (1898–1987) donated 84 artworks to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, which were included in the

⁴³ Zlata Živaković Kerže, *Židovi u Osijeku 1918–1941* (Osijek: Hrvatski institut za povijest-Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje Slavonski Brod Židovska općina Osijek, Pauk Cerna, 2005), 181.

⁴⁴ Malvina Hermann donation in the City Museum of Osijek: http://mdc.hr/hr/mdc/zbirke-fondovi/knjiznica/publikacija/Malvina%20Hermann%20Osijek,21433.html (2 March 2020).

⁴⁵ Jelica Ambruš, "Galerija likovnih umjetnosti u Osijeku", *Muzeologija* 31 (1994): 70–73.

⁴⁶ Melita Švob, Židovi u Hrvatskoj. Židovske zajednice, II (Zagreb: K.D. Miroslav Šalom Freiberger, 2004): 67 (no. 2260). Mirogoj: https://www.gradskagroblja.hr/default.aspx?id=382 (17 March 2020).

Gallery's holdings in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The artworks were owned by Topić in 1948 at the latest: this fact is testified by three photo albums that presented a part of his collection. This donation did not come with supporting documentation to indicate any previous owners, the provenance of the works, or the circumstances under which the donor acquired them. As Ivan Ferenčak, a Croatian team member of the Transfer of Cultural Objects in the Alpe Adria Regions in the 20th Century (TransCultAA), points out, the paintings themselves sometimes served as documents as the backs of a smaller number of paintings bear excerpts from auction catalogues that confirm recent research conducted on their movement through the German art market of the 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁷

CONCLUSION REMARKS

The confiscation of Jewish movable property follows the lines of the confiscation of immovable property under Jewish ownership. It was confiscated through different sets of legal provisions from as early as 1941 and 1942, but movable property changed hands much more readily and more often due to its nature and it was much harder to trace and locate, both during and after the war.

Most of the works of art from the Zagreb area were taken to the then Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts (today the Museum of Arts and Crafts – MUO). Later, some of these works ended up in different museums and galleries. This process continued in the post-war period.

There were two places of storage for Jewish movable property in Zagreb and many more in the rest of Croatia. Objects were redistributed, sold, and taken away during the war and these collection points still functioned in the immediate post-war period.

There is an interesting calculation for Osijek: not counting the various forced contributions, by mid-September 1943 most of the nationalised property was immovable property, mainly building, trade and craft enterprises, large enterprises and securities (*osiguravajuće police*), while movable property accounted for only 2.58%, and in this percentage one part was works of art and books that ended up in state museums and libraries. Due to many thefts and the misuse of property, a great deal of movable property ended up privately owned rather than in

⁴⁷ Ivan Ferenčak, "From the German Art Market to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters in Zagreb: Paintings from Ante Topić Mimara's Donation," International Conference *Dispossessions of Cultural Objects between 1914 and 1989/1991 – Alpe Adria Region in Comparative Perspectives*, Ljubljana, 19–21 March 2018; Ivan Ferenčak, "Auction Catalogues as Source for Provenance Research: Artworks from Mimara's Donation to the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters in Zagreb," *Zadar Summer School Provenance, Why Does It Matter? Provenance, Dispossession and Translocation Research*, Zadar, 27–30 August 2018.

the hands of the state. When it ended up in the hands of the state, it was often sold for a symbolic sum or donated to various individuals, institutions, and associations.⁴⁸

In his article about the role Josip Bösendorfer played in saving cultural heritage during the Second World War and in the immediate post-war period, Ante Grubišić noted that behind a relatively small percentage of movable property, there is, in fact, a large quantity, as is evident in the State Archives in Osijek in the People's Committee of the City of Osijek (HR-DAOS-67). This collection has data on numerous donations to charities and for the aid of the poor (2,543), followed by donations to military authorities, public Institutions, and the like (2,544), and a list of furniture and other items given for temporary usage (2,545). In the first register alone, there are over 90 organisations and institutions that took over movable property, much of which from Zagreb.⁴⁹

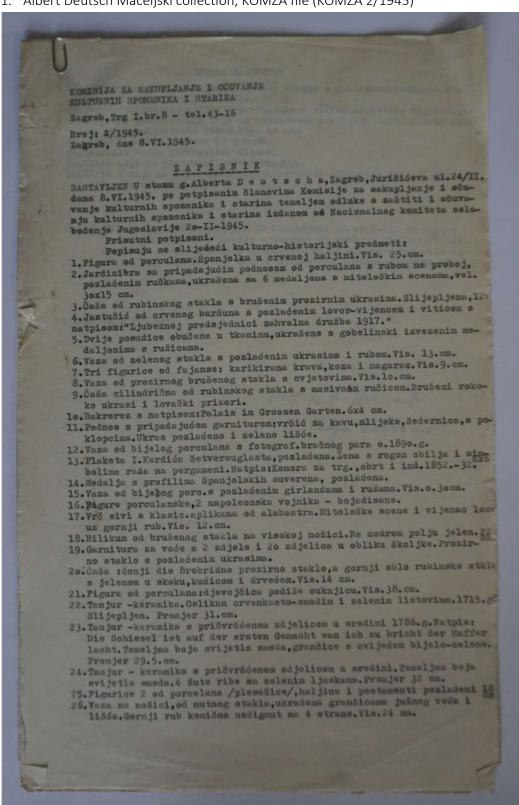
Documented minutes dated 12 August 1942 describe the appropriation of movable property in Osijek from the apartments Jews were evicted from, by a delegation of the *Glavni ustaški stan* (Main Ustasha Headquarters) from Zagreb for the needs of their offices. There are 20 typed pages of different items from these apartments. The list is compiled according to streets and apartments, i.e., houses (numbers and names) of the former owners. This list includes a large amount of furniture, carpets, etc., but, for example, paintings and clocks are also mentioned. It is impossible to determine whether and to what extent artistic craft objects are included. It is often impossible to identify owners, due to the fact that they were often cited as "unknown Jews". In many examples, lists contain "unknown items/objects" so it is very hard to trace their provenance. Cases when other citizens bought objects from Jewish owners are also impossible to trace. This document would also be valuable for mapping the deportations of August 1942, which effectively ended Jewish presence in Osijek.

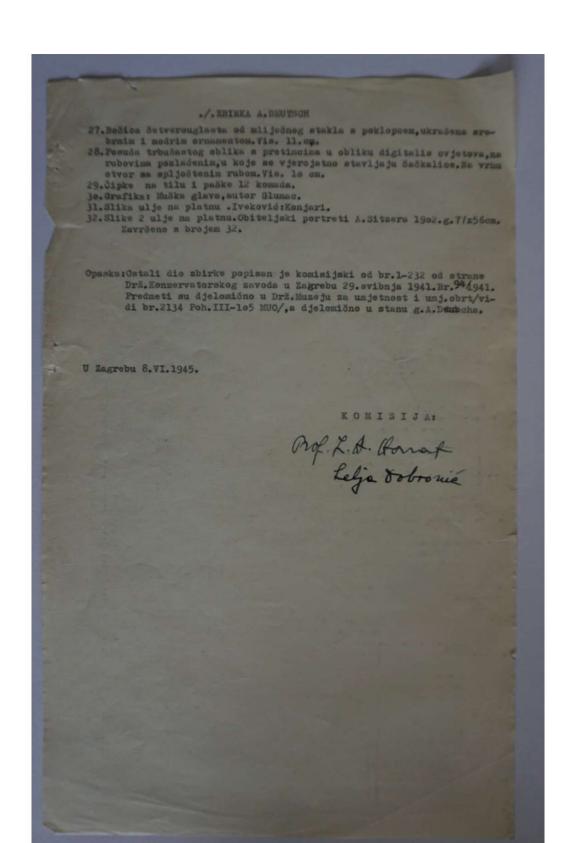
⁴⁸ Ante Grubišić, "Zasluge dr. Josipa Bösendorfera u spašavanju kulturne baštine tijekom i neposredno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata", *Intelektualci i rat 1939–1947. Zbornik radova s Desničinih susreta 2012*, 487–508, 490. ⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

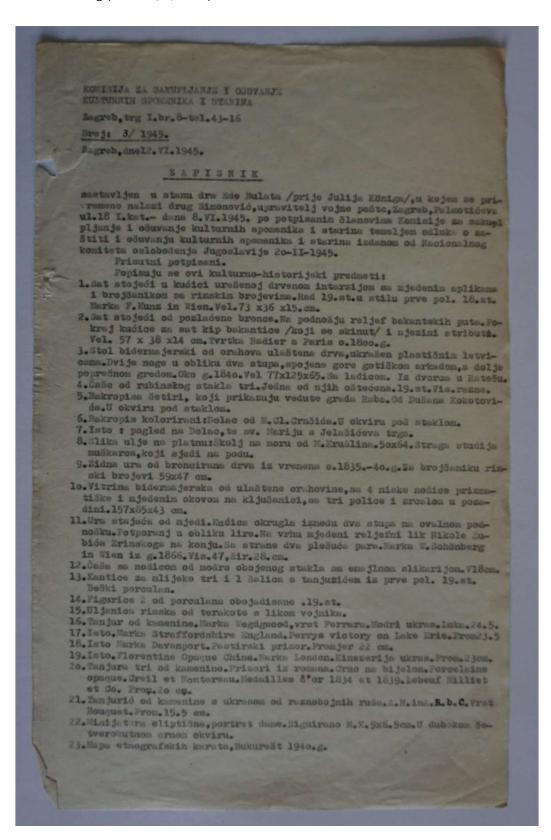
APPENDIX

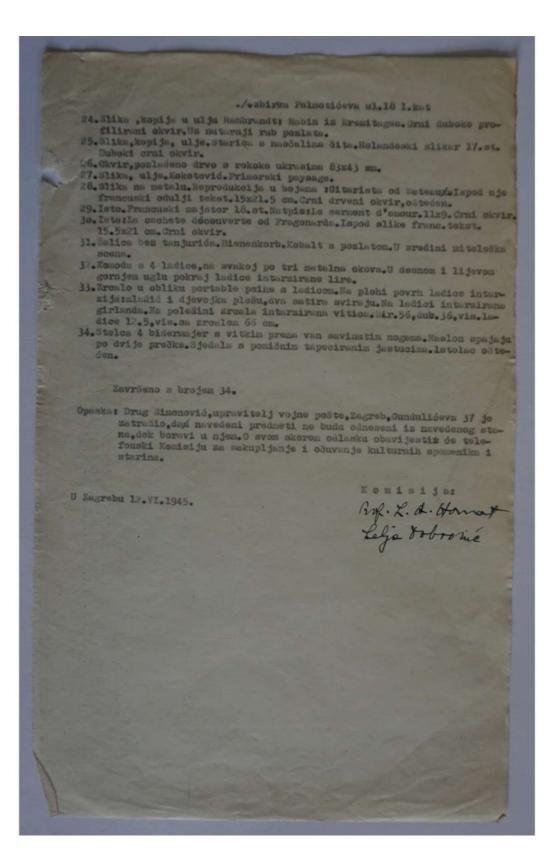
1. Albert Deutsch Maceljski collection, KOMZA file (KOMZA 2/1945)



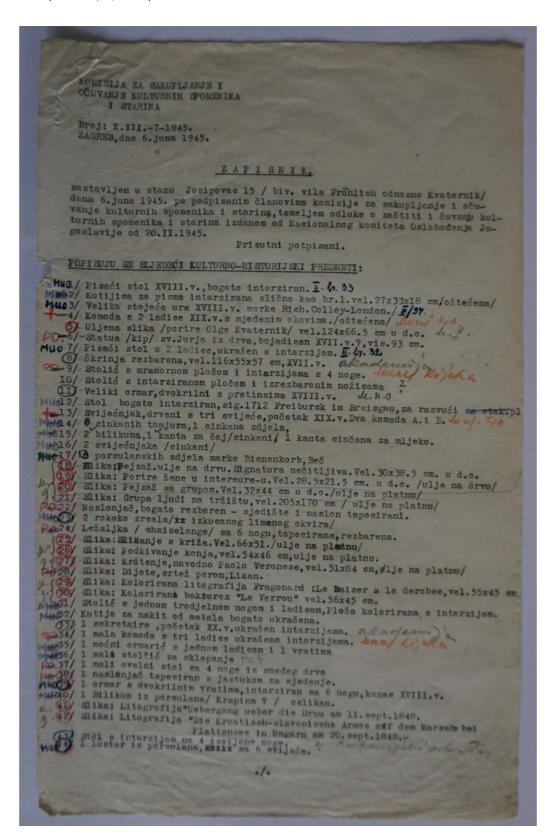


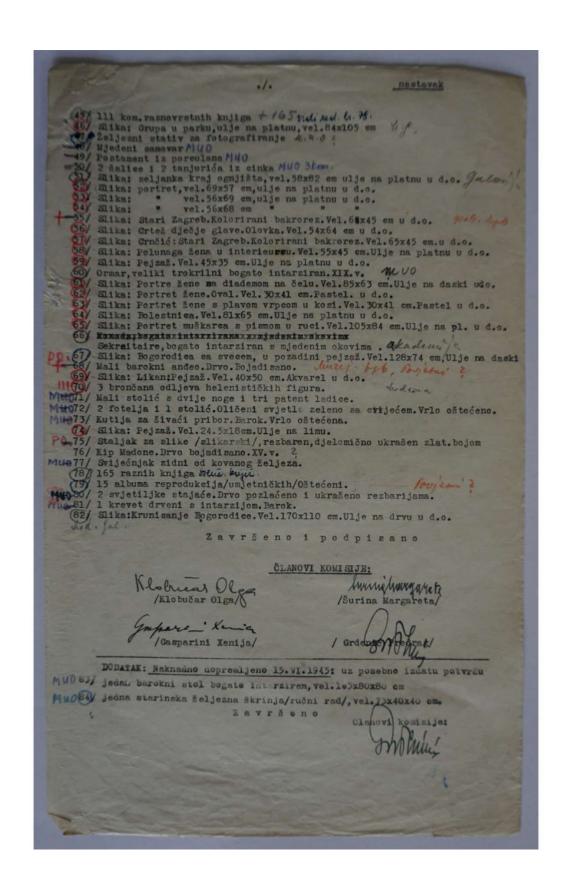
2. Julio König (KOMZA, 3/1945)



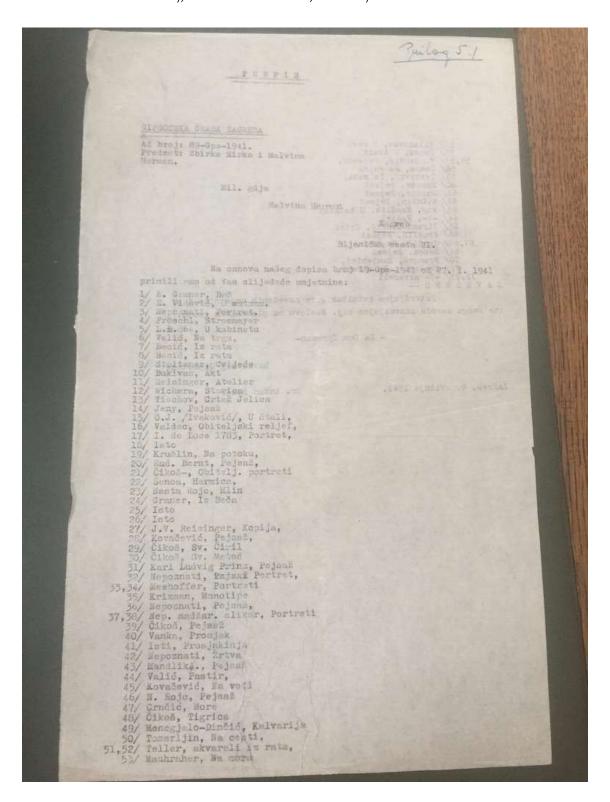


3. Fröhlich (KOMZA, 7/1945)





4. Malvina Hermann: donation (?), 9 May 1941, Ministry of the State Treasury, Office for Nationalized Property. Series of "P" reports (HR-HDA-1076. Ministarstvo državne riznice NDH. Odjel za novčarstvo, državnu imovinu i dugove. Ured za podržavljeni imetak – PONOVA), Malvina Herman file, box 676)



54/ Filakovac, U rovu
55/ Senoa, U štali
56,57/ V. Rendić, Fejsaži,
58/ Senoa, Na sajmu
59/ Iveković, Iz bata,
60/ Hancen, Pejsaž
61/ Marčić, Pejsaž
62/ K.Onken, Pejsaž
62/ K.Onken, Pejsaž
63/ Aug, Mandlik, U bolnici
64/ -?-, Pastel
65/ Virant-Ornčić, Crtež
66/ Krušlin, Pejsaž
67,68/ Crnčić, Na trgu,
69/ Senoa, Pejsaž
70/ Frangeš, Ranjenici,
71/ Iveković, Na straži,
72,73/ -?- akvareli
Z A V R Š E N O
Potvrđjujem primitak gore navedenih umjetnina i u
ime ovoga zavoda zahvaljujem cij. Naslovu na plemenitom gestu.

- Za Dom Spreman
Ravnatelj Gipsoteke:

Zagreb, 9. svibnja 1941.

Dr. Antun Bauer