



# *Zgodba o dveh transportih.*

MEDŽIMURSKI IN PREKMURSKI JUDJE MED HOLOKAVSTOM

# *A Story of Two Transports.*

JEWS IN MEĐIMURJE AND PREKMURJE DURING THE HOLOCAUST



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## A Story of Two Transports.



MESTNA OBČINA MARIBOR

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## Dva transporta Two Transports

Zgodovina Judov Međimurja in Prekmurja je mnogo več kot samo zgodba o dveh transportih, ki sta 2. in 21. maja 1944 pripeljala večino međimurskih in prekmurskih Judov v smrt v Auschwitz. Ta zgodovina je najprej zgodba o prihodu maloštevilnih Judov v 18. stoletju, postopnem povečevanju njihovega števila in pomena v 19. stoletju ter slednjič razcveta v zadnjih desetletjih pred prvo svetovno vojno. Ta desetletja je nemara najlepše opisal dunajski Jud Stefan Zweig v svoji knjigi *Včerajšnji svet*. Del te zgodovine je tudi zgodba o postopnem upadanju njihovega števila in še vedno velikem pomenu v medvojnem obdobju. Del te zgodovine je tudi obdobje holokavsta, v katerem Judje niso trpeli in umirali samo v Auschwitzu in v katerem so le nekateri dobili priložnost, da preživijo. In slednjič je ta zgodovina tudi zgodba o zdesetkanih skupnostih po letu 1945 in njihovem skromnem obstoju do danes. A ne glede na vse napisano ostaja dejstvo: najhujše, kar se je zgodilo međimurskim in prekmurskim Judom in je zato žal najpomembnejši dogodek judovske zgodovine teh dveh pokrajin, sta dva transporta maja 1944.

The history of the Jews of Međimurje and Prekmurje is much more than just a story of two transports, which brought most of them to Auschwitz and their inevitable deaths, on 2 and 21 May 1944. This is above all a story of the arrival of a small number of Jews in the 18th century, a gradual increase in their number and standing in the 19th century, and lastly their period of prosperity in the decades leading up to World War I. These decades were perhaps best described in the book *The World of Yesterday* by the Viennese Jew Stefan Zweig. A part of this history is also the story of a gradual decline in the Jews' number, yet their continued importance in the interwar period. Another chapter is the Holocaust period, during which Jews suffered and perished in Auschwitz and elsewhere, with scant few receiving even a chance of survival. Last but not least, this history is also a story of the decimated Jewish communities in the post-1945 period and their modest existence until today. Whatever other ills there were, the fact remains that the worst thing to have happened to the Jews of Međimurje and Prekmurje were the two transports in May 1944, unfortunately making them most important events in Jewish history of these two regions.



Čakovec: Zrinski Square (today's Republic Square) postcard, prior to 1918 (photo: MMČ). The Secessionist building of the Trade Casino (designed by the architect Henrik Böhm (1867, Várpalota–1936, Budapest) is seen on the right-hand side, 1903–1904, the present-day House of Trade Unions); Hotel Zrinski is in the background (Zrínyi-szálló). Construction of the casino was commissioned by Rudolf/Rezső Wollák (1851, Rinyaszentkirály–1924, Čakovec), chairman of the Čakovec Jewish Community from 1897 to 1920. The hotel was owned by Dragutin/Karl Scheier (1887, n/a–1944, Auschwitz) and his wife Jolanda/Jolán, née Zalai (1892, Szentlőrinc–1944, Auschwitz).

Čakovec: Zrinski trg (danes Trg Republike), razglednica, pred 1918 (fotografija: MMČ). Na desni je secesijska zgradba Trgovske kazine (arhitekt Henrik Böhm (1867, Várpalota – 1936, Budimpešta), 1903–1904, danes Dom sindikatov), zadaj Hotel Zrinski (Zrínyi-szálló). Naročnik gradnje kazina je bil Rudolf/Rezső Wollák (1851, Rinyaszentkirály – 1924, Čakovec), predsednik Judovske občine Čakovec v letih 1897–1920. Lastnika hotela sta bila zakonca Scheier, Dragutin/Karl (1887, n. p. – 1944, Auschwitz) in Jolanda/Jolán, rojena Zalai (1892, Szentlőrinc – 1944, Auschwitz).





## **Judje v Medžimurju pred letom 1918** **Jews in Međimurje prior to 1918**

Prvi stik Medžimurja z Judi sega v leto 1473. Tega leta je zakladnik kraljevine Ogrske in ban Slavonije Ivan I. Ernušt/Ernuszt, imenovan Hampó (ok. 1420, Dunaj – 1476, Budim), sicer pokristjanjeni Jud in budimski meščan, od ogrskega kralja Matije Korvina kupil gospodvi Štrigova in Čakovec, ki sta bili takrat dela Zalske županije. Za razliko od Prekmurja, kjer živijo Judje od prve polovice 18. stoletja naprej, so se Judje v Medžimurju naselili konec istega stoletja. Ko so bili kot del reform cesarice Marije Terezije in cesarja Jožefa II. uvedeni priimki, sta Salomon (1756, Körmend – 1796, Čakovec), sin Izaka, in žena Ana, hči Abrahama, privzela priimek Chakaturner (»Čakovčan«), s katerim sta pokazala, kje sta doma. Njun leta 1782 rojeni sin Izak je bil prvi znani novorojeni član okoli leta 1780 oblikovane judovske občine Čakovec. Leta 1834 je bilo v Čakovcu 129 Judov, kar je bilo zadostno število za začetek gradnje sinagoge. Gospodarski in družbeni dvig Judov, značilen za od leta 1867 potekajoče dualistično obdobje habsburške monarhije, je v Medžimurju temeljil predvsem na lokalni in regionalni trgovini, pa tudi na nadregionalno pomembnem podjetju Ujlaki-Hirschler in sin. Popis leta 1880 je v Medžimurju izkazal 1.053 Judov (1,5 % prebivalstva), v Čakovcu pa 431 (11,3 % prebivalstva). Ostali so živeli po drugih krajih, še največ v Prelogu, kjer jih je bilo 62. Do prve svetovne vojne se število Judov v Medžimurju ni bistveno povečalo, v Čakovcu pa. V prvi svetovni vojni se je vojskovalo 118 medžimurskih Judov. 17 jih je umrlo. Dva Juda sta bila ubita v nemirnih dneh razpada Avstro-Ogrske.

The Jews' earliest ties with the Međimurje region date back to 1473, when John I Ernuszt, also known as Hampó (c. 1420, Vienna–1476, Buda) – the royal treasurer of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ban of Slavonia, a Christianised Jew and a citizen of Buda – bought the Štrigova and Čakovec Seigniories, which at the time were part of the Zala County, from the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus. In contrast to Prekmurje, where Jews have lived since the first half of the 18th century, they did not settle in Međimurje until the late 18th century. When surnames were introduced as part of the reforms adopted by Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II, Salomon (1756, Körmend–1796, Čakovec), son of Izak/Isaac, and his wife Ana/Anna, daughter of Abraham, adopted the surname Chakaturner ('an inhabitant of Čakovec'), which indicated where they were from. Their son Izak, born in 1782, was the first known newborn member of the Jewish community of Čakovec, established circa 1780. In 1834, there were 129 Jews living in Čakovec, which was a number large enough to warrant building a synagogue. The economic and social rise of the Jews in Međimurje, characteristic of the Dual Monarchy period that started in 1867, was based mainly on local and regional trade as well as the company Ujlaki-Hirschler & Son, whose importance extended beyond regional boundaries. According to the 1880 census, the number of Jews in Međimurje and Čakovec was 1,053 (1.5% of the population) and 431 (11.3%) respectively. The rest lived in other places, most of them in Prelog, which was home to 62 Jews. While the number of Jews in Međimurje did not increase significantly up until World War I, the number in Čakovec was on the rise. A total of 118 Jews from Međimurje fought in World War I, 17 of whom died. Two Jews were killed during the turbulent days of the collapse of Austria-Hungary.



Mošovce (Slovakia): Master GH, The Holy Trinity, 1471 (kept by and photo: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria). The painting was donated to the Mošovce Parish Church by John I. Ernuszt. His coats of arms with two six-pointed stars ('of David') are in the bottom left and right corners. This coat of arms was used by his descendants until the family died out in 1540. In 1554, the Ernuszt family's coat of arms was added to the original coat of arms of the Counts of Zrinski, who were the lords of Međimurje from 1546 onwards. The Ernuszt family's coat of arms was first attested in 1596 as the coat of arms of the market town of Čakovec, and it remains the town's coat of arms to this day.

Mošovce (Slovaška): Mojster GH, Sv. Trojica, 1471 (hrani in fotografija: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria). Slika je župnijski cerkvi v Mošovcih daroval Ivan I. Ernušt. Levo in desno spodaj sta njegova grba z dvema šesterokrakima (»Davidovima«) zvezdama. Ta grb so uporabljali njegovi potomci do izumrtja rodbine leta 1540. Leta 1554 je bil prvotnemu grbu grofov Zrinskih, od leta 1546 gospodarjev Međimurja, dodan grb Ernuštov. Kot grb trga Čakovca je grb Ernuštov prvič izpričan leta 1596. Danes je grb mesta Čakovca.

Jakob Schwarz (1836, Sopron – 1913, Čakovec), rabín v Čakovcu v letih 1862–1913, žena Rozalija/Sali, rojena Freunder (1840, Nemeskeresztúr – 1919, Čakovec), in deset od njihovih dvanajstih otrok, morda 1883 (fotografija: MMC). Med otroki sta sinova Mór (1869, Čakovec – 1938, Budimpešta), rabín v Győru v letih 1898–1938, in Ljudevit/Lajos (1877, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), predsednik Judovske občine Čakovec v letih 1920–1944. Dolgoletno službovanje rabina Schwarza se prekriva z razcvetom judovske skupnosti v Čakovcu. Bil je prvi rabín v Čakovcu, ki je namesto v nemščini pridigal v madžarščini.

Jakob Schwarz (1836, Sopron–1913, Čakovec), the Rabbi of Čakovec from 1862 to 1913, his wife Rozalija/Sali, née Freunder (1840, Nemeskeresztúr–1919, Čakovec), and ten of their twelve children, c. 1883 (photo: MMC). Their children include the sons Mór (1869, Čakovec–1938, Budapest), the Rabbi of Győr from 1898 to 1938, and Ljudevit/Lajos (1877, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), the chairman of the Čakovec Jewish Community from 1920 to 1944. Rabbi Schwarz's long-time service overlaps with the Čakovec Jewish community's era of prosperity. He was the first Rabbi of Čakovec to deliver sermons in Hungarian instead of German.







Adela/Adel/Adele Hirschler, rojena Pressburger (1859, Körmend – 1938, Donja Dubrava), žena bratov Jakaba/Jacquesa (1845, Donja Dubrava – 1891, Donja Dubrava) in Maksa/Mikse/Maxa (1841, Donja Dubrava – 1919, Budimpešta) (fotografija: Feletar – Petrić, 2007, str. 171). Po smrti drugega moža je bila solastnica podjetja Ujlaki-Hirschler in sin, katerega soustanovitelj je bil oče njenih mož Julius/Gyula (1809, n. p. – 1876, Nagykanizsa). Podjetje je velikopotezno organiziralo splavarjenje lesa po Dravi na območju današnje Avstrije in Slovenije do Donje Dubrave, kjer je bila žaga. Z obdelanim lesom je oskrbovalo trg na območju današnje Hrvaške, Madžarske in Vojvodine.

Adela/Adel/Adele Hirschler, née Pressburger (1859, Körmend–1938, Donja Dubrava), the wife of brothers Jakab/Jacques (1845, Donja Dubrava–1891, Donja Dubrava) and Maks/Miksa/Max (1841, Donja Dubrava–1919, Budapest) (photo: Feletar – Petrić, 2007, p. 171). Following the death of her second husband, she was the co-owner of the company Ujlaki-Hirschler & Son, which had been co-founded by her husbands' father Julius/Gyula (1809, n/a–1876, Nagykanizsa). The company organised large-scale rafting of timber down the Drava River in the area of today's Austria and Slovenia all the way to Donja Dubrava, where a sawmill was located. It supplied the market in the present-day Croatia, Hungary and Vojvodina with processed wood.

Selnica: črpanje nafte, 1895 (fotografija: Vladimir Kalšan). Od leta 1860 potekajoče črpanje nafte v Medžimurju je leta 1894 prevzel Wilhelm Singer (1843, Bratislava – 1934, Dunaj), Jud in podjetnik z Dunaja ter lastnik rafinerije v Oršovi (danes Romunija). Pridobivanje je izboljšal in povečal ter zgradil prvi naftovod na območju današnje Hrvaške med Selnico in Murskim Središčem.

Selnica: oil extraction, 1895 (photo: Vladimir Kalšan). Oil extraction in Medimurje, which had been in operation from 1860 onwards, was taken over in 1894 by Wilhelm Singer (1843, Bratislava–1934, Vienna), a Jew and entrepreneur from Vienna and the owner of a refinery in Orşova (the present-day Romania). He improved the extraction process, increased the volume and built the first oil pipeline in the area of today's Croatia between Selnica and Mursko Središće.



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Murska Sobota: synagogue in the Lendavska Street, postcard, after 1908 (original: Štefan Vida, photo: PMMS). The first synagogue in Murska Sobota dates back to the 18th century on the site of today's Regional and Study Library. The market town's second synagogue, which was already located in the Lendavska Street, was first mentioned in 1853. It was replaced by the third synagogue, built in 1907–1908. It was designed by the architect Lipót/Leopold Baumhorn (1860, Kisdér–1932, Kisdér), who at that time was the most prominent architect of synagogues in the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1910, there were 421 Jews in the Murska Sobota District, 234 of whom lived in Murska Sobota itself (9% of the population).

Murska Sobota: sinagoga v Lendavski ulici, razglednica, po 1908 (original: Štefan Vida, fotografija: PMMS). V Murski Soboti je bila prva sinagoga že v 18. stoletju na lokaciji današnje Pokrajinske in študijske knjižnice. Druga soboška sinagoga že v Lendavski ulici se prvič omenja leta 1853. Nadomestila jo je v letih 1907–1908 zgrajena tretja soboška sinagoga. Njen arhitekt je bil Lipót/Leopold Baumhorn (1860, Kisdér – 1932, Kisdér), takrat najbolj »zvezdniški« arhitekt sinagog na območju Ogrske. Leta 1910 je v okraju Murska Sobota živelo 421 Judov, od tega v Murski Soboti 234 (9 % prebivalstva).





## **Judje v Prekmurju pred letom 1918**

### **Jews in Prekmurje prior to 1918**

Prvi omembi Judov v Murski Soboti, takrat delu Železne županije, in v Lendavi (do leta 1955 Dolnja Lendava), takrat delu Zalske županije, sta iz let 1725 in 1727. V obeh primerih so bili Judje trgovci iz trga Rechnitz, takrat dela Železne županije, danes pa dela Gradiščanskega. Kasnejša, iz leta 1755, je prva omemba Judov v Beltincih. V 19. stoletju se Judje omenjajo tudi v številnih manjših krajih, v katerih jih ni bilo nikoli dovolj za ustanovitev judovske občine in gradnjo sinagoge. Te so bile samo v Murski Soboti in Lendavi še v 18. stoletju in v Beltincih pred letom 1860. Povečanje števila Judov v Prekmurju v od leta 1867 potekajočem dualističnem obdobju habsburške monarhije je leta 1880 s 1.082 Judi (1,5 % prebivalstva) doseglo vrh. Temeljilo je na njihovem gospodarskem pomenu predvsem v lokalni in regionalni trgovini. Pomenljiv je primer od leta 1856 delujočega trgovskega podjetja Ascher B. in sin iz Murske Sobote. Ustanovitelj podjetja Bernhard/Bernát (pred 1856, n. p. – 1912, Murska Sobota) je pred koncem 19. stoletja značilni judovski priimek Ascher spremenil v madžarski priimek Árvay, a ime podjetja je ostalo isto. Nadregionalni pomen je imela od leta 1904 v Lendavi delujoča prva dežnikarna v Avstro-Ogrski. Prekmurske Jude najdemo tudi med ljudmi svobodnih poklicev. Posledično so sodili med najuglednejše prebivalce in zato so bili nosilci javnih funkcij. Tako so bili v šolskem letu 1891/92 trije od dvanajstih članov šolskega sveta lendavske meščanske šole Judje: okrajni zdravnik dr. Mór Király (1822, Zalaegerszeg – 1905, Lendava), največji trgovec Lázár Pollak (1842, Čakovec – 1908, Lendava) in rabin Mózes Schacherls/Schacherlsz (verjetno 1838, Keszthely – 1892, Lendava).

The earliest mentions of Jews in Murska Sobota, at the time part of the Vas County, and Jews in Lendava (called Dolnja Lendava until 1955), at the time part of the Zala County, date from 1725 and 1727 respectively. In both cases, the Jews in question were merchants from the market town of Rechnitz, back then part of the Vas County and now part of Burgenland. The first mention, made at a later time, was in reference to Jews in Beltinci in 1755. In the 19th century, there were mentions of Jews living in numerous smaller places, where their number was never large enough to warrant the establishment of a Jewish community and a synagogue. Murska Sobota and Lendava were the only places with an established Jewish community and a synagogue back in the 18th century, as well as Beltinci prior to 1860. The increase in the number of Jews in the Prekmurje region during the Dual Monarchy period, which started in 1867, reached its peak in 1880 with 1,082 Jews (1.5% of the population). It was based on the Jews' economic importance, mainly as part of local and regional commerce. A telling example is the trading company Ascher B. & Son from Murska Sobota, which operated from 1856. Its founder Bernhard/Bernát (prior to 1856, n/a–1912, Murska Sobota) changed the common Jewish surname Ascher to the Hungarian surname Árvay prior to the end of the 19th century. The name of the company, however, remained unchanged. Austria-Hungary's first umbrella factory, which operated from 1904 in Lendava, was a company whose importance went beyond regional boundaries. Jews in Prekmurje were also found among people who practiced liberal professions. Consequently, they were among the most prominent local inhabitants and thus occupied important public positions. For instance, during the 1891/92 school year, three of the twelve school board members of the Lendava Bourgeois School were Jews: the district physician Mór Király, MD (1822, Zalaegerszeg–1905, Lendava), the largest merchant Lázár Pollak (1842, Čakovec–1908, Lendava) and Rabbi Mózes Schacherls/Schacherlsz (c. 1838, Keszthely–1892, Lendava).

The gravestone of Sara, died on 29 Elul [5]514 = 16 September 1754, daughter of the late Aron and wife of the late Jakob Austerlitz, in the old Jewish cemetery in Eisenstadt (photo: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, Eisenstadt / [www.ojm.at](http://www.ojm.at)). Sara lived in Lendava circa 1743, and her husband Jakob circa 1743–1746. The gravestone inscription does not reveal her origin. Jakob was a member of the prominent Austerlitz family, which originated from Slavkov (Germ. Austerlitz) near Brno in Moravia.

Nagrobnik Sare, umrle 29. elula [5]514 = 16. septembra 1754, hčere pokojnega Arona in žene pokojnega Jakoba Austerlitz, na starem judovskem pokopališču v Eisenstadtu (fotografija: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, Eisenstadt oz. [www.ojm.at](http://www.ojm.at)). Sara je v Lendavi živela vsaj leta 1743, mož Jakob pa vsaj v letih 1743–1746. Iz napisa ni razvidno Sarino poreklo. Jakob je bil član zelo znane rodbine Austerlitz, ki je izvirala iz Slavkova (nemško Austerlitz) pri Brnu na Moravskem.



Lendava: the umbrella factory in Kolodvorska Street (today's Ljudska Pravica Square), c. 1907 (photo: GML). The beginnings of the factory date back to 1904, when Béla Wortmann (1875, Lendava—after 1907, n/a) set up a workshop in the courtyard of the Dolnja Lendava savings bank, established in 1873. As early as 1906, a joint-stock company of this savings bank became a highly successful company and built a new factory. Among the 16 members of the board were ten Jews, including Wortmann. Soon after, the 1910 census revealed the largest number of Jews in Lendava up to that time: 382, which equalled 14% of the then 2,729 inhabitants of Lendava.

Lendava: dežnikarna na Kolodvorski ulici (danes Trg Ljudske pravice), verjetno 1907 (fotografija: GML). Začetek dežnikarne je bila leta 1904 postavljena delavnica Béle Wortmanna (1875, Lendava – po 1907, n. p.) na dvorišču leta 1873 ustanovljene Dolnjelendavske hranilnice. Že leta 1906 je zelo uspešno podjetje postalo delniška družba te hranilnice, ki je zgradila novo tovarno. Med 16 člani uprave je bilo 10 Judov, med njimi tudi Wortmann. Kmalu zatem, leta 1910, je popis izkazal največ Judov v Lendavi do tedaj: 382 Judov, ki so predstavljali 14 % od 2.729 takratnih Lendavčanov.



Beltinci: sinagoga v današnji Mladinski ulici, razglednica, 1925 (fotografija: Ludvik Penhofer). Za sinagogo stoji župnijska cerkev sv. Ladislava. Vrhunec razvoja je judovska občina Beltinci dosegla leta 1880, ko je v Beltincih živel 152 Judov (11 % prebivalstva). Po tem letu je število nazadovalo: leta 1910 je bilo v Beltincih 60 Judov. Prav Beltinci so bili prizorišče najboljšežnejšega nasilja nad Judi v Prekmurju v prevratnih dneh razpada Avstro-Ogrske. Leta 1921 so v Beltincih živeli štirje Judi. Zapuščena sinagoga je bila porušena leta 1937.

Beltinci: synagogue in today's Mladinska Street, postcard, 1925 (photo: Ludvik Penhofer). The parish Church of St Ladislaus is visible behind the synagogue. The Beltinci Jewish community reached the peak of its development in 1880, when 152 Jews (11% of the population) lived in Beltinci. However, their number decreased after 1880, and in 1910 there were 60. The market town of Beltinci was the scene of the largest-scale violence against Jews in Prekmurje during the turbulent days of the collapse of Austria-Hungary. In 1921, there were four Jews in Beltinci. The abandoned synagogue was demolished in 1937.



Lajos/Ludvik Koblenzer (1887, Sv. Jurij (Rogašovci) – 1944, Buchenwald) kot vojak 11. huzarskega polka, Szombathely, pred 1911 (fotografija: Yad Vashem). Lajos je bil v prvi svetovni vojni udeleženec bojev proti Rusom in Romunom v letih 1914–1916, ob koncu vojne pa je bil računovodja in narednik v Čakovcu. Ostal je samski, a je priznal nezakonskega sina in skrbel zanj. Leta 1944 je bil aretiran v domačih Rogaševcih. Bil je taboriščnik v treh koncentracijskih taboriščih, najprej v Auschwitzu, nato v Stutthofu in slednjič v Buchenwaldu, kjer je umrl.

Lajos/Ludvik Koblenzer (1887, Sv. Jurij (Rogašovci)–1944, Buchenwald) as a soldier of the 11th Hussar Regiment, Szombathely, prior to 1911 (photo: Yad Vashem). Lajos fought against the Russians and Romanians in World War I in 1914–1916 and was working as an accountant and sergeant in Čakovec when the war ended. He remained single but acknowledged and cared for an illegitimate son. In 1944, he was arrested in his native Rogašovci. He was imprisoned in three concentration camps, first in Auschwitz, followed by Stutthof and finally Buchenwald, where he died.

Murska Sobota: the wedding of Eduard/Edvard Fürst (1892, Bakovci–1944, Auschwitz or Buchenwald) and Terezija, née Hirschl (1901, Szombathely–1973, Murska Sobota), 22 August 1927 (photo: Erika Fürst). The newlyweds are sitting at the front; the couple pictured between them on the opposite side of the table are the groom's friend – a Serbian officer – and his wife. All the others are Jews. To the groom's left is Rabbi Dr Lazar Roth (1877, Jelšava–1944, Auschwitz) and to his right is cantor Mavro Darvaš (1863, Izjaslav–1944, Auschwitz), the rest are the newlyweds' relatives. Of the 30 people in the photo, 17 were in Auschwitz; Terezija Fürst was the only one to survive.

Murska Sobota: poroka Eduarda/Edvarda Fürsta (1892, Bakovci – 1944, Auschwitz ali Buchenwald) in Terezije, rojene Hirschl (1901, Szombathely – 1973, Murska Sobota), 22. avgust 1927 (fotografija: Erika Fürst). Mladoporočenca sedita povsem spredaj, med njima na nasprotni strani mize ženinov prijatelj, častnik iz Srbije, in njegova žena. Preostali so Judje, ob ženinu levo rabin dr. Lazar Roth (1877, Jelšava – 1944, Auschwitz) in desno kantor Mavro Darvaš (1863, Izjaslav – 1944, Auschwitz), sicer pa sorodniki mladoporočencev. Od 30 ljudi na fotografiji jih je bilo 17 v Auschwitzu, preživel je samo Terezija Fürst.





## **Judje z območja Murske Sobote 1918–1941**

### **Jews from the Murska Sobota Area 1918–1941**

Po prvi svetovni vojni se je število Judov z območja Murske Sobote zmanjševalo: s 314 leta 1921 na 257 leta 1937. Tega leta je bila Murska Sobota dom 150 Judov, kar je bilo sicer največ v posameznem naselju Dravske banovine. Nasprotno je naraslo število članov judovske občine Murska Sobota na 711 leta 1940. Namreč: ker ni uspel poskus mariborskih Judov v letih 1928–1929, da bi ustanovili novo judovsko občino Maribor za ozemlje Slovenije izven Prekmurja, so judovski občini Murska Sobota pripadali tudi Judje s tega ozemlja. Tako je judovska občina Murska Sobota do leta 1941 združevala vse Jude na območju Slovenije razen tistih, ki so bili člani lendavske judovske občine (leta 1940: 134). Najopaznejša medvojna soboška Juda sta bila trgovca Vincenc Árvay (1895, Murska Sobota – 1945, Kőszeg), vnuk ustanovitelja podjetja Ascher B. in sin ter predsednik Sport kluba Mura, predhodnika današnjega Nogometnega kluba Mura, in Bela Berger (1877, Murska Sobota – 1944, Auschwitz), sin ustanovitelja podjetja Josip Berger in sin ter občinski odbornik. Uspešna sta bila predvsem v prodaji kmetijskih pridelkov: Árvayevo poslovanje je segalo do Čakovca, Bergerjevo pa do Maribora, Gradca in celo ZDA. Gotovo se z njima v političnih pogledih ni strinjal Aladár/Ali Kardoš (1914, Murska Sobota – 1944/45, morda Buchenwald), komunist od leta 1933 in pesnik. Leta 1937 je 41 % Judov z območja Murske Sobote živelo v vaseh. Največ jih je bilo leta 1937 v Šalovcih – 21 in Rogašovcih – 18.

After World War I, the number of Jews in the Murska Sobota area decreased: from 314 in 1921 to 257 in 1937. That year, Murska Sobota was home to 150 Jews, which was the largest number in any settlement within the Drava Banate. By contrast, the number of the Murska Sobota Jewish community members rose to 711 in 1940. The reason for this was the failure of an attempt by the Maribor-based Jews in 1928–1929 to establish a new Maribor Jewish community for the territory of Slovenia outside Prekmurje, therefore the Jews from this area belonged to the Murska Sobota Jewish community. Up until 1941, the Murska Sobota Jewish community thus united all the Jews in the territory of Slovenia, except for those who were members of the Lendava Jewish community (in 1940: 134). The most notable Murska Sobota-based Jews during the interwar period were the traders Vincenc Árvay (1895, Murska Sobota–1945, Kőszeg), grandson of the founder of the Ascher B. & Son company and chairman of the Mura Sports Club, i.e. the predecessor of today's Mura Football Club, and Bela Berger (1877, Murska Sobota–1944, Auschwitz), son of the founder of the Josip Berger & Son company and a municipal delegate. Both of them were first and foremost successful sellers of agricultural produce; Árvay's business extended to Čakovec, and Berger's to Maribor, Graz and even the USA. One of those who certainly did not agree with their political views was Aladar/Ali Kardoš (1914, Murska Sobota–1944/45, possibly Buchenwald), a communist from 1933 onwards and a poet. In 1937, 41% of Jews from the Murska Sobota area lived in villages. Most of them were in Šalovci and Rogašovci – 21 and 18 respectively.



Murska Sobota: as chairman of the Mura Sports Club, Vincenc Árvay is presenting a cup to the captain of the football team, Lali Turk, 29 June 1934 (photo: Maučec, 1993, p. 36). Vincenc was the club's chairman in 1928–1929 and 1932–1935. On 5 or 6 April 1944, Murska Sobota's most prominent Jews were arrested. One of them was Vincenc, who was consequently not sent to Auschwitz together with his wife Vera, née Kraus (1903, Zagreb–1944, Auschwitz), and daughter Lili (1938, Murska Sobota–1944, Auschwitz). He died as a forced labourer in Kőszeg just a few days before 29 March 1945, when the town was liberated by the Red Army.

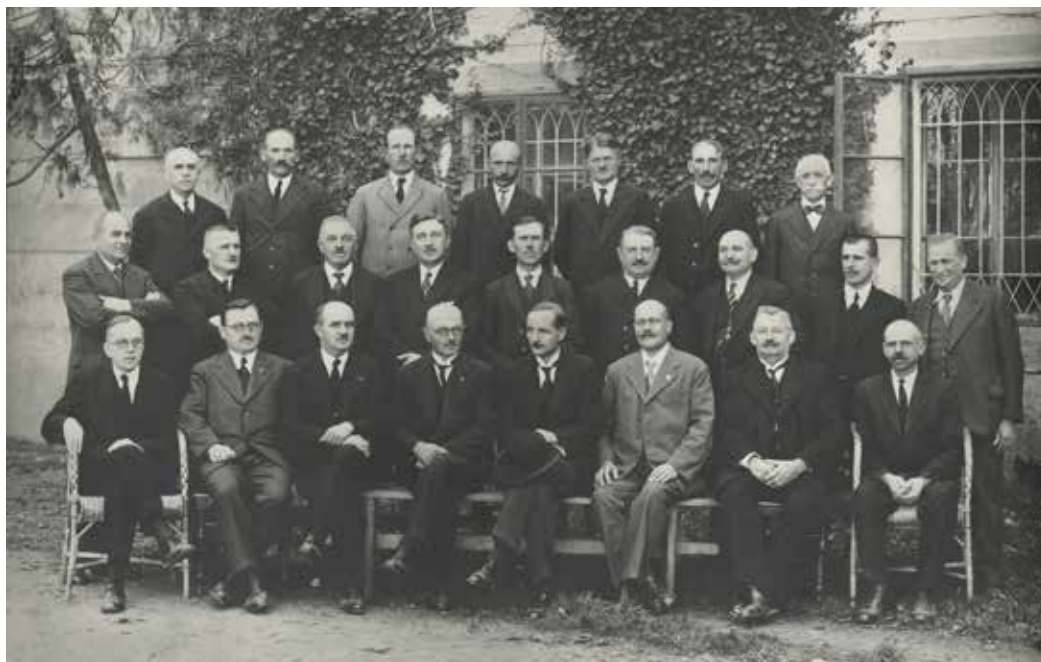
Murska Sobota: Vincenc Árvay kot predsednik Sport kluba Mura podeljuje pokal kapetanu nogometašev Laliju Turku, 29. junij 1934 (fotografija: Maučec, 1993, str. 36). Predsednik kluba je bil v letih 1928–1929 in 1932–1935. 5. ali 6. aprila 1944 so bili aretirani najbolj znani Judje v Murški Soboti. Med njimi je bil tudi Vincenc, ki zato z ženo Vero, rojeno Kraus (1903, Zagreb – 1944, Auschwitz), in hčerko Lili (1938, Murska Sobota – 1944, Auschwitz) ni bil poslan v Auschwitz. Umrl je kot prisilni delavec v Kőszegu samo nekaj dni pred 29. marcem 1945, ko je mesto osvobodila Rdeča armada.

Rogašovci: the Koblenzer shop and inn, postcard, prior to 1941 (photo: Mark Krenn). Judging by their surname, the Koblenzer family – originally from Koblenz in the Rhineland – lived in Prekmurje from around the mid-19th century. The family members who lived in Rogaševci in the interwar period were Ignac (1850, Bodonci–1934, n/a), his wife Hermina, née Neufeld (1861, n/a–1930, n/a), and their unmarried sons Oskar (1884, Sv. Jurij (Rogašovci)–1961, Rogašovci) and Lajos. Their bus, which linked Rogašovci with Murska Sobota from 1928 onwards, can be seen on the postcard, among other things.

Rogašovci: trgovina in gostilna Koblenzer, razglednica, pred 1941 (fotografija: Mark Krenn). Po priimku sodeč iz Koblenza v Porenju izvirajoča družina Koblenzer je v Prekmurju živela vsaj od sredine 19. stoletja dalje. Med vojnama so v Rogaševcih živeli Ignac (1850, Bodonci – 1934, n. p.), žena Hermina, rojena Neufeld (1861, n. p. – 1930, n. p.), ter njuna neporočena sinova Oskar (1884, Sv. Jurij (Rogašovci) – 1961, Rogašovci) in Lajos. Na razglednici je viden tudi njihov avtobus, ki je od leta 1928 Rogašovce povezoval z Mursko Soboto.







Šalovci: Julij/Gyula Schönauer (1894, Lipovci – 1945, Flossenbürg), žena Elizabeta, rojena Leitner (1904, Gardinovec – 1944, Auschwitz), ter otroka Ladislav (1927, Turnišče – 1945, morda Flossenbürg) in Ilona/Helena (1929, Turnišče – 1944, Auschwitz), okoli 1934 (fotografija: Franc Just oz. Mark Krenn). Poklicni fotograf Julij je naredil portret svoje družine s samosprožilcem. Julij ni bil samo fotograf, temveč tudi brivec in je tako z dvema poklicema vzdrževal družino.

Šalovci: Julij/Gyula Schönauer (1894, Lipovci–1945, Flossenbürg), his wife Elizabeta, née Leitner (1904, Gardinovec–1944, Auschwitz), and their children Ladislav (1927, Turnišče–1945, possibly Flossenbürg) and Ilona/Helena (1929, Turnišče–1944, Auschwitz), c. 1934 (photo: Franc Just / Mark Krenn). Julij, who was a professional photographer, took this family portrait using a self-timer. He was not only a photographer but also a barber, thus he supported his family by having two jobs.

Murska Sobota: Bela Berger (srednja vrsta, prvi z desne) kot edini judovski član občinskega odbora, 1933 (fotografija: PMMS). Po propadu družinskega podjetja v težkih letih po prvi svetovni vojni je Bela leta 1924 ustanovil novo podjetje s starim imenom Josip Berger in sin. Do leta 1930 je toliko obogatel, da se je z družino preselil v vilo, ki še danes stoji v središču Murske Sobote. V zakonu Bele in Laure, rojene Kaiser (1889, Đakovo – 1944, Auschwitz), so se rodili štirje otroci. Medvojno usodo staršev je delila samo hči Liza (1910, Murska Sobota – pred 2013, Izrael).

Murska Sobota: Bela Berger (middle row, first from the right), pictured here as the only Jewish member of the municipal council, 1933 (photo: PMMS). After the family company went out of business in the difficult post-WWI years, Bela founded a new company in 1924 with the original name – Josip Berger & Son. By 1930, he had made so much money that he and his family moved to a villa that still stands in the town centre of Murska Sobota. Bela and his wife Laura, née Kaiser (1889, Đakovo–1944, Auschwitz), had four children. Their daughter Liza (1910, Murska Sobota–prior to 2013, Israel) was the only one to share her parents' wartime fate.



Lendava: a panoramic view from the southwest, postcard, after 1928 (photo: Vekoslav Kramarič, SEM). There is a synagogue visible below and to the right of the church. A synagogue has been on this site since 1843. Most of the present-day synagogue building was built in 1866. As a result of World War I, post-war events and annexation to the newly created state, the so-called first Yugoslavia, by the time of the 1921 census, the total number of inhabitants of Lendava was reduced to 2,529 and the number of Jews to 259, i.e. 10% of the local population.

Lendava: panorama z jugozahoda, razglednica, po 1928 (fotografija: Vekoslav Kramarič, SEM). Spodaj desno od cerkve je vidna sinagoga, ki na tem mestu stoji od leta 1843. Leta 1866 je bila zgrajena večina zgradbe današnje sinagoge. Prva svetovna vojna, poveljno dogajanje in priključitev k novonastali državi, t. i. prvi Jugoslaviji, so do popisa prebivalstva leta 1921 zmanjšali skupno število prebivalcev Lendave na 2.529 in število Judov na 259 ali 10 % Lendavčanov.



*Postkarta Lendava*



## **Judje v Lendavi 1918–1941**

### **Jews in Lendava 1918–1941**

Ne glede na opazno manjše število so bili lendavski Judje tudi v medvojnem obdobju še vedno zelo opazni. Telefonski imenik iz leta 1922 ima za Lendavo 14 telefonskih števil: bilo je pet zasebnih in od teh so tri pripadale Judom. Istega leta je zadnja učiteljica judovske šole Hermina Brünner, rojena Löwenstein (1876, Veszprém – 1944, Auschwitz), napisala spričevala še zadnji generaciji učencev judovske (osnovne) šole. V medvojni Lendavi so bili Judje še vedno močno prisotni v gospodarstvu, pa tudi v svobodnih poklicih: leta 1931 je bil od treh takratnih odvetnikov en Jud, od štirih zdravnikov pa sta bila dva Juda. Regionalni pomen je imela od leta 1898 potekajoča tiskarska dejavnost Ernőja/Ernesta Balkányija (1870, Rokycany – 1939, Lendava) ter njegovih sinov Lajosa/Ludvika/Ljudevita (1899, Lendava – po 1948, n. p.) in Eleka/Aleksandra (1902, Lendava – 1945, Murski Črnci), ki je bila raznovrstna tako jezikovno kot versko in politično. Tako leta 1934 niso odklonili tiskanja komunističnega časopisa *Ljudska pravica*, ki ga je urejal Miško Kranjec (1908, Velika Polana – 1983, Ljubljana), sicer enega izmed predhodnikov današnjega slovenskega časnika *Delo*.

Despite their noticeably smaller number, the Jews of Lendava were still conspicuous even in the interwar period, i.e. the 1922 telephone directory lists 14 Lendava phone numbers: five were private and of these, three belonged to Jews. In the same year, the Jewish school's last teacher, Hermina Brünner, née Löwenstein (1876, Veszprém–1944, Auschwitz), wrote report cards for the last generation of students of the Jewish (primary) school. In interwar Lendava, Jews were still strongly present in the economy, as well as in liberal professions. In fact, in 1931, one of the three lawyers and two of the four doctors were Jews. A printing business, established in 1898 by Ernő/Ernest Balkányi (1870, Rokycany–1939, Lendava) and his sons Lajos/Ludvik/Ljudevit (1899, Lendava–after 1948, n/a) and Elek/Aleksander (1902, Lendava–1945, Murski Črnci), was of regional importance; its production was diverse in terms of languages, religion and politics. In 1934, for instance, the company agreed to print the communist newspaper *Ljudska pravica*, edited by Miško Kranjec (1908, Velika Polana–1983, Ljubljana), one of the forerunners of today's Slovenian *Delo* daily newspaper.

Lendava: the interior of a store owned by Lipót/Leopold Freyer (1865, Lendava–1922, Vienna), today's Main Street 48, 1927 (photo: MaNDA). Lipót was already deceased when the photo was taken, and the store was run by his son László/Ladislav Freyer (1898, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz), a disabled WWI veteran, as well as an excellent violinist and delegate of the Lendava Sports Club. He was assisted by his wife Julija, née Stern (1903, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz). Unfortunately, the identity of the two shop assistants pictured below is not known.

Lendava: notranjost trgovine Lipóta/Leopolda Freyerja (1865, Lendava – 1922, Dunaj), danes Glavna ulica 48, 1927 (fotografija: MaNDA). V času nastanka fotografije je bil Lipót že pokojni, trgovino pa je vodil njegov sin László/Ladislav Freyer (1898, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz), sicer invaliden veteran prve svetovne vojne, a tudi odličen violinist in odbornik lendavskega športnega kluba. Pomagala mu je žena Julija, rojena Stern (1903, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz). Identiteta trgovcev na fotografiji žal ni znana.



Dr Antal Rudolfer (1864, Hlohovec–1933, Vienna), the Rabbi of Lendava 1894–1933, after 1918 (photo: Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár). Not only did he boast a doctorate, but he also authored at least one book. During his time, the synagogue was extended in 1908 to its present size. Who knows what Rabbi Rudolfer was thinking in 1931, when he entered two births and three deaths in the register, as opposed to 1894, when he had come to Lendava and entered 18 births and 13 deaths. Following his death, there was no rabbi in Lendava.

Dr. Antal Rudolfer (1864, Hlohovec – 1933, Dunaj), lendavski rabin v letih 1894–1933, po 1918 (fotografija: Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár). Ni se ponašal samo z doktoratom, pač pa je tudi napisal vsaj eno knjigo. V njegovem času je bila leta 1908 sinagoga povečana na današnji obseg. Kdove, kaj si je leta 1931 mislil rabin Rudolfer, ko je v matične knjige vpisal dve rojstvi in tri smrti, leta 1894, ko je prišel v Lendavo, pa je vpisal 18 rojstev in 13 smrti. Po njegovi smrti v Lendavi ni bilo rabina.



Lendava: vhod v papirnico in tiskarno Ernőja Balkányija (morda starejši moški v ozadju), danes Glavna ulica 46, 1930 (fotografija: GML). Moški v sredini je verjetno Ernőjev sin Lajos, ob njem v vozičku Lajosev sin Franjo/Francisco (1928, Montevideo) ter povsem desno Lajoseva žena Etelka/Eta, rojena Rosenberg (1912, Újfehértó – po 1948, n. p.). Lajos je po letu 1930, ko se je vrnil iz Južne Amerike, v Čakovcu odprl knjigarno in tiskarno.

Lendava: entrance to Ernő Balkányi's stationery store and printing house (it is likely that Ernő is the older man in the background), today's Main Street 46, 1930 (photo: GML). The man in the middle is most likely Ernő's son Lajos, the child in the pram next to him is Lajos' son Franjo/Francisco (1928, Montevideo), and on the far-right Lajos' wife Etelka/Eta, née Rosenberg (1912, Újfehértó—after 1948, n/a). After his return from South America in 1930, Lajos opened a bookstore and printing house in Čakovec.



Lendava: teniško igrišče ob gostilni Aladarja Deutscha (1891, Szalafő – 1944, Auschwitz) na Kolodvorski ulici (danes Trg Ljudske pravice), pred 1937 (fotografija: GML). To igrišče gotovo lahko štejemo za enega najopaznejših dokazov modernizacije takratne Lendave. Z leve: Belá/Bela Eppinger (1900, Hahót – 1979, n. p.), Magda Blau, rojena Preiss (1914, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz), Štefan Toplak (1894, Lendava – 1954, Lendava), László/Ladislav Eppinger (1900, Hahót – 1992, Brazilija), József/Dundi Wortmann (1915, Lendava – 1937, Lendava), Éva/Eva Nadái, rojena Pollák (1915, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz), Benő/Beno Teichmann (1917, Lendava – pred 2011, Velika Britanija), neznani in Lali Poppel.

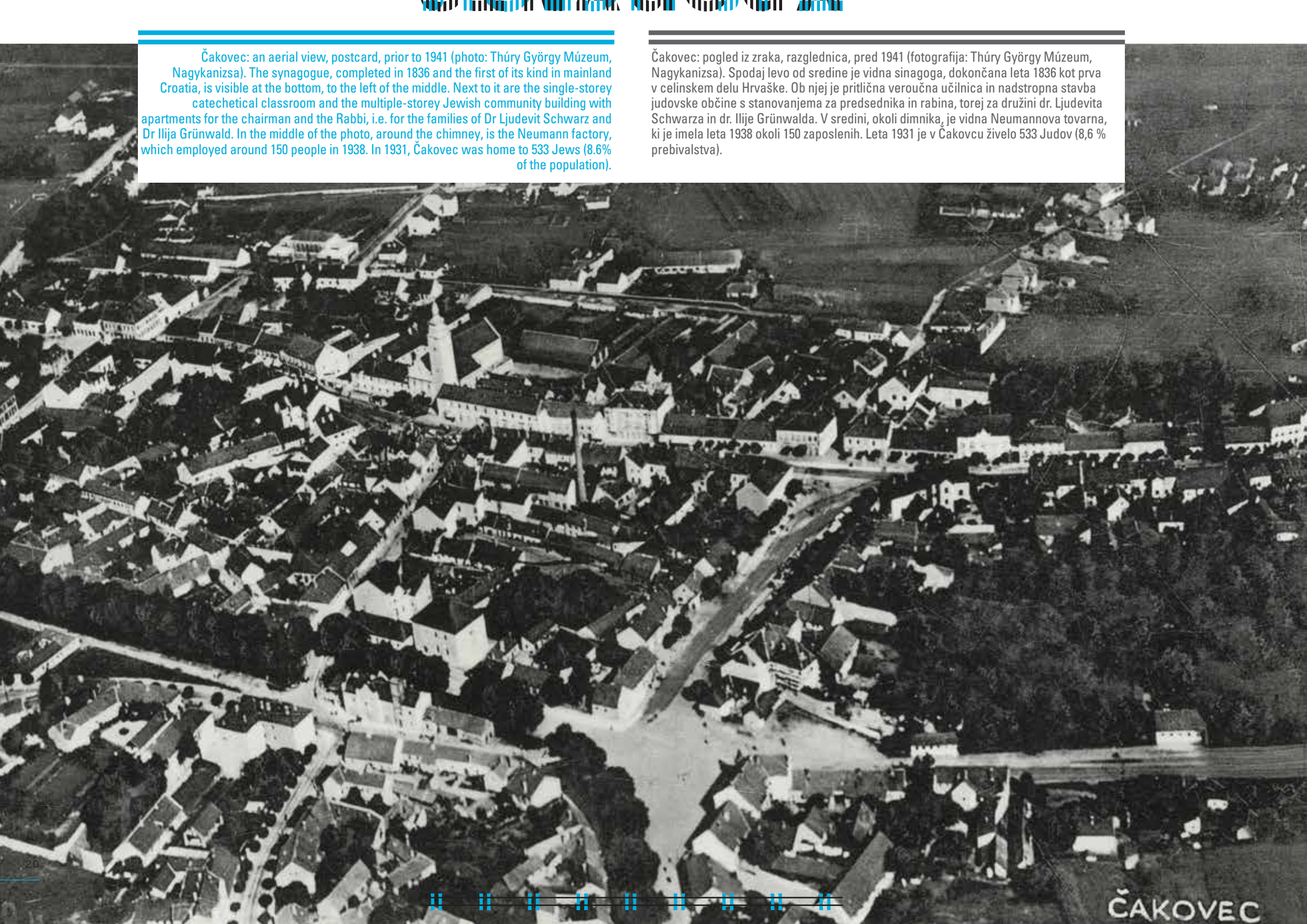
Lendava: a tennis court next to Aladar Deutsch's inn (1891, Szalafő–1944, Auschwitz) in the Kolodvorska Street (today's Ljudska Pravica Square), prior to 1937 (photo: GML). This court undoubtedly bears witness to the modernisation of Lendava at the time. From left: Belá/Bela Eppinger (1900, Hahót–1979, n/a), Magda Blau, née Preiss (1914, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz), Štefan Toplak (1894, Lendava–1954, Lendava), László/Ladislav Eppinger (1900, Hahót–1992, Brazil), József/Dundi Wortmann (1915, Lendava–1937, Lendava), Éva/Eva Nadái, née Pollák (1915, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz), Benő/Beno Teichmann (1917, Lendava–prior to 2011, The United Kingdom), an unknown person and Lali Poppel.





Čakovec: an aerial view, postcard, prior to 1941 (photo: Thúry György Múzeum, Nagykanizsa). The synagogue, completed in 1836 and the first of its kind in mainland Croatia, is visible at the bottom, to the left of the middle. Next to it are the single-storey catechetical classroom and the multiple-storey Jewish community building with apartments for the chairman and the Rabbi, i.e. for the families of Dr Ljudevit Schwarz and Dr Ilija Grünwald. In the middle of the photo, around the chimney, is the Neumann factory, which employed around 150 people in 1938. In 1931, Čakovec was home to 533 Jews (8.6% of the population).

Čakovec: pogled iz zraka, razglednica, pred 1941 (fotografija: Thúry György Múzeum, Nagykanizsa). Spodaj levo od sredine je vidna sinagoga, dokončana leta 1836 kot prva v celinskem delu Hrvške. Ob njej je pritlična veroučna učilnica in nadstropna stavba judovske občine s stanovanjema za predsednika in rabina, torej za družini dr. Ljudevita Schwarza in dr. Ilije Grünwalda. V sredini, okoli dimnika, je vidna Neumannova tovarna, ki je imela leta 1938 okoli 150 zaposlenih. Leta 1931 je v Čakovcu živelo 533 Judov (8,6 % prebivalstva).



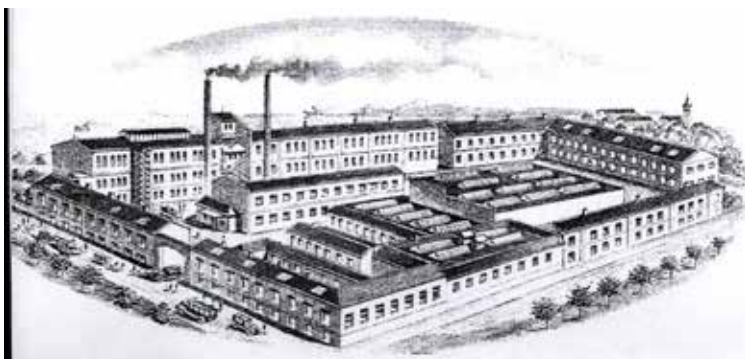
ČAKOVEC



## **Judje v Medžimurju 1918–1941** **Jews in Međimurje 1918–1941**

Po prvi svetovni vojni se je število Judov z območja Medžimurja zmanjševalo: s 756 leta 1921 na 605 leta 1931. Obenem se je povečeval njihov delež v Čakovcu, ki je leta 1931 znašal že 88 % vseh medžimurskih Judov. Zelo se je zmanjšalo število Judov v drugih naseljih, tako sta bili v Prelogu pred letom 1941 samo še družini Hirschson in Singer. Kljub temu se je pomen Judov za gospodarski razvoj Medžimurja še povečal. Izstopajoči so bili dosežki dveh tekstilnih podjetij. Manjše je bilo od leta 1874 delujoče podjetje Samuela Neumanna (1854, Čakovec – 1927, Gradec), ki sta ga od leta 1908 vodila ustanoviteljev sin Vilim Neumann (1886, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz) in zet Dionis Zoor (1882, Szenna – 1944, Auschwitz). Podjetje je po nacionalizaciji dobilo ime Čateks in deluje še danes. Večje je bilo tekstilno podjetje Braća Graner, ki so ga leta 1923 ustanovili dediči uspešnih trgovcev bratov Maksa (1851, Rábahídvég – 1919, Čakovec) in Mavra (1854, Rábahídvég – 1925, Dunaj). Geografsko je najdlje seglo poslovanje podjetje Elemerja Vajde (1882, Letenye – 1934, Čakovec), ki se je predvsem ukvarjalo s prirejo in prodajo perutnine. Glede na to, da je bil Čakovec brez gimnazije, je spoštovanja vredno, da je čakovski rabin dr. Ilija/Illés Grünwald (1886, Myjava – 1944, Auschwitz) leta 1924 ustanovil šolo Talmud Tora, tj. judovsko srednjo šolo. Rabin Grünwald je bil sicer sionistično usmerjen. Začetnik sionizma v Čakovcu je bil Oto Jungwirth (1898, Podrute – 1943/44, Jasenovac), uradnik gozdne uprave in vnet športnik.

After World War I, the number of Jews in the Međimurje area decreased: from 756 in 1921 to 605 in 1931. At the same time, however, their share in Čakovec was on the increase, amounting to 88% of all the Jews of Međimurje in 1931. The number of Jews in other settlements declined significantly, and consequently the only Jewish families left in Prelog prior to 1941 were the Hirschsons and the Singers. Nevertheless, the importance of Jews for Međimurje's economic development increased further. Two textile companies boasted the most noteworthy achievements. The smaller of the two was a company founded in 1874 by Samuel Neumann (1854, Čakovec–1927, Graz), which was run by the founder's son Vilim Neumann (1886, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz) and son-in-law Dionis Zoor (1882, Szenna–1944, Auschwitz) from 1908 onwards. Following nationalisation, the company was named Čateks and is still in operation. The larger of the two companies was the Braća Graner textile company, founded in 1923 by the heirs of two successful merchants, brothers Makso (1851, Rábahídvég–1919, Čakovec) and Mavro (1854, Rábahídvég–1925, Vienna). Geographically, the business whose market extended furthest was that of Elemer Vajda (1882, Letenye–1934, Čakovec), whose main activity was the sale and breeding of poultry. Given that Čakovec had no grammar school of its own, it was particularly noteworthy that Čakovec's Rabbi Dr Ilija/Illés Grünwald (1886, Myjava–1944, Auschwitz) founded a Talmud Torah school, i.e. a Jewish secondary school, in 1924. Rabbi Grünwald was otherwise a Zionist. The initiator of Zionism in Čakovec was Oto Jungwirth (1898, Podrute–1943/44, Jasenovac), a forest administration official and a keen sportsman.



Čakovec: the Braća Graner factory, a company memorandum (photo: MMC). The key to the company's development was the co-ownership (in 1929) of two textile experts, the Teszler brothers from Zagreb – Josef/Josip (1893, Budapest–1945, presumably Bergen-Belsen) and Sándor/Sandor (1903, Budapest–2000, Spartanburg). In 1939, the company had around 1,200 employees. After nationalisation, it was named Međimurska trikotaža Čakovec (abbreviated as MTC). Today, only a small part of the company remains in operation.

Čakovec: tovarna Braća Graner, memorandum podjetja (fotografija: MMC). Ključno za razvoj podjetja je bilo leta 1929 začeto solastništvo tekstilnih strokovnjakov in bratov Teszler, Josefa/Josipa (1893, Budimpešta – 1945, verjetno Bergen-Belsen) in Sándorja/Sandorja (1903, Budimpešta – 2000, Spartanburg), iz Zagreba. Podjetje je imelo leta 1939 okoli 1.200 zaposlenih. Po nacionalizaciji je dobilo ime Međimurska trikotaža Čakovec (kratica MTC). Danes deluje le še ostanek podjetja.

A truck belonging to Elemer Vajda's company (photo: MMC). Vajda founded his company in 1904 in Vienna. After World War I, he moved the headquarters to Čakovec, where he built what was, for its time, a huge cold-storage facility with a capacity of 22 wagons. He did business in Belgium, Egypt, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Tovornjak podjetja Elemerja Vajde (fotografija: MMC). Vajda je podjetje ustanovil leta 1904 na Dunaju. Po prvi svetovni vojni je njegov sedež prenesel v Čakovec in leta 1922 zgradil za tiste čase ogromno hladilnico s kapaciteto 22 vagonov. Posloval je na območju Belgije, Egipta, Italije, Nemčije, Švice in Velike Britanije.







Čakovec: praznovanje purima, 23./24. marec 1940 (fotografija: Oto Konstein, Centropa). Druga z leve je Tea Kohnstein (1934, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), sestra Ota Kohnsteina, danes Konsteina (1929, Čakovec). Spredaj je ogrnjen s talitom Dragutin, kasneje Israel Singer (1930, Varaždin – 1948, pri Aškelonu), bratranec Helene Romano, rojene Marković (1925, Lendava). Dragutin je preživel koncentracijski taborišči Auschwitz in Bergen-Belsen ter padel kot osemnajstletni vojak v vojni za neodvisnost Izraela.

Čakovec: Purim celebration, 23/24 March 1940 (photo: Oto Konstein, Centropa). Second from the left is Tea Kohnstein (1934, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), the sister of Oto, today known as Konstein (1929, Čakovec). In the front, draped in a tallit is Dragutin, later known as Israel Singer (1930, Varaždin–1948, near Ashkelon), cousin of Helena Romano, née Marković (1925, Lendava). Dragutin survived the Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps but was later killed during Israel's War of Independence as an eighteen-year-old soldier.

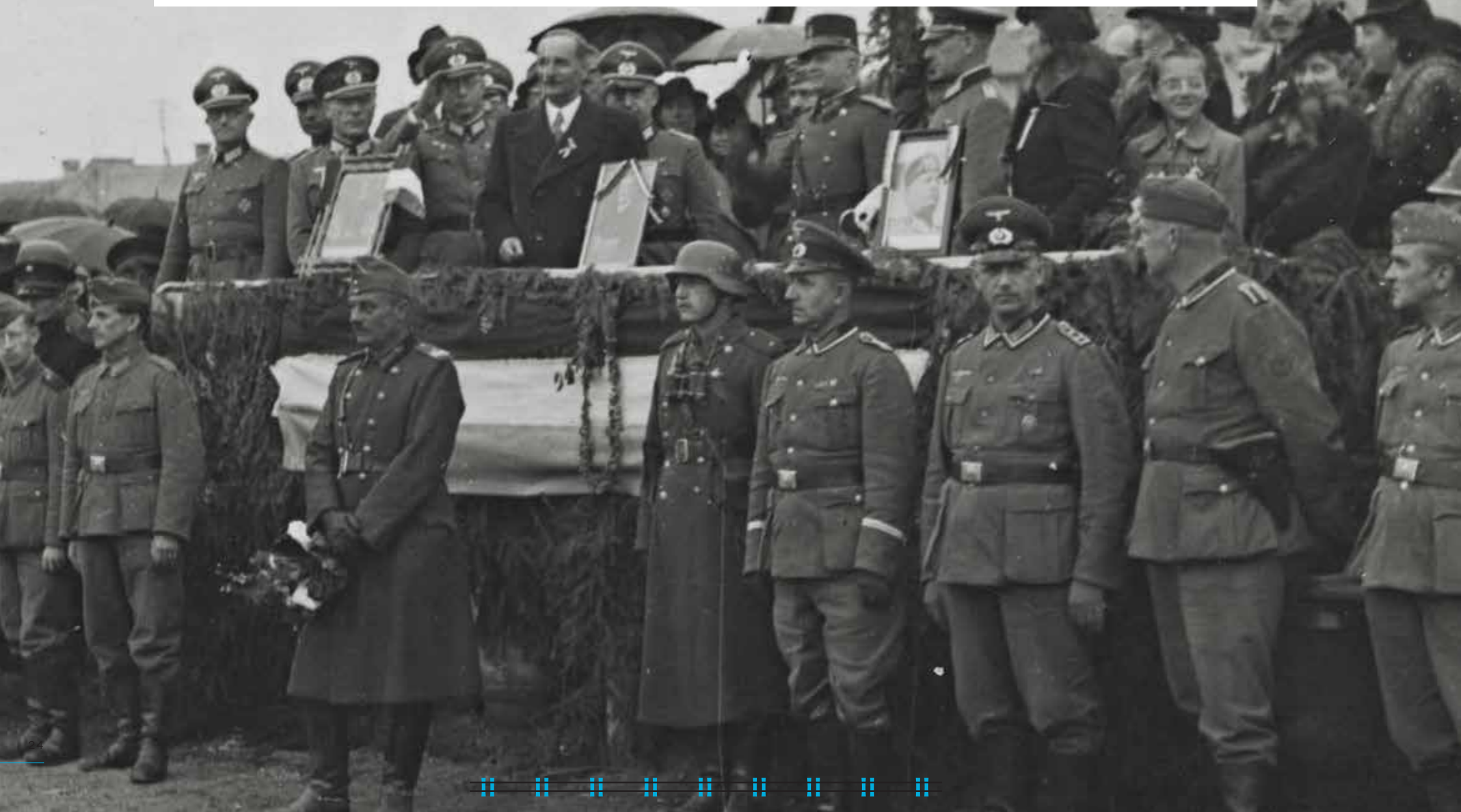
Dr. Ilija/Ilés Grünwald, rabin v Čakovcu 1915–1944 in Murski Soboti 1921–1926, žena Frederika/Rikica, rojena Strauss (1891, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), in njuni sinovi Tibor, v Izraelu Moše Ec-Hajim (1917, Čakovec – 1984, Izrael), Aleksandar (1918, Čakovec – 1938, Zagreb), Teodor/Dori (1920, Čakovec – 1998, Haifa), Andrija/Endre (1923, Čakovec – 1942/45, n. p.) in Nikola/Miki (1928, Čakovec), 1929 (fotografija: Moše Ec-Hajim, Yad Vashem). Rabin Grünwald je študiral v Berlinu, Parizu in Budimpešti. Enakovredno je pridigal v madžarščini, nemščini in hrvaščini.

Dr Ilija/Ilés Grünwald, the Rabbi of Čakovec 1915–1944 and Murska Sobota 1921–1926, his wife Frederika/Rikica, née Strauss (1891, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), and their sons Tibor, known in Israel as Moshe Etz Chaim (1917, Čakovec–1984, Israel), Aleksandar (1918, Čakovec–1938, Zagreb), Teodor/Dori (1920, Čakovec–1998, Haifa), Andrija/Endre (1923, Čakovec–1942/1945, n/a) and Nikola/Miki (1928, Čakovec), 1929 (photo: Moshe Etz Chaim, Yad Vashem). Rabbi Grünwald studied in Berlin, Paris and Budapest. He preached equally well in Hungarian, German and Croatian.



Murska Sobota: a ceremony to mark the German handover of power to the Hungarians, 16 April 1941 (photo: PMMS). The speaker is Ferdinand Hartner (1894, Budapest–1975, Argentina), Mayor of Murska Sobota from 1933 to 1945. Near him is a photo of Horthy and to his left and right are photos of Adolf Hitler (1889, Braunau/Inn–1945, Berlin) and Benito Mussolini (1883, Dovia di Predappio–1945, Giulino di Mezzegra). In addition to Prekmurje, Hungary at that time consisted of today's territory, as well as areas of the present-day Croatia (Međimurje and the Yugoslav part of Baranja), Serbia, Romania, Ukraine and Slovakia. The territory of the then Hungary was home to 825,000 Jews (5.6% of the population).

Murska Sobota: slovesnost ob nemški predaji oblasti Madžarom, 16. april 1941 (fotografija: PMMS). Govori Ferdinand Hartner (1894, Budimpešta – 1975, Argentina), župan Murske Sobote v letih 1933–1945. Ob govorniku fotografija Horthyja, levo in desno fotografiji Adolfa Hitlerja (1889, Braunau/Inn – 1945, Berlin) in Benita Mussolinija (1883, Dovia di Predappio – 1945, Giulino di Mezzegra). Ob Prekmurju je takratna Madžarska poleg današnjega ozemlja obsegala še območja Hrvaške, tj. Međimurje in jugoslovanski del Baranje, ter dele Srbije, Romunije, Ukrajine in Slovaške. Na ozemlju takratne Madžarske je bilo 825.000 Judov (5,6 % prebivalstva).





## Začetek okupacije The Beginning of the Occupation

Medžimurske in prekmurske Jude so na nacistični prevzem oblasti leta 1933 neposredno opozarjali judovski begunci iz Nemčije in po anšlusu leta 1938 tudi iz Avstrije. Tako je družina Koblenzer, oče Siegmund (1878, Pertoča – po 1939, n. p.), mati Nanette, rojena Kahn (1874, Schweich – 1944, Auschwitz), in hči Sibila (1918, Schweich – po 1995, n. p.), leta 1939 pribežala iz Schweicha ob Mozeli k sorodnikom v Prekmurje. Še bolj neposredno sta jih na spremenjene razmere opozorili protijudovski uredbi jugoslovanske vlade z dne 5. oktobra 1940 na področju šolstva in trgovine. Napad sil osi na Jugoslavijo 6. aprila 1941 je ob skromnem odporu jugoslovanske vojske že prvi dan pripeljal do nemške zasedbe Murske Sobote in naslednji dan Čakovca. Vsaj nekateri prebivalci Prekmurja so spremembo oblasti izkoristili za ropanje judovskega premoženja. Nemška vojska je 16. aprila 1941 Medžimurje in Prekmurje predala madžarski vojski. V tem času so Jude na Madžarskem, ki je bila sicer že od Münchenskega sporazuma leta 1938 nemška zaveznica, kljub izrecnim Hitlerjevim zahtevam »samo« diskriminirali. Njen vodja v letih 1920–1944, regent admiral Miklós Horthy (1868, Kenderes – 1957, Estoril), vsekakor ni bil demokrat. Njegova vladavina je bila notranjepolitično avtoritarna in korporativistična, zunanjepolitično revizionistična in iredentistična, v odnosu do Judov pa judeofobna, vendar je Horthyjev režim preganjal radikalno antisemitsko madžarsko fašistično stranko *Puščičasti križ* ali njilaše. Zato so se poleti leta 1941 k sorodnikom v Medžimurje zatele tako družini Kohnstein in Singer iz Maribora z nemškega okupacijskega območja v Sloveniji kot družina Lustig iz Osijeka v NDH (Nezavisna država Hrvatska).

The Jews in Međimurje and Prekmurje were alerted to the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 directly by the Jewish refugees from Germany and after the 1938 Anschluss by the Jewish refugees from Austria. One of them was the Koblenzer family – father Siegmund (1878, Pertoča–after 1939, n/a), mother Nanette, née Kahn (1874, Schweich–1944, Auschwitz), and daughter Sibila (1918, Schweich–after 1995, n/a) – who fled from Schweich on the Moselle to their relatives in Prekmurje in 1939. An even more direct warning of the changed situation were two anti-Jewish education- and trade-related decrees issued by the Yugoslav government on 5 October 1940. Due to the weak resistance of the Yugoslav army, the Axis powers' attack on Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941 led to the German occupation of Murska Sobota on the very first day and Čakovec the following day. Some of the residents of Prekmurje took advantage of the change in power to loot Jewish property. On 16 April 1941, the German army handed over Međimurje and Prekmurje to the Hungarian army. During this time, Jews in Hungary, which had been Germany's ally from the 1938 Munich Agreement, were 'only' discriminated against, despite Hitler's express demands. The Hungarian leader from 1920 to 1944, Regent Admiral Miklós Horthy (1868, Kenderes–1957, Estoril), was certainly not a democrat. His rule was authoritarian and corporatist in domestic policy, revisionist and irredentist in foreign policy, and Judeophobic in relation to Jews. However, Horthy's regime persecuted the radical antisemitic Hungarian fascist party, the Arrow Cross Party (Nyilaskeresztes Párt). Consequently, both the Kohnstein and Singer families from Maribor in the German-occupied area of Slovenia, as well as the Lustig family from Osijek in the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna država Hrvatska, NDH), sought refuge with their relatives in Međimurje in the summer of 1941.



Lajos/Ludvik Blau (1903, Lendava–1998, Murska Sobota) in wartime captivity, Osnabrück, 1942, second from the right in the second row (photo: Sara Božanić). As a POW, he was not included in the census at the start of the occupation, according to which the Jewish population of the Lendava District numbered 165 (0.5% of the population), 143 of whom were in Lendava itself (4.2% of the population). In 1942, about 400 Yugoslav Jews, who were German POWs, were gathered in the POW camp in Osnabrück. While most of them survived the war for unclear reasons, the majority of their relatives – including all of Blau's family – did not.

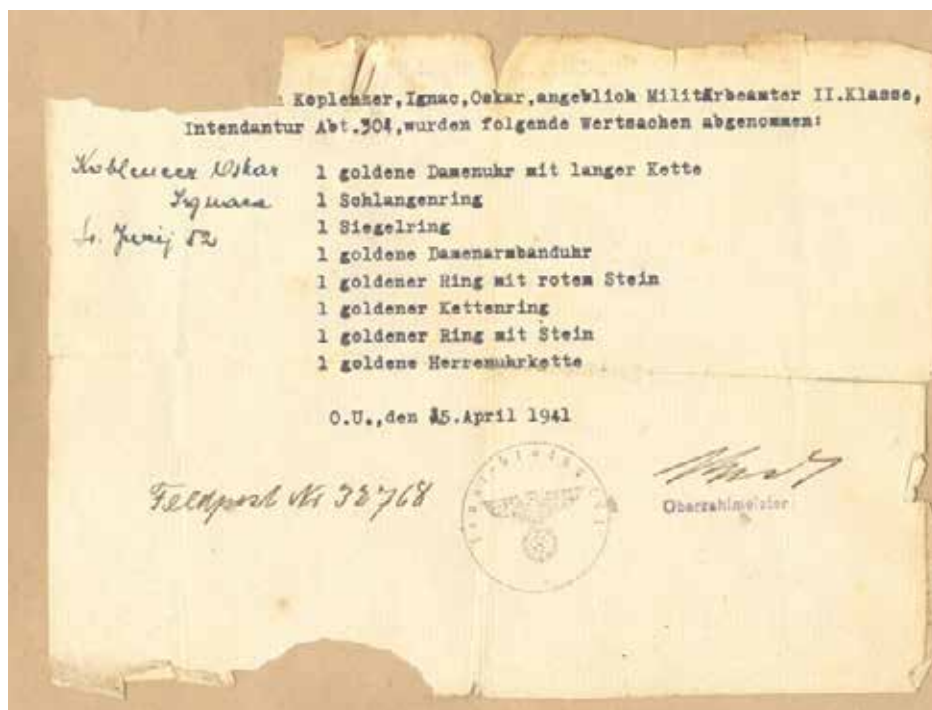
Lajos/Ludvik Blau (1903, Lendava – 1998, Murska Sobota) v vojnem ujetništvu, Osnabrück, 1942, drugi z desne v drugi vrsti (fotografija: Sara Božanić). Zaradi vojnega ujetništva ni bil zajet v popisu prebivalstva ob začetku okupacije, v katerem so v okraju Lendava našeli 165 Judov (0,5 % prebivalstva), od tega v Lendavi 143 (4,2 % prebivalstva). V nemškem ujetniškem taborišču Osnabrück so leta 1942 zbrali okoli 400 jugoslovanskih Judov vojnih ujetnikov, ki so iz ne povsem jasnih razlogov večinoma preživel. Večina sorodnikov teh ujetnikov vojne ni preživel, tudi nihče od Blauovih sorodnikov.

*Official Gazette of the Royal Administration of the Drava Banate XI, 1940, Issue 83, 16 October 1940, p. 862:* two anti-Jewish decrees, issued by the Yugoslav government on 5 October 1940, introduced the *numerus clausus* for Jews when enrolling in universities, university-level colleges, higher vocational, secondary, teacher training and other vocational schools, and prohibited Jews from opening wholesale food commerce companies; moreover, Jewish owners of existing commercial establishments could be prohibited from continuing to operate, or commissioners could be appointed as managers of their businesses.

*Službeni list kraljevske banske uprave Dravske banovine XI, 1940, št. 83, 16. oktober 1940, str. 862:* protijudovski uredbi jugoslovanske vlade z dne 5. oktobra 1940, s katerima je bil uveden *numerus clausus* za Jude pri vpisu na univerze, visoke šole z veljavnostjo univerz, višje, srednje, učiteljske in druge strokovne šole ter po katerih je bilo Judom prepovedano odpirati živilska grosistična trgovska podjetja, Judom, ki so bili lastniki že obstoječih trgovskih obratov, pa je bilo mogoče prepovedati nadaljnje obratovanje ali pa jim postaviti komisarje za vodenje poslov.







Oskar Koblenzer, potrdilo o zaplenjenih predmetih v vojnem ujetništvu, 25. april 1941 (fotografija: PAM). Zaradi vojnega ujetništva ni bil zajet v popisu prebivalstva ob začetku okupacije, v katerem so v okraju Murska Sobota našeli 246 Judov, od tega v Murski Soboti 170 (3,9 % prebivalstva). Za razliko od večine, ki so bili ubiti med holokavstom, je Koblenzer kljub temu, da je bil vso vojno v nacistični Nemčiji, preživel.

Oskar Koblenzer: a receipt for items confiscated in wartime captivity, 25 April 1941 (photo: PAM). As a POW, he was not included in the census at the start of the occupation, according to which the Jewish population of the Murska Sobota District numbered 246 Jews, 170 of whom were in Murska Sobota itself (3.9% of the population). Unlike most of those who were killed during the Holocaust, Koblenzer survived despite being in Nazi Germany throughout the war.

Čakovec: Petőfi Sándor utca, prej Ulica kralja Petra I., danes Ulica kralja Tomislava, na razglednici, poslani leta 1942 (fotografija: MMC). Levo je viden izvesek trgovine Bele Kelemen (1877, Kaposvár – 1944, Auschwitz), dešno pošta. V popisu prebivalstva ob začetku okupacije so v okraju Čakovec našeli 487 Judov (0,7 % prebivalstva), od tega v Čakovcu 482 (7,7 % prebivalstva) in v okraju Prelog 18 (0,004 % prebivalstva). Razglednico je založil knjigarnar in tiskar Lajos Balkányi iz Čakovca. Njegova tiskarna je bila 20. avgusta 1941 tarča bombnega napada. Teden dni prej je bila v čakovski sinagogi pravočasno najdena bomba.

Čakovec: Petőfi Sándor Street, formerly Kralja Petra I Street, today's Kralja Tomislava Street, on a 1942 postcard (photo: MMC). The shop sign on a shop owned by Bela Kelemen (1877, Kaposvár–1944, Auschwitz) is visible on the left and a post office on the right. According to the census conducted at the start of the occupation, the number of Jews in the Čakovec District was 487 (0.7% of the population), 482 of whom (7.7% of the population) were in Čakovec itself, while there were 18 Jews (0.004%) in the Prelog District. The postcard was issued by the bookseller and printer Lajos Balkányi from Čakovec. On 20 August 1941, his printing house was the target of a bomb attack. A week earlier, a bomb had been found in time in the Čakovec synagogue.



Novi Sad: Hungarian soldiers and a gendarme with a characteristic cock-feathered hat are examining the bodies of those killed during the raid, Miletićeva Street, 23 January 1942 (photo: Muzej Vojvodine). The raid in the southern part of Bačka was a consequence of a clash near Žablje on 4 January 1942, in which 10 Hungarian gendarmes and 7 Partisans were killed. The search for Partisan collaborators turned into revenge killings, the worst of which happened between 21 and 23 January 1942 in Novi Sad. A total of more than 3,800 people were killed, mostly Serbs (over 2,500) and Jews (over 1,000). Among the latter was the Biller family: István/Stefan (1909, Lendava–1942, Novi Sad), Olga, née Deutsch (1919, Lendava–1942, Novi Sad), and Đorđe (1941, Šabac–1942, Novi Sad). In terms of morality, Horthy's regime really could not have got much lower than the Bačka raid and the impunity of those who took part in it.

Novi Sad: mađarski vojnici in žandar s klobukom, okrašenim z značilnim petelinjim perjem, pregledujejo trupla umorjenih med racijo, Miletićeva ulica, 23. januar 1942 (fotografija: Muzej Vojvodine). Racija v južnem delu Bačke je bila posledica spopada pri Žablju 4. januarja 1942, v katerem je padlo 10 mađarskih žandarjev in 7 partizanov. Iskanje partizanskih sodelavcev se je sprevrglo v maščevalno ubijanje, ki je vrhunec doseglo v dneh od 21. do 23. januarja 1942 v Novem Sadu. Skupaj je bilo ubitih več kot 3.800 ljudi, največ Srbov (več kot 2.500) in Judov (več kot 1.000). Med slednjimi je bila tudi družina Biller: István/Stefan (1909, Lendava – 1942, Novi Sad), Olga, rojena Deutsch (1919, Lendava – 1942, Novi Sad), in Đorđe (1941, Šabac – 1942, Novi Sad). Z bačko racijo in nekaznovanjem njenih storilcev je Horthyjev režim dosegel moralno dno.





## Prve žrtve The First Victims

Horthyjev režim je takoj po zasedbi delov Jugoslavije začel preganjati njene dejanske ali domnevne privrženke. Po vstopu v vojno s Sovjetsko zvezo 27. junija 1941 je zaradi porajajočega se odporiškega gibanja začel še ostreje preganjati dejanske ali domnevne komuniste. Delež Judov med preganjanimi je bil pogosto večji kot med prebivalstvom. Med obtoženimi »jugoslovanstva« sta bila leta 1941 odvetnik iz Preloga dr. Eugen Singer (1887, Hodošan – 1944, Auschwitz) in odvetnik iz Čakovca dr. Stjepan Wolf (1908, Čakovec – 1964, Čakovec). Obtožb sta bila leta 1942 oproščena. V skupini komunističnih mladincev iz Međimurja, ki so bili zaradi protimađarskih letakov aretirani 5. julija 1941, je bil tudi Geza Singer (1923, Varaždin – 1945, Hörsching), sin dr. Eugena Singerja. Ta skupina je bila leta 1942 v Pécsu kot del skupine 62 Međimurcev, med njimi 19 Judov, in 19 Prekmurcev, med njimi edini Jud Ali Kardoš, zaradi protimađarskega delovanja obsojena na zaporne kazni. Prvi umrli zaradi holokavsta med međimurskimi Judi je bil v Zagrebu živeči Nikola Singer (1921, Prelog – 1941, Jadovno), najstarejši sin dr. Eugena Singerja. Hrvaški fašisti ustaši so sicer bili v preganjanju Judov precej površni učenci nacistične Nemčije, a pogosto celo bolj okrutni kot njihovi učitelji. To zagotovo velja za koncentracijsko taborišče Jasenovac. V njem je od 23. avgusta 1941 do 22. aprila 1945 umrlo več kot 83.000 ljudi in med njimi je bilo več kot 13.000 Judov, tudi međimurskih in prekmurskih. Prva smrtna žrtev holokavsta med prekmurskimi Judi je bila v bački raciji januarja 1942 umorjena družina Biller.

Immediately after the occupation of parts of Yugoslavia, Horthy's regime started persecuting the actual and alleged supporters of Yugoslavia. After entering the war with the Soviet Union on 27 June 1941, he began to persecute actual or suspected communists even more harshly due to the emerging resistance movement. The share of Jews among the persecuted individuals was often higher than their share among the general population. Among those accused of supporting Yugoslavism in 1941 were the lawyers Dr Eugen Singer (1887, Hodošan–1944, Auschwitz) from Prelog and Dr Stjepan Wolf (1908, Čakovec–1964, Čakovec) from Čakovec. They were acquitted of the charges in 1942. Geza Singer (1923, Varaždin–1945, Hörsching), the son of Dr Eugen Singer, was a member of the group of communist youths from Međimurje who were arrested on 5 July 1941 for distributing anti-Hungarian leaflets. As part of a group of 62 individuals from Međimurje, including 19 Jews, and 19 individuals from Prekmurje, including Ali Kardoš as the only Jew, in 1942 in Pécs this group was sentenced to prison for anti-Hungarian activities. The first Holocaust victim among the Jews from Međimurje was Zagreb-based Nikola Singer (1921, Prelog–1941, Jadovno), the eldest son of Dr Eugen Singer. Croatian fascists known as Ustashe were rather superficial students of Nazi Germany as far as their persecution of Jews was concerned, they were, however, even more cruel than their teachers. This certainly applies to the Jasenovac concentration camp. More than 83,000 people died there between 23 August 1941 and 22 April 1945, including more than 13,000 Jews, some of whom were from Međimurje and Prekmurje. The Biller family, who were murdered in a Bačka raid in January 1942, was the first Holocaust victim amongst the Jews from Prekmurje.

Nikola Singer from Prelog, pictured here as a footballer, prior to 1941 (photo: the Singer family). The Zagreb-based optician was given the Jewish badge on 27 May 1941. He did not wear it around Zagreb for long, as he was one of the 165 young Jews who were arrested there on 29 and 30 May 1941 by the Ustasha police. On 10 July, they were transferred via the Danica camp near Koprivnica to the Jadovno camp near Gospić. Prior to 21 August 1941, Nikola became one of the 762 Jewish victims of Jadovno who were known by their names. Jews represent a small part of the 10,502 victims, 9,663 of whom were Serbs.

Nikola Singer iz Preloga kot nogometaš, pred 1941 (fotografija: družina Singer). V Zagrebu živeči optik je sprejel »židovski znak« 27. maja 1941. Ni ga dolgo nosil po ulicah Zagreba, saj je bil med 165 mladimi Judi, ki jih je tam 29. in 30. maja 1941 aretirala ustaška policija. Preko taborišča Danica pri Koprivnici so bili 10. julija premeščeni v taborišče Jadovno pri Gospiću. Tam je Nikola pred 21. avgustom postal ena izmed 762 po imenu poznanih judovskih žrtev Jadovna, ki predstavljajo manjši del od 10.502 žrtev, med katerimi je 9.663 Srbov.



Aladar/Ali Kardoš (photo: PMMS). After not finishing secondary school in Murska Sobota, he completed his education at the school of commerce in Čakovec. While there, he became interested in Zionism and became fascinated by the ideal of kibbutz life. As a communist, in 1934, he lost his job at Cvetič's clothing factory (the predecessor of the Mura factory) due to political agitation and help in organising a strike. In 1940, he was first imprisoned in the notorious Bileća camp and later by the Germans (in 1941) and the Hungarians (1942–1943). Following his release from prison, Kardoš was drafted into the Hungarian army's labour units and sent to work in the Bor mine in Serbia. In 1944, he was handed over to the Germans and sent first to the Flossenbürg concentration camp and then to Buchenwald, where he disappeared without a trace.

Aladar/Ali Kardoš (fotografija: PMMS). Po nedokončani gimnaziji v Murski Soboti je šolanje končal na trgovski šoli v Čakovcu. Tukaj se je navzel sionizma in se navdušil nad idealom življenja v kibucu. Že kot komunist je leta 1934 izgubil službo v Cvetičevi tovarni konfekcije (predhodnici Mure) zaradi agitacije in pomoči pri organizaciji stavke. Leta 1940 je bil zaprt v zloglasni Bileći, leta 1941 so ga zaprli Nemci in v letih 1942–1943 Madžari. Po zaporu je bil vpoklican v delovne enote madžarske vojske in poslan na delo v rudnik Bor v Srbiji, leta 1944 pa predan Nemcem in poslan v koncentracijski taborišči Flossenbürg in nato Buchenwald. Tu je sled za njim izginila.



Jasenovac: folksdojčerji in ustaši ob zaplenjenih predmetih pravkar prispele skupine Judov, vidne v ozadju, morda september 1941 (fotografija: HDA). Z obstojem Jasenovca so bili seznanjeni tudi Prekmurci: leta 1942 je katoliški župnik v Martjancih Andrej Berden (1887, Bogojina – 1963, Martjanci) izdal lažna katoliška rojstna lista za zagrebški Judinji Ano Kiš, rojeno Hirschl (1883, Tešanovci – 1976, Zagreb), in njeno hčer Piroško Löwy, rojeno Kiš, drugič poročeno Kornfein (1911, Murska Sobota – 2001, Zagreb). Njun zet oz. mož Vilim Löwy (1901, Đakovo – 1944, Jasenovac) je bil v Jasenovcu od avgusta 1941.

Jasenovac: the Volksdeutsche and the Ustashe with belongings confiscated from a group of Jews, who have just arrived and are visible in the background, presumably September 1941 (photo: HDA). People from Prekmurje were well aware of the existence of Jasenovac, i.e. in 1942, Andrej Berden (1887, Bogojina–1963, Martjanci), a Catholic priest in Martjanci, issued fake Catholic birth certificates for two Jewish women from Zagreb: Ana Kiš, née Hirschl (1883, Tešanovci–1976, Zagreb), and her daughter Piroška Löwy, née Kiš, surname during second marriage Kornfein (1911, Murska Sobota–2001, Zagreb). Piroška's husband Vilim Löwy (1901, Đakovo–1944, Jasenovac) was in Jasenovac from August 1941.



Čakovec: madžarski žandar in policista v civilu zaslišujejo zapornika z mučenjem v Starem gradu, današnjem muzeju (fotografija: Stjepan Mihinjač, MMC). Mučenje opazuje drugi zapornik, da bi se pred svojim zaslišanjem »omehčal«. Čakovski Stari grad je bil ves čas okupacije glavni zapor za Međimurje. Na fotografiji ni dejansko mučenje, temveč natančna povojna rekonstrukcija za snemanje dokumentarnega filma Jadran filma iz Zagreba.

Čakovec: a Hungarian gendarme and a plain-clothed policeman are torturing a prisoner during interrogation at the Old Castle, which is now a museum (photo: Stjepan Mihinjač, MMC). Another prisoner is forced to watch the torture in order to 'softened him up' before it is his turn to be interrogated. The Old Castle in Čakovec was the main prison for Međimurje throughout the occupation. This is not a photo of the actual torture, but rather a faithful post-war reconstruction for a documentary filmed by the Jadran Film production studio from Zagreb.





Labour unit members – known as *munkaši* (in Croatian and Serbian from *munkaszolgálat*) or *muszos* (in Hungarian from the official abbreviation *Mu. sz.*) – from Čakovec, somewhere in Hungary, 1943 (photo: Etz Chaim = Grünwald, 1977, p. 114). From 1942, Jews in the Hungarian army's labour units wore civilian clothes, except for military caps without insignia and yellow or white armbands on their sleeves, depending on whether they were 'real' or merely 'racial' Jews. Pictured standing from the left: 2nd Dragutin Hirschsohn (1908, Čakovec–1959, Beth Jilzak), 3rd Ivan Lebović (1911, Domašinec–1945, Mauthausen), 4th Eugen Hoffmann (1908, Čakovec–prior to 2006, Israel) and 6th Samuel Stern (1905, Goričan–1944, Auschwitz); kneeling in the middle: Dionis Földes (1908, Čakovec–after 1947, n/a).

*Munkaši* (v hrvaščini in srbščini iz *munkaszolgálat*) oz. *muszos* (v madžarščini iz uradne kratice *Mu. sz.*) iz Čakovca nekje na Madžarskem, 1943 (fotografija: Ec-Hajim = Grünwald, 1977, str. 114). Judje v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske so bili od leta 1942 naprej v civilnih oblekah, le na glavah so imeli vojaške čepice brez insignij ter na rokavu rumen ali bel trak glede na to, ali so bili »pravi« ali samo »rasni« Judje. Na fotografiji: stojijo z leve 2. Dragutin Hirschsohn (1908, Čakovec – 1959, Beth Jilzak), 3. Ivan Lebović (1911, Domašinec – 1945, Mauthausen), 4. Eugen Hoffmann (1908, Čakovec – pred 2006, Izrael) in 6. Samuel Stern (1905, Goričan – 1944, Auschwitz), v sredini kleči Dionis Földes (1908, Čakovec – po 1947, n. p.).





## Munkaszolgálat Munkaszolgálat

V letih 1942 in 1943 je v življenje medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov najbolj posegel vpoklic v delovne enote madžarske vojske ali *munkaszolgálat*. Te enote so nastale iz leta 1939 uvedene delovne službe za trajno nesposobne ali neprimerne moške za vojsko. Sicer te enote niso bile namenjene samo Judom, temveč vsem skupinam prebivalstva, ki so bile »škodljive za javni red«. Tako so bili v njih, vendar ločeni od Judov, tudi levičarji, Jehovove priče, sobotarji in politični obsojenci. Judje so v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske predstavljali velik delež vpoklicanih in največji delež umrlih. Pošiljali so jih tudi na ozemlje Sovjetske zveze. V zavesti vseh madžarskih Judov se je zaradi številnih judovskih žrtev zarezal poraz 2. madžarske armade januarja leta 1943 v bitki na reki Don južno od Voroneža, ki je bil del obsežnih in usodnih vojaških operacij, povezanih z bitko pri Stalingradu. Drugo območje delovanja delovnih enot madžarske vojske izven Madžarske je bil rudnik bakrove rude v Boru v vzhodni Srbiji. Leta 1944 je mnoge Jude služenje v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske rešilo pred deportacijo v Auschwitz. Po Horthyjevem padcu so bili Judje iz teh enot predani Nemcem, zato so bili mnogi med njimi poslani v nacistična koncentracijska taborišča. Okoli 10 % vseh madžarskih žrtev holokavsta je bilo pripadnikov delovnih enot madžarske vojske.

Between 1942 and 1943, the lives of the Jews in Medimurje and Prekmurje were most impacted by conscription into the labour units of the Hungarian armed forces, known as *munkaszolgálat*. These units arose out of the labour service introduced in 1939 for men who were deemed permanently unfit or unfit for military service. These units were not only intended for Jews, but for all population groups who were considered 'harmful to public order'. In addition to Jews, leftists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Sabbatarians and political convicts were also included. Jews represented a large part of the conscripts and the largest share of deaths in the labour units. They were sent to the territory of the Soviet Union, among others. The defeat of the Hungarian Second Army in the January 1943 Battle at the Don River south of Voronezh, which was part of the large-scale and fatal military operations associated with the Battle of Stalingrad, is etched in the consciousness of all Hungarian Jews due to the many Jewish victims. Outside Hungary, Hungarian army's labour units also worked in the copper ore mine in Bor, eastern Serbia. In 1944, serving in these labour units saved many a Jew from deportation to Auschwitz. After Horthy's fall from power, the Jews from these units were handed over to the Germans and many of them were sent to Nazi concentration camps. Around 10% of all Hungarian Holocaust victims were members of the labour units.



Rudolf Kohnstein (1919, Maribor–1944/45, Mauthausen) with Helena Marković, married name Romano, Čakovec, 1943 (photo: Helena Romano). A pre-war student of the Maribor Realgymnasium upper-secondary school (today's Maribor First Grammar School). Soon after this photo was taken, he was conscripted into the Hungarian army's labour units. It appears that he was sent to Bor. When the German army withdrew from Serbia, he was taken from Bor to Hungary and then handed over to the Germans. He died in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Rudolf Kohnstein (1919, Maribor – 1944/45, Mauthausen) s Heleno Marković, kasneje poročeno Romano, Čakovec, 1943 (fotografija: Helena Romano). Predvojni dijak mariborske realne gimnazije (danes Prve gimnazije Maribor). Kmalu po nastanku te fotografije je bil vpoklican v delovne enote madžarske vojske. Kaže, da je bil poslan v Bor. Ob umiku nemške vojske iz Srbije je bil iz Bora odpeljan na Madžarsko ter nato predan Nemcem. Življenje se mu je končalo v koncentracijskem taborišču Mauthausen.

Alfred Teichmann (1920, Lendava–1942, Oskino), a pre-war student of the Lendava Bourgeois School and one of the victims of the Hungarian Second Army's defeat by the Don River. Of the approximately 200,000 soldiers in this army, 60–70,000 (30–35%) returned, and of the approximately 50,000 labour unit members, a mere 6–7,000 (12–14%) came back. Alfred's brother Benő was also a member of the Hungarian army's labour units. He survived the war. The other family members were sent to Auschwitz. None of them survived.

Alfred Teichmann (1920, Lendava – 1942, Oskino), predvojni dijak lendavske meščanske šole in ena od žrtev poraza 2. madžarske armade ob Donu. Od okoli 200.000 vojakov te armade se jih je vrnilo 60–70.000 (ali 30–35 %), od okoli 50.000 pripadnikov delovnih enot pa samo 6–7.000 (ali 12–14 %). V delovnih enotah madžarske vojske je bil tudi Alfredov brat Benő, ki je vojno preživel. Preostali člani njune družine so bili poslani v Auschwitz. Preživel ni nihče.







Bor: dnevni kop in topilnica bakrove rude ter naselje, po 1941 (fotografija: Narodna biblioteka Bor). Zaradi vojne se je izjemno povečala poraba bakra tako zaradi bakrenih električnih žic kot tudi zaradi medenine, zmesi s cinkom, za tulce streliva. Julija 1944 je bilo v rudniku Bor okoli 23.000 prisilnih delavcev: Srbov, okoli 6.000 Judov iz delovnih enot madžarske vojske, Jehovovih prič in sobotarjev iz takratne Madžarske ter sovjetskih, grških in italijanskih vojaških ujetnikov. Septembra 1944 ob umiku nemške vojske iz Srbije so Jude iz Bora v dveh skupinah odpeljali proti Madžarski. Velik del prve skupine je umrl ali bil ubit, še preden so v začetku novembra 1944 prišli do zahodne Madžarske. Najbolj znana žrtev tega pohoda je bil znani madžarski pesnik Miklós Radnóti (rojen Glatte, 1909, Budimpešta – 1944, Abda). Druga skupina je bila skoraj brez žrtev osvobodjena.

Bor: surface mining, a copper smelter and a settlement, after 1941 (photo: Narodna biblioteka Bor). Due to the war, the consumption of copper increased substantially on account of copper electrical wires, as well as brass, i.e. a copper-zinc alloy, used for cartridge cases. In July 1944, about 23,000 forced labourers worked at the Bor mine, i.e. Serbs, about 6,000 Jews from the Hungarian army's labour units, Jehovah's Witnesses and Sabbatarians from what was then Hungary, and Soviet, Greek and Italian POWs. In September 1944, when the German army withdrew from Serbia, the Jews from Bor were taken to Hungary in two groups. A large part of the first group died or were killed before reaching western Hungary in early November 1944. The best known victim of this march was the famous Hungarian poet Miklós Radnóti (born Glatte, 1909, Budapest–1944, Abda). The second group was liberated almost without any casualties.

Geza Singer iz Preloga kot pripadnik delovnih enot madžarske vojske, Kőszeg, 1944 (fotografija: družina Singer). Maturant realne gimnazije v Varaždinu in sodelavec lokalnega humorističnega časopisa *Pikač*. Zaradi protimadžarskih letakov je bil leta 1941 obsojen na dve leti zapora. Leta 1944 je bil vpoklican v delovne enote madžarske vojske, predan Nemcem in odpeljan v koncentracijsko taborišče Mauthausen. V podružničnem taborišču Guns kirchen se je srečal z bratom Ivico (1926, Varaždin – 2013, Zagreb). Po osvoboditvi 4. maja 1945 sta brata Singer zbolela za tifusom in bila premeščena v Hörsching pri Linzu. Ivica je bil premeščen v bolnišnico v Linzu in je preživel, Geza pa je tam umrl.

Geza Singer from Prelog as a member of the Hungarian Army's labour units, Kőszeg, 1944 (photo: the Singer family). He graduated from the Varaždin Realgymnasium and worked for *Pikač*, a local humour newspaper. He was sentenced to two years in prison in 1941 for spreading anti-Hungarian leaflets. In 1944, Geza was conscripted into the labour units, handed over to the Germans and taken first to the Mauthausen concentration camp and then to the Guns kirchen subcamp. His brother Ivica (1926, Varaždin–2013, Zagreb) was also there. Following the liberation on 4 May 1945, the Singer brothers contracted typhus and were transferred to Hörsching near Linz. From there, Ivica was transferred to a hospital in Linz and survived, Geza, however, died in Hörsching.



Rab: Jewish Battalion is leaving the camp, after 9 September 1943 (photo: JIM). There were two Italian camps on the island of Rab, i.e. a larger one for more than 10,000 Slovenians and Croats (established in July 1942) and a smaller one for around 3,000 Jews (established in May 1943). When Italy capitulated on 9 September 1943, the prisoners freed themselves and disarmed the guards. They founded the Rab Brigade, of which the Jewish Battalion was a part. Three of the soldiers in this battalion were Makso Blažič (1897, Čakovec—after 1956, n/a) and Zlata Blažič (1906, Zagreb—after 1945, n/a) from Čakovec, and Štefan Blau (1913, Lendava—1943, Ždinja vas) from Lendava.

Rab: Židovski bataljon odhaja iz taborišča, po 9. septembru 1943 (fotografija: JIM). Na otoku Rab sta bili dve italijanski taborišči: večje od julija 1942 za več kot 10.000 Slovencev in Hrvatov ter manjše od maja 1943 za okoli 3.000 Judov. Ob kapitulaciji Italije 9. septembra 1943 so se taboriščniki sami osvobodili in razorožili stražarje. Ustanovili so Rabsko brigado. Njen del je bil tudi Židovski bataljon. V njem so bili Makso Blažič (1897, Čakovec – po 1956, n. p.) in Zlata Blažič (1906, Zagreb – po 1945, n. p.) iz Čakovca ter Štefan Blau (1913, Lendava – 1943, Ždinja vas) iz Lendave.





## **Oboroženi odpor** **Armed Resistance**

Izraelski predsednik Jicak Navon (1921, Jeruzalem – 2015, Jeruzalem) je leta 1978 delegaciji jugoslovanskih Judov rekel: »Ne glede na sedanje meddržavne odnose ostaja judovski narod večno hvaležen jugoslovanskim partizanom pod vodstvom maršala Tita, da se je 5.000 naših rojakov lahko častno borilo proti največjemu zlu, kar nas je doletelo.« S temi besedami je Navon posredno nakazal razliko med organiziranim odporom proti nacizmu, v katerem so sodelovali Judje v Jugoslaviji, ter sporadičnimi upori Judov v getih in koncentracijskih taboriščih na Poljskem, v Litvi, Latviji, Belorusiji, Ukrajini, Moldaviji in Rusiji. Tudi kadar se je judovskim upornikom iz teh držav uspelo prebiti v zavetje gozdov, so pogosto naleteli na zavračanje sodelovanja tako nejudovskih gverilcev kot tudi podeželskega prebivalstva, kar je sicer ključno za uspešno gverilsko bojevanje. Razmere v Jugoslaviji so bile drugačne. Dr. Jaša Romano (1908, Banja Luka – 1986, Beograd), veterinar, partizan in zgodovinar, je ugotovil imena 4.572 jugoslovanskih Judov, ki so bili pripadniki partizanskega gibanja. Ta številka pomeni 5,6 % od okoli 82.000 Judov v Jugoslaviji ob začetku vojne, kar je največji delež med vsemi državami okupirane Evrope. Slavko Goldstein (1928, Sarajevo – 2017, Zagreb), ki je holokavst preživel, ker se je komaj trinajstleten pridružil partizanom, je dodal: največja možnost, da Jud preživi holokavst, je bil oboroženi odpor, saj je od omenjenih 4.572 Judov konec vojne dočakalo 3.254 ali 71,1 %. Med tistimi, ki se niso uprli, jih je umrlo okoli 80 %. V tem poglavju holokavsta je delež medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov majhen, a ne nepomemben. Nenazadnje: brez partizanskih enot na Pohorju in Kalniku ne bi bili prav ti Judje aretirani že 26. aprila 1944, torej med prvimi Judi v takratni Madžarski.

In 1978, Israeli President Yitzhak Navon (1921, Jerusalem–2015, Jerusalem) said the following to a delegation of Yugoslav Jews: “Regardless of the current inter-state relations, the Jewish people remain forever grateful to the Yugoslav Partisans for having enabled 5,000 of our co-nationals to fight with honour against the greatest evil that ever befell us.” With these words, Navon indirectly indicated the difference between organised resistance against Nazism, of which Jews from Yugoslavia were part, and the sporadic revolts of Jews in ghettos and concentration camps in Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Russia. Even when Jewish insurgents from these countries managed to make their way into the shelter of forests, they were refused cooperation by both non-Jewish guerrillas and the rural population; the latter was the key to successful guerrilla warfare. The situation in Yugoslavia was different. Dr Jaša Romano (1908, Banja Luka–1986, Belgrade), a veterinarian, Partisan and historian, found the names of 4,572 Yugoslav Jews who were members of the Partisan movement. This figure represents 5.6% of the approximately 82,000 Jews in Yugoslavia at the beginning of the war, which is the highest share in all the countries of occupied Europe. Slavko Goldstein (1928, Sarajevo–2017, Zagreb), who survived the Holocaust because he had joined the Partisans when he was only thirteen, added that armed resistance was the one thing that gave Jews the best chance of surviving the Holocaust. In fact, of the aforementioned 4,572 Jews, 3,254 (71.1%) lived to see the end of the war. Among those who did not join the resistance, around 80% died. In this Holocaust chapter, the share of Jews from Međimurje and Prekmurje is small, but not insignificant. Last but not least, without the Partisan units in Pohorje and Kalnik, these very Jews would not have been arrested on 26 April 1944, i.e. among the first Jews of the then Hungary.

The Weiss family: widow Jelena/Illona, née Kantor (1895, Benkovec–1939, Čakovec), with her sons (from left) Mirko (1920, Čakovec–1943, Bosnia), Deneš (1915, Čakovec–1990, Zagreb) and Nikola/Miki (1928, Čakovec–1943, Donja Dubrava) (photo: MMC). The eldest son, official Deneš, was a pre-war communist and Partisan from 1941 onwards. Student Mirko was a member of the communist youth in the pre-war period and a Partisan from 1942. Secondary-school student Miki joined the resistance movement in 1941 and the Partisans in 1943 – he was in the Međimurje Company of the Kalnik Detachment.

Družina Weiss: vdova Jelena/Illona, rojena Kantor (1895, Benkovec – 1939, Čakovec), s sinovi (z leve) Mirkom (1920, Čakovec – 1943, Bosna), Denešem (1915, Čakovec – 1990, Zagreb) in Nikolo/Mikijem (1928, Čakovec – 1943, Donja Dubrava) (fotografija: MMC). Najstarejši, uslužbenec Deneš, je bil predvojni komunist in partizan od leta 1941. Študent Mirko je bil predvojni komunistični mladinec in partizan od leta 1942. Dijak Miki je od leta 1941 sodeloval v odporniškem gibanju in leta 1943 postal partizan Medžimurske čete Kalniškega odreda.



Josip Kostolitz/Kostolić (1921, Čakovec–1945, Slavonia), pictured here as a member of the 1st Yugoslav Brigade with (presumably) a medal for bravery, 1944/45 (photo: MMC). He was among those convicted at the 1942 trial in Pécs. After his release from prison, he was drafted into the Hungarian army's labour units and sent to the Soviet Union. He defected to the Red Army and joined the 1st Yugoslav Brigade, which had been established in 1944 and consisted mainly of Croats and Slovenians captured in the German or Hungarian armies on the Eastern Front. He participated in battles in Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia, and was killed just before the end of the war.

Josip Kostolitz/Kostolić (1921, Čakovec – 1945, Slavonija) kot pripadnik 1. jugoslovanske brigade z (verjetno) medaljo za hrabrost, 1944/45 (fotografija: MMC). Bil je med obsojenimi na procesu leta 1942 v Pécsu. Po zaporu je bil vpoklican v delovne enote madžarske vojske in poslan v Sovjetsko zvezo. Prebežnil je k Rdeči armadi in se vključil v leta 1944 ustanovljeno 1. jugoslovansko brigado, sestavljeno predvsem iz Hrvatov in Slovencev, ujetih v nemški ali madžarski vojski na vzhodni fronti. Sodeloval je v bojih v Srbiji, Bosni in na Hrvaškem. Padel je tik pred koncem vojne.



Kamilo Goldner (1922, Karlovec – 2006 še živ) kot vojak Jugoslovanske armade, 1945 (fotografija: MMC). Leta 1941 je bil kot dijak Trgovske akademije v Čakovcu aretiran in predan ustašem. Pobegnil je in se do ponovne aretacije skrival v Budimpešti. Poslan je bil v delovne enote madžarske vojske na vzhodno fronto. Prestopil je v Rdečo armado in se do konca vojne boril v vojvodinskih partizanskih enotah.

Kamilo Goldner (1922, Karlovac–still alive in 2006), pictured here as a soldier of the Yugoslav army, 1945 (photo: MMC). As a student of the Academy of Commerce in Čakovec, Kamilo was arrested and handed over to the Ustashe in 1941. He escaped and hid in Budapest until he was re-arrested. He was sent to the Hungarian army's labour units on the Eastern Front. He defected to the Red Army and fought in the Partisan units of Vojvodina until the end of the war.



Hannah Szenes (1921, Budimpešta – 1944, Budimpešta), najbolj znana judovska vojakinja druge svetovne vojne, Jugoslavija, 14. marec – 9. junij 1944 (fotografija: Hana Senesh family archive, Sdot Yam oz. [www.pikiwiki.org.il](http://www.pikiwiki.org.il)). Leta 1939 se je odselila v Palestino. Kot pripadnica judovske enote britanske vojske je bila del skupine, ki se je 14. marca 1944 s padali spustila na Žumberak oz. Gorjance. Naloga skupine je bila poročanje o položaju madžarskih Judov. S pomočjo slovenskih in hrvaških partizanov ji je 9. junija 1944 uspelo priti v Međimurje. Bila je ujeta pri vasi Mala Subotica, odpeljana v Budimpešto in obsojena na smrt. Kazen je bila izvršena 7. novembra 1944.

Hannah Szenes (1921, Budapest–1944, Budapest), the best-known female Jewish WWII soldier, Yugoslavia, 14 March–9 June 1944 (photo: Hana Senesh family archive, Sdot Yam / [www.pikiwiki.org.il](http://www.pikiwiki.org.il)). In 1939, she moved to Palestine. As a member of the Jewish unit in the British army, she was part of the group that parachuted into the Žumberak/Gorjanci Mountains on 14 March 1944. The group was tasked with reporting on the situation of the Hungarian Jews. With the help of Slovenian and Croatian Partisans, she managed to reach Međimurje on 9 June 1944. She was captured near the village of Mala Subotica, taken to Budapest and sentenced to death. Her execution was carried out on 7 November 1944.



Salzburg: Horthy and Hitler at Klessheim Palace, 16 April 1943 (photo: NAC). At a meeting held on 18 March 1944 at Klessheim Palace (no photo of this meeting is available), Horthy agreed that Hungary would provide a larger number of Jews to work in German industry and agriculture. In fact, from the very beginning, the Nazis planned deportations to Auschwitz, which had by then become the largest extermination and labour camp. Horthy's part in the extermination of Hungarian Jews is evident from the fact that at his request, the deportations to Auschwitz stopped in July 1944.

Salzburg: Horthy in Hitler v dvorcu Klessheim, 16. april 1943 (fotografija: NAC). Horthy je na sestanku 18. marca 1944 v dvorcu Klessheim (fotografija tega sestanka ni dostopna) pristal na to, da bo Madžarska dala na razpolago večje število Judov, ki bodo delali v nemški industriji in kmetijstvu. Dejansko so nacisti že od začetka načrtovali deportacije v Auschwitz, ki je do tega časa postal največje uničevalno in delovno taborišče. Kakšna je bila Horthyjeva vloga pri uničenju madžarskih Judov, se vidi v tem, da so se na njegovo zahtevo julija leta 1944 deportacije v Auschwitz prenehale.





## Marec-april 1944 March-April 1944

Položaj Judov na Madžarskem se je dramatično zaostрил 19. marca 1944, ko je takoj po sestanku Hitlerja s Horthyjem v Salzburgu nemška vojska zasedla Madžarsko. Glavni vzrok za zasedbo je bila preprečitev »italijanskega scenarija«. A pomembni so bili tudi gospodarski vzroki in »dokončna rešitev judovskega vprašanja«. Madžarska je bila s svojo več kot 762.000-glavo judovsko skupnostjo namreč še edina skoraj nedotaknjena v nacistični Evropi. To »napako« so odstranili z *Ungarnaktion*, največjo posamezno operacijo uničevanja Judov. Za izvedbo »akcije« je bilo bistvenega pomena sodelovanje nove madžarske vlade, ki jo je od 22. marca 1944 vodil pronacistični Döme Sztójay, rojen kot Dimitrije Stojaković (1883, Vršac – 1946, Budimpešta). Nova madžarska vlada je v zelo kratkem času s 107 zakoni Judom sistematično odvzela vse državljske pravice. Najopaznejši od teh ukrepov je začel veljati 5. aprila 1944: vsi Judje, starejši od šestih let, morajo nositi rumeno Davidovo zvezdo, prišito na obleko na levi strani prsi. 19. aprila 1944 je bila sprejeta najusodnejša odločitev za medžimurske in prekmurske Jude: okraji, ki so bili blizu območij, kjer so delovali jugoslovanski partizani, to so bili Murska Sobota v Železni županiji, Lendava, Čakovec, Prelog in Nagykanizsa v Zalski županiji ter južni deli županij Somogy, Baranja in Bačka-Bodrog, so postali »območje sovražnosti«. Jude s teh območij naj bi najprej aretirali in jim tako preprečili, da bi se vsaj nekateri zatekli k partizanom. Šest dni kasneje, 25. aprila 1944 zvečer, so bili v mestih »območja sovražnosti« sestanki predstavnikov civilnih oblasti z žandarji. Ti sestanki so potekali zaradi zakona, po katerem žandarji niso smeli vstopiti v stanovanje brez civilne priče, zato je bilo pred začetkom aretacij Judov z njimi seznanjenih precej Nejudov. Kaže, da o tem Judov ni obvestil nihče.

The situation of the Jews in Hungary worsened dramatically on 19 March 1944, when immediately after Hitler's meeting with Horthy in Salzburg, the German army occupied Hungary. The main reason for the occupation was to prevent the 'Italian scenario'. However, economic reasons and the 'Final Solution to the Jewish Question' were also important. In fact, with its Jewish community of more than 762,000, Hungary was the only almost intact country in Nazi Europe. This 'mistake' was rectified with the so-called *Ungarnaktion* – the largest single operation aimed at the extermination of Jews. The cooperation of the new Hungarian government – with the pro-Nazi Döme Sztójay, born as Dimitrije Stojaković (1883, Vršac–1946, Budapest), at its helm from 22 March 1944 – was essential for this 'action' to be carried out. In a very short time, the new Hungarian government systematically put 107 laws into force that deprived the Jews of all civil rights. The most notable measure took effect on 5 April 1944: all Jews over the age of six had to wear a yellow Star of David sewn onto their clothing on the left side of their chest. The most fatal decision for the Jews in Međimurje and Prekmurje was made on 19 April 1944: the districts close to the areas where the Yugoslav Partisans were active, i.e. Murska Sobota in the Vas County, Lendava, Čakovec, Prelog and Nagykanizsa in the Zala County, as well as the southern parts of the Somogy, Baranja and Bačka-Bodrog counties, became a 'zone of hostilities'. Jews from these areas would be arrested first to prevent at least some of them from turning to the Partisans for shelter. Six days later, on the evening of 25 April 1944, meetings were held between the civil authorities and gendarmes in the 'zone of hostilities' towns. These meetings took place because of a law prohibiting the gendarmes from entering people's homes without a civilian witness. For this reason, before the arrests of Jews began, many non-Jews were informed about them in advance. It appears, however, that no one informed the Jews.



Adolf Eichmann (1906, Solingen–1962, Ramla) as an SS-Obersturmbannführer, 1942 (photo: Yad Vashem). As the head of the department of Jewish affairs and evacuation at the Reich Security Head Office (German abbreviation RSHA), he was the 'architect' of the Holocaust. A unit tasked with carrying out the *Ungarnaktion* with Eichmann at the helm was formed on 12 March 1944. It consisted of most of the men who by then had rounded up and sent to death around five million European Jews.

Adolf Eichmann (1906, Solingen – 1962, Ramla) kot SS-Obersturmbannführer, 1942 (fotografija: Yad Vashem). Eichmann je bil kot vodja preselitvenega in judovskega oddelka Glavnega državnega varnostnega urada (nemška kratica: RSHA) »arhitekt« holokavsta. 12. marca 1944 je bila pod njegovim poveljstvom ustanovljena enota za izvedbo *Ungarnaktion*. V njej je bila večina mož, ki so do takrat zbrali in poslali v smrt že okoli pet milijonov evropskih Judov.

Prelog; back row (from left): Josip Fischer (1901, Oberwart–1977, Prelog) and his wife Blanka, née Hirschsohn (1905, Prelog–1944, Auschwitz), Antonija/Tonka, née Belić (1913, Prelog–2002, n/a), and her husband Nikola/Miki/Miklós Hirschsohn (1905, Prelog–1945, Hörsching); front row (from left): Edita Fischer (1926, Prelog–1944, Gelsenkirchen), Serafina Hirschsohn, née Rosenthal (1878, Sárovar–1939, Prelog), the mother of Blanka and Nikola, Alice Hirschsohn, married name Singer (1934, Prelog), and Suzana Fischer (1929, Prelog–1944, Auschwitz), prior to 1936 (photo: the Singer family). A law passed after 19 March 1944 meant that a shop in Prelog, which was owned by the Jew Nikola Hirschsohn, was due to be closed. However, the closure was prevented by an official, who, on his own initiative, forged a document stating that three days before the law was introduced, the shop had passed into the hands of Nikola's Croatian wife, Antonija Belić.

Prelog: z leve (zadaj) Josip Fischer (1901, Oberwart – 1977, Prelog) in žena Blanka, rojena Hirschsohn (1905, Prelog – 1944, Auschwitz), Antonija/Tonka, rojena Belić (1913, Prelog – 2002, n. p.), in mož Nikola/Miki/Miklós Hirschsohn (1905, Prelog – 1945, Hörsching) ter (spredaj) Edita Fischer (1926, Prelog – 1944, Gelsenkirchen), Serafina Hirschsohn, rojena Rosenthal (1878, Sárovar – 1939, Prelog), Blankina in Nikolova mati, ter Alice Hirschsohn, kasneje poročena Singer (1934, Prelog), in Suzana Fischer (1929, Prelog – 1944, Auschwitz), pred 1936 (fotografija: družina Singer). Ko bi zaradi zakona, sprejetega po 19. marcu 1944, morali zapreti trgovino Juda Nikole Hirschsohna v Prelogu, je to samoiniciativno preprečil uradnik, ki je ponaredil dokument, da je tri dni pred sprejetjem zakona trgovina postala last Hirschsohnove žene, Hrvatice Antonije Belić.







László/Ladislav Frim (1904, Hodoš – 1945, Mauthausen), železninar iz Murske Sobote, odbornik Sport kluba Mura in sionistični aktivist, okoli 1934 (fotografija: Mark Krenn). 5. ali 6. aprila 1944 so bili aretirani najbolj znani Judje v Murski Soboti. Med njimi je bil tudi Frim, ki zato ni bil poslan v Auschwitz. Žena Katarina/Ina, rojena Pollak (1914, Slavonski Šamac – 1944, Auschwitz), se je zato z njunim še ne štiriletnim sinom Miklósem/Nikolajem (1940, Murska Sobota – 1944, Auschwitz) zatekla k sorodnikom v Pápo na Madžarsko. To ju ni rešilo pred smrtjo v Auschwitzu.

László/Ladislav Frim (1904, Hodoš–1945, Mauthausen), an ironware dealer from Murska Sobota, delegate of the Mura Sports Club and Zionist activist, c. 1934 (photo: Mark Krenn). On 5 or 6 April 1944, Murska Sobota's most prominent Jews were arrested, including Frim, who consequently was not sent to Auschwitz. His wife Katarina/Ina, née Pollak (1914, Slavonski Šamac–1944, Auschwitz) therefore sought refuge with her relatives in Pápa, Hungary, with their son Miklós/Nikolaj (1940, Murska Sobota–1944, Auschwitz), who had yet to turn four. This, however, did not save them from death in Auschwitz.

Murska Sobota: zaprta knjigarna in papirnica s prazno izložbo, plakati, ki pozivajo k boju do končne zmage, in napis, da ni prodaje in da je vstop samo za vojake, 1944 (fotografija: Jože Kološa, PMMS). Poleg obveznega nošenja Davidove zvezde je bil najopaznejši znak sprememb po 19. marcu 1944 zaprtje trgovin v lasti Judov.

Murska Sobota: a closed bookstore and stationery shop with an empty shop window, posters calling for a fight until the final victory, and a notice announcing that no goods are for sale and that entry is only for soldiers, 1944 (photo: Jože Kološa, PMMS). In addition to having to wear the Star of David, the most noticeable sign of change after 19 March 1944 was the closure of Jewish-owned shops.





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## **Beležka Lajosa Blaua** **A Notebook Belonging to Lajos Blau**

Lajos Blau je bil mobiliziran v starojugoslovansko vojsko in zajet v aprilski vojni leta 1941. Vojno je preživel v nemškem ujetništvu. Žena Magda mu je od leta 1941 naprej iz domače Lendave pošiljala fotografije njune hčere Livie in sebe ter drugih sorodnikov. Te fotografije si je Blau nalepil v improviziran fotoalbum, ki pa je bil dejansko le beležka. Zadnje fotografije so iz začetka pomladi leta 1944. 26. aprila 1944 sta bili Magda in Livia Blau, kot tudi večina drugih lendavskih Judov, aretirani ter nato odpeljani v Nagykanizso in od tam v Auschwitz. Tja sta prispeli 21. maja 1944. Takoj po prihodu sta bili ubiti v plinski celici. Njuni trupli so zažgali v krematoriju, pepel pa vrgli stran. Isto so naredili tudi s preostalimi okoli 13.000 Judi, ki so jih ubili ta dan. Ni si težko predstavljati, kaj je ta beležka pomenila Lajos Blauu v ujetništvu in kaj po vrnitvi domov, ko je spoznal, da žene in hčere ne bo videl nikoli več. Danes to beležko hrani Sara Božanić iz Murske Sobotе.

Lajos Blau was conscripted into the Royal Yugoslav Army and captured in the April War in 1941. He spent the war in German captivity. From 1941 onwards, his wife Magda sent him letters from their hometown of Lendava with photos of herself, their daughter Livia, and other relatives. Blau would store these photos in a makeshift photo album, which was actually just a notebook. The last photos are from the early spring of 1944. Like most other Jews from Lendava, Magda and Livia Blau were arrested on 26 April 1944, then taken to Nagykanizsa and from there to Auschwitz, where they arrived on 21 May 1944. They were killed in a gas chamber immediately upon arrival. Their bodies were burned in a crematorium and the ashes discarded. The same fate befell the other 13,000 Jews who were killed that day. One can but imagine what this notebook meant to Lajos Blau in captivity and later, when he returned only to realise that he would never see his wife and daughter again. The notebook is now kept by Sara Božanić from Murska Sobota.



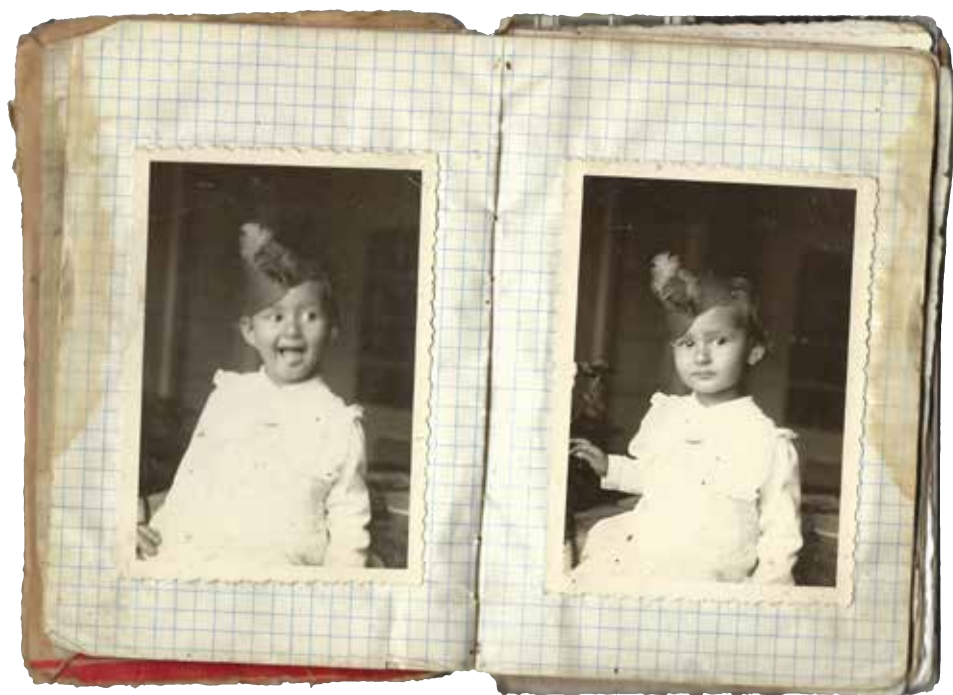




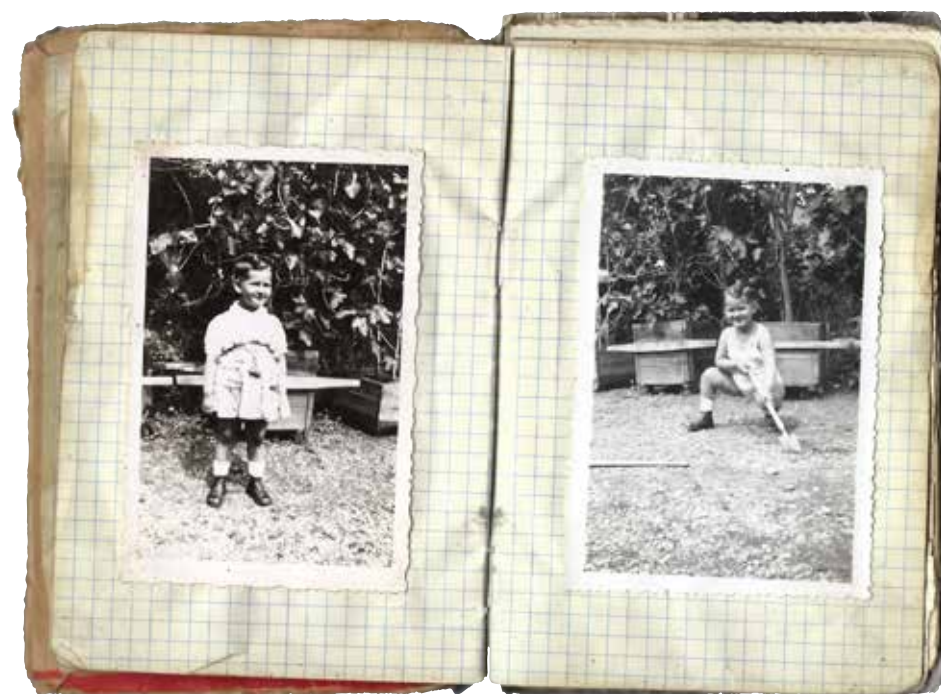
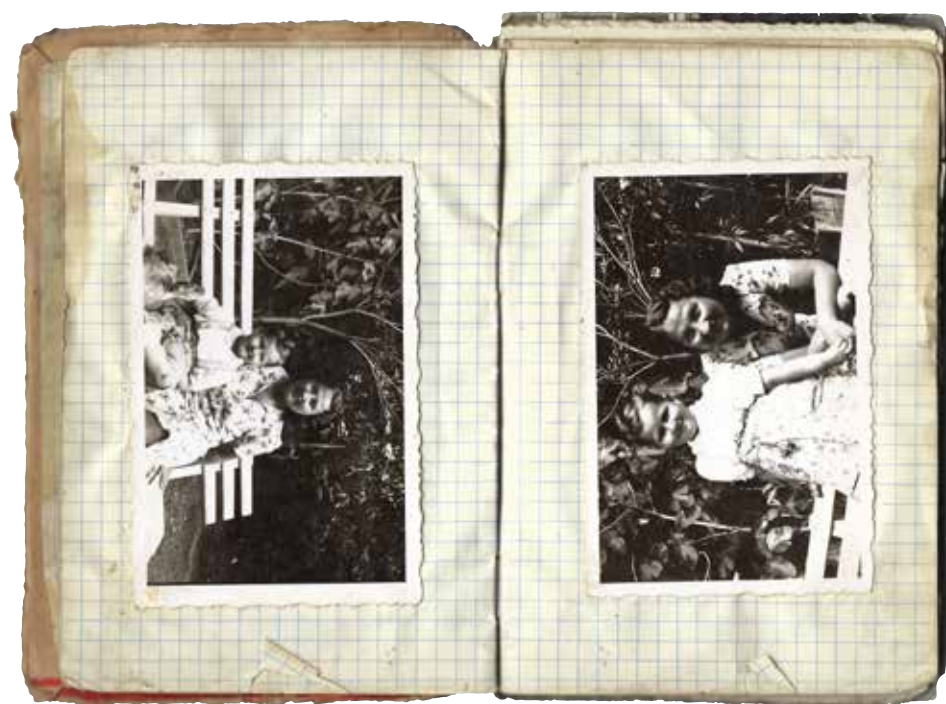


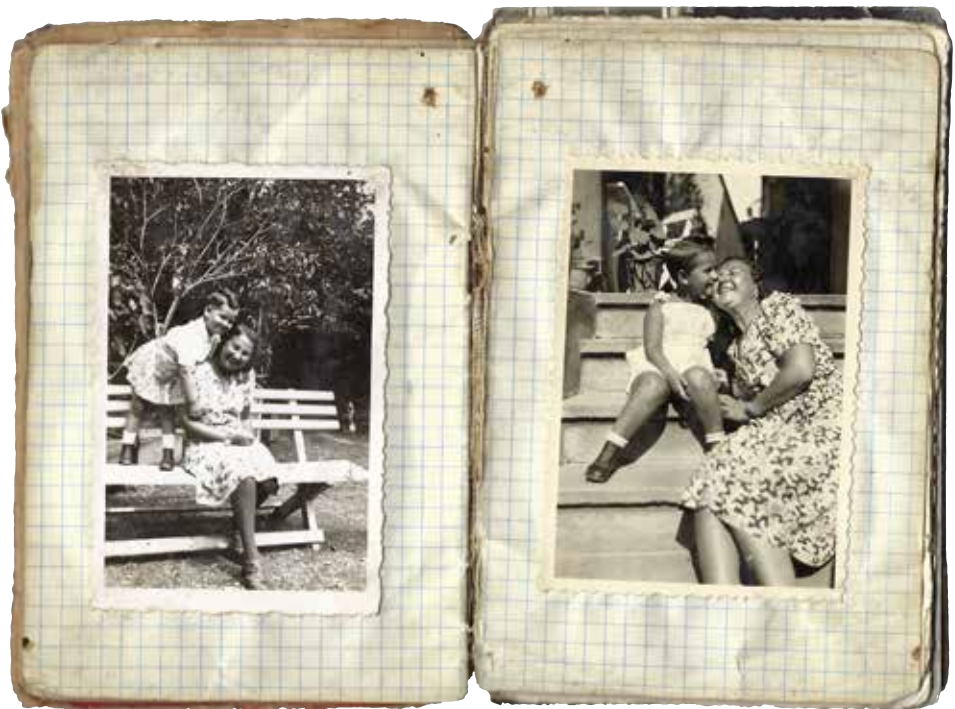




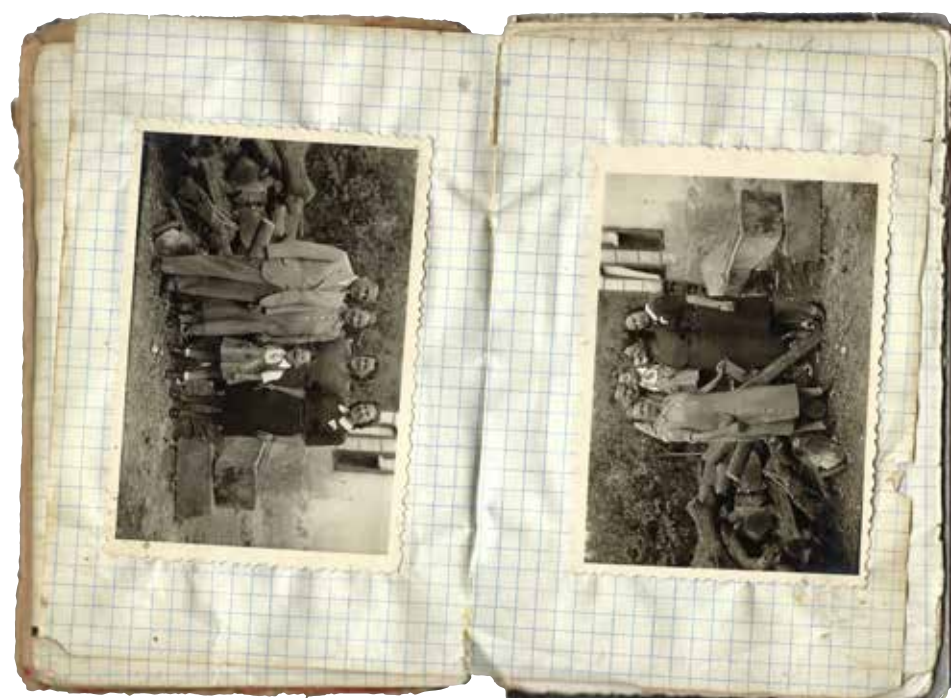


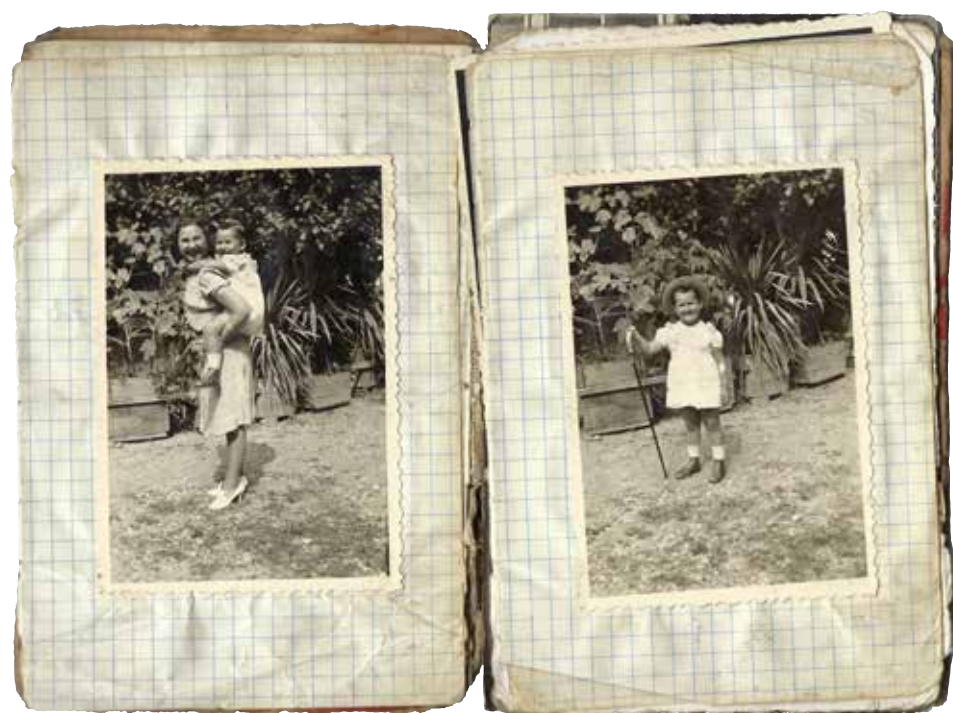
















Kőszeg: Schey Fülöp Street, Jews leaving for the ghetto in Szombathely, 18 June 1944 (photo: Janos Babai, Fortepan). The line is headed by two Hungarian gendarmes; to their left are Irén Bass, née Deutsch (1899, Kőszeg–1944, Stutthof), and her husband Rezső Bass (1882, Sárvár–1944, Auschwitz). Similarly, Jews could be seen leaving on 26 April 1944 in Medžimurje and Prekmurje.

Kőszeg: Schey Fülöp utca, odhod Judov v geto v Szombathelyu, 18. junij 1944 (fotografija: Janos Babai, Fortepan). Na čelu kolone sta madžarska žandarja, levo od njiju Irén, rojena Deutsch (1899, Kőszeg – 1944, Stutthof), in mož Rezső Bass (1882, Sárvár – 1944, Auschwitz). Podobno je bilo 26. aprila 1944 v Medžimurju in Prekmurju.





## 26.-28. april 1944

### 26-28 April 1944

26. aprila 1944 ob 5. uri zjutraj so se začele aretacije medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov. Ko so madžarski žandarji v spremstvu domačina vstopili v stanovanja Judov, so jim prebrali ukaz o aretaciji in zaplembi premoženja. V samo pol ure so se morali pripraviti za odhod v neznano. S sabo so lahko vzeli samo 25-kilogramski paket s hrano in oblačili. Lendavčan Tamás/Tomislav Schwarz, od leta 1953 Yoel Shachar (1931, Lendava – 2017, Herzliya), se je spominjal, da se je ukaz končal z besedami: »Kdor tega ne bo storil in ne bo predal dragocenosti, bo ustreljen na licu mesta!« Še ne trinajstletni navdušeni filatelist je po razmisleku ob denar, nakit in dokumente, ki so jih starša in babica položili na mizo v jedilnici, položil svojo največjo dragocenost: albume z znamkami. Izjeme pri aprilskih aretacijah so bili tisti maloštevilni Judje, ki so živeli v mešanih zakonih, ki so bili posebnega gospodarskega pomena ali pa so imeli zasluge za Madžarsko. Do večera so okoli 400 Judov zbrali v čakovski sinagogi in osnovni šoli, okoli 280 Judov pa v soboški in lendavski sinagogi. Ti številki sta sicer zelo majhen del od skupaj okoli 455.000 aretiranih v *Ungarnaktion*, a nesporno so bili medžimurski in prekmurski Judje med prvimi žrtvami. 27. aprila 1944 so aretirane prekmurske Jude odpeljali v Čakovec in jih skupaj z aretiranimi medžimurskimi Judi predali esesovcem. Vsi so bili naslednjega dne, 28. aprila 1944, odpeljani v Nagykanizsa, kjer je bilo tega dne skupaj z domačimi Judi zbranih 2.675 Judov.

The arrests of Jews in Međimurje and Prekmurje began at 5 a.m. on 26 April 1944. When the Hungarian gendarmes, accompanied by a local, entered the Jews' apartments, an order for the arrest and confiscation of property was read out to the Jews. They had just half an hour to prepare to leave for the unknown. They were only allowed to take a 25-kg package of food and clothing. Tamás/Tomislav Schwarz from Lendava, known as Yoel Shachar from 1953 (1931, Lendava–2017, Herzliya), recalled that the order ended with the following words: "Whoever fails to do so and does not hand over their valuables will be shot on the spot!" After giving it some thought, Tamás – not yet thirteen and an enthusiastic philatelist – opted to hand over his precious stamp albums. He placed them on the table next to his parents' and grandmother's money, jewellery and documents. The exceptions to the April arrests were those few Jews who were in mixed marriages, those of special economic importance or those who had done meritable acts that benefitted Hungary. By the evening, around 400 Jews were gathered in the Čakovec synagogue and primary school, as well as around 280 Jews in the Murska Sobota and Lendava synagogues. These numbers are a very small part of the total of approximately 455,000 Jews arrested as part of the *Ungarnaktion*, however, the Jews of Međimurje and Prekmurje were undeniably among the first victims. On 27 April 1944, the arrested Jews from Prekmurje were taken to Čakovec and handed over to the SS together with the arrested Jews from Međimurje. The next day, 28 April 1944, all of them were taken to Nagykanizsa, where a total of 2,675 Jews, including Hungarian ones, were gathered that day.



Dr. György Széll (1888, Oraşu Nou–1967, Zalaegerszeg), a notary in Lendava 1941–1945 and Zalaegerszeg 1945–1950 (photo: Közjegyzői Akadémia). On the night of 26–27 April 1944, when the arrested Jews were locked up in the Lendava synagogue, Elek Balkányi, with the help of the notary Széll, adopted Erika Milhofer, a neighbour born in late 1943, the daughter of Elza, née Rosenfeld (1909, Varaždin–1944, Auschwitz), and Ladislav (1902, Sv. Ivan Žabno–1944, Auschwitz). Erika survived the war and now lives in Zagreb.

Dr. György Széll (1888, Oraşu Nou – 1967, Zalaegerszeg), notar v Lendavi 1941–1945 in Zalaegerszegu 1945–1950 (fotografija: Közjegyzői Akadémia). V noči s 26. na 27. april 1944, ko so bili aretirani Judje zaprti v lendavski sinagogi, je Elek Balkányi s pomočjo notarja Szélla posvojil konec leta 1943 rojeno sosedo Ériko Milhofer, hčer Elze, rojene Rosenfeld (1909, Varaždin – 1944, Auschwitz), in Ladislava (1902, Sv. Ivan Žabno – 1944, Auschwitz). Erika je zato vojno preživela in še danes živi v Zagrebu.

Geza Legenstein (1898, Murska Sobota–1982, Zagreb), the owner of the *Royal* café in Čakovec and a well-known athlete (photo: MMC). On the morning of 26 April 1944, he was one of the civilians who were selected to participate in the arrests of Jews and were brought together at today's Kvaternik Square in Čakovec. He refused to participate, stating that he would not “*carry out executioner's work*.” Consequently, he was arrested, imprisoned in Budapest and taken to the Flossenbürg camp.

Geza Legenstein (1898, Murska Sobota – 1982, Zagreb), lastnik kavarne *Royal* v Čakovcu in znani športnik (fotografija: MMC). 26. aprila 1944 zjutraj je bil med civilisti, določenimi za sodelovanje pri aretacijah Judov in zbranimi na današnjem Kvaternikovem trgu v Čakovcu. Z besedami, da ne bo »delal tega krvniškega dela«, je zavrnil sodelovanje. Zaradi tega je bil aretiran, zaprt v Budimpešti in odpeljan v taborišče Flossenbürg.







Josip Benko (1889, Tešanovci – 1945, Murska Sobota), največji predvojni prekmurski podjetnik, lokalni in državni politik ter rehabilitirana žrtev poveljne obsodbe (fotografija: Zoran Vidic, PMMS). Poslovna zgradba Benkovega podjetja je stala nasproti soboške sinagoge. Po pričevanju Erike Fürst (1931, Murska Sobota) je bil edini Sobočan, ki je pomagal 26. aprila 1944 v sinagogi zaprtim ljudem. Zaprtim v sinagogi je poslal hrano.

Josip Benko (1889, Tešanovci–1945, Murska Sobota), the most prominent pre-war entrepreneur in Prekmurje, a local and state politician and a rehabilitated post-war conviction victim (photo: Zoran Vidic, PMMS). The office building of Benko's company was opposite the Murska Sobota synagogue. According to Erika Fürst (1931, Murska Sobota), he was the only local to help the people who were locked up at the synagogue on 26 April 1944 – he sent them food.

Čakovec: z desne Adolf Leitner (1869, Gardinovec – 1942, Čakovec), njegova druga žena Cecilija, rojena Lebovič, prvič poročena Neumann (1888, Gornji Kraljevec – 1944, Auschwitz), Zlata Neumann, kasneje poročena Löwy (1915, Selnica – 1999, Safed), guvernantka Anuš, Beata, rojena Neumann (1912, Selnica – 1981, Varaždin), mož Stjepan Hanžek in njun sin Mladen (1939, n. p.), 24. september 1939 (fotografija: Lovorka Gotal Dmitrović). Beata je 26. aprila 1944, točno na dan aretacij medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov, v Varaždinu rodila hčer Višnjo. Babica Cecilija ni vnukinje nikoli videla. Ko je odhajala od doma, je sosedi vrgla jopico, ki jo je spletla za vnukinjo Višnjo.

Čakovec: from right: Adolf Leitner (1869, Gardinovec–1942, Čakovec), his second wife Cecilija, née Lebovič, surname from her first marriage: Neumann (1888, Gornji Kraljevec–1944, Auschwitz), Zlata Neumann, married name Löwy (1915, Selnica–1999, Safed), governess Anuš, Beata, née Neumann (1912, Selnica–1981, Varaždin), her husband Stjepan Hanžek, and their son Mladen (1939, n/a), 24 September 1939 (photo: Lovorka Gotal Dmitrović). Beata gave birth to a daughter, Višnja, in Varaždin on 26 April 1944, the very day of the Jews' arrests in Međimurje and Prekmurje. Grandma Cecilija never got to see her granddaughter. As she was leaving home, Cecilija threw the sweater she had knitted for Višnja to a neighbour.





Auschwitz: an aerial photo of the concentration camp, 26 June 1944 (photo: NARA). North is up; the longest side of the main camp, Auschwitz I, is about 400 metres long. The markings were not added until 1978, when CIA experts realised what they had photographed during the war. The camps Auschwitz I for around 10,000 inmates, Auschwitz II – Birkenau for around 70,000 inmates with a railway leading to the crematoria and the SS barracks, and Auschwitz III – Monowitz for around 11,000 inmates next to the *Buna-Werke*, a huge synthetic-gasoline plant, are all marked. There is an 'old ramp' between the Birkenau camp and the main camp, and the town of Auschwitz (Oświęcim) between the main camp and the Monowitz camp. The marshy area where the ashes of the corpses were dumped is also visible.

Auschwitz: zračni posnetek koncentracijskega taborišča, 26. junij 1944 (fotografija: NARA). Sever je zgoraj, najdaljša stranica matičnega taborišča Auschwitz I ima okoli 400 metrov. Oznake so šele iz leta 1978, ko so strokovnjaki CIA ugotovili, kaj so med vojno fotografirali. Označeni so taborišča Auschwitz I za okoli 10.000 taboriščnikov, Auschwitz II – Birkenau za okoli 70.000 taboriščnikov z železnico, speljano že do krematorijev, in vojašnico SS ter Auschwitz III – Monowitz za okoli 11.000 taboriščnikov ob ogromni tovarni sintetičnega bencina *Buna-Werke*. Med taboriščem Birkenau in matičnim taboriščem je »stara rampa«, med slednjim in taboriščem Monowitz pa mesto Auschwitz oz. Oświęcim. Vidno je tudi močvirno območje, v katero so odlagali pepel trupel.





## Prvi transport The First Transport

Med 2.675 Judi, zbranimi 28. aprila 1944 v Nagykanizsi, so takoj izbrali okoli 800 »Judov delavcev v starosti od 16 do 50 let« in jih popoldne v živinskih vagonih poslali na »delo v Nemčijo«. V Budimpešti so temu transportu priključili še okoli 1.000 Judov iz internacijskega taborišča Kistarcsa pri Budimpešti. Tako je ta transport zvečer tega dne iz Budimpešte krenil kot prvi izmed 147 transportov *Ungarnaktion*. Skupaj so do 22. julija 1944 okoli 430.000 Judov takratne Madžarske poslali v Auschwitz. Transport iz Nagykanizse je v taborišče prispel 2. maja 1944, ko je tja prispel tudi drugi transport z območja takratne Madžarske, v katerem je bilo okoli 2.000 Judov iz Sombora in Bačke Topole. Ob prihodu so opravili selekcijo – izbrali so za delo primerne, ki so bili sprejeti v taborišče, in tiste, ki za delo niso bili primerni in so bili zato takoj ubiti v plinskih celicah. Ta postopek so izvajali samo ob prihodu judovskih transportov. Glede na to, da sta bila oba transporta 2. maja 1944 sestavljena iz »za delo sposobnih« Judov, je bilo okoli dve tretjini sprejetih v taborišče. Preostali so postali prvi od okoli 320.000 Judov iz transportov *Ungarnaktion*, usmrčenih takoj po prihodu v Auschwitz. Maja leta 1940 ustanovljeno koncentracijsko taborišče Auschwitz v bližini mesta Oświęcim (nemško Auschwitz) v Zgornji Šleziji, takrat delu Nemčije, je bilo od leta 1942 največje nacistično delovno in od leta 1943 največje nacistično uničevalno taborišče. Od okoli 1,3 milijona ljudi, poslanih v Auschwitz, je bilo okoli 1,1 milijona (ali 85 %) Judov. Judje zato predstavljajo tudi ogromno večino žrtev tega taborišča: 960.000 (ali 87 %) od skupnega števila 1,1 milijona žrtev. Ubijanje je bilo izvedeno tako, da je Birkenau upravičeno dobil ime »tovarna smrti«.

Of the 2,675 Jews gathered in Nagykanizsa on 28 April 1944, around 800 'Jewish labourers aged 16–50' were immediately selected 'to work in Germany' and were sent on their way in cattle wagons in the afternoon. In Budapest, around 1,000 Jews from the Kistarcsa internment camp near Budapest joined this transport. In the evening, this transport left Budapest as the first of the 147 *Ungarnaktion* transports. By 22 July 1944, a total of about 430,000 Jews from what was then Hungary would be sent to Auschwitz. The transport from Nagykanizsa arrived in Auschwitz on 2 May 1944, when another transport from the area of the then Hungary also arrived there with around 2,000 Jews from Sombor and Bačka Topola. The arrivals immediately went through a selection process – those deemed fit for labour were admitted into the camp and the others were killed in gas chambers there and then. The selection process was only carried out upon the arrival of Jewish transports. Since both transports on 2 May 1944 consisted of 'fit-for-labour' Jews, about two-thirds were admitted to the camp. The rest became the first of about 320,000 Jews from the *Ungarnaktion* transports to be executed immediately upon arrival. The Auschwitz concentration camp, established in May 1940 near the city of Oświęcim (Germ. Auschwitz) in Upper Silesia, back then part of Germany, was from 1942 the largest Nazi labour camp and from 1943 the largest Nazi extermination camp. Of the approximately 1.3 million people sent to Auschwitz, about 1.1 million (85%) were Jews. Thus, Jews make up the vast majority of the Auschwitz victims, i.e. 960,000 (87%) of a total of 1.1 million victims. Extermination was carried out in a way that earned Birkenau the name 'the death factory', and with good reason.



Werner Hörnicke (1907, Dresden–1982, Nürnberg) as an SS-Sturmabführer, after 1 December 1943 (photo: TracesOfWar). From 1941 to 1943, he was a member of the 1st SS Infantry Brigade, which carried out massacres of Jews and other civilians in the territory of the Soviet Union. From late March to early May 1944, he was the commander of the 18th SS Panzer-Reconnaissance Battalion in Nagykanizsa. On his initiative, the first group of Jews from Međimurje and Prekmurje were sent to Auschwitz on 28 April 1944. His unit was largely composed of Volksdeutsche from Bačka.

Werner Hörnicke (1907, Dresden – 1982, Nürnberg) kot SS-Sturmabführer, po 1. decembru 1943 (fotografija: TracesOfWar). V letih 1941–1943 je bil pripadnik 1. SS pehotne brigade, ki je na ozemlju Sovjetske zveze izvajala poboje Judov in drugega civilnega prebivalstva. Od konca marca do začetka maja 1944 je bil kot poveljnik 18. SS oklepno-izvidniškega bataljona v Nagykanizsi. Na njegovo pobudo so 28. aprila 1944 poslali prvo skupino međimurskih in prekmurskih Judov v Auschwitz. Njegova enota je bila v veliki meri sestavljena iz folksdojčerev iz Bačke.

Murska Sobota: Judita Hahn, married name Kreft (1926, Murska Sobota–2020, Ljubljana), and her brother Tibor, known as Zeev Chen in Israel (1929, Murska Sobota–2013, Izrael), c. 1942 (photo: Irena Šavel). They arrived at Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa together with their parents Pavel (1894, Bodonci–1945, Nordhausen) and Margareta, née Gross (1906, Fokovci–1972, Haifa). Tibor and his father were together in Monowitz. It is not difficult to imagine what this meant for the survival of the 15-year-old boy.

Murska Sobota: Judita Hahn, kasneje poročena Kreft (1926, Murska Sobota – 2020, Ljubljana), in brat Tibor, v Izraelu Zeev Chen (1929, Murska Sobota – 2013, Izrael), okoli 1942 (fotografija: Irena Šavel). Skupaj s staršema Pavlom (1894, Bodonci – 1945, Nordhausen) in Margareto, rojeno Gross (1906, Fokovci – 1972, Haifa), sta prispela v Auschwitz s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse. Oče in sin sta bila skupaj v Monowitzu. Ni si težko predstavljati, kaj je to pomenilo za preživetje 15-letnega dečka.







Murska Sobota: spredaj bratje Nádai: Ernő/Ernest, kasneje Ernest Josip (1906, Šafarsko – 1973, Maribor), László/Ladislav (1903, Győr – 1945, Buchenwald) in Ferenc/Franci (1910, Šafarsko – 1945, Buchenwald), s prijateljem v avtomobilu (fotografija: Alenka Nádai). Bratje Nádai so prispeli v Auschwitz s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse. Skupaj so bili v Monowitzu do zadnjega tedna delovanja Auschwitza. Njihova mati, Lászlóva žena in sin ter Ferencova žena in hči so prišli v Auschwitz z drugim transportom iz Nagykanizse. Vsi so bili ubiti takoj po prihodu.

Murska Sobota: the Nádai brothers – Ernő/Ernest, later Ernest Josip (1906, Šafarsko–1973, Maribor), László/Ladislav (1903, Győr–1945, Buchenwald), and Ferenc/Franci (1910, Šafarsko–1945, Buchenwald) – are at the front, and a friend of theirs in the car (photo: Alenka Nádai). The brothers arrived at Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa. They were together in Monowitz until the last week of the operation of Auschwitz. Their mother, László's wife and son, and Ferenc's wife and daughter came to Auschwitz on the second transport from Nagykanizsa. All of them were killed immediately on arrival.

Čakovec: Ivan Marković (1892, Nagykanizsa – 1944, Auschwitz), žena Elza, rojena Singer (1896, Mala Subotica – 1944, Auschwitz), ter otroka Stjepan (1922, Lendava – 1944, Madžarska) in Helena, kasneje poročena Romano, 1943 (fotografija: Helena Romano). Stjepan ni bil aretiran 26. aprila 1944, ker je bil zaposlen v Budimpešti. Preostali so bili aretirani usodnega dne in s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse poslani v Auschwitz. Ivan je ob odhodu dejal, da je to »dobro, saj v Nemčiji vedno cenijo pošteno in trdo delo«. Ubit je bil v plinski celici takoj po prihodu v Auschwitz.

Čakovec: Ivan Marković (1892, Nagykanizsa–1944, Auschwitz), his wife Elza, née Singer (1896, Mala Subotica–1944, Auschwitz), and his children Stjepan (1922, Lendava–1944, Hungary) and Helena, married name Romano, 1943 (photo: Helena Romano). Stjepan was not arrested on 26 April 1944, because he was employed in Budapest. The others were arrested and sent to Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa. When leaving, Ivan said that this was "good, because in Germany honest and hard work is valued." He was killed in a gas chamber immediately on arrival.



Nagykanizsa: Ady Street 74a, Winter Agricultural School (Téli gazdasági iskola, today's Nagykanizsai SZC Cserhádi Sándor Technikum és Kollégium), c. 1960 (photo: the school's website). The school, built in 1942, stands on the outskirts of the city, next to the Jewish cemetery and the railway station. It was founded for farmers' sons, who only attended it during winter, hence the school was vacant in the spring of 1944. Around 700 Jews from the area around Nagykanizsa, Prekmurje and Međimurje lived mainly in classrooms, teacher's offices, workshops and offices, as the bedrooms could only accommodate the 50 students who lived at the boarding school during term time.

Nagykanizsa: Ady utca 74a, Zimska kmetijska šola (Téli gazdasági iskola, danes Nagykanizsai SZC Cserhádi Sándor Technikum és Kollégium), okoli 1960 (fotografija: spletna stran šole). Leta 1942 zgrajena šola stoji na obrobju mesta ob judovskem pokopališču in železniški postaji. Šola je bila ustanovljena za kmečke sinove, ki so jo obiskovali samo pozimi, zato je bila spomladi leta 1944 prazna. Okoli 700 Judov iz okolice Nagykanizse, Prekmurja in Međimurja je bivalo predvsem v učilnicah, kabinetih, delavnicah in pisarnah, saj je bilo spalnic samo za 50 dijakov, ki so med poukom bivali v internatu.





## Geto Nagykanizsa The Nagykanizsa Ghetto

Po 28. aprilu 1944 je v Nagykanizsi ostalo okoli 1.800 Judov. Večinoma so bili to otroci z materami in starejši ljudje, saj je bilo veliko mlajših moških v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske, večino sicer za delo sposobnih obeh spolov pa so odpeljali s prvim transportom. Nagykanizski geto ni bil geto v pravem pomenu besede, saj so bili Judje nameščeni v več med seboj ločenih stavbah. Okoli 700 Judov iz okolice Nagykanizse, Prekmurja in Medžimurja je bilo zaprtih v Zimski kmetijski šoli. V središču mesta je bilo v sinagogi in na sedežu judovske občine zaprtih okoli 600 Judov iz Nagykanizse. Tretji geto za okoli 600 Judov iz Nagykanizse je bil v bližini sinagoge v trgovski šoli, vrtcu in domu starejših. Vse zgradbe so bile neprimerne za bivanje tako velikega števila ljudi. Stražili so jih madžarski žandarji. Dr. Lajos Hegyi (1893, n. p. – po 1946, n. p.), takratni vršilec dolžnosti župana Nagykanizse, je poskušal omiliti trpljenje Judov. Večkrat se je srečal s predsednikom judovske občine v Nagykanizsi dr. Jenőjem Halphenom (1883, Nagykanizsa – 1944, Auschwitz). Hegyi je zaprtim Judom pomagal s hrano in z obiski občinskega zdravnika. 16. maja 1944 je Hegyi od žandarskega poveljnika izvedel, da bodo čez dva dni odpeljali preostale Jude, zato je nabavil dodatne količine hrane. Hrano so pripeljali na železniško postajo, a je niso razdelili, saj so Judje že bili v zaprtih živinskih vagonih.

After 28 April 1944, about 1,800 Jews remained in Nagykanizsa. They were mostly children with mothers and the elderly, as many younger men were in the Hungarian army's labour units, while the majority of fit-for-labour men and women had been taken away on the first transport. The Nagykanizsa ghetto was not a ghetto in the true sense of the word, as the Jews were housed in several separate buildings. Around 700 Jews from the vicinity of Nagykanizsa, Prekmurje and Medimurje were confined to the Winter Agricultural School. Approximately 600 Jews from Nagykanizsa were kept in the city centre, in the synagogue and the seat of the Jewish community. The third ghetto for about 600 Jews was located near the synagogue, inside the school of commerce, nursery school and nursing home. All the buildings were unfit to be inhabited by so many people. The Jews were guarded by Hungarian gendarmes. Dr Lajos Hegyi (1893, n/a–after 1946, n/a), at the time the acting mayor of Nagykanizsa, tried to ease the Jews' suffering. He met with the chairman of the Nagykanizsa Jewish community, Dr Jenő Halphen (1883, Nagykanizsa–1944, Auschwitz), on multiple occasions. Hegyi helped the imprisoned Jews by providing food and organising visits from the municipal physician. On 16 May 1944, Hegyi learned from the gendarme commander that the remaining Jews would be taken away two days later. He bought additional quantities of food and arranged for them to be taken to the train station. The food, however, was never distributed, as the Jews had already been put in closed cattle wagons.



Lendava: Tamás Schwarz with his sister Vera (1939, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz), c. 1943 (photo: Bojan Zadravec). Their father József/Josip (1902, Lendava–1945, Gliwice) was sent to Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa. The children were in Nagykanizsa with their mother Rozália/Roza, née Stein (1911, Bácsalmás–1944, Auschwitz), and grandmother Rozália/Roza, née Wortmann (1884, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz). Tamás remembered that the idle and uncertain three-week stay in Nagykanizsa was most difficult to accept for children under ten, like his sister, who had yet to turn five.

Lendava: Tamás Schwarz s sestro Vero (1939, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz), verjetno 1943 (fotografija: Bojan Zadravec). Njun oče József/Josip (1902, Lendava – 1945, Gliwice) je bil poslan s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse v Auschwitz. Otroka sta bila v Nagykanizsi z mamo Rozálio/Rozo, rojeno Stein (1911, Bácsalmás – 1944, Auschwitz), in babico Rozálio/Rozo, rojeno Wortmann (1884, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz). Tamás se je spominjal, da so tritedensko brezdelno in negotovo bivanje v Nagykanizsi najteže sprejemali otroci, stari manj kot deset let, tako kot njegova še ne petletna sestra.

Čakovec: Marko Leitner (1897, Maruševce–1945, Germany), his wife Margit, née Benedikt (1899, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), and their children Đuro/Giora (1925, Čakovec–2018, Israel) and Vera (1929, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), c. 1932 (photo: Amnon Leitner). Marko was one of the most prominent Jews of Čakovec; not only was he a wholesaler of colonial goods, oil and oil derivatives, but he was also the secretary of the local sports club and the Čakovec Jewish community. Together with his son, Marko was sent to Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa.

Čakovec: Marko Leitner (1897, Maruševce – 1945, Nemčija), žena Margit, rojena Benedikt (1899, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), in otroka Đuro/Giora (1925, Čakovec – 2018, Izrael) in Vera (1929, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), verjetno 1932 (fotografija: Amnon Leitner). Marko je bil eden najbolj znanih čakovskih Judov: ni bil samo veletrgovec s kolonialnim blagom ter nafto in naftnimi derivati, temveč tudi tajnik lokalnega športnega kluba in judovske občine Čakovec. Skupaj s sinom sta bila poslana v Auschwitz s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse.







Čakovec: Vera Leitner na invalidskem vozičku (fotografija: Amnon Leitner). Leta 1943 je zbolela za otroško paralizo. Zanj je takrat še posebej skrbela varuška Ida iz Avstrije, ki je bila z družino že od prej. Ida je Vero spremljala v Nagykanizsa. Tam je bilo ugotovljeno, da ni Judinja, zato so jo poslali nazaj v Čakovec. Samo slutimo lahko, kako težki so bili zadnji dnevi Verinega življenja, saj je zanj skrbela samo mama. Varuški Idi je uspelo rešiti nekaj premoženja družine Leitner, med drugim tudi fotoalbum, iz katerega sta obe tukaj uporabljeni njihovi fotografiji.

Čakovec: Vera Leitner in a wheelchair (photo: Amnon Leitner). In 1943, she contracted polio and was looked after especially by nanny Ida from Austria, who had been with the family from prior to the occupation. Ida accompanied Vera to Nagykanizsa, where it was established that she was not Jewish and was thus sent back to Čakovec. Vera's mother became her only carer. One can but imagine how difficult the last days of Vera's life were. Nanny Ida managed to save some of the Leitner family's belongings, including a photo album that also contained the two photos of the Leitners shown here.

Zsigmond/Žiga Weiss (1874, Dumitrești – 1944, Nagykanizsa), trgovec s tekstilom in oblačili z matično trgovino v Lendavi in podružnicami v Mariboru, Murski Soboti in Varaždinu (fotografija: GML). V času do drugega transporta je v Nagykanizsi umrlo najmanj devet Judov. Med njimi je bil tudi Zsigmond, ki je 8. maja 1944 naredil samomor. Žena Paula/Pavla, rojena Freyer (1884, Dobrovnik – 1944, Auschwitz), tega v pismu z dne 16. maja 1944 ni sporočila sinu László/Ladislavu Weissu/Vajsu (1920, Lendava – 2004, Lendava), ki je bil od leta 1942 v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske.

Zsigmond/Žiga Weiss (1874, Dumitrești–1944, Nagykanizsa), a textile and clothing retailer who owned a store in Lendava and branch stores in Maribor, Murska Sobota and Varaždin (photo: GML). In the time leading up to the second transport, at least nine Jews died in Nagykanizsa, including Zsigmond, who committed suicide on 8 May 1944. His wife Paula/Pavla, née Freyer (1884, Dobrovnik–1944, Auschwitz), did not mention this in a letter dated 16 May 1944 to her son László/Ladislav Weiss/Vajs (1920, Lendava–2004, Lendava), who had been in the Hungarian army's working units from 1942.



Auschwitz II – Birkenau: 'the ramp', c. 27 May 1944, selection of Jews from Subcarpathian Ukraine (photo: *Auschwitz Album*, Yad Vashem). Right is the way to the labour camp, left to the gas chambers, where the woman with the baby is headed. The so-called Death Gate is visible in the background, as are the Kanadakommando, i.e. prisoners who worked in warehouses for confiscated items, where they took the possessions of the newly arrived, who had to leave all their belongings in the wagons. The Kanadakommando prisoners also had to help with the selection. Despite the harsh punishments, they often took the risk of advising the new arrivals what to say during the selection process.

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: »rampa«, verjetno 27. maj 1944, selekcija Judov iz Podkarpatske Ukrajine (fotografija: *Auschwitz Album*, Yad Vashem). Desno za delovno taborišče, levo za plinske celice, tako tudi ženska z dojenčkom. V ozadju t. i. Vrata smrti. Vidni so tudi taboriščniki Kanadakommando, ki so delali v skladiščih zaplenjenih predmetov in so tja odnesli prtljago pravkar prispelih. Ti so morali vso prtljago pustiti v vagonih. Taboriščniki Kanadakommando so morali tudi pomagati pri selekciji. Kljub ostrim kaznim so nemalokrat tvegali in pravkar prispelim svetovali, kaj naj povedo pri selekciji.





## Drugi transport The Second Transport

18. maja 1944 je iz Nagykanizse odpeljal drugi transport z okoli 1.750 Judi. Transport je preko Sárvárja, kjer so mu dodali še nekaj zapornikov iz internacijskega taborišča, potoval v Auschwitz. Kaže, da je veliko ljudi tega transporta umrlo že med potjo. V Auschwitz je prispel 21. maja 1944. Selekcijo je tega dne opravljal najbolj zloglasni taboriščni zdravnik dr. Josef Mengele (1911, Günzburg – 1979, Bertioga). Zaradi drugačne sestave drugega transporta iz Nagykanizse (veliko otrok z materami, veliko starejših ljudi) je bilo ta dan za delo izbranih zelo malo ljudi in zato je to dan, ko je bilo ubitih največ Judov iz Medžimurja in Prekmurja. Tiste, ki niso bili izbrani za delo, so z »rampe« odpeljali do enega izmed krematorijev in plinskih celic, kjer naj bi jih čakala »kopel«. Kakšna je bila njihova smrt, je opisal eden maloštevilnih preživelih iz *Sonderkommanda*, tj. taboriščnikov, ki so delali v krematoriju, Shlomo Venezia (1923, Solun – 2012, Rim): »Navadno si mislimo, da so pač odvrgli plin in ljudje so nato umrli. A kakšna je bila njihova smrt!« 21. maja 1944 je bil najgrozljivejši dan v vsem času obstoja taborišča Auschwitz: s šestimi transporti iz Madžarske, eden od njih je bil drugi transport iz Nagykanizse, je prispelo več kot 17.000 Judov, od katerih so jih okoli 13.000 takoj po selekciji usmrtili. Šarika Heimer (1925, Murska Sobota – 1998, Izrael), pripeljana v Auschwitz 2. maja 1944, se je teh dni spominjala: »... ogromni transporti ljudi, ki so jih dan za dnem vozili v taborišče. Vsak dan se je slišalo strahotno vpitje nedolžnih ljudi. Bilo je strašno, nebo nad krematorijem pa je žarelo.«

The second transport with about 1,750 Jews left Nagykanizsa on 18 May 1944. The transport on the way to Auschwitz travelled via Sárvár, where some prisoners from the internment camp were added. It appears that many people died en route, before the transport reached Auschwitz on 21 May 1944. Selection on that day was conducted by the most notorious camp physician, Dr Josef Mengele (1911, Günzburg–1979, Bertioga). As the composition of the second transport from Nagykanizsa was different, i.e. many children with mothers and the elderly, very few people were selected for work and consequently the largest number of Jews from Medžimurje and Prekmurje were killed that day. Those who were selected as unfit for work were taken from *the ramp* to one of the crematoria and gas chambers, in the belief that they were going to take 'a bath'. Their death was described by one of the few surviving *Sonderkommandos*, i.e. inmates who worked at the crematorium, Shlomo Venezia (1923, Thessaloniki–2012, Rome): "People often imagine that the gas was thrown in, and there you were, the victims died! But what a death it was! ..." 21 May 1944 was the most horrific day in the entire existence of Auschwitz: six transports from Hungary, including the second transport from Nagykanizsa, brought more than 17,000 Jews, of whom around 13,000 were executed immediately following selection. Šarika Heimer (1925, Murska Sobota–1998, Israel), who arrived at Auschwitz on 2 May 1944, remembered those days: "... huge transports of people brought to the camp day after day. Every day, you could hear the terrible screams of innocent people. It was horrific, and the sky above the crematorium was lit aglow."



Murska Sobota: the family of Šarika Hahn, married name Horvat (1928, Murska Sobota–2000, Murska Sobota), prior to 1941 (photo: Irena Šavel). Standing: father Izidor (1893, Bodonci–1945, Chotýčany), sitting: Šarika, mother Irena, née Kemény (1902, Moščanci–1944, Auschwitz), and brother Andrej (1932, Murska Sobota–1944, Auschwitz). Father Izidor arrived at Auschwitz on the first transport from Nagykanizsa. He died following the evacuation of Auschwitz on the way to Mauthausen. Šarika's mother and brother were executed on 21 May 1944 in Auschwitz. Šarika survived selection.

Murska Sobota: družina Šarike Hahn, kasneje poročene Horvat (1928, Murska Sobota – 2000, Murska Sobota), pred 1941 (fotografija: Irena Šavel). Stoji oče Izidor (1893, Bodonci – 1945, Chotýčany), sedijo Šarika, mama Irena, rojena Kemény (1902, Moščanci – 1944, Auschwitz), in brat Andrej (1932, Murska Sobota – 1944, Auschwitz). Oče je prišel v Auschwitz s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse. Umrli je po evakuaciji Auschwitz na poti v Mauthausen. Mama in brat sta bila usmrčena 21. maja 1944 v Auschwitzu. Šarika je selekcijo preživel.

Dr Vilim/Vilmos Viola (1874, Szombathely–1944, Auschwitz), one of the three pre-war Jewish physicians in Čakovec and a long-time chairman of the local Chevra Kadisha, i.e. Jewish burial society (photo: MMC). When the second Nagykanizsa-Auschwitz transport arrived at Szombathely on the border with Germany on 19 May 1944, 25 experts – doctors, veterinarians, pharmacists and engineers – were disembarked and taken to the ghetto. The only one from Čakovec was Dr Viola. This, however, did not save him from death: the Szombathely ghetto was emptied with two transports that reached Auschwitz on 7 and 8 July 1944. It appears that Dr Viola was on one of the two transports.

Dr. Vilim/Vilmos Viola (1874, Szombathely – 1944, Auschwitz), eden od treh predvojnih judovskih zdravnikov v Čakovcu in dolgoletni predsednik tamkajšnjega judovskega pogrebnege društva ali hevra kadiše (fotografija: MMC). Ko je drugi transport iz Nagykanizse v Auschwitz 19. maja 1944 prispel v Szombathely na meji z Nemčijo, so iz njega izkrcali 25 strokovnjakov, zdravnikov, veterinarjev, lekarnarjev in inženirjev, in jih odpeljali v tamkajšnji geto. Edini med njimi iz Čakovca je bil dr. Viola. To ga ni rešilo pred smrtjo: geto Szombathely so izpraznili z dvema transportoma, ki sta prispela v Auschwitz 7. in 8. julija 1944. Kaže, da je bil dr. Viola na enem izmed teh transportov.







Lendava: družina Lajosa Blaua, pred 1941 (fotografija: GML). Stojijo: brat Jenő/Evgen (1907, Lendava – 1945, Ágfalva), žena Magda, rojena Preiss (1914, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz), Lajos in sestra Margit, poročena Nemes (1909, Lendava – 1944, Auschwitz); sedijo: mama Malvina, rojena Dreisiger (1881, Páka – 1944, Auschwitz), hči Livija (1938, Zagreb – 1944, Auschwitz) in oče Henrik (1875, Petišovci – 1944, Auschwitz). Vsi njegovi sorodniki na fotografiji razen sestre in brata so bili usmrčeni v Auschwitzu 21. maja 1944. Tam je malo kasneje umrla tudi sestra, brat pa je umrl v delovni enoti madžarske vojske.

Lendava: the family of Lajos Blau, prior to 1941 (photo: GML). Standing: brother Jenő/Evgen (1907, Lendava–1945, Ágfalva), wife Magda, née Preiss (1914, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz), Lajos and sister Margit, married name Nemes (1909, Lendava–1944, Auschwitz); sitting: mother Malvina, née Dreisiger (1881, Páka–1944, Auschwitz), daughter Livija (1938, Zagreb–1944, Auschwitz) and father Henrik (1875, Petišovci–1944, Auschwitz). All of Lajos's relatives in the photo, except for his sister and brother, were executed in Auschwitz on 21 May 1944. His sister also died there a little later, while his brother died in one of the Hungarian army's labour units.

Los Angeles: Branko Lustig (1932, Osijek – 2019, Zagreb) sprejema oskarja za film Schindlerjev seznam, 21. marec 1994 (fotografija: Wikipedia). Zahvalni govor je začel z besedami »Moja številka je bila A-3317. Sem preživel holokavsta. Dolga je pot od Auschwitza do tega odra.« Skoraj 12 let stari Lustig je bil ob prihodu v Auschwitz 21. maja 1944 izbran za delo: rešila ga je za njegovo starost neobičajna telesna višina in laž matere Vilme, rojene Gütter (1910, Mersevát – 1986, n. p.), ki je dr. Mengeleju rekla, da je sin star 16 let.

Los Angeles: Branko Lustig (1932, Osijek–2019, Zagreb) accepting an Academy Award for Schindler's List, 21 March 1994 (photo: Wikipedia). He started his acceptance speech by saying "My number was A-3317. I am a Holocaust survivor. It is a long way from Auschwitz to this stage." When Lustig arrived at Auschwitz on 21 May 1944 aged almost 12, he was selected for work. He was saved by his height – he was unusually tall for his age – and his mother Vilma, née Gütter (1910, Mersevát–1986, n/a), who lied by telling Dr Mengele that her son was 16.



Auschwitz II – Birkenau: Jews from Subcarpathian Ukraine in camp uniforms after registration, 27 May 1944 (photo: *Auschwitz Album*, Yad Vashem). Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi (1919, Turin–1987, Turin) wrote the following: *“Nothing belongs to us anymore; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair; if we speak, they will not listen to us, and if they listen, they will not understand. They will even take away our name.”*

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: Judje iz Podkarpatske Ukrajine po končani registraciji v taboriščnih uniformah, 27. maj 1944 (fotografija: *Auschwitz Album*, Yad Vashem). Preživeli iz Auschwitza Primo Levi (1919, Torino – 1987, Torino) je zapisal: *»Nič več ni naše: vzeli so nam obleko, čevlje, celo lase; če bomo spregovorili, nas ne bodo poslušali; in četudi bi nas poslušali, nas ne bi razumeli. Vzeli nam bodo še imena ...«*





## V Auschwitzu At Auschwitz

Judom, ki so preživeli začetno selekcijo, ni bilo namenjeno, da preživijo. Auschwitz ni bil samo največje uničevalno, temveč tudi največje delovno taborišče, namenjeno suženjskemu delu taboriščnikov ter z njim njihovem izstradanju in izčrpanju do smrti. Taboriščniki iz Auschwitza so delali ne samo v ogromni in nikoli dokončani tovarni sintetičnega bencina Buna-Werke v bližnjem kraju Monowitz, temveč tudi v okoli 50 podružničnih taboriščih ob rudnikih, tovarnah, veleposestvih in celo turističnem objektu Solahütte. Ko je bilo taborišče Auschwitz maja leta 1940 ustanovljeno, je bilo namenjeno predvsem Poljakom in poljskim Judom. Zaradi tovarne Buna-Werke so v Auschwitz začeli pošiljati tudi pripadnike drugih narodov – prva skupina 22 Slovencev je tako prispela 28. septembra 1941 –, pa tudi ženske: prve ženske so v taborišče prispele 26. marca 1942. Že od samega začetka so v Auschwitzu računali z veliko smrtnostjo. Podobno kot v drugih velikih taboriščih so v prvotnem taborišču Auschwitz I takoj zgradili krematorij. Krematorij I z dnevno zmogljivostjo prvotno 100, kasneje 340 trupel, je bil obenem od jeseni 1941 plinska celica. Marca 1942 je v bližini prvotnega taborišča začelo delovati podružnično, a mnogo večje taborišče Birkenau. Od februarja leta 1942 so za usmrtitev tistih, ki so jih izbrali pri selekciji ob prihodu ali pri kasnejših selekcijah za smrt, uporabljali dve improvizirani plinski celici izven taborišča Birkenau. V teh plinskih celicah so usmrtili večino od 4.972 Judov, ki so prispeli v transportih med 18. in 30. avgustom 1942 iz Zagreba, Osijeka in Sarajeva. Ti so bili prve žrtve Auschwitza iz Hrvaške ter Bosne in Hercegovine.

The Jews who survived the initial selection were not meant to live. Auschwitz was not only the largest extermination camp, but also the largest labour camp, where the inmates were made to do slave labour, thus starvation and exhaustion led to their death. The Auschwitz prisoners not only worked in the huge and never-completed synthetic-gasoline Buna-Werke plant in the nearby town of Monowitz, but also in about 50 subcamps located next to mines, factories, large farms and even the Solahütte tourist resort. When the camp was established in May 1940, it was intended primarily for Poles and Polish Jews. However, due to the Buna-Werke plant, members of other nations also started to be sent to Auschwitz. The first group of 22 Slovenian men arrived on 28 September 1941. The first-ever group of women got to the camp a few months later, on 26 March 1942. From the very start, Auschwitz counted on high mortality. Much like in other large camps, a crematorium was built straight away in the main Auschwitz I camp. Crematorium I, with an initial daily capacity of 100 bodies, and 340 at a later time, also served as a gas chamber from the autumn of 1941. In March 1942, Birkenau – a subcamp, but much larger than the main camp – started to operate near Auschwitz I. From February 1942, two makeshift gas chambers outside the Birkenau camp were used to kill those selected for execution during selection on arrival or the subsequent selections. Most of the 4,972 Jews who arrived on the transports from 18 to 30 August 1942 from Zagreb, Osijek and Sarajevo were executed in these gas chambers. They were the first Auschwitz victims from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

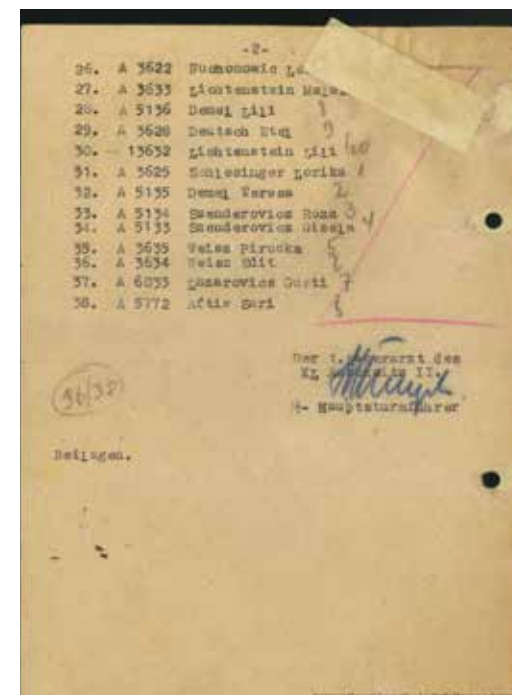
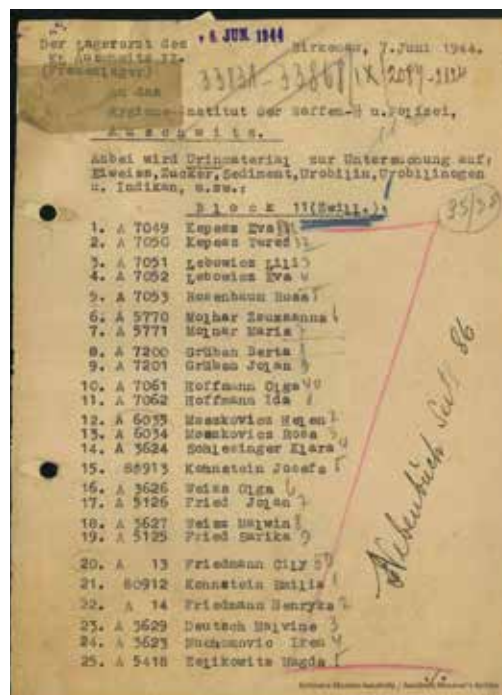


Auschwitz II – Birkenau: a request for a twins' urine test, 7 June 1944 (photo: APMAB). All of them are Jews, including the Kohnstein twins, Gizela (1927, Maribor–2014, Polička) and Milica (1927, Maribor–1946, Budapest) from Maribor. The request is signed by Mengele. He did experiments on one twin from each set of twins – in this particular case it was Milica Kohnstein, while the other one was a control sample. Milica lived to see the liberation of Auschwitz, but she died soon after as a result of the experiments. Gizela was a witness in an investigation against Mengele in the 1970s, when he was still alive.

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: naročilo preiskave urina dvojčkov, 7. junij 1944 (fotografija: APMAB). Vsi so Judje, tudi Mariborčanki, dvojčici Kohnstein, Gizela (1927, Maribor – 2014, Polička) in Milica (1927, Maribor – 1946, Budimpešta). Podpisan je Mengele. Poskuse je opravljal na enem od dvojčkov, pri dvojčicah Kohnstein je bila to Milica, na drugem, ki je bil kontrolni vzorec, pa ne. Milica je doživela osvoboditev Auschwitz, vendar je zaradi posledic poskusov kmalu umrla. Gizela je bila v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, ko je bil Mengele še vedno živ, priča v preiskavi proti njemu.

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: crematorium (and gas chamber) III during construction, 1943 (photo: APMAB), one of the four Birkenau crematoria, which replaced the two makeshift gas chambers outside the camp in 1943. The crematoria had a daily capacity of 4,416 people. The inmates who worked there were *Sonderkommandos* and were exclusively Jews. One of them was a Jew from Prekmurje, Aladar Halmoš (1925, Murska Sobota–1944, Auschwitz).

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: krematorij (in plinska celica) III med gradnjo, 1943 (fotografija: APMAB). Eden od štirih krematorijev v taborišču Birkenau, ki so leta 1943 nadomestili improvizirani plinski celici izven njega. Krematoriji so imeli dnevno zmogljivost 4.416 ljudi. V njih so delali taboriščniki *Sonderkommando*. Bili so izključno Judje. Med njimi je bil tudi prekmurski Jud Aladar Halmoš (1925, Murska Sobota – 1944, Auschwitz).







Auschwitz II – Birkenau: barake sektorja BII takoj po izgradnji, verjetno marec 1943 (fotografija: APMAB). Glavni namen delovnih taborišč je bil s čim manjšimi stroški izkoristiti čim več taboriščnikov za suženjsko delo. Seveda ni bil namen, da bi taboriščnike z delom ohranili pri življenju, temveč da bi jih z delom uničili (nemško *Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Del tega sistema so bile tudi izredno skromne bivalne razmere.

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: barracks in sector BII immediately after construction, c. March 1943 (photo: APMAB). The main purpose of the labour camps was to use as many inmates as possible for slave labour at the lowest possible cost. Clearly, the intention was not to keep the inmates alive by means of labour, but to exterminate them through it. (Germ. *Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Extremely modest living conditions were part of this system.

Solahütte: počitniški dom za esesovce iz Auschwitz, junij ali julij 1944 (fotografija: *Höckerjev album*, USHMM). Ljudje, ki so vodili »tovarno smrti« (z leve): Richard Baer (1911, Floß – 1963, Frankfurt ob Majni), poveljnik Auschwitz I, dr. Josef Mengele, glavni zdravnik Auschwitz II – Birkenau, in Rudolf Höss (1900, Baden-Baden – 1947, Oświęcim), poveljnik Auschwitz.

Solahütte: a resort for the SS personnel from Auschwitz, June or July 1944 (photo: *The Höcker Album*, USHMM). The individuals in charge of the 'death factory' (from left): Richard Baer (1911, Floß–1963, Frankfurt/Main), commandant of Auschwitz I, Josef Mengele, chief physician at Auschwitz II – Birkenau, and Rudolf Höss (1900, Baden-Baden–1947, Oświęcim), commandant of Auschwitz.



Buchenwald: inmates in a barrack on liberation day, 16 April 1945 (photo: Harry Miller, NARA). This photo not only reveals the conditions prisoners lived in at the camp, but also shows the writer Elie Wiesel (1928, Sighetu Marmatiei–2016, New York) – third from the right in the second row of bunks. Wiesel is one of the most famous Holocaust survivors and a Nobel Peace Prize winner (1986).

Buchenwald: taboriščniki v baraki ob osvoboditvi, 16. april 1945 (fotografija: Harry Miller, NARA). Izpovednost te fotografije ni samo v tem, da nam prikazuje taboriščne razmere, temveč tudi v tem, da je na njej v drugem nadstropju pogradov kot 3. z desne pisatelj Elie Wiesel (1928, Sighetu Marmatiei – 2016, New York). Wiesel je eden najbolj znanih preživelih holokavsta, saj je leta 1986 dobil Nobelovo nagrado za mir.





## Nadaljnji transporti, druga taborišča Subsequent Transports, Other Camps

Medžimurski in prekmurski Judje so prispeli v Auschwitz tudi z nadaljnjimi transporti. Iz dela Prekmurja, ki je upravno sodilo k Monoštru, je 17 Judov preko getov v Monoštru in Szombathelyu prispelo v Auschwitz 7. ali 8. julija 1944. Preživel ni nihče. Nikola Neumann, kasneje Nicholas Newman (1922, Čakovec – 2019, Fox Hill), ki je bil aretiran v Újpesti, je prispel v Auschwitz 10. julija 1944 s transportom iz Óbude. Zaradi številnih transportov iz vse Evrope je bil Auschwitz taborišče, ki je imelo tudi presežke za delo primernih taboriščnikov, zato so jih pošiljali v druga taborišča. A to za mnoge taboriščnike ni bila rešitev: bolj ko se je slabšal nemški položaj na bojiščih, bolj se je povečevala potreba po taboriščnikih in bolj se je slabšal njihov položaj. Do poletja leta 1944 je bilo ob Auschwitzu edino koncentracijsko taborišče za ženske Ravensbrück, ustanovljeno leta 1939. V času *Ungarnaktion* se je to spremenilo, zato je bilo veliko medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov in Judinj iz Auschwitza premeščenih v leta 1937 ustanovljeno koncentracijsko taborišče Buchenwald pri Weimarju in njegove številne podružnice. Med temi je bilo tudi od oktobra 1944 samostojno koncentracijsko taborišče Mittelbau-Dora pri Nordhausnu, ki je bilo namenjeno izdelavi »čudežnega orožja« V-1 in V-2. Kaže, da je bilo število premeščenih v koncentracijska taborišča Dachau (ustanovljeno 1933) pri Münchnu, Flossenbürg (ustanovljeno 1938) pri Nürnbergu in Mauthausen (ustanovljeno 1938) pri Linzu manjše. Po padcu Horthyja je bilo v ta taborišča poslanih še več deset medžimurskih in prekmurskih Judov in Judinj.

The Jews from Međimurje and Prekmurje also arrived in Auschwitz on subsequent transports. Seventeen Jews arrived in Auschwitz on 7 or 8 July 1944 via the ghettos in Szentgotthárd and Szombathely from the part of Prekmurje that was administratively under Szentgotthárd. None of them survived. Nikola Neumann, later known as Nicholas Newman (1922, Čakovec–2019, Fox Hill), who was arrested in Újpest, arrived at Auschwitz on 10 July 1944 on a transport from Óbuda. Due to numerous transports from all over Europe, Auschwitz was a camp that had more fit-for-work prisoners than necessary; consequently, they were sent to other camps. This, however, was not a solution for many other prisoners: as the German battlefield position worsened, this led to an increased need for prisoners and consequently the prisoners' living and working conditions were increasingly poor. Up until the summer of 1944, the only concentration camp for women apart from Auschwitz was Ravensbrück, founded in 1939. This, however, changed during the *Ungarnaktion*. Therefore, many Jews and Jewesses from Međimurje and Prekmurje were transferred from Auschwitz to the Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar, founded in 1937, and its many subcamps. One of them was the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp near Nordhausen, which became an independent camp in October 1944 and was used for the production of the V-1 and V-2 'miracle weapons'. It appears that the number of prisoners transferred to other concentration camps, i.e. Dachau (founded in 1933) near Munich, Flossenbürg (founded in 1938) near Nuremberg, and Mauthausen (founded in 1938) near Linz, was smaller. Following Horthy's fall from power, dozens more Jews and Jewesses from Međimurje and Prekmurje were sent to these three camps.

The personal record card of Erszébet/Elizabeth Deutsch, married name Fürst (1928, Lendava–2014, Murska Sobota), a prisoner in the subcamps of the Buchenwald concentration camp (photo: Arolsen Archives). Elizabetha's details were noted down either when she was transferred from Auschwitz to the Gelsenkirchen subcamp, or when she was transferred from there to the Sömmerda subcamp. Aware that none of her relatives were alive or at liberty, Elizabetha named her neighbour from Lendava, the Slovenian Stefan Toplak, as a relative.

Osební list Erszébet/Elizabeth Deutsch, kasneje poročene Fürst (1928, Lendava – 2014, Murska Sobota), kot taboriščnice podružnic koncentracijskega taborišča Buchenwald (fotografija: Arolsen Archives). Podatke so zabeležili, bodisi ko je bila Elizabetha premeščena iz Auschwitza v podružnico v Gelsenkirchnu ali ko je bila od tam premeščena v podružnico v Sömmerdi. Zavedajoč se, da nihče od sorodnikov ni več živ ali na prostosti, je Elizabetha kot sorodnika navedla soseda iz Lendave Slovence Stefana Toplaka.



Henrik/Hinko Teichmann (1895, Velykyi Rakovec–1944, Stutthof), a shopkeeper from Lendava (photo: GML). He was sent from Nagykanizsa to Auschwitz together with his wife Malvina/Ida, née Fleischmann (1889, Galanta–1944, Auschwitz) and son Aleksander (1914, Lendava–1945, Buchenwald). On 28 October 1944, Henrik was transferred to the Stutthof concentration camp near Gdansk, established in 1939 as the first Nazi concentration camp in Poland. He died on 9 December 1944. He is one of about 65,000 Stutthof prisoners who did not survive the war.

Henrik/Hinko Teichmann (1895, Veliki Rakovec – 1944, Stutthof): trgovec iz Lendave (fotografija: GML). Iz Nagykanizse je bil poslan v Auschwitz skupaj z ženo Malvino/Ido, rojeno Fleischmann (1889, Galanta – 1944, Auschwitz), in sinom Aleksandrom (1914, Lendava – 1945, Buchenwald). Henrik je bil 28. oktobra 1944 premeščen v koncentracijsko taborišče Stutthof pri Gdanku, ustanovljeno leta 1939 kot prvo nacistično taborišče na ozemlju Poljske. Umrl je 9. decembra 1944. Je eden od okoli 65.000 taboriščnikov iz Stutthofa, ki vojne niso preživeli.

Weimar-Buchenwald

Judin

MMB-Mb. 1  
12.853

**Häftlings-Personal-Karte**

Fam.-Name: Deutsch  
Vorname: Erszébet  
Geb. am: 20.12.28 im: KANIZSA  
Stand: 1a Kinder: x  
Wohnort: Lendava  
Strasse: 1009  
Religion: 009 Staatsang.: Ungarn  
Wohnort d. Angehörigen: 1009  
Eingewiesen am: 20.5.44  
durch: Auschwitz  
in KL: 1  
Grund: Polit. Ungarn-Wein  
Verurteilt: am: durch KL: 1  
mit Verfügung v.:  
Strafen im Lager:  
Grund: Vater: Gustav, Mutter: Ida  
Art: 1  
Bemerkung: 1  
Körperliche Verfassung: 1  
I.T.S. FOTO No. 14924

Personen-Beschreibung:  
Größe: cm  
Gestalt:  
Gesicht:  
Augen:  
Nase:  
Mund:  
Ohren:  
Zähne:  
Haare:  
Sprache:  
Bes. Kennzeichen:  
Charakt.-Eigenschaften:  
Sicherheit b. Einsatz:  
Körperliche Verfassung:



Verjetno Čakovec: vdova Terezija Fischer, rojena Gutmann, prvič poročena Hirschsohn (1883, Vinkovci – 1944, Auschwitz), ter njena vnuka Vladimir Wollner (1936, Osijek – 1944, Auschwitz) in Vera Wollner, kasneje Vinković in poročena Mikas (1929, Našice – 2009, Zagreb), morda 1938 (fotografija: Sonja Pekota). Novembra 1941 je Terezijini hčeri Elli Wollner, rojeni Hirschsohn (1904, Prelog – 1944, Csillaghegy), ženi takrat že v ilegali živečega dr. Milana Wollnerja, kasneje Vinkovića (1901, Našice – 1997, Düsseldorf), uspelo otroka Vero in Vladimirja iz NDH pripeljati v Čakovec. Ella je bila nato odpeljana v zapor, zato je za otroka skrbela babica. Vera je preživela Auschwitz in podružnici Buchenwalda v Gelsenkirchnu in Sömmerdi.

Presumably Čakovec: widow Terezija Fischer, née Gutmann, surname from her first marriage Hirschsohn (1883, Vinkovci–1944, Auschwitz), and her grandchildren Vladimir Wollner (1936, Osijek–1944, Auschwitz) and Vera Wollner, surname at a later time Vinković and married name Mikas (1929, Našice–2009, Zagreb), c. 1938 (photo: Sonja Pekota). In November 1941, Terezija's daughter Ella Wollner, née Hirschsohn (1904, Prelog–1944, Csillaghegy), the wife of Dr Milan Wollner, later Vinković (1901, Našice–1997, Düsseldorf), who at the time was already living in hiding, managed to bring their children Vera and Vladimir from the Independent State of Croatia to Čakovec. Ella was then taken to prison, so the children were cared for by their grandmother. Vera survived Auschwitz, as well as the Buchenwald subcamps in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerda.



Čakovec: Simon Zeisler (1885, Čakovec – 1944, Auschwitz), žena Estera, rojena Szaler (1890, Ridica – 1944, Auschwitz), ter sinova Eugen, kasneje Cajzler (1921, Reka – 2005, Zagreb), in Hinko (1928, Čakovec – 1945, Nemčija), fotoatelje Dionisa Földesa, pred 1941 (fotografija: Jasminka Cajzler). Eugen je vojno preživel kot pripadnik delovnih enot madžarske vojske in Rdeče armade. Preostali so bili odpeljani v Auschwitz. Starša sta bila ubita takoj po prihodu. Hinko je bil premeščen v koncentracijski taborišči Sachsenhausen (ustanovljeno 1938) pri Berlinu in nato kmalu po 17. rojstnem dnevu v Flossenbürg. Ni znano točno, kdaj in kje je umrl.

Čakovec: Simon Zeisler (1885, Čakovec–1944, Auschwitz), his wife Estera, née Szaler (1890, Ridica–1944, Auschwitz), and their sons Eugen, later known as Cajzler (1921, Reka–2005, Zagreb), and Hinko (1928, Čakovec–1945, Germany), the Dionis Földes photo studio, prior to 1941 (photo: Jasminka Cajzler). During the war, Eugen was in the Hungarian army's labour units and in the Red Army. The other family members were taken to Auschwitz. The parents were killed immediately after they got there. Hinko was first transferred to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp (founded in 1938) near Berlin and shortly after his 17th birthday to Flossenbürg. It is not known exactly when and where he died.

Tešanovci: the Hirschl family, 1930/31 (photo: Erika Fürst). Back row from the left: Jolanka (1910, Rankovci–1944, Dachau), Ladislav (1902, Murska Sobota–1941, Germany), Marija, married name Löwenstein (1906, Vanča vas–1942/43, Auschwitz), Emerik/Mirko, Irena, married name Ebenspanger (1911, Tešanovci–1945, Hainichen), Nikolaj (1905, Vanča vas–1977, Murska Sobota) and Renata (1914, Tešanovci–1945, Auschwitz); front row: Helena, married name Sonnenwald (1904, Vanča vas–1944, Auschwitz), Regina, née Heimer (1877, Lemerje–1944, Auschwitz), Leopold Hirschl (1875, Tešanovci–1934, Murska Sobota) and Terezija, married name Fürst (1901, Szombathely–1973, Murska Sobota). Three of them survived the war.

Tešanovci: družina Hirschl, 1930/31 (fotografija: Erika Fürst). Z leve zadaj: Jolanka (1910, Rankovci – 1944, Dachau), Ladislav (1902, Murska Sobota – 1941, Nemčija), Marija, kasneje poročena Löwenstein (1906, Vanča vas – 1942/43, Auschwitz), Emerik/Mirko, Irena, kasneje poročena Ebenspanger (1911, Tešanovci – 1945, Hainichen), Nikolaj (1905, Vanča vas – 1977, Murska Sobota) in Renata (1914, Tešanovci – 1945, Auschwitz); spredaj: Helena, kasneje poročena Sonnenwald (1904, Vanča vas – 1944, Auschwitz), Regina, rojena Heimer (1877, Lemerje – 1944, Auschwitz), Leopold Hirschl (1875, Tešanovci – 1934, Murska Sobota) in Terezija, poročena Fürst (1901, Szombathely – 1973, Murska Sobota). Vojno so preživel trije.





## Pravičniki iz Prekmurja The Righteous from Prekmurje

Ko se je 26. aprila 1944 zjutraj Ludvik Cigüt (1916, Martjanci – 1974, Murska Sobota) iz domače vasi Martjanci s kolesom peljal v službo v Mursko Soboto, je videl, da madžarski žandarji mestne Jude vodijo v sinagogo. Odhitel je nazaj proti domu in posvaril svojega prijatelja trgovca Emerika/Mirka Hirschla/Hiršla (1908, Vanča vas – 1985, Murska Sobota) pred nevarnostjo. Zahvaljujoč Cigütovemu svarilu Hiršl tega dne ni bil aretiran in zato ni doživel usode tistih, ki so bili. Hiršl se je zatekel v vas Andrejci k znancu Aleksandru Žilavcu (1901, Andrejci – 1976, n. p.). Čeprav je Žilavec vedel, da je skrivanje Judov prepovedano in da s tem ogroža sebe in družino, ga je skril v gospodarsko poslopje. Hiršl je samo ponoči za kratek čas odhajal iz skrivališča. Nekdo od sosedov ga je videl in o tem obvestil žandarje. Ob njihovem prihodu 19. avgusta 1944 je Hiršl zapustil skrivališče, a so ga ujeli na robu vasi. Ker na zaslišanju v Murski Soboti kljub mučenju ni razkril, kdo ga je skrival, so žandarji okrvavljenega Hiršla čez dva dni spet pripeljali v Andrejce, in ko so pri Žilavčevih našli Hiršlovo skrivališče, so Žilavca aretirali. Poslali so ga v zapor v Szombathelyu, kjer je ostal do osvoboditve 2. aprila 1945. Hiršl je bil v različnih taboriščih, nazadnje v taborišču Kistarcsa pri Budimpešti. Po 16. oktobru 1944, ko so oblast prevzeli njilaši, so Hiršla in mnoge druge Jude poslali peš v Avstrijo. Hiršlu je iz kolone uspelo pobegniti in priti v več kot 200 km oddaljeno Prekmurje. Tokrat je našel zatočišče pri družini Fartelj v vasi Tešanovci. Pri njih je ostal do začetka aprila 1945, ko je Prekmurje osvobodila Rdeča armada.

On the morning of 26 April 1944, Ludvik Cigüt (1916, Martjanci–1974, Murska Sobota) was riding a bicycle from his home village of Martjanci to work in Murska Sobota, when he saw Hungarian gendarmes taking the town's Jews to the synagogue. He rushed back home to warn his shopkeeper friend Emerik/Mirko Hirschl/Hiršl (1908, Vanča vas–1985, Murska Sobota) of the danger. Thanks to Cigüt's warning, Hiršl was not arrested that day and thus did not share the fate of those who had been. Hiršl took refuge with an acquaintance of his, Aleksander Žilavec (1901, Andrejci–1976, n/a), in the village of Andrejci. Although Žilavec knew that it was forbidden to hide Jews and that he was putting himself and his family at risk, he hid Hiršl in an outbuilding. Hiršl only left his hiding place for a short time at night. However, a neighbour saw him and informed the gendarmes. When they got there on 19 August 1944, Hiršl had already left the hiding place, but was caught on the edge of the village. As he refused to reveal who had been hiding him during interrogation in Murska Sobota despite being tortured, the gendarmes brought the blood-covered Hiršl back to Andrejci two days later. When the gendarmes found Hiršl's hiding place at the Žilavec family's home, they arrested Žilavec. He was sent to a prison in Szombathely, where he remained until the liberation on 2 April 1945. Hiršl was imprisoned in various camps, the last of which was the Kistarcsa camp near Budapest. After 16 October 1944, when the Arrow Cross Party came to power, Hiršl and many other Jews were sent on foot to Austria. Hiršl managed to escape from the march and reach Prekmurje, more than 200 km away. This time he found refuge with the Fartelj family in the village of Tešanovci. He stayed with them until early April 1945, when Prekmurje was liberated by the Red Army.



Martjanci: Jolanka and Renata in front of the shop owned by their brother, Mirko Hiršl, prior to 1941 (photo: Vera Pintarič). Mirko's unmarried sisters lived with him and worked in his shop. After Cigüt had warned him of the danger on the morning of 26 April 1944, Mirko urged his sisters to flee and find a hiding place. The sisters decided against it and shared the fate of most of the Jews from Prekmurje arrested that day.

Martjanci: Jolanka in Renata pred trgovino brata Mirka Hiršla, pred 1941 (fotografija: Vera Pintarič). Mirkovi neporočeni sestre sta živeli pri njem in delali v njegovi trgovini. Potem ko ga je zjutraj 26. aprila 1944 Cigüt pravočasno opozoril na nevarnost, je Mirko k begu in iskanju skrivališča pozval tudi sestre. Sestre se za to nista odločili in doletela ju je usoda večine prekmurskih Judov, aretiranih tega dne.

The wedding of Koloman, son of Aleksander Žilavec (1925, Andrejci–1980, Murska Sobota), and Gabrijela Banfi, November 1948 (original: Miran Žilavec, photo: Vera Pintarič). Standing in the back row: (1st and 2nd from the left) Mirko Hiršl with his wife Nevenka/Neža, née Petek, and (2nd, 4th and 1st from the right) Aleksander Žilavec, his wife Agnes, née Celec (1906, Zenkovci–1954, n/a), and their daughter Marija, married name Gergorec (1937, Andrejci). The entire Žilavec family was involved in hiding Hiršl. Aleksander and Agnes were awarded the 'Righteous Among the Nations' honorific by Yad Vashem in 2017.

Poroka Kolomana, sina Aleksandra Žilavca (1925, Andrejci – 1980, Murska Sobota), in Gabrijele Banfi, november 1948 (original: Miran Žilavec, fotografija: Vera Pintarič). Zadaaj stojijo: (1. in 2. z leve) Mirko Hiršl z ženo Nevenko/Nežo, rojeno Petek, ter (2., 4. in 1. z desne) Aleksander Žilavec, žena Agnes, rojena Celec (1906, Zenkovci – 1954, n. p.), in njuna hči Marija, kasneje poročena Gergorec (1937, Andrejci). Pri skrivanju Hiršla je sodelovala cela družina Žilavec. Aleksandru in Agnes je Yad Vashem leta 2017 podelil naziv pravičnikov med narodi.







Ludvik Cigüt, prijatelj Mirka Hiršla (fotografija: Boris Cigüt). Zaradi njegovega pravočasnega opozorila je Hiršl 26. aprila 1944 pred prihodom madžarskih žandarjev zapustil domače Martjance. Cigütu je zato Yad Vashem leta 2017 podelil zahvalo.

Ludvik Cigüt, a friend of Mirko Hiršl (photo: Boris Cigüt). Thanks to Cigüt's timely warning, Hiršl left his home village of Martjanci before the Hungarian gendarmes got there on 26 April 1944. In recognition of this, Cigüt was awarded a certificate of appreciation by Yad Vashem in 2017.

Poroka Štefana Fartelja (1922, Tešanovci – 1958, n. p.) in Jolanke Kardoš (original: Irena Sambt in Jani Fartelj, fotografija: Vera Pintarič). Za mladoporočencem stoji Mirko Hiršl, desno od njega ženina mati Marija, rojena Slavic (1901, Puconci – 1977, n. p.), stric Franc (1903, Tešanovci – 1976, n. p.) in oče Jožef (1897, Tešanovci – 1966, n. p.). Francu, Jožefu in Mariji je Yad Vashem leta 2017 podelil naziv pravičnikov med narodi. Pri skrivanju Hiršla je sodelovala tudi Frančeva in Jožefova mati Julija (1875, n. p. – po 1945, n. p.).

The wedding of Štefan Fartelj (1922, Tešanovci–1958, n/a) and Jolanka Kardoš (original: Irena Sambt and Jani Fartelj, photo: Vera Pintarič). Standing right behind the newlyweds is Mirko Hiršl and to the right of him the groom's mother Marija, née Slavic (1901, Puconci–1977, n/a), uncle Franc (1903, Tešanovci–1976, n/a) and father Jožef (1897, Tešanovci–1966, n/a). In 2017, Yad Vashem bestowed the 'Righteous Among the Nations' honorific to Franc, Jožef and Marija. Franc and Jožef's mother Julija (1875, n/a–after 1945, n/a) was also involved in hiding Hiršl.



Budapest: Uniformed and plain-clothed policemen are leading Jew Robert Mandl (1922, Budapest–2009, Sydney) to prison following an interrogation, after 15 October 1944 (photo: Eva Hevesi Ehrlich, USHMM). A flag with an arrow cross, i.e. the symbol of the Arrow Cross Party, is visible on the building in the background. The party's full name was 'Arrow Cross Party – Hungarist Movement' (*Nyilaskeresztes Párt – Hungarista Mozgalom*). In the 1939 election, the party won almost a million votes and 31 (12%) of the 260 parliamentary seats. As in the past, in 1944, it did not represent the majority of Hungarians either.

Budimpešta: policisti, uniformirani in v civilu, vodijo Juda Roberta Mandla (1922, Budimpešta – 2009, Sydney) po zaslišanju v zapor, po 15. oktobru 1944 (fotografija: Eva Hevesi Ehrlich, USHMM). Na zgradbi v ozadju je vidna zastava s puščičastim križem, znakom njilašev. Popolno ime stranke je bilo Puščičasti križ – hungaristično gibanje (*Nyilaskeresztes Párt – Hungarista Mozgalom*). Na volitvah leta 1939 je stranka dobila skoraj milijon glasov in 31 ali 12 % od 260 sedežev v parlamentu. Tudi leta 1944 ni predstavljala večine Madžarov.





## Puščičasti križ The Arrow Cross

Zavezniško bombardiranje madžarskih mest, približevanje Rdeče armade in diplomatsko delovanje je Horthyja prepričalo, da je julija 1944 zaustavil deportacije Judov iz takratne Madžarske v Auschwitz. Preostalih okoli 300.000 – to so bili še vedno pretežno nedotaknjena judovska skupnost v Budimpešti, Judje v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske in Judje, ki so bili izvzeti iz *Ungarnaktion* – so sicer še naprej preganjali. Njihov položaj se je izjemno poslabšal 15. oktobra 1944, ko so Nemci zaradi sklenitve separatnega miru s Sovjetsko zvezo odstavili Horthyja in oblast predali vodji njilašev Ferencu Szálasi (1897, Košice – 1946, Budimpešta). Njilaši so zaostrili preganjanje Judov in ga razširili tudi na do takrat zaščitene. V koncentracijsko taborišče so poslali soboškega odvetnika dr. Sándorja/Aleksandra Vályija, prvotno Weinerja (1882, Szombathely – 1944, Flossenbürg). Vályi ni bil aretiran 26. aprila 1944, ker se je ob razpadu Avstro-Ogrske zavzemal za priključitev Prekmurja k Madžarski. Jude in Judinje v mešanih zakonih z območja Medžimurja in Prekmurja so zaprli v taborišči Nagykanizsa in Sárovar. Elek Balkányi iz Lendave, poročen z Madžarko Erzsébet/Elizabeto, rojeno Mencs (1909, n. p. – 1989, Zagreb), se je temu izognil s skrivanjem v domači hiši. Zaradi pomena Sándorja Teszlerja za delovanje tovarne Graner je bilo njemu in njegovi družini 26. aprila 1944 ukazano, da ostanejo v Čakovcu še šest mesecev. Po preteku tega obdobja so bili odpeljani v Budimpešto, torej v mesto, v katerem so njilaši pred sovjetsko osvoboditvijo 13. februarja 1945 ubili še veliko Judov. Teszlerjeve je rešil švicarski diplomat Carl Lutz (1895, Walzenhausen – 1975, Bern).

The Allies' bombing of Hungarian cities, the approach of the Red Army and diplomatic activity convinced Horthy to stop the deportation of Jews from what was at the time Hungary to Auschwitz in July 1944. However, the remaining 300,000 or so Jews, i.e. the still largely intact Jewish community of Budapest, the Jews in the Hungarian army's labour units, and those exempted from the *Ungarnaktion*, continued to be persecuted. Their situation got infinitely worse on 15 October 1944, when the Germans, due to having signed a separate-peace agreement with the Soviet Union, deposed Horthy and handed power to the Arrow Cross Party leader, Ferenc Szálasi (1897, Košice–1946, Budapest). The Arrow Cross Party intensified the persecution of Jews and extended it to those who had previously been protected. Dr Sándor/Aleksander Vályi, originally Weiner (1882, Szombathely–1944, Flossenbürg), a lawyer from Murska Sobota, was one of those sent to concentration camps. Vályi had not been arrested on 26 April 1944, because he had advocated the annexation of Prekmurje to Hungary at the time of the collapse of Austria-Hungary. Jewish men and women in mixed marriages from the area of Medimurje and Prekmurje were now imprisoned at the Nagykanizsa and Sárovar camps. Elek Balkányi from Lendava, married to a Hungarian woman, Erzsébet/Elizabeta, née Mencs (1909, n/a–1989, Zagreb), avoided imprisonment by hiding at home. As he was of great importance to the operation of the Graner factory, on 26 April 1944, Sándor Teszler and his family were ordered to remain in Čakovec for another six months. At the end of this period, they were taken to Budapest, i.e. to the city where many more Jews were killed prior to the Soviet liberation on 13 February 1945. The Teszlers were rescued by a Swiss diplomat, Carl Lutz (1895, Walzenhausen–1975, Bern).

Presumably Murska Sobota: Dr Sándor Vályi, his wife Erzsébet/Elizabeta, née Árvay (1892, Murska Sobota–1977, USA), and their son Imre/Emerik Vályi, later known as Emery Vályi (1911, Murska Sobota–1998, Mt. Kisco), pictured above as a secondary-school graduate, 1929 (photo: Bojan Zadravec). Erzsébet survived the Dachau and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps. After the war, she left for the USA, where her son Imre had taken refuge before the war. In 1938, Imre received a doctorate at the famous ETH Zurich university. During the war, he was involved in the Manhattan Project – an undertaking that produced the first atomic bomb.

Verjetno Murska Sobota: dr. Sándor Vályi, žena Erzsébet/Elizabeta, rojena Árvay (1892, Murska Sobota – 1977, ZDA), in sin Imre/Emerik Vályi, kasneje Emery Vályi (1911, Murska Sobota – 1998, Mt. Kisco), kot maturant, 1929 (fotografija: Bojan Zadravec). Erzsébet je preživela koncentracijski taborišči Dachau in Bergen-Belsen. Po vojni je odšla v ZDA, kamor se je že pred vojno zatekel sin. Imre je leta 1938 doktoriral na slavni ETH Zürich. Med vojno je sodeloval v Projektu Manhattan, tj. pri izdelavi prve atomske bombe.



Elizabeta Legenstein, née Kemény (1899, Murska Sobota–1958, Zagreb), the wife of Geza Legenstein, the Dionis Földes photo studio, prior to 1941 (photo: MMC). Alongside her husband, she was the first to introduce table tennis in Croatia, and also the winner of the first table tennis championship in Murska Sobota in 1930. After her husband was arrested by the Arrow Cross Party and sent to a concentration camp, she, as a Jew, was sent to the Sárovar camp. When her daughter Lili 'Caki' Legenstein (1923, Murska Sobota–2021, Zagreb) visited her in late 1944, she was – on account of being a Jew – also imprisoned in the Sárovar camp. After the war, Lili was a distinguished ballerina, dancer, opera singer, actress and choreographer.

Elizabeta Legenstein, rojena Kemény (1899, Murska Sobota – 1958, Zagreb), žena Geze Legensteina, fotoatelje Dionisa Földesa, pred 1941 (fotografija: MMC). Skupaj z možem je bila začetnica namiznega tenisa na Hrvaškem, zmagovalka prvega namiznoteniškega prvenstva v Murski Soboti leta 1930. Potem ko so njilaši aretirali njenega moža in ga poslali v koncentracijsko taborišče, so njo kot Judinjo poslali v taborišče Sárovar. Hči Lili »Caki« Legenstein (1923, Murska Sobota – 2021, Zagreb) je bila kot Judinja po obisku matere konec leta 1944 prav tako zaprta v taborišču Sárovar. Lili je bila po vojni znana balerina, plesalka, operna pevka, igralka in koreografinja.



Spartanburg: Sandor Teszler med študenti Wofford Collegea, 30. september 1992 (fotografija: spletna stran kolidža). V otroštvu je bil gibalno oviran, a ozdravljen. Z ženo Lidio, rojeno Werner (1904, n. p. – 1981, n. p.), ter sinovoma Ottóm/Ottom (1929, Čakovec – 1990, Conway) in Endrejem/Andrewem (1931, Čakovec – 1971, Spartanburg) se je leta 1948 odselil v ZDA in kot lastnik tekstilnega podjetja ponovno obogatel. Njegova leta 1962 postavljena tovarna v Južni Karolini je bila prva v tem delu ZDA, ki ni rasno razlikovala zaposlenih. Bil je dobrotnik mnogih, med drugim tudi navedenega kolidža.

Spartanburg: Sandor Teszler among students at Wofford College, 30 September 1992 (photo: Wofford College website). He was mobility impaired in childhood but later cured. In 1948, he moved to the USA with his wife Lidia, née Werner (1904, n/a–1981, n/a), and sons Ottó/Otto (1929, Čakovec–1990, Conway) and Endre/Andrew (1931, Čakovec–1971, Spartanburg) He made another fortune as a textile factory owner. Teszler's factory in South Carolina, built in 1962, was the first in this part of the USA that did not discriminate between employees by race. He was a benefactor to many causes, including Wofford College.



Elek Balkányi (v drugi vrsti stoječi moški) s sorodniki po ženi Erzsébet (verjetno ženska levo od njega) (fotografija: Franc Kuzmič). Skupaj z Elekom se je skrival tudi prav tako v mešanem zakonu živeči József/Josip Mayer (1904, Lendava – 1945, Murski Črnci). Samo nekaj dni pred prihodom sovjetskih osvoboditeljev ju je madžarska policija odkrila in 31. marca 1945 ustrelila. Erzsébet je po vojni živela s posvojenko Eriko Milhofer, ki sta jo z Elekom posvojila 27. aprila 1944, ko so Erikina starša odpeljali v Auschwitz.

Elek Balkányi (the man in the back row) with his in-laws; his wife Erzsébet is most likely the woman to the left of him (photo: Franc Kuzmič). He lived in hiding together with another man who was in a mixed marriage József/Josip Mayer (1904, Lendava–1945, Murski Črnci). Elek and József were discovered by the Hungarian police just a few days before the arrival of the Soviet liberators and were shot on 31 March 1945. After the war, Erzsébet lived with her adopted daughter Erika Milhofer, who she and Elek had adopted on 27 April 1944, when Erika's parents were taken to Auschwitz.



Seeshaupt near Munich: Two Jewish women – the one on the right is Šarika Hahn from Murska Sobota, and the American soldier Andrew E. Dubill next to the bodies on an evacuation train, 1 May 1945 (photo: Al Gretz, USHMM). In June 1944, Šarika was transferred from Auschwitz to Geislingen an der Steige near Stuttgart to the subcamp of the Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp. In April 1945, she was transferred to Dachau. She was liberated on 30 April 1945 in Seeshaupt. This photo is part of a museum exhibition at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

Seeshaupt pri Münchnu: Judinji, desno Šarika Hahn iz Murske Sobote, in ameriški vojak Andrew E. Dubill ob truplih na evakuacijskem vlaku, 1. maj 1945 (fotografija: Al Gretz, USHMM). Šarika je bila junija 1944 iz Auschwitza premeščena v Geislingen an der Steige pri Stuttgartu v tamkajšnjo podružnico koncentracijskega taborišča Natzweiler-Struthof. Aprila 1945 je bila premeščena v Dachau. Osvoboditev je dočakala 30. aprila 1945 v Seeshauptu. Ta fotografija je del muzejske postavitve Yad Vashema v Jeruzalemu.



## Osvoboditev Liberation

Zaradi bližajoče se Rdeče armade so 17. januarja 1945 začeli evakuacijo Auschwitza. Evakuirani taboriščniki so vsaj del poti prehodili, kar je bilo ob njihovi siceršnji oslabeledosti, v izjemno mrzlem vremenu in visokem snegu izjemno težko. Vsakogar, ki je zaradi onemoglosti zastal ali naredil kakršen koli disciplinski prekršek, so stražarji neusmiljeno ustrelili. Ni pretiravanje, da so ti pohodi dobili ime »marši smrti«. Med njihovimi žrtvami sta bila tudi Izidor Hahn iz Murske Sobote in József Schwarz iz Lendave. Taboriščniki, ki so bili prešibki, da bi preživel »marše smrti« v druga taborišča, stražarji pa jih pred odhodom še niso ubili, so ostali. V desetih dneh do prihoda osvoboditeljev jih je veliko umrlo, nekatere so ustrelili esesovci, ki so odstranjevali dokaze o zločinih. 27. januarja 1945 so v Auschwitz prišli sovjetski vojaki. Prvi, ki so vstopili v Birkenau, so bili oblečeni v bela maskirna oblačila in taboriščnikom so se zdeli kot duhovi. Tudi sovjetskim vojakom so se zdeli prizori, ki so jih zagledali v taborišču, povsem neresnični. Zavedajoč se obsega zločinov v Auschwitzu, so Sovjeti in Poljaki takoj po osvoboditvi začeli dokumentirati njegovo delovanje. Kot del tega je nastal tudi sovjetski film *Osvoboditev Auschwitza* režiserke Elizavete Svilove (1900, Moskva – 1975, Moskva). V naslednjih tednih so osvobajali nadaljnja koncentracijska taborišča. Zaradi velikega števila taboriščnikov, umrlih tik pred osvoboditvijo in neposredno po njej, je še posebej znana osvoboditev Bergen-Belsna pri Hannovru, ki ga je britanska vojska osvobodila 15. aprila 1945. Kot zadnje koncentracijsko taborišče je ameriška vojska 5. maja 1945 osvobodila Mauthausen.

The evacuation of Auschwitz began on 17 January 1945 due to the approaching Red Army. The evacuated prisoners walked at least part of the way, which was an immensely difficult feat considering their weakened state, the extremely cold weather and thick snow. Those who could not keep up due to exhaustion or who committed a disciplinary offence were mercilessly shot by the guards. These marches were thus aptly named the 'death marches'. Izidor Hahn from Murska Sobota and József Schwarz from Lendava were two of the death march victims. Those prisoners who were too weak to survive the death marches to other camps, and who were not killed by the guards before leaving, stayed behind. In the ten days leading up to the arrival of the liberators, many of them died and some were shot by the SS, who were removing evidence of the crimes. Soviet soldiers made it to Auschwitz on 27 January 1945. The first soldiers to enter Birkenau were wearing white camouflage clothing and seemed like ghosts to the prisoners. The soldiers, meanwhile, found the scenes they saw in the camp totally surreal. Aware of the extent of the crimes committed, the Soviets and Poles began documenting Auschwitz activities immediately following liberation. The Soviet film *Liberation of Auschwitz* by the filmmaker Elizaveta Svilova (1900, Moscow–1975, Moscow) was part of this. Other concentration camps were liberated in the subsequent weeks. A particularly notorious liberation is that of Bergen-Belsen near Hanover due to the large number of inmates who died immediately before and after the camp was liberated by the British army on 15 April 1945. The last concentration camp to be liberated was Mauthausen on 5 May 1945 by the American army.





Murska Sobota: Edvard Fürst, his wife Terezija, née Hirschl, and their daughters Sarolta/Sarika (1928, Murska Sobota–1948, Maribor) and Erika, 2 January 1940 (photo: Erika Fürst). During the evacuation of Auschwitz, Terezija and Sarika, both of whom were seriously ill, stayed in Birkenau. Erika, who had yet to turn fourteen, escaped the death march, returned to Birkenau and took care of them for ten days, until the arrival of the liberators. She saved their lives.

Murska Sobota: Edvard Fürst, žena Terezija, rojena Hirschl, ter hčeri Sarolta/Sarika (1928, Murska Sobota – 1948, Maribor) in Erika, 2. januar 1940 (fotografija: Erika Fürst). Ob evakuaciji Auschwitzta sta težko bolni Terezija in Sarika ostali v Birkenauu. Še ne štirinajstletna Erika je pobegnila z »marša smrti«, se vrnila v Birkenau in deset dni, do prihoda osvoboditeljev, skrbela zanju. Tako jima je rešila življenje.

Bergen-Belsen: Simon/Sieg Maandag (1937, Amsterdam–2013, Amsterdam) next to the bodies of the prisoners who died just before or after the liberation, 20 April 1945 (photo: George Rodger, Wikipedia).

The most famous victim of Bergen-Belsen is Anne Frank (1929, Frankfurt/Main–1945, Bergen-Belsen). Other individuals liberated here included Miki Grünwald, Oto Konstein, Branko Lustig, Nikola Neumann and Erzsébet Vályi.

Bergen-Belsen: Simon/Sieg Maandag (1937, Amsterdam – 2013, Amsterdam) med trupli taboriščnikov, umrlih tik pred osvoboditvijo in neposredno po njej, 20. april 1945 (fotografija: George Rodger, Wikipedia). Najbolj znana žrtev tega taborišča je Anne Frank (1929, Frankfurt ob Majni – 1945, Bergen-Belsen). V tem taborišču so bili osvobojeni Miki Grünwald, Oto Konstein, Branko Lustig, Nikola Neumann in Erzsébet Vályi.



|    |                                |    |        |
|----|--------------------------------|----|--------|
| 16 | Ilona Dora 80887 Sarajevo      | 17 | Borna  |
| 17 | Maria Marijane 80919 Zagreb    | 18 | Jelena |
| 18 | " Ruža 80918 "                 | 19 | "      |
| 19 | Andor Kara 81170 Pomorje       | 20 | "      |
| 20 | Viki Hira 81250 Tom Sad        | 21 | "      |
| 21 | Maureen Hira 81027 "           | 22 | "      |
| 22 | Norma Ruža 81041 Pomorje       | 23 | "      |
| 23 | Leopoldine Lili 76508 Zagreb   | 24 | "      |
| 24 | Madribovici Ruža 76493 Lendava | 25 | "      |
| 25 | Antelke Kohn 116097 Čakovec    | 26 | "      |
| 26 | Zoor Piroška 81272 "           | 27 | "      |
| 27 | Kaldor Dora 80901 Tom Sad      | 28 | "      |
| 28 | Blava Vilma Marija 82595 "     | 29 | "      |
| 29 | Viki Tara 17234 Lendava        | 30 | "      |
| 30 | Lusik Luciana 82480 Ljubotica  | 31 | "      |
| 31 | " Jelena 82483 "               | 32 | "      |

Auschwitz: Slovenka Leopoldina/Poldka Kos (1889, Idrija – 1968, Golnik) je neposredno po osvoboditvi na obrazce jetniških pisem napisala seznam 57 preživelih Jugoslovank (fotografija: NUK). Na prikazanem delu seznama so navedene Ilona/Jelena Neufeld (1894, Žitkovci – 1984, Čakovec), Piroška/Crvenka Zoor, kasneje poročena Hirschsohn (1912, Čakovec – 2000, Izrael), Magdalena/Magda Schön, kasneje poročena Hirschl (1914, Lendava – 1988, Murska Sobota), ter »Mengelejevi« dvojčici Kohnstein.

Auschwitz: Immediately after the liberation, Slovenian Leopoldina/Poldka Kos (1889, Idrija–1968, Golnik) used prisoner-letter forms to note down the names of the 57 surviving Yugoslav women (photo: NUK). The part of the list shown includes Ilona/Jelena Neufeld (1894, Žitkovci–1984, Čakovec), Piroška/Crvenka Zoor, married name Hirschsohn (1912, Čakovec–2000, Israel), Magdalena/Magda Schön, married name Hirschl (1914, Lendava–1988, Murska Sobota) and two 'Mengele's twins'– the Kohnstein sisters.

Mauthausen: taboriščniki pozdravljajo ameriške osvoboditelje, 7. maj 1945 (fotografija: Donald R. Ornitz, USHMM). Tukaj sta tik pred osvoboditvijo umrli Ivan Lebović iz Čakovca in László Frim iz Murske Sobotice. Morda sta med osvobojenimi taboriščniki na fotografiji dr. Mirko/Imre Kollin (1900, Dobrovnik – 1970, Čakovec) iz Čakovca in János/Janez Fürst (1923, Zalaegerszeg – 1984, n. p.) iz Lendave, ki sta tukaj dočakala osvoboditev.

Mauthausen: prisoners greeting the American liberators, 7 May 1945 (photo: Donald R. Ornitz, USHMM). Ivan Lebović from Čakovec and László Frim from Murska Sobota died here just before the liberation. Two of the liberated prisoners in the photo might be Dr Mirko/Imre Kollin (1900, Dobrovnik–1970, Čakovec) from Čakovec and János/Janez Fürst (1923, Zalaegerszeg–1984, n/a) from Lendava, who were at Mauthausen at the time of the liberation.





Murska Sobota: survivors in the garden of Vályi's villa, June 1945 (photo: Erika Fürst). Sixteen of them are Jews, including 12 former Auschwitz prisoners – 11 women and one man; second row from the left: 4th Terezija Fürst, née Hirschl, 5th Sarika Fürst, 6th Margareta Hahn, née Gross, 7th Sarika Heimer, married name Klein, 8th Liza Berger, 9th Sarika Hahn, married name Horvat, 11th Erika Fürst, 13th presumably Sibila Koblenzer, married name Švarc, 15th Magda Schön, married name Hirschl; third row from the left: 3rd Ernest Náđai.

Murska Sobota: preživeli taboriščniki na vrtu Vályijeve vile, junij 1945 (fotografija: Erika Fürst). Med njimi je 16 Judov, tudi 11 taboriščnik in en taboriščnik iz Auschwitza: 2. vrsta, z leve: 4. Terezija Fürst, rojena Hirschl, 5. Sarika Fürst, 6. Margareta Hahn, rojena Gross, 7. Sarika Heimer, kasneje poročena Klein, 8. Liza Berger, 9. Sarika Hahn, kasneje poročena Horvat, 11. Erika Fürst, 13. morda Sibila Koblenzer, kasneje poročena Švarc, 15. Magda Schön, kasneje poročena Hirschl; 3. vrsta, z leve: 3. Ernest Náđai.





## Vrnitev iz pekla Return from Hell

Osvobojeni taboriščniki so potrebovali telesno in duševno okrevanje. Kljub negi je veliko taboriščnikov, tako kot Nikola Hirschsohn in Geza Singer iz Preloga, umrlo po osvoboditvi. Preživeli so želeli ob prvi priložnosti zapustiti kraje svojega trpljenja in se, vsaj večina, vrniti domov. Odhod so jim preprečevali do nemške kapitulacije 9. maja 1945 še vedno potekajoči boji ter pred tem datumom in pozneje uničene prometnice. Zato je bilo izjemno, da je bil 27. januarja 1945 v Auschwitzu osvobojeni Josip Fischer iz Donje Dubrave doma že sredi aprila. Še vedno je bil oblečen v taboriščno obleko, ki jo hrani Muzej Medžimurja v Čakovcu. Spremenjene politične razmere v državah vzhodno od bodoče železne zaves, mednje je sodila tudi Jugoslavija, so vplivale na odločitev preživelih Judov, kam oditi. Tako se v Jugoslavijo nista vrnila Erzsébet Vályi in Miki Grünwald, dva izmed 6.000 preživelih v Bergen-Belsnu, ki jih je zaradi okrevanja sprejela Švedska. Kakšne so bile razmere, kaže vrnitev Erike Fürst ter njene mame in sestre. Ko so v začetku maja 1945 kot del organiziranega transporta odšle iz Auschwitza, so vzele odeje, nekoč last nekoga izmed 1,3 milijona ljudi, pripeljanih tja. Odeje so jim zelo koristile, saj so potovale na odprtem vagonu. Najhujše je bilo soočenje s posledicami pravkar končane vojne ob prihodu domov. Elizabeta Fürst, rojena Deutsch, se je spominjala svoje vrnitve 25. junija 1945 v Lendavo: »Doma pa nisem našla nič, nič. Prazno hišo. Ko bi vsaj kakega sorodnika našla. Mati je imela pet sester in enega brata, nihče od njih ni preživel. In vsaka od sester je imela enega otroka ali dva. ... edina, ki je ostala in me prepoznala, je bila moja psička Morzsa/Mrvica.«

The liberated prisoners were in dire need of physical and mental recovery. Despite the care they received, many of them – such as Nikola Hirschsohn and Geza Singer from Prelog – died after the liberation. The survivors were eager to leave the places of their suffering at the first opportunity and return home – most of them, at least. Until the German capitulation on 9 May 1945, they were prevented from leaving by ongoing fighting and the roads that had been destroyed before and after the capitulation. This makes the homecoming of Josip Fischer from Donja Dubrava, who was freed from Auschwitz on 27 January 1945 all the more extraordinary – he returned home as early as mid-April. He was still wearing his prisoner uniform, which is now kept at the Međimurje County Museum in Čakovec. The changed political situation in the countries to the east of the future Iron Curtain, including Yugoslavia, influenced the decision of the surviving Jews about where to go. For instance, Erzsébet Vályi and Miki Grünwald, two of the 6,000 Bergen-Belsen survivors who were accepted by Sweden for recovery, did not return to Yugoslavia. Erika Fürst, who returned with her mother and sister, revealed what the situation was like. When they left Auschwitz in early May 1945 as part of an organised transport, they brought along blankets that used to belong to some of the 1.3 million Auschwitz prisoners. The blankets came in very handy, as they were travelling on an open wagon. The worst part was facing the consequences of the war on their return home. Elizabeta Fürst, née Deutsch, remembered coming home to Lendava on 25 June 1945: “There was nothing left at home, nothing. An empty house. If only I had found some of my relatives. My mother had five sisters and a brother, none of them survived. And each of her sisters had a child or two. ... the only one that was still there and recognised me was my dog Morzsa (in English Crumb).”

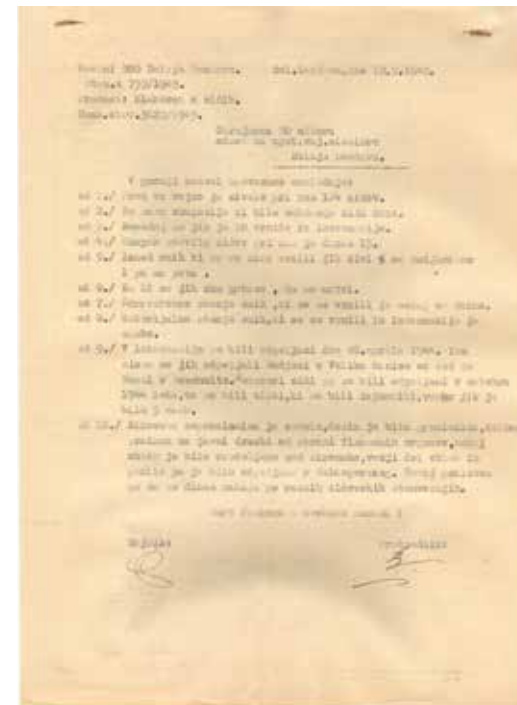


Lendava: Ladislav Vajs on his return, after 30 June 1945 (photo: Galerija-Muzej Lendava). Vajs was one of the Jews in the Hungarian army's labour units who were handed over to the Germans by the Arrow Cross Party. He was liberated from Mauthausen's subcamp in Gunskirchen, where he had contracted and recovered from typhoid. After the liberation, he ran into his cousin Dr Mirko Kollin, a Čakovec-based physician before and after the war. Kollin had come to Mauthausen after the evacuation of Auschwitz, where he arrived on the first transport from Nagykanizsa.

Lendava: Ladislav Vajs ob vrnitvi, po 30. juniju 1945 (fotografija: GML). Vajs je bil med Judi v delovnih enotah madžarske vojske, ki so jih njilaši predali Nemcem. Osvoboditev je dočkal v podružničnem taborišču Mauthausna v Gunskirchnu. V njem je prebolel tifus. Po osvoboditvi je srečal bratranca dr. Mirka Kollina, zdravnika v Čakovcu pred vojno in po njej. Kollin je prišel v Mauthausen po evakuaciji Auschwitza, tja pa je prispel s prvim transportom iz Nagykanizse.

*A Detailed Report on Jews, which was prepared by the Dolnja Lendava Municipal National Liberation Committee on 18 September 1945 for the Murska Sobota War Crimes Commission (photo: PAM). "During the occupation, none of the Jews were at home." This sentence reveals the fact that all the Jews from Lendava were persecuted in one way or another.*

*Elaborat o židih, ki ga je 18. septembra 1945 Mestni narodnoosvobodilni odbor Dolnje Lendave pripravil za komisijo za ugotavljanje vojnih zločinov v Murski Soboti (fotografija: PAM). Stavak »Za časa okupacije ni bilo nobenega žida doma.« sporoča, da so bili vsi lendavski Judje tako ali drugače preganjani.*







Čakovec: sinagoga in veroučna dvorana, po 6. aprilu 1945 (fotografija: Ivan Čerešnješ, CJA). Sinagogo so začeli rušiti po 9. juliju 1944. Kot kaže ta fotografija, rušenje ni bilo popolno. 6. aprila 1945 je ob umiku nemška vojska minirala bližnji most čez Trnavo in s tem povzročila dodatne poškodbe. Ostanke sinagoge so bili odstranjeni leta 1946, torej 110 let po koncu gradnje. Če bi čakovska sinagoga stala še danes, bi bila za dubrovniško in splitsko, ki sta iz 16. stoletja, tretja najstarejša sinagoga na Hrvaškem.

Čakovec: the synagogue and the catechetical classroom, after 6 April 1945 (photo: Ivan Čerešnješ, CJA). The demolition of the synagogue started after 9 July 1944. As revealed by this photo, the building was not fully demolished. On 6 April 1945, during its retreat, the German army mined the nearby bridge across the Trnava, thus causing additional damage. The remains of the synagogue were removed in 1946, i.e. 110 years after it was constructed. If the Čakovec synagogue was still standing, it would be the third oldest synagogue in Croatia, after the Dubrovnik and Split synagogues, which date from the 16th century.

Čakovec: Eva Schwarz (1927, Budimpešta – 2012, Budimpešta), hči predsednika tamkajšnje judovske občine Ljudevita Schwarza, in Miki Grünwald, sin tamkajšnjega rabina Ilije Grünwalda, marec 1944 (fotografija: Oto Konstein, Centropa). Oba sta preživel(a) Auschwitz, Eva še podružnici koncentracijskega taborišča Buchenwald v Gelsenkirchnu in Sömmerdi, Miki koncentracijski taborišči Mittelbau-Dora in Bergen-Belsen. Nobeden od njiju po vojni ni živel v Čakovcu: Eva je živel(a) v Budimpešti, Miki pa na Svedskem, v Franciji in od leta 1948 v Izraelu.

Čakovec: Eva Schwarz (1927, Budapest–2012, Budapest), daughter of Ljudevit Schwarz, chairman of the local Jewish community, and Miki Grünwald, son of the Čakovec Rabbi Ilija Grünwald, March 1944 (photo: Oto Konstein, Centropa). Both of them were Auschwitz survivors. In addition to Auschwitz, Eva had also been in the subcamps of the Buchenwald concentration camps in Gelsenkirchen and Sömmerda, while Miki had been imprisoned in the concentration camps Mittelbau-Dora and Bergen-Belsen. Neither of them lived in Čakovec after the war. Eva lived in Budapest, while Miki lived in Sweden, France and, from 1948, Israel.



Auschwitz II – Birkenau: two Red Army soldiers are looking at children's clothing in front of the abandoned wagons used to transport the victims' belongings to Germany, after 27 January 1945 (photo: Elizaveta Svilova, *Liberation of Auschwitz*, RGAKFD).

Auschwitz II – Birkenau: rdečearmejca si ogledujeta otroško oblačilo pred zapuščenimi vagoni, namenjenimi transportu predmetov žrtev v Nemčijo, po 27. januarju 1945 (fotografija: Elizaveta Svilova, *Osvoboditev Auschwitza*, RGAKFD).





## Odeja Terezije Fürst

### A Blanket Belonging to Terezija Fürst

»Vidimo se doma,« je rekel Edvard Fürst, oče takrat trinajstletne Erike Fürst iz Murske Sobote 28. aprila 1944 njej, njeni mami Tereziji in njeni starejši sestri Šariki, ko so ga iz Nagykanizse odpeljali v koncentracijsko taborišče Auschwitz. Eriko, mamo in sestro so v Auschwitz pripeljali 21. maja 1944, ko je tja prispelo več kot 17.000 Judov, od katerih so jih okoli 13.000 takoj po selekciji usmrtili. Fürstove so ta dan preživele, saj jih je za delo izbral taboriščni zdravnik Josef Mengele. Preživele so tudi vse nadaljnje nevarnosti do evakuacije taborišča 17. januarja 1945. Takrat je Erika pobegnila iz odhajajoče kolone nazaj v taborišče. S tem je rešila mamo in sestro, ki sta bili tako bolni, da so ju pustili v taborišču. Erika je z izjemnim pogumom v desetih dneh do prihoda sovjetskih osvoboditeljev 27. januarja 1945 poiskala vodo, hrano in obleko za mamo in sestro. Obleke je našla v deloma uničenih ogromnih skladiščih predmetov, ki so jih taboriščnikom vzeli pri prihodu. Do začetka maja sta Erikina mama in sestra toliko okrevale, da so se prijavile za odhod. Ob odhodu iz taborišča so vzele odeje, ki so bile nekoč last nekoga izmed 1,3 milijona ljudi, pripeljanih v Auschwitz. Te odeje so jim zelo koristile, saj so potovale na odprtem vagonu. Zadnji del poti so pešačile in ob poti nabirale rože, s katerimi so hotele razveseliti očeta, za katerega so bile prepričane, da jih že čaka doma. Vendar jih tam ni pričakal, pa tudi za njimi ni prišel. Kje in kdaj natančno je umrl, Erika še danes ne ve. Erika Fürst je odejo iz taborišča Auschwitz, ki jo je njena mama uporabljala do vrnitve domov kot pokrivalo, leta 2015 podarila MNZ Ljubljana.

*“I’ll see you at home,”* said Edvard Fürst, father of the then thirteen-year-old Erika Fürst from Murska Sobota, to her, her mother Terezija, and her older sister Šarika on 28 April 1944, when he was taken from Nagykanizsa to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Erika, along with her mother and sister, arrived at Auschwitz on 21 May 1944, among a total of more than 17,000 other Jews. Around 13,000 of them were executed immediately after selection. The Fürst ladies survived that day because they were selected as fit for work by the Auschwitz physician Josef Mengele. They also survived all subsequent dangers until the camp was evacuated on 17 January 1945. During evacuation, Erika escaped from the departing group of inmates, returning to save her mother and sister, who had been left in the camp, as they were too ill to leave. Showing immense courage, Erika searched for water, food, and clothing for her mother and sister in the ten days leading up to the arrival of the Soviet liberators on 27 January 1945. She found clothes in the huge, partially destroyed warehouses full of items that had been taken away from the inmates on arrival. By early May, Erika’s mother and sister had recovered well enough to sign up to leave the camp. While leaving, they took some blankets that used to belong to some of the 1.3 million Auschwitz prisoners. The blankets came in very handy, as they were travelling on an open wagon. They travelled the last part of the way home on foot, picking flowers along the way to give them to their father, who they believed was already waiting for them at home. However, he was not there, nor did he come home later. It is unclear exactly where and when he died. In 2015, Erika Fürst donated the blanket that her mother had used to cover herself on their way home to the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia.









Auschwitz: a  
warehouse storing  
items taken away  
from the inmates  
on arrival –  
clothing, after  
27 January 1945  
(photo: RGAKFD).

Auschwitz:  
skladišče  
predmetov,  
ki so jih vzeli  
taboriščnikom pri  
prihodu – oblačila,  
po 27. januarju  
1945 (fotografija:  
RGAKFD).





Auschwitz:  
skladišče  
predmetov,  
ki so jih vzeli  
taboriščnikom pri  
prihodu – ščetke,  
po 27. januarju 1945  
(fotografija: Instytut  
Pamięci Narodowej  
oz. USHMM).

Auschwitz: a  
warehouse storing  
items taken away  
from the inmates  
on arrival –  
brushes, after  
27 January 1945  
(photo: Instytut  
Pamięci Narodowej  
/ USHMM).



Auschwitz: a  
warehouse storing  
items taken away  
from the inmates  
on arrival –  
suitcases, after  
27 January 1945  
(photo: RGAKFD.

Auschwitz:  
skladišče  
predmetov,  
ki so jih vzeli  
taboriščnikom pri  
prihodu – kovčki,  
po 27. januarju  
1945 (fotografija:  
RGAKFD.





Auschwitz: skladišče predmetov, ki so jih vzeli taboriščnikom pri prihodu – čevlji in oblačila, po 27. januarju 1945 (fotografija: Elizaveta Svilova, *Osvoboditev Auschwitza*, RGAKFD).

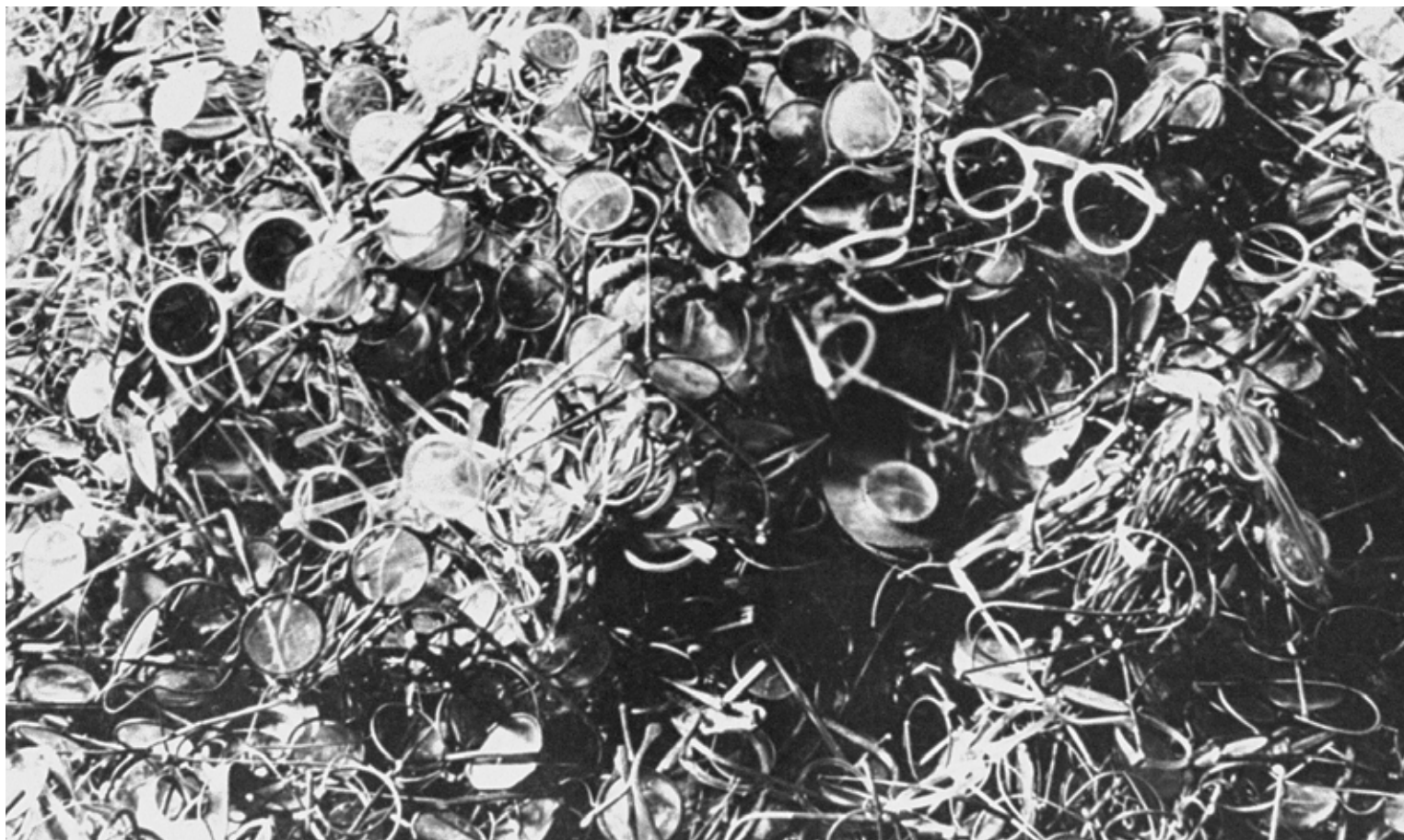
Auschwitz: a warehouse storing items taken away from the inmates on arrival – clothing and footwear, after 27 January 1945 (photo: Elizaveta Svilova, *Liberation of Auschwitz*, RGAKFD).



Auschwitz: a  
warehouse storing  
items taken away  
from the inmates  
on arrival – tallits  
(Jewish prayer  
shawls), after  
27 January 1945  
(photo: APMAB).

Auschwitz:  
skladišče  
predmetov, ki so jih  
vzeli taboriščnikom  
pri prihodu – taliti  
(judovski molitveni  
šali), po 27. januarju  
1945 (fotografija:  
APMAB).





Auschwitz:  
skladišče  
predmetov, ki so jih  
vzeli taboriščnikom  
pri prihodu –  
očala, 14. oktober  
1945 (fotografija:  
American Red  
Cross, USHMM).

Auschwitz: a  
warehouse storing  
items taken away  
from the inmates on  
arrival – glasses,  
14 October 1945  
(photo: American  
Red Cross,  
USHMM).



Lendava: Main Street 46, entrance to the former Balkányi stationery store and printing house, 17 September 2019 (photo: Domen Kodrič). Erika Fürst, the last Prekmurje-based Holocaust survivor, is handing over a Stolperstein to Gunter Demnig, the initiator of the Stolpersteine project. Behind her is Ali Žerdin, editor of the Saturday supplement of the *Delo* newspaper, the successor to the *Ljudska pravica* newspaper, which was printed at the printing house in 1934–1935. Žerdin handed over the next Stolperstein.

Lendava: Glavna ulica 46, vhod v nekdanjo trgovino s papirjem in tiskarno Balkányi, 17. september 2019 (fotografija: Domen Kodrič). Zadnja v Prekmurju živeča preživela holokavsta Erika Fürst predaja stolperstein Gunterju Demnigu, avtorju ideje postavljanja stolpersteinov. Za njo Ali Žerdin, urednik Sobotne priloge časnika *Delo*, naslednika časopisa *Ljudska pravica*, ki so ga tukaj tiskali v letih 1934 in 1935. Žerdin je predal naslednji stolperstein.



## Ohranjanje spomina v Prekmurju Remembrance in Prekmurje

Judovski skupnosti v Murski Soboti in Lendavi sta se tako zmanjšali, da nobena od njiju po vojni ni bila sposobna doseči minjana, tj. prisotnosti desetih moških, starejših od 13 let, ki so potrebni za izvajanje obredov v sinagogi, zato delovanja sinagog ni bilo mogoče obnoviti. Večino že tako maloštevilnih preživelih prekmurskih Judov so povojne razmere odvrnile od življenja v Jugoslaviji. Ni si težko predstavljati, zakaj so bili preživeli v holokavstu pobudniki postavitve prvega in dolgo časa edinega slovenskega spomenika žrtvam holokavsta na judovskem pokopališču v Dolgi vasi. Zavednim Lendavčanom gre zasluga, da se s tem pokopališčem ni zgodilo tako kot z judovskim pokopališčem v Murski Soboti. Spremenjene politične razmere po osamosvojitvi Slovenije in povečana zavest o pomenu judovske zgodovine so botrovale tako v letih 1992–2002 potekajoči obnovi lendavske sinagoge kot tudi nastanku knjige *Židje v Lendavi* = *A lendvai zsidóság* leta 1997. V stalni postavitvi Pomurskega muzeja Murska Sobota od leta 1997 in v sinagogi kot delu Galerije-Muzeja Lendava od leta 2002 sta muzejski predstavitvi judovske zgodovine Prekmurja. V letih 2019 in 2022 so vse te spoštovanja vredne dosežke dopolnili še *stolpersteini* (tudi tlakovci spomina in spotikavci) pred domovi devetih judovskih družin: petih v Lendavi, treh v Murski Soboti in ene v Šalovcih. S tem so se spomini nanje vrnil tja, kamor najbolj sodijo: domov.

The Jewish communities of Murska Sobota and Lendava were reduced to such an extent that after the war neither of them was able to meet the minyan requirement, i.e. the presence of ten men over the age of 13 required to perform synagogue rituals. Consequently, it was not possible to restore operation of the synagogues. Most of the very few surviving Jews of Prekmurje were deterred from life in Yugoslavia by the post-war situation. One can imagine why the Holocaust survivors were the initiators of the first, and for a long time the only, Slovenian memorial to the Holocaust victims at the Jewish cemetery in Dolga vas. It is owing to the culturally-minded people of Lendava that this cemetery did not share the fate of the Jewish cemetery in Murska Sobota. The changed political situation following Slovenia's independence and the increased awareness of the importance of Jewish history contributed both to the renovation of the Lendava synagogue in 1992–2002 and to the creation of the book *Jews in Lendava* (*Židje v Lendavi* / *A lendvai zsidóság*) in 1997. The Jewish history of Prekmurje has been presented as part of the permanent exhibition of the Pomurje Museum Murska Sobota and in the synagogue, as part of the Lendava Gallery-Museum, since 1997 and 2002 respectively. In 2019 and 2022, these remarkable achievements were supplemented by the *Stolpersteine*, i.e. remembrance stumbling stones, in front of the homes of nine Jewish families: five in Lendava, three in Murska Sobota and one in Šalovci. Thus, the memory of the Jews returned to where it belongs most: home.





Lendava: Lajos Blau and Yoel Shachar, 1995 (photo: GML). For decades, Blau – together with his second wife Klara, née Kelemen (1908, Čakovec–1997, n/a), also a Holocaust survivor – was living proof of the existence of a once strong Jewish community of Lendava. In 2013, Shachar wrote his memoirs in the form of an autobiographical novel titled *Tibi. A Boy's Journey*. It was published in English, Hebrew, Hungarian and German, but unfortunately not yet in Slovenian.

Lendava: Lajos Blau in Yoel Shachar, 1995 (fotografija: GML). Blau je bil desetletja skupaj z drugo ženo Klaro, rojeno Kelemen (1908, Čakovec – 1997, n. p.), prav tako preživel v holokavstu, vsem Lendavčanom še vedno živi dokaz obstoja nekdanje močne judovske skupnosti. Shachar je leta 2013 zapisal svoje spomine v obliki avtobiografskega romana z naslovom *Tibi. Dečkovo potovanje*. Izšli so v angleščini, hebrejščini, madžarščini in nemščini, žal pa še ne v slovenščini.

Dolga vas: Memorial to the Holocaust Victims, erected in 1947 (photo: GML). The initiators of the first, and for a long time the only, Slovenian memorial to the Holocaust victims were Lajos Blau, Elizabeta Fürst, née Deutsch, her husband János/Janez Fürst, and Ladislav Vajs.

Dolga vas: spomenik žrtvam holokavsta, postavljen leta 1947 (fotografija: GML). Pobudniki postavljanja prvega in dolgo časa edinega slovenskega spomenika žrtvam holokavsta so bili Lajos Blau, zakonca Elizabeta, rojena Deutsch, in János/Janez Fürst ter Ladislav Vajs.





Murska Sobota: rušenje sinagoge v Lendavski ulici, maj 1954 (fotografija: Jože Kološa, PMMS). Na njenem mestu so po načrtih Ferija Novaka (1906, Murska Sobota – 1959, Sračinec), sicer najpomembnejšega arhitekta Murske Sobote, sezidali prvi stanovanjski blok v mestu. Za njegovo gradnjo so uporabili tudi material porušene sinagoge. 26. aprila 2014 so ob 70. obletnici deportacije Judov iz Murske Sobote na kraju nekdanje sinagoge postavili spomenik.

Murska Sobota: demolition of the synagogue in Lendavska Street, May 1954 (photo: Jože Kološa, PMMS). The town's first residential block of flats was built in its place, based on plans by Feri Novak (1906, Murska Sobota–1959, Sračinec), Murska Sobota's most prominent architect. The construction material used included material from the demolished synagogue. A memorial was erected on the site of the former synagogue on 26 April 2014, on the 70th anniversary of the deportation of Jews from Murska Sobota.

Lendava: sinagoga, del muzejske predstavitve judovske zgodovine Prekmurja, 26. april 2023 (fotografija: Domen Kodrič). Leta 2002 postavljena razstava *Zgodovina dolnjelendavskih Židov* avtorjev Beáta Lázár in Lászla Németha je bila leta 2012 razširjena z razstavo *Židovstvo Prekmurja* avtorjev Kepéné dr. Bihar Márie in dr. Lendvai Kepe Zoltána.

Lendava: the synagogue, part of the museum's exhibition on the Jewish history of Prekmurje, 26 April 2023 (photo: Domen Kodrič). The exhibition *The History of the Jews of Dolnja Lendava*, curated by Beáta Lázár and Lászlo Németh in 2002, was expanded in 2012 with the exhibition *The Jewry of Prekmurje* by Dr Mária Kepéné Bihar and Dr Zoltán Lendvai Kepe.





Čakovec: the opening of the exhibition *Jews in Međimurje* (in Croatian *Židovi u Međimurju*), Međimurje County Museum, 17 December 2006 (photo: ŽOČ). The speaker is exhibition curator, Vladimir Kalšan, MA, museum director 1981–1989 and 2006–2016. On the far left is Dr Andrej Pal, chairman of the Čakovec Jewish Community at the time and now. In 2006, the community numbered 18 members.

Čakovec: otvorenje razstave *Judje v Međimurju* (hrvaško *Židovi u Međimurju*), Muzej Međimurja, 17. decembar 2006 (fotografija: ŽOČ). Govori avtor razstave mag. Vladimir Kalšan, sicer direktor muzeja v letih 1981–1989 in 2006–2016. Skrajno levo dr. Andrej Pal, takratni in sedanji predsednik Judovske občine Čakovec. Leta 2006 je imela občina 18 članov.



## Ohranjanje spomina v Medžimurju Remembrance in Međimurje

Za razliko od Murske Sobote in Lendave je bilo v Čakovcu dovolj preživelih za minjan. Leta 1946 je imela judovska občina Čakovec 98 članov. Obredi so bili v njenih prostorih in ne v sinagogi. Ta je bila v letih 1944–1945 zelo poškodovana in zato leta 1946 odstranjena. Pričevanja nekaterih medžimurskih Judov so bila uporabljena na prvih povojnih procesih proti zločincem koncentracijskih taborišč, tako pričevanje Margite Weiss (1910, Rogašovci – 1975, Čakovec) na procesu proti zločincem Bergen-Belsna v Lüneburgu leta 1945. Že od leta 1946 se na judovskem pokopališču v Čakovcu vsakega 21. maja zberejo preživeli in njihovi sorodniki v spomin na dan v letu 1944, ko je iz Nagykanizse v Auschwitz prispel drugi transport in je bilo ubitih največ medžimurskih Judov. Povojne razmere izkazuje tudi procesa zaradi »kolaboracije« proti Lajos Balkányiju in sicer odsotnemu Sándorju Teszlerju. Večino preživelih medžimurskih Judov, 65 do leta 1953, so povojne razmere prepričale v selitev v Izrael. Poznavanje zgodovine medžimurskih Judov je pomembno okrepila leta 1977 v Izraelu izšla knjiga o zgodovini judovske občine Čakovec. V spremenjenih političnih razmerah po osamosvojitvi Hrvaške se je povečala zavest o pomenu judovske zgodovine. Muzej Međimurja Čakovec je to dokazal z razstavo o Judih v Medžimurju leta 2006, ki jo je spremljal katalog. Vse te spoštovanja vredne dosežke so dopolnili še *stolpersteini* (hrvaško *kameni spoticanja*) pred domovi medžimurskih Judov v času holokavsta: leta 2021 19 v Čakovcu in devet v Prelogu ter leta 2023 28 v Čakovcu. S tem so se spomini na medžimurske žrtve holokavsta vrnili tja, kamor najbolj sodijo: domov.

Unlike Murska Sobota and Lendava, Čakovec had enough survivors for a minyan. In 1946, the Čakovec Jewish community numbered 98 members. Their rituals took place on the community's premises and not in the synagogue, which had been badly damaged in 1944–1945 and was consequently demolished in 1946. The testimonies of some Jews from Međimurje were used at the first post-war trials against the concentration camp perpetrators. One of the witnesses who gave a testimony was Margita Weiss (1910, Rogašovci–1975, Čakovec) at the 1945 trial against the Bergen-Belsen perpetrators in Lüneburg. The day in 1944 when the second transport arrived from Nagykanizsa to Auschwitz and the largest number of Jews from Međimurje were killed has been commemorated annually since 1946 by the survivors and their relatives, who gather at the Jewish cemetery in Čakovec on 21 May every year. What the post-war situation was like is further demonstrated by the 'collaboration trial' against Lajos Balkány and the absent Sándor Teszler. Most of the Jewish Holocaust survivors from Međimurje, i.e. 65 of them in the pre-1953 period, decided to move to Israel in light of the situation. A book that contributed significantly to our understanding of the history of the Jews from Međimurje focused on the Čakovec Jewish community; it was published in Israel in 1977. In the changed political circumstances following Croatia's declaration of independence, awareness of the importance of Jewish history increased. In 2006, the Međimurje County Museum Čakovec proved this with an exhibition on the Jews in Međimurje and an accompanying catalogue. All these noteworthy achievements were supplemented by the *Stolpersteine* (*Stumbling Stones; kameni spoticanja* in Croatian) installed in front of the homes of Jews in Međimurje: 19 in Čakovec (2021), 9 in Prelog (2021), and 28 in Čakovec (2023). Thus, the memories of the Holocaust victims from Međimurje returned to where they properly belonged – home.





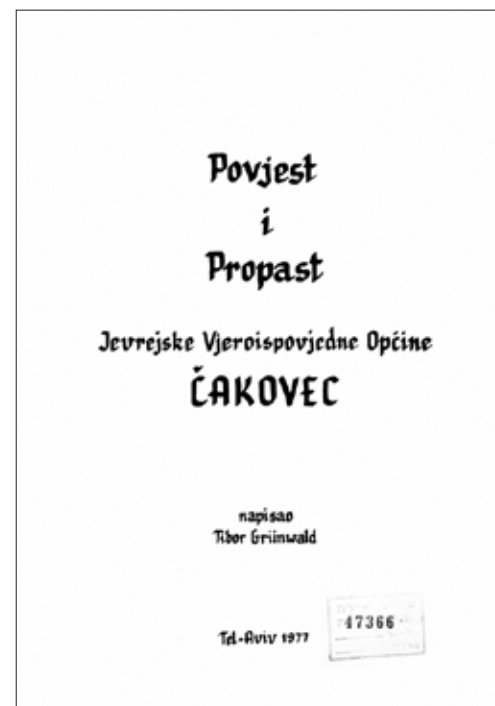
The cover of the book *Povjest i propast Jevrejske vjeroispovjedne općine Čakovec* (The History and Decline of the Čakovec Jewish Religious Community), published in Tel Aviv in 1977. It was authored by Tibor Grünwald, also known as Moshe Etz Chaim, the eldest son of the last Rabbi of Čakovec, Dr Ilija Grünwald.

Moshe left for Palestine in 1935 and was the first student from Yugoslavia to complete his Judaism studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Hebrew part of the book is summarised in Croatian. The book contains a list of 428 Holocaust victims from Međimurje.

Naslovnica knjige *Povjest i propast Jevrejske vjeroispovjedne općine Čakovec* (Zgodovina in propad Judovske verske občine Čakovec), izšle v Tel Avivu leta 1977. Avtor knjige je najstarejši sin zadnjega čakovskega rabina dr. Ilije Grünwalda Tibor oz. Moše Ec-Hajim. Moše je leta 1935 odšel v Palestino in je kot prvi iz Jugoslavije dokončal študij judaistike na Hebrejski univerzi v Jeruzalemu. Hebrejski del knjige je povzet v hrvaščini. Del knjige je tudi spisek 428 žrtev holokavsta iz Međimurja.

Andrija/Endre Kollin (1903, Dobrovnik–1965, Čakovec): Hungarian Society of Camp Prisoners member card, which shows that Kollin was in the Auschwitz concentration camp and the Jawischowitz subcamp (photo: MMC). His testimony was used at the 1947 Auschwitz trial in Kraków. The testimonies of two other Jews from Međimurje were used at this trial: Martin Stern (1895, Sivica—after 1945, n/a) and Dr Stjepan Wolf.

Andrija/Endre Kollin (1903, Dobrovnik – 1965, Čakovec): izkaznica madžarskega združenja taboriščnikov, s katere je vidno, da je bil v koncentracijskem taborišču Auschwitz in podružničnem taborišču Jawischowitz (fotografija: MMC). Njegovo pričevanje je bilo uporabljeno na procesu proti zločincem Auschwitza v Krakovu leta 1947. Na tem procesu sta bili uporabljeni pričanji še dveh međimurskih Judov, Martina Sterna (1895, Sivica – po 1945, n. p.) in dr. Stjepana Wolfa.



Čakovec: spomenik žrtvam holokavsta na judovskem pokopališču iz leta 1948 s kipom, ki ga je naredil znani međimurski kipar Lujo Bezeredi (1898, Nova – 1979, Čakovec) (fotografija: CJA). Na bazi kipa je datum 21. maj 1944. To je datum smrti največjega števila međimurskih Judov. V Izraelu živeči preživeli so tam leta 1963 postavili drugo spominsko ploščo. Podobno kot v Čakovcu potekajo ob tej plošči vsakoletne komemoracije.

Čakovec: a memorial to the Holocaust victims at the Jewish cemetery with a sculpture created in 1948 by the prominent Međimurje-based sculptor Lujo Bezeredi (1898, Nova–1979, Čakovec) (photo: CJA). The date 21 May 1944 is inscribed on the sculpture base, i.e. the date when the largest number of Jews from Međimurje died. The Holocaust survivors who now live in Israel erected a second memorial plaque in Israel in 1963. Much like in Čakovec, commemorative ceremonies take place at this plaque every year.



Naslovnica knjige *U službi doktora Mengelea* (V službi doktorja Mengeleja), izšle v Zagrebu leta 1981. Avtor knjige je leta 1944 v okviru *Ungarnaktion* v Auschwitz poslani zdravnik dr. Miklós Nyiszli (1901, Šimleu Silvaniei – 1956, Oradea). Kot patolog dr. Mengeleja je delal v krematoriju II v Birkenauu. Dr. Nyiszli je svoje spomine na Auschwitz leta 1947 objavil v madžarščini. V hrvaščino sta knjigo prevedla preživela holokavsta iz Međimurja Eva Schwarz in Ivica Singer.

The cover of the book *U službi doktora Mengelea* (I Was Doctor Mengele's Assistant), published in Zagreb in 1981. It was authored by Dr Miklós Nyiszli (1901, Šimleu Silvaniei–1956, Oradea), a physician sent to Auschwitz as part of the *Ungarnaktion*. Nyiszli worked in Birkenau's Crematorium II as Dr Mengele's pathologist. His Auschwitz memoirs were published in Hungarian in 1947. The book was translated into Croatian by two Holocaust survivors from Međimurje, Eva Schwarz and Ivica Singer.



## Video ob razstavi Video accompanying the exhibition



TITLE: Liberation of Auschwitz  
DIRECTED BY: Elizaveta Svilova  
TIME OF RECORDING: after 27 January 1945  
LOCATION: Auschwitz, Poland  
KEPT BY: Russian State Film and Photo Archive

NASLOV: Osvoboditev Auschwitza  
REŽIJA: Elizaveta Svilova  
ČAS NASTANKA: po 27. januarju 1945  
LOKACIJA: Auschwitz, Poljska  
HRANI: Ruski državni filmski in fotografski arhiv



NASLOV: Grozodejstva v Seeshauptu  
 V VIDEOU: Šarika Hahn ob vagonih  
 ČAS NASTANKA: 1. maj 1945  
 LOKACIJA: Seeshaupt, Nemčija  
 HRANI: Spominski muzej holokavsta Združenih držav Amerike  
 z dovoljenjem Državne uprave za arhive in evidence

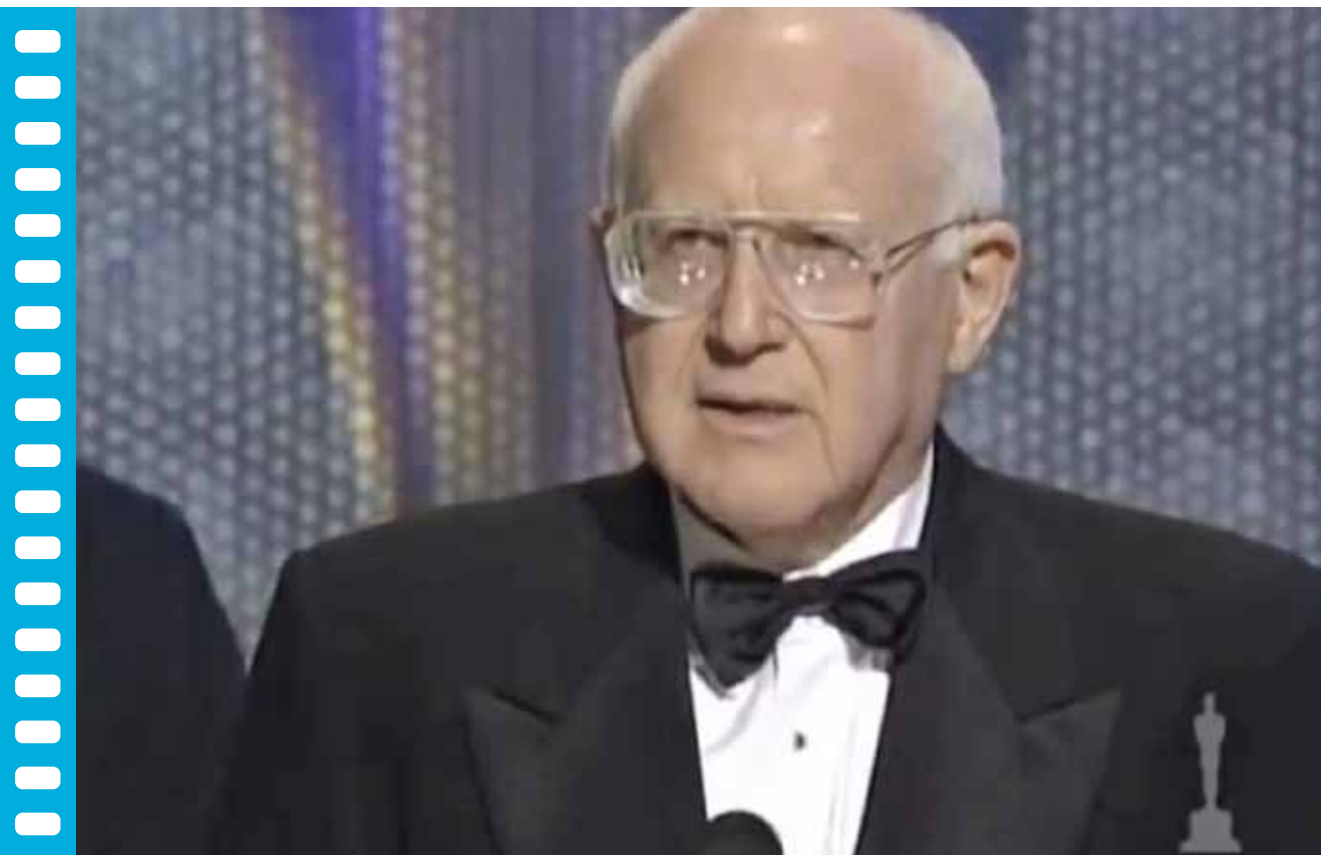
TITLE: Atrocities in Seeshaupt  
 IN THE VIDEO: Šarika Hahn by the train carts  
 TIME OF RECORDING: 1 May 1945  
 LOCATION: Seeshaupt, Germany  
 KEPT BY: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,  
 courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration



Poskeniraj QR kodo in si oglej video posnetek  
 Scan the QR code and watch the video







**TITLE:** Schindler's List winning Best Picture  
**CONTENTS:** Speech of co-producer Branko Lustig  
**TIME OF RECORDING:** 21 March 1994  
**LOCATION:** Los Angeles, USA  
**KEPT BY:** Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences

**NASLOV:** Schindlerjev seznam osvoji oskarja za najboljši film  
**VSEBINA:** Govor koproducenta Branka Lustiga  
**ČAS NASTANKA:** 21. marec 1994  
**LOKACIJA:** Los Angeles, ZDA  
**HRANI:** Akademija filmskih umetnosti in znanosti



**Scan the QR code and watch the video**  
**Poskeniraj QR kodo in si oglej video posnetek**

NASLOV: Auschwitz danes  
SNEMALEC: Domen Kodrič  
ČAS NASTANKA: 3.–5. december 2019  
LOKACIJA: Državni muzej Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poljska  
HRANI: Sinagoga Maribor

TITLE: Auschwitz today  
RECORDED BY: Domen Kodrič  
TIME OF RECORDING: 3–5 December 2019  
LOCATION: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, Poland  
KEPT BY: Synagoga Maribor





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## Sources and literature

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**Erika Fürst**, Murska Sobota

**Oto Konstein**, Zagreb

**Alenka Nadai**, Murska Sobota

**Helena Romano**, Jeruzalem / **Jerusalem**

**†Ivica in / and Alice Singer**, Zagreb

**†Gizela Straková**, Svitavy

##### Dokumenti, fotografije in pričevanja iz / Documents, photographs and testimonies from

##### Privatni arhivi / Private archives

**Beit Zayit**: Helena Romano

**Beltinci**: Ludvik Penhofer in / and Bojan Zadavec

**Čakovec**: mag. Vladimir Kalšan

**Kfar Vradim**: Amnon Leitner

**Murska Sobota**: Sara Božanić, Boris Cigüt, Erika Fürst, Mark Krenn, † Franc Kuzmič,  
Alenka Náday, Vera Pintarič, Irena Šavel in / and Miran Žilavec

**Tešanovci**: Jani Fartelj in / and Irena Sambt

**Varaždin**: Lovorka Gotal Dmitrović

**Zagreb**: Jasminka Cajzler, Oto Konstein, Sonja Pekota in družina Singer / and the Singer family

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és Levéltár

**Čakovec**: Muzej Međimurja Čakovec (= MMČ) in / and Židovska općina Čakovec (= ŽOČ)

**Dunaj / Vienna**: Central Europe Center for Research and Documentation (= Centropa)

**Jeruzalem / Jerusalem**: The Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
(= CJA) in / and Yad Vashem, The World Holocaust Remembrance Center (= Yad  
Vashem)

**Lendava**: Galerija-Muzej Lendava/Galéria-Múzeum Lendva (= GML)

**Ljubljana**: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Muzej novejšje in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije  
(= MNZ Ljubljana), Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica (= NUK) in / and Slovenski  
etnografski muzej (= SEM)

**Maribor**: Pokrajinski arhiv Maribor (= PAM)

**Moskva / Moscow**: Российский государственный архив кинофотодокументов / Russian State  
Film and Photo Archive (= RGAKFD)

**Murska Sobota**: Pomurski muzej Murska Sobota (= PMMS)

**Nagykanizsa**: Thúry György Múzeum

**Novi Sad**: Muzej Vojvodine

**Oświęcim**: Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau (= APMAB)

**Washington, D. C.**: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (= USHMM)

**Zagreb**: Hrvatski državni arhiv (= HDA)

Vsem se iskreno zahvaljujemo.

/ We sincerely thank everyone for his or her contribution.



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# Zgodba o dveh transportih.

MEDŽIMURSKI IN PREKMURSKI JUDJE MED HOLOKAVSTOM

## A Story of Two Transports.

JEWS IN MEĐIMURJE AND PREKMURJE DURING THE HOLOCAUST

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MEĐIMURSKI IN PREKMURSKI JUDJE MED HOLOKAVSTOM JEWS IN MEDIMURJE AND PREKMURJE DURING THE HOLOCAUST