Alexandar Matkovski

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN MACEDONIA



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ABBREVIATIONS

VIIB	Vojno-Istoriski Institut — Beograd (Military-Historical Institute — Belgrade)
FKM	Federalna Komisija na Makedonija za Utvrduvanje Zlodelata na Okupatorite i nivnite Pomagači (Federal Commission of Macedonia for the Establishment of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
DK	Državna Komisija za Utvrđivanje Zločina Okupatora i njihovih Pomagača (State Commission for the Establishment of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
VJOS	Veroispovedna Jevrejska Opština u Skoplju (Jewish Religious Community of Skopje)
SJVOJ	Savez Jevrejskih Veroispovednih Opština Jugoslavije u Beogradu (Association of Jewish Religious Communities of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade)
KEP	Komesarstvo za Evrejski Prašanja so sedište vo Sofija (Commissariat for Jewish Problems, Sofia)
KEPS	Komesarstvo za Evrejski Prašanja za grad Skopje (Commissariat for Jewish Problems of Skopje)
MVRB	Ministerstvo za Vnatrešni Raboti na Bugarija (Ministry of the Interior of Bulgaria)

AMS	Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje (Archives of Macedonia, Skopje)
NFP	Narodna Federativna Partija (National Federal Party)
MVR	Ministerstvo za Vnatrešni Raboti (Ministry of the Interior)
MNR	Ministerstvo za Nadvorešni Raboti (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
EVO	Evrejski Veroispovedni Opštini (Jewish Religious Communities)
SRPG	Socijalistička Rabotnička Partija na Grcija (Socialist Worker's Party of Greece)
JA	Jevrejski Almanah, Izdanie na SJVOJ (Jewish Almanac, published by the SJVOJ)
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica* — Jerusalem
JP	*Jevrejski Pregled* — Beograd
JIMB	Jevrejski Istoriski Muzej — Beograd (Jewish Historical Museum — Belgrade)
GINI	*Glasnik* na Institutot za Nacionalna Istorija — Skopje *(Review* of the Institute of National History — Skopje)
GOKPOENRB	*Godišnik* na Opštestvena Kulturno-prosvetna Organizacija na Evreite v Narodna Republika B'lgarija, Sofija (Annual of the Social, Cultural-Educational Organization of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria)

I.

THE JEWS OF MACEDONIA IN ANTIQUITY

Macedonian Jews until the Christian Era

The history of the Jews of the Balkan Peninsula represents the least-studied part of the history of the Jewish people. Simon Dubnow, the noted historian of the Jews, has admitted that he is least familiar with the history of the Jews of the Balkans, and even more particularly with that of the Jews of Macedonia. Numerous wars have destroyed those few artifacts and written sources which existed, while, because of the disinterest of the previous regimes or perhaps due to the cultural standards of the time, the archives of the Jewish communities of the Balkan Peninsula, including Macedonia, remained unexamined and unstudied even until the last world war, when not only were the Jews exterminated, but also their communities where the historical archives had been kept. Archives, communities, synagogues and Jewish cemeteries were demolished, while national and historical treasures were plundered. Thus, after the war, it became all the more difficult to write about the history of the Jews of Macedonia.

Already in the 6th century B.C., because of foreign invasions, Jews had begun to emigrate from Palestine throughout almost the entire world. They became a nation having neither its own country nor its own homeland.

Having been forcibly expelled, the Jews were received as martyrs in some places, while in others they were despised. At first this hatred was spread by the propaganda of the Christian Church and of Islam, on religious grounds. In more recent times

it has been spread by various idealogues and politicians manifesting racist tendencies. Behind their theories were concealed murderous intentions.

The Jews who were expelled, and thereby also weakened, were pillaged and terrorized. The number of countries where they have not been persecuted has been small.

History has not provided a definitive answer to the question, from when can we date the presence of Jews in the Balkan Peninsula, specifically in Macedonia. Opinions concerning this question are divided. There are those who claim that the Jews came after Darius' campaign against the Scythians (approximately 513 B.C.); others date their presence to after the campaign of Alexander the Great in Asia Minor (approximately 330 B.C.); yet a third opinion is that they arrived after the conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Romans, particularly after the capture of Jerusalem (circa 130 B.C.) and the final collapse of the Jewish state.[2]

Whereas the above-mentioned opinions are more or less accurate, Yugoslav historians have heretofore accepted the inaccurate opinion of Rachkin, who states that, "it is possible that there were Jews in the cities of Dalmatia before the 12th century, not to mention that they may have been present in the interior as well";[3] and the opinion of Kljaich, who claims that, "the Jews arrived in Bosnia toward the end of the 15th century and in other regions of Serbia at the beginning of the 16th century".[4]

We are of the opinion that there have been Jews in the Balkan Peninsula since before the Christian Era, but this opinion is not connected with any single, concrete historical event. In any case, it must be accepted as accurate that the Jews reached the Balkans quite early, before the South Slavs, and that they constitute one of the oldest ethnic groups in Macedonia.

There is an hypothesis that the first Jews in the Balkans came as slaves in the 6th century B.C., having been brought by Phoenician merchants who sold them in the Ionian Islands. Despite the lack of certain data, there is a basis for the assumption that the Jews, as merchants, accompanied the Phoenicians, who as seafarers sailed the oceans. The Phoenicians and Jews also had a common origin and language, with only their religion differentiating them. It is assumed that there were Jews in the Phoenician colonies from Kherson (in Russia) to Spain. The time of the Jews' first appearance in Europe is nearly impossible to determine with exact information, but it is nonetheless certain that they first appeared in the Balkan Peninsula. This has been established by the study of the oldest Balkan languages, in which clear traces of Semitic, Phoenician and Hebrew words have been found. According to some Greek archeologists, it is thought that there were Jews in Greece and along the Aegean coast approximately six hundred

years before Christ. The Jewish historian, S. Rosanes, claims that Jews participated in the military campaigns of Darius in the 6th century B.C., and that the first Jews subsequently settled in the Balkans, especially in Moesia. Although many historians have accepted this idea, it still remains only an hypothesis based on a few traces of Semitic cults found around Haemus (the Balkan Range). According to Rosanes, Jews from among the Persians, Meades and Palestinians accompanied Darius' soldiers against the Scythians in 513 B.C., and at the time of these campiagns some Jews also traversed Macedonia.[5] It has been suggested that Jews came through Macedonia at the time of the second Persian Wars (480—479 B.C.), this being based on several traces of the cult of the Semitic god El, dating from that time, which have been found in the Balkans.[6]

Palestine was conquered by Alexander the Great in 322 B.C. Henceforth began the gradual but forced resettlement of Jews throughout all the Hellenic and other neighboring territories. The Jewish writer, Josephus Flavius, has left us the information that the Jews were supporters of Alexander the Great and that many belonged to his army. From that time, a greater number of Jews appeared in the Balkans and in Macedonia. In the Third Macedonian War (170—168 B.C.), the last Macedonian king, Perseus, lost Salonika, Stobi and several other cities. In these areas the Romans found Jews, among others.[7]

The first more definite data for the settlement of Jews in the Balkans come from 140 B.C., when it is known that Jews settled along the Thracian and Aegean coasts, as well as in Salonika. A more massive settlement of Jews along the coastline and in Salonika occurred at the time of the civil war between Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy the Philometor, and Physcon. Upon Physcon's victory, many Jews who had sided with Cleopatra, especially seafarers and merchants, fled to Salonika for fear of reprisals. As of that time we find tombstones in Salonika which have the name Avram engraved on them.[8] From surviving inscriptions, such as those on the ruins of synagogues in Athens, Patras, and Salonika from the second and first centuries B. C., one may conclude that the Jews of those cities, even at that time, were organized as autonomous communities which enjoyed certain religious privileges. For example, they were permitted to celebrate their Sabbath, to observe their own norms of cleanliness and diet and, according to the so-called *isopolitea*, they were exempt from certain civil obligations. And even if the *isopolitea* did not guarantee the Jews all civil rights, they nonetheless approached the rights of Greeks and other citizens.[9]

When the Roman commander Pompei captured Jerusalem in 63 B. C., he forcibly transported many Jewish prisoners of war to Rome. Shortly thereafter a Jewish quarter was established in

Rome and then in other Roman provinces as well.[10] The first uprising against Rome in Palestine took place in 40 B. C. After the three years needed to quell the rebellion, many of the captured rebels were transported to Roman colonies in Macedonia where they were made slaves. In one of his letters to the Roman emperor Caligula, the Jewish king Herod Igripa (10 B. C.) mentions that there were then old Jewish communities in Macedonia. The Alexandrian philosopher, Philo, also confirms this fact.[11]

It is interesting to note that in the oldest Bibles and Hebrew manuscripts Macedonia is called Kitim. Thus, in the first Book of the Maccabes, Chapter I, it is written: "Alexander the Macedonian, son of Philip, defeated Darius as soon as he departed from Kitim". In Chapter VIII one finds, "the Romans defeated Perseus, King of Kitim". Even at the time of the division of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires in 395 a.d., Jewish sources identify Macedonia as "Yavan", that is, Greece. It must be stressed that from the time of the Macedonian conquest Palestine has had Macedonian toponyms, such as Pela, Verea, Dion and others.[12]

After this period of antiquity when they first settled in the Balkans, the Jews clashed with Greek and Roman culture and religion, which in many ways differed from their own. It is necessary to outline the differences between these two cultures which conflicted in Macedonia at that time. The religion of the Hellenes and Romans had already foregone the belief in the forces of nature, typical of agrarian society, but nevertheless retained a belief in various gods who embodied natural and supernatural forces that were greater than man. They did not share the view held by the Jews of a world that is directed by the resolute will of a single deity. Their gods still fought among themselves, as would the forces of nature or as would men. The Greeks and Romans did not know religious intolerance, as is seen in the fact that they would adopt the gods of nations they conquered, incorporating them into their own world-view.

Toward the Jews, however, they displayed great intolerance, prompting the Jewish communities of ancient Macedonia to shut themselves in and to assert their own dogmatism and intolerance toward other religions. This was first of all a class and ideological conflict, rather than religious, since Judaism undermined the Greco-Roman slave holding system. While Greek and Roman children trained naked in the gymnasia and while prostitution not only was not condemned but was accepted and respected, Judaism made even common adultery punishable by death. Slavery among the Jews was not highly developed and class distinctions were not as sharp as in Roman society. Each Jew, rich or poor, had equal rights within his community, at least with regard to religious and canonical prescriptions, and each was bound to his

community by strict moral norms. All this represented a threat to the Roman slave-holding system, in which certain moral norms pertained to the slave-owner and others to the slaves. The Romans, with their sharp political instincts, were immediately aware of this threat and began to attack not only the small Jewish state which presented no military danger, but also the Jewish faith as an ideology, both in Rome and among the Jewish communities in Macedonia.

The persecution of the Jews, even before the advent of Christianity, led to even greater ideological divisions among the Jews themselves and resulted in the formation of three sects within Judaism. The Sadducees, representing the wealthiest social strata, sought outright cooperation with the Romans. The Zealots, who stemmed from the poorest strata, preached the coming of a divine messenger, the messiah, whom they imagined as a military and national leader. With this in mind they instigated an uprising against Rome, heroically led, but which ended tragically for the Jews, prompting even greater antagonism between the Jews and the Romans. The Essenes formed the third sect, also from the poorest plebian masses. To an even greater degree they expounded the moral element of Judaism, as well as a tendency toward social justice and equality. They imagined their own messiah not as a military but as a moral savior. They preached full social equality and lived in a primitive form of communism and asceticism; equality not in wealth but in poverty. The Essenes appeared in Palestine in the second century B. C., gradually spreading to other Jewish communities in the Balkans. Through their preaching they steadily developed into a separate sect of Judaism, representing the precursors of Christianity. The Romans especially persecuted the Essenes, whose sermons presented an ideological threat to their own slave-holding system. Thus, the Essenes gradually grew from a sect of Judaism into a religion, and in turn became a state religion under the name of Christianity.[13]

The History of the Jews of Macedonia from the year 1 until 395 a. d.

The transition from the old to the new era is identified with the appearance of the new religion, Christianity, which even today is used to reckon historical time. As has been said, Christianity emerged from the Essense movement which, even at the time, preached that Essen was a figure who could only belong to the Jewish faith and not to followers of other religions. This meant that the Essenes only considered themselves to be a part, or sect of Judaism. The great step from a sect to a separate religion was

provided by the apostle Paul, who is thought of as the actual ideologist and founder of Christianity. Formerly Paul had been known as Shaul ha-Tarsi, meaning Saul from the city of Tars, which was a commercial center in Asia Minor. Born to a Jewish family with Roman citizenship, Paul's initial occupation was tent-making, but he later become educated in oriental and Hellenic culture. He was quite familiar with the Laws of Moses, as well as with Greek, Jewish and other philosophies, and had a liberal view of other peoples and religions. He was a strong rhetoritician with a developed sense of organization and feeling for the mystical ecstasy of Hellenic gnosticism and Jewish millenarianism. Slaves, freedmen, artisans, small merchants, settler-colonizers and all the exploited plebian masses, disillusioned by their own gods and by the coming of Roman power with its slave-holding system, were fully conscious that any changes in social structure would not be to their benefit. Under these conditions appeared Paul, making use of the name of Jesus, which he transformed into a myth — — a myth which would serve in the growth of the new religion. He was able to associate himself with the plebian, agrarian masses who, just as the Essenes or the Ebionites, believed in the myth of gods of vegetation. These deities would die every year to be reborn each spring. Paul successfully associated this myth of the plant deities with the earthly life of Jesus, with his death and resurrection, and with the hope for his second coming. Paul distinguished himself from the Essenes and Ebionites in that he gave his religion a universal character and did not restrict admittance to persons who had been Jews. Rather, he enabled everyone, regardless of previous religious or sect affiliation, to follow Christianity. For this reason the Essenes and Ebionites attacked him as an apostate from Judaism who would accept into his ranks persons from among the „unenlightened", i. e., non-Jewish peoples. [14] It was precisely this breadth, however, which opened the way for a universal religion and which brought a stream of new believers to this young Jewish sect, Christianity.

It was only at the Council of Nicea in 325 that Christianity broke away definitively from Judaism and became an independent religion. Paul preached the new faith in various cities of Asia Minor, especially where there were Jews. For us, his sermons given on Macedonian soil are the most important. It is known that he came to Macedonia in the year 54, holding sermons in the synagogue of Salonika. He came in the company of Silas, Timothy and possibly Luke. Here he sermonized for three Saturdays before a congregation of Jews and Hebraicized Greeks. A few accepted what he said; but the majority, led by Jason, attacked Paul and his companions, who were forced to flee to Ber (Verroeia, Greece). These men were followed to Ber by emissaries

of the Jews of Salonika and therefore fled to Athens, and then to Corinth. When Paul returned to Salonika in 57/58, he no longer encountered any resistence and Christianity began to spread quickly. Encouraged by this, Paul also visited Philipopolis (Plovdiv, Bulgaria) in eastern Macedonia, where he preached before an assembly of men and women. He summoned them to the new faith, telling them not to believe in the words of the "circumcized ones", that is, the Jews.[15] Thanks to the preaching of Paul and his associates Christianity spread very rapidly.

Nonetheless, until the Council of Nicea in 325, Saturday was the day of rest for both Jews and Christians, in accordance with the Pentatuch of Moses. At the Council of Nicea it was resolved to observe Sunday rather than Saturday, since this was the day on which Christians believed Christ had been resurrected. This council is also known for other bulls adopted to clearly distinguish Christianity from Judaism. As soon as Christianity became the legal, state religion of Rome and her heirs, it began to lose some of its revolutionary aspect and allure. The equality of slaves with their owners was postponed until life after death, that is, to heaven. With this, Christianity was free of all Jewish elements, and it began supressing the Old Testament and placing greater importance on the New Testament. This process not only created distance between the old and new religions, but also marked the beginning of new persecution of the Jews who were now considered to be opponents of the new faith.

There is unquestionable historical, material evidence that there were Jews in Macedonia in the 1st century a. d. In 1926, archeological remains of a Jewish cemetery from that period were discovered in the vicinity of Salonika.

A greater migration of Jews to Macedonia occured upon the subjugation of Palestine by the Romans in the year 70. In the first and second centuries there were several uprising against this rule by the enslaved nation. Consequently, Hadrian forcibly settled rebellious Jews throughout all the Roman provinces. Together with these exiles also arrived numerous prisoners of war and civilians who, having been made slaves, were sold publicly in the large Roman centers in the Balkans and were usually ransomed and freed by their own compatriots.[16]

Archeological excavations on one column have revealed a very important inscription showing that there had been a synagogue in the Roman colony of Stobi. This column, with its Greek inscription, is housed in the archeological museum in Belgrade. The inscription reads: „I, Claudius Tiberius Policarmos, also known as Ahiri, head of the synagogue of Stobi which has fulfilled all its civil obligations according to Jewish law, have erected kitchens on this holy site and a dining hall with a colonnaded

antechamber, using my own means and without using sacred monies..... The repair of the roofs of these buildings will be tended to by me and my descendents".[17] From all the historical sources that have been examined to date it appears that there were Jews in Macedonia earlier than in other areas of Yugoslavia, and that they reached central Macedonia via Istanbul and Salonika.[18]

As of 325, when Christianity became the state religion, various figures, particularly rulers, began to have a different attitude toward the Jews. Some persecuted them, some protected them. Emperor Constantine, who first accepted Christianity as the religion of state, thus needed to consider the Jewish population. In his decree of 29 November 330 it was ordered: "Anyone who in his belief has become a patriarch or a presbyter of the Jewish synagogue shall be exempt from all personal and social obligations".[19] Already in 339, however, under pressure from the Church, marriages between Jews and Christians were forbidden. Anti-Jewish sentiments arose in 379 in the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, requiring Emperor Theodosius I to send an edict to the provincial governors in which they were told to establish order and not to allow the persecution of the Jews or the destruction of their synagogues.[20] On 29 November 393, the same emperor repeated: "It is known that the Jewish sect is not banned by any law. Thus, we are particularly indignant to hear that their communities have been banned in some places". The next emperor, Arcadius, in 397 also delivered an edict against the ever increasing attacks on synagogues in Illyria.[21]

In Roman times, the Jewish element in Macedonia was widely diffused. From the sources, we know that the cities of Salonika, Ber, Philipopolis and Stobi definitely had Jewish communities. These communities took advantage of some of the laws of the Roman state. They had an autonomous economic administration and, to some extent, a judicial organization. They were permitted to observe all religious customs according to Jewish law in special locations, called synagogues. At the head of all the synagogues was the Archisynagogos, or a congress of the presbyters (elders) of the Jewish communities. Every community had its own property, a synagogue with various organizational functions and with its own income, "sacred monies". The income kept by the synagogue came from various contributions and gifts presented by members of the community, or collected as fines levied against those who had broken religious laws. At the time, there was as yet no central organ with jurisdiction over all the communities and synagogues. Each community was autonomous and was directly responsible only to the Roman governor of the city.

It is certain that the synagogues were at first the center of each community. They were built like basilicas, with many halls for various functions. Besides the Archisynagogos who led it, each community also had a scribe *(sofer).* In association with the synagogue were also humanitarian societies: for aid to the poor, for healing the sick, for burying or cleansing the dead, etc. These societies were called *kuppot,* or *haverot.* Particular attention must be drawn to the fund *pidyon shevuyim,* which was money for the ransom of enslaved Jews. Such funds existed in virtually every community. Due to the frequent uprisings in those days Jews were often made slaves, and this fund, therefore, played an important role and was one of the most respected of all religious laws. Many Jews in Macedonia were ransomed from slave markets, of which there were many in Macedonian cities, since the rebellious Jews from Palestine had been brought as prisoners of war to Macedonia to be sold as slaves.[22] Until 395, the lot and treatment of Macedonian Jews were much the same as those of other inhabitants. Jews were required to pay the tax *fiskus judaicus,* which was initially an internal, Jewish tax earmarked for the temple in Jerusalem. Upon the destruction of the temple in the year 70, however, this tax of two drachma annually per person went to the imperial treasury.[23] Philo and Josephus Flavius have left us information from the 1st century that Jews did not work on Saturdays, since, by Mosaic law, this day was to be observed for rest, study, learning, the acquisition of wisdom, moral purity, virtue, and for the visitation of synagogues and other places of worship.[24]

If one keeps in mind that the cities of Ber, Stobi, Salonika, and Philipopolis had Jewish communities and that these cities were situated along the main arteries through Macedonia, namely the Via Ignatia, it then becomes clear that most of the Jews there were either artisans or merchants. They were also occupied as tax collectors, money lenders and sailors. Because of trade on land and sea, competition developed between the Jews and the Romans and Greeks, who were also merchants and sailors. This led to hatred of the Jews, which from time to time would grow into pogroms that also aroused religious intolerance.

II.

THE JEWS OF MACEDONIA DURING THE BYZANTINE AND SLAVIC PERIODS (395—1371)

Macedonian Jews unitil the 9th century

In 395, the Roman Empire divided into two parts: the western empire, with its capitol in Rome; and the eastern empire, with its capitol in Constantinople, or Byzantium. Jews in the Byzantine state, which included Macedonia, were mostly poorly treated. As of when Christianity became the state religion, Byzantine rulers allied themselves with the Christian patriarchists and bishops, persecuting all other faiths, particularly Judaism. Christianity, which in its original aspect was one form of Judaism, had spread throughout the world, yet only a small number of Jews accepted it. This was one of the many reasons that Byzantine emperors issued edicts by which the civil rights of Jews were restricted. The building of synagogues was forbidden, and in those places where they already stood, mobs of fanatics destroyed them. As we have stated, after the Council of Nicea when Christianity was distinguished from Judaism and elevated to the state religion, and after 395, Byzantine emperors promulgated many more laws restrictive to Jews. On the other hand, since these laws were not enforced even in Constantinople, the capitol itself, they did not greatly worsen the state of the Jews, who still retained Judaism although, in a linguistic sense, they had already been assimilated since they spoke Greek. The one consequence of these first laws was that some Jews resettled in the interior, which only led to a wider distribution of Jews even in those small Byzantine towns where previously there had been no Jews.[1] In fact, during the

reign of the first Byzantine emperor, Arcadius (395 — 408), the Jews were still, at least formally, under the imperial wing.[2] However, already at the time of the second Byzantine emperor, Theodosius II (408 — 450), the influence of Christian spirituality predominated so that, in the decree of 20 October 415, the rights of the Jewish religious leader in Byzantium were restricted.

Until 429, all Jewish communities in the world had been under the jurisdiction of their spiritual leader in Yavne, and then in Galilee. This means that there was some formal connection among all these communities and that they were obliged to send the appropriate religious taxes to their leader. On 30 May 429, Theodosius II issued a decree that all these taxes, in the same amount, should now be paid to the state treasury.[3] We have information that the Jewish community in Salonika, which at the time of Theodosius II was financially quite strong, was also subject to this decree.[4] Theodosius forbade the Jews from building new synagogues, from owning Christian slaves, from assuming state positions and responsibilities, and prevented them from keeping their religious observances. Those people who through their actions showed themselves to be against the Jews were not penalized. All these anti-Jewish measures were prescribed in the *Codex Theodosianus,* issued in 438.[5]

During the reign of Zenon, 474—491, the Jews' conditions worsened still more, while under Justinian I (527 — 565), the resettlement of non-Christians was adopted as a policy of state administration. In the latter's codices all the anti-Jewish proscriptions of previous emperors were included, while new ones were also added. Justinian's legislation is distingunshed by its extreme intolerance toward the Jews. They were not allowed to be state officials, even as private lawyers. An ultimately humiliating measure against the Jews, known historically as *More Judaico,* was introduced in 531: in court, any oath by a Jew must be considered suspect. The following year another decree was issued prohibiting any Jew from bearing witness against a Christian. In 543, Justinian barred the Jews from celebrating their Passover before the Christian Easter, and they were not allowed to read the Bible in the original Hebrew. The Bible was permitted only in Greek and Latin. Commentary on the Torah and Mishna was also forbidden, and forced baptism was a common occurence. In one such law it is written that, "may they feel the weight of state taxation, but may they not enjoy any public services; may they remain in the despicable condition in which their souls have placed them".[6] All these measures were prescribed in the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of 534.[7] The highest officials of the Christian church

of the time, such as Yovan Zlatoust, Amvrosi Mediolanski and Kiril Aleksandriski, wrote various sermons against Judaism and were satisfied by the Jewish persecutions; some of these officials even sought to have them intensified.[8]

In 633, the emperor Heraclius (610 — 642) renewed almost all the anti-Jewish laws of his predecessors.[9] The first wave of Jewish immigrants from Spain to Salonika arrived during his time. It was in 613 that King Sisebut gave the order for the expulsion from Spain of all Jews who would not convert to Christianity. Some Jews thought to emigrate to France, but the French king, Dagobert, decided to expel them from his country. Spanish Jews were thus left the choice of converting, becoming crypto- Christians *(Marranos,* or *Anusim),* or emigrating to the east.[10]

A sizeable group of Jews from Spain subsequently arrived in Salonika, in which there already was a strong Jewish community. This was also the period of massive Slavic settlement in the Byzantine Empire, where pagans were treated no better than Jews. For this reason, relations between the Jews and the first Balkan Slavs grew rather close. They were united in common hatred of Byzantium, as well as in opposition to laws meant to forcibly convert them to Christianity. These ostensibly anti-Jewish laws had a general legal character and could be applied to all non-Christians. Macedonian Slavs reached south beyond Salonika, all the way to the Greek islands and Asia Minor, and came into contact with the Jews who were settled in the cities of these areas. Emperor Leo II (718—741) ordered that all non-Christians residing in the empire should be baptized. This was impossible to accomplish very quickly due to the great number of Slavs. At this time there were Jews in Salonika, Kostur (Kastoria, now in Greece), Bitola, Ohrid, Shtip and Struga. The famous *Ecloga* of Leo III, from 740, did not improve the situation of Jews and other non-Christians.[11]

As a result of all these laws, many Jews fled from Byzantium to Bulgaria. Here not only were they not persecuted, but such a lively religious propaganda developed that it appeared that among the agnostic Bulgarians there would be a repetition of what had occurred among the Khazars of the Crimea one century before, when they abandoned agnosticism for Judaism and Hebrew became the official language of their state administration.[12] The hoardes of Asparuh were also familiar with the Jewish faith, since they had spent a long time within the Khazar state in the southern Ukraine before entering the Balkans. Since many Khazar feudalists were followers of Judaism, the Bulgarian feudal elite of Asparuh was also quite Hebraicized. In Bulgaria, from Asparuh until Boris I (853 — 889), there was a struggle for predominance

among pagan, Jewish and Christian customs. Christianity emerged victorious when it was chosen as the state religion in 865, commencing a period of persecution for Jews and pagans.[13] The entire Balkan Peninsula then experienced a period of mass conversions, especially among pagans. Everywhere it arrived, Christianity brought persecution and pressure upon non-believers.

Macedonian Jews from the 9th to the 14th centuries

In his work, *O Pismenekh,* Cheernorizets Khrabar claims that the pre-Christian Slavs used a primitive system of writing consisting of symbols and strokes. In any event, the Slavs gained their literacy in the second half of the 9th century, when, in 861, the Moravian King Rastislav requested the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, to send Christian teachers who could preach and spread the new faith in an intelligible Slavic language, rather than in Latin, as had been the case previously in Moravia. The choice fell upon the brothers Cyril and Methodius, sons of the military commander Lav of Salonika. Many scholars feel that the brothers' mother was a Slav and their father a Turk. It is certain that they were well schooled in the Macedonian-Slavic language of the Salonika district, especially since Methodius was an administrator in one of the "Slavic principalities" in Macedonia.[14] Much has been written about the mission of Cyril and Methodius but less is known about their origin. There are various opinions about this question: that they were Greek, that they were Greek only by their father, that their mother was a Slav, or that they were Hellenized Slavs. We wish to venture the hypothesis of their possible Jewish origin, albeit with great reservations, since the absence of direct evidence necessitates our reliance on indirect information. If, on the other hand, they were not Jewish, it is definite beyond a doubt that they were under great Jewish cultural influence. By this postulation we do not wish to negate the influence of Byzantine culture, well known to scholars.

For the possible Jewish origin of Cyril and Methodius we have the folowing indications:

1. In the 9th century, Salonika was especially developed culturally for its time, thanks to the contact of various cultures, including Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine and pagan-Slavic, all of which were interwoven through mutual influence. The numerous Jews in Salonika, who had arrived primarily from the cultural centers of the Mediterranean and who possessed a rationalist spirit and a recognized internationalism, brought a special spiritual

character to the city. This was possible since they, as merchants and sailors, were familiar with the cultural and commercial languages of the eastern Mediterranean.

2. In this Byzantine cultural center, second only to Constantinople, lived Greeks, Slavs and Jews surrounded by large numbers of Slavs in the countryside. The origin of Cyril and Methodius must be sought among these three nationalities. It is unlikely that they were Slavs, since the Slavs had not yet elevated themselves from paganism to such a high cultural level as was enjoyed by Cyril and Methodius, who knew virtually every language spoken in the environs. There is also justifiable doubt as to their Greek origin, since the Greeks, because of their pride in their long traditions, did not care to stoop to the level of the Slavs nor to learn their language, which they considered to be worthless and backward. This pride and religious restrictiveness also prevented the Greeks from learning other non-Christian languages: Hebrew and Aramaic, of the Semitic language family; Crimean, from the Turkic language group; and Macedonian Slavic. Scholarly evidence indicates, however, that Cyril and Methodius had studied all these languages, whether in school in Constantinople, in the vicinity of Salonika, in Herson or among the Khazars. It is also known that Cyril was the librarian for the Patriarchate in Constantinople and was subsequently a professor of and expert in Semitic languages and Hebrew grammar at the Magnaur school in Constantinople. It is our opinion, therefore, that the creator of the Slavic alphabet and the translator of the Holy Scriptures from Hebrew or Greek into Slavic could possibly have been of Jewish origin.

3. In the 9th century, the Jews of Salonika spoke a Greco-Hebraic language and were often sufficiently Hellenized to have Greek as well as Semitic names. Quite a few Jews had also become Christians, at least nominally, but continued to observe both the Sabbath and Passover. Already from Hellenic times, Jewish merchants used this Greco-Hebraic language throughout Byzatium, in Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. Its basis was the Greek vernacular, *koine*, but it was interwoven with Hebrew and Aramaic words. This language was maintained among Byzantine Jews, particularly the Christianized ones, until the arrival of the Turks.[15]

4. The brothers Cyril and Methodius had three missions: to the Saracens (the Arabs), to the Kingdom of the Khazars and to the Slavs. It is understandable that, if somebody was sent on a mission to preach and spread Christianity, presumably he must have known the languages of those nations where he executed the mission. If someone was sent among the Saracens, it is presumable that he knew the Arabic language. In Salonica, the Arabic language could have been known only by the Jews, be-

cause their language is very close to Arabic, both belonging to the Semitic group of languages. Being well-known merchants, Jews had the opportunity to learn Arabic.

5. In the hagiography of St. Cyril it is written that he learned Hebrew in the Kingdom of the Khazars for three months. This text should be interpreted to mean that he learned the Jewish language which was used by the state administration of the Khazars. In other words, he knew Hebrew, but the Hebrew which was spoken in Salonika with plenty of Greek words. Within three months he could have learned the Hebrew spoken by the Khazars, which had many Turkish elements and belonged to the Uralic-Altaic group of languages. This is the very group from which the Khazars originated. No other interpretation is feasible, even if Cyril was a genius: neither could he have learned a new (foreign) language within three months, not having known a word of it previously, nor could he have been sent on a mission not knowing the language of a country, where he would be required to know it. This conclusion may also be applied analogously to Cyril's Slavic mission.

6. The creators of Glagolitic were undoubtedly influenced by the Greek alphabet, but also by the ancient Hebrew language, from which they borrowed many elements not present in the Greek alphabet. The sound "B", for example, does not exist in Greek and thus does not have a letter to represent it. Greek has the sound "V", written as the letter *vita,* but Macedonian includes both "B" and "V". Thus, without discarding the letter *vita,* the Hebrew letter *bet* was taken and reversed to form the Slavic letter "B". Since the Greek alphabet does not have a letter for "SHT", Cyril and Methodius reverted to the Hebrew letter *shin* and incorporated it into the Slavic alphabet. This applied to the letter "SH". A letter for the Slavic sound „ZH", also absent in Greek, was created by writing the Hebrew letter *shin* twice, one overlaying the other. For the sound "TS", they selected the Hebrew *sade;* a Hebrew letter was also used for "CH". It is only important to note that, after taking Greek as their basis, the creators of the Slavic alphabet turned to the Hebrew alphabet for those sounds which Greek lacked but which were used by both Slavs and Jews.[16]

7. It is know that in the old Slavic alphabet letters were also used as numbers, which was also the custom among the ancient Greeks, Romans and Jews. The Slavic representation of numbers between eleven and twenty, however, follows the rules of Hebrew grammar rather than the rules of Greek and Latin number-letters. In the Greek and Latin systems, these numbers are written with the units of ten preceding the integers. In Cyrillic the reverse is true, with the integers preceding the tens

in imitation of the Hebrew system. Eleven, for example, is written "ai", with "a" equal to one and "i" equal to ten; twelve is written "bi", with "b" equaling two and "i" equaling ten; or fifteen is written "ei", "e" equaling five and "i" equaling ten. This is the standard Hebrew manner of writing.[17]

8. The calendar used by Cyril and Methodius began on September 1st, following the example of the Jewish new year, *Rosh Hashanah.*[18]

9. For the Jews, historical time begins with the creation of the world, 3761 years B. C. Well into the Middle Ages, many Slavic texts used this counting system from the "creation of the world". Such texts are found as late as the 18th century.

10. It is known that Cyril and Methodius translated the Bible, not only from Greek but also from the Hebrew original. It is also known that they made abundant use of Hebrew grammar.

11. It was not by chance that Cyril and Methodius were sent on a mission to the Saracens, or Arabs. They were certainly sent because they knew the Arabic language, which is close to Hebrew, both belonging to the Semitic language family. Just as they were sent on the mission to the Slavs because they knew the language of the Macedonians around Salonika, one may also assume that they were sent to the Saracens for much the same reason — knowledge of the language. In Salonika, this language was known primarily by Jews.

12. Is it by coinsidence that, just pprior to their mission to Moravia, Cyril and Methodius were sent to the Khazar dynasty, where the official state religion was Judaism and where Hebrew was the official administrative language?

13. We know that Cyril and Methodius spent some time among the Crimeans, who were the descendents of the ancient Turkish tribes which had lived among the Khazars between the 8th and 10th centuries. The Crimean alphabet was constructed on the basis of the old Hebrew alphabet, which the Crimeans adopted together with a sect of Judaism, called *Mosaism,* toward the beginning of the 9th century.[20]

14. In Cyril's *zhitiye* (biography) it is said that upon his return from the Khazars, his reputation in the Byzantine court grew even greater when he deciphered the inscription on a goblet that had belonged to King Solomon and which was kept at the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. This accomplishment demonstrates that Cyril had a total mastery of Hebrew.

15. Even if it is of no great importance, it should be mentioned that the parents of Cyril and Methodius had typical Hebrew-Semitic names. Their father was Leon (Lav) and their mother was Maria (in Hebrew, Miriam, or „bitter").

16. Is it concidental that among the Jews of Salonika, precisely in the 9th century, the scholar Shimon Set appeared, whose immensely popular tract, *Stefaniti Inhilati,* was translated into Slavic in 1080 and was soon thereafter found in the collection of the Rila Monastary?[22] We should also mention Judah Leon Mung, who converted to Christianity in the 12th century. Because he knew the world languages of his day, including Slavic, he was sent by the Partiarch of Constantinople to spread Christianity in the southern Ukraine. This same Jew subsequently became the Patriarch of the Ohrid Archbishopric.[23] In essence, from this one Christianized Jewish community emerged such learned figures as Cyril and Methodius, Shimon Set and Judah Leon Mung.

All the indications just presented cumulatively permit the postulation of the hypothesis that the brothers Cyril and Methodius may have been of Jewish origin. This fact is not as significant as their accomplishments since, from their work, they belong to Slavic culture, regardless of their origin. In short, we may conclude that some data indicate that Cyril and Methodius were Jewish and that this hypothesis will be verified or refuted by science in the course of time. Even if this idea is open to discussion, Cyril and Methodius were undoubtedly influenced by Jewish culture, as demonstrated by Rosanes.[24]

Tobias ben Eliezer of Kastoria (1050 — 1108)

One of the first notable Jews from Macedonia for whom there is more detailed information is Tobias ben Eliezer, who lived from the second half of the 11th century into the first decades of the 12th century. He was born in Kostur (Kastoria, now in Greece) in about 1050.[25] According to the rabbis Judah Moskoni and Menachem Tamar, Tobias was most likely the son of Rabbi Eliezer ben Yizhak the Elder from Mainz, and was the student of a certain famous rabbi, Shimshon, at the rabbinical school in Kostur. Upon completing his studies, he became head of the Jewish community in Kostur, where he was known by the epithet *ha-yevani* ("the Greek") due to his great knowledge of the Greek language. After becoming reputed as a learned person, he was called to Salonika in 1096 by the chief rabbi of that city. In Salonika Tobias established a school for higher learning, which drew many Jews who would later become famous in the Balkans and about whom more will be said further on.

Tobias became a known talmudic scholar, grammarian and poet, leaving behind several significant literary works. He is the author of the well-known book *Lekah Gov,* or *Pesikta Zutarra.* This is a commentary on the Pentatuch, written in 1097, revised

by the author in 1107 and 1108, and later published in Venice in 1546. The book was also translated into Latin by Ugolino and published in Venice many times between 1744 and 1769, under the title of *Thesarus Antiquitatum Sacrarum.*[26] This work was also published in Vilna in 1880 and 1884, in Mainz in 1887 and in Frankfurt am Main in 1895. Because of its importance, the book was reissued often and is considered one of the first published books to have been written on the soil of Macedonia. For these reasons, we will dwell somewhat on the book's contents.

This is not solely a commentary on the five books of Moses. Rather, it is also a study of many very difficult points of Hebrew grammar, as well as an extremely beautiful and precise translation of religio-literary works written in the Judeo-Babylonian language. The book refers to the wars between Bulgaria and Byzantium, and also describes the tragedy of the Jews of Mainz during the time of the first Crusade. In his work, Tobias espouses the purest kind of monotheism, criticizing the belief in the trinity of God the father, God the son and God the spirit. He was of the opinion that certain parts of the Old Testament needed to be interpreted in a metaphorical way. Within his book there is also a small glossary, *medrachi.* Some of the words in this glossary were taken from a manuscript that was kept in Hamburg and which was later published in Leipzig in 1855. Tobias was an outstanding expert in the Hebrew language, something quite unusual in Macedonia at the time. He was also an excellent poet, and is the oldest known Jewish poet from Macedonia, having written verse on religious themes. His book included four such poems, one of which was later incorporated into the prayer *bakachiot,* recited in the synagogue every morning before sunrise. The Jews call this prayer *tikun ha-tzot.* In his book Tobias polemicizes against Islam as well as the *Karaite* sect in Constatinople. He was a champion of the messianic movement, believing that a divine messanger would be coming to Earth to save the Jews.[27]

The Students of Tobias ben Eliezer

Tobias taught many students, both at the rabbinical school in Kostur, his birthplace, and at the school in Salonika. Certainly the most important of his numerous pupils were Meir Kosturski (of Kastoria) and Judah Leon Mung.

Little is known of Meir Kotsurski, other than that he was probably a student at the rabbinical school and that, considering his name, he was probably born in Kostur. His most important work is *Me'or Einayim,* an undated commentary on the Torah. He is likewise the author of a study against the religious commentaries

of Ibn Ezra. In 1107, Meir is mentioned as the chief rabbi of Ohrid where, in the same year, he wrote a commentary on the Bible which mentions Ohrid in the time of Samuil.[28]

Leon Mung was a converted Jew who, because of his great learning, was known as "the philosopher". Only insufficient data on his life are available. Like other Jews, he converted to Christianity as a result of the failure of the messianic movement. He was well-read, knowing almost all the world languages of his day, including Slavic. For this reason he was sent as a missionary by the Patriarch of Constantinople to preach Christianity in the southern Ukraine. Upon his return he became an Archbishop, succeeding Theofilactus Ohridski to the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Due to the success of his mission to the Ukraine, he was known even in Ohrid as "the teacher of the unenlightened".[29] In the catalogue of the Archbishops of Ohrid, compiled in the 17th century by the French Benedictine and famous Byzantinist, Du Cange, Mung is listed immediately following Theofilactus Ohridski. The catalogue states specifically that he was a Jew, and that he probably came to the throne in Ohrid in 1108 and to the Archbishopric in 1120. He is mentioned as "Leon the philosopher" in the inventory of the monastary in Strumitsa, Sveta Bogoroditsa Milostiva.[30] In his book, *The Patriarchs of Ohrid,* Gelzer writes that, "Leon (Lev) was descended from Jews, who traditionally had been teachers".[31] We know nothing further about this Archbishop of Jewish origin, but we can suggest that his surname, Mung, was most probably German. As Snegarov suggests, it is possible that Mung belonged to that group of Jews who came from Germany as a consequence of the First Crusade; Mung was a common name in Germany at that time. It can also be suggested that Ohrid was an important commercial city in that period, as attested to by the Arab geographer, Idrisi (1153). The fact that Jews went there from Germany and that scholars such as Judah Moskoni and Leon Mung lived there also imply that Ohrid was an important Jewish cultural center.[32]

The Arrival of the Normans and Crusaders in Macedonia and its Consequences for the Macedonian Jews

During the latter part of the 11th century, the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I Comnenius, was unable to prevent the incursion of the Normans who, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard and his son, Bohemund, captured Drach in 1082. Bohemund then took Ohrid, the two Pologs, Skopje, Ber, the valleys of Meglen and Pelagonia, Trikkala and Kostur. Bohemund was finally defeated near Larissa in January of 1084, and died in 1085. In

the same year, Robert Guiscard and the Normans were forced to withdraw from the Balkans under pressure from the Byzantines. The Norman conquest had serious repercussions for the Jewish population in Macedonia. All along their route, the Normans demanded that the local population feed their 45,000 troops. The Jews, who were the primary target of the Christian, Norman army, suffered the most.

Traveling along the Via Ignatia, which passes through Macedonia, crusaders from the First Crusade appeared in Macedonia in 1096 and 1097. This time, the Macedonian population, particularly the Jews, suffered from their plundering. By fire and sword, the crusaders annihilated the Jewish communities along their path. The advance of the crusaders to the holy city of Jerusalem was marked by their bloody tracks in the form of the destruction and burning of everything which was not Christian. Among the horrified Jews, these events were interpreted as the arrival of the era of the Messiah.[33]

Such stories of despair and hope also circulated among those Jews who had fled to Byzantium from western and central Europe because of persecution by the crusaders, as well as during the 13th century. The Jews were particularly attacked by Pope Innocent I who, at the Council of Rome in 1215, succeeded in formulating an anti-Jewish resolution which would remain a symbol of antisemitism for many centuries. It was resolved that, in all countries, Jews should wear such clothing "that anyone will be able to distinguish the true sons of the church from the dishonorable members of the synagogue". This resolution was subsequently altered so that every Jew was required to wear a yellow band on his hat or lapel, to differentiate him from a Christian. In France, Italy and Germany the clergy watched closely that no Jew go out without a yellow band, since otherwise they would come under the attack of the Inquisition.[34] The Inquisition was conceived and spread by the fanaticized Christian population, allegedly because Jews murdered Christian children and used the blood for communion during the Passover. Throughout Europe, Jewish property was confiscated, Jewish books were burned, and the Jews were either expelled or crowded into ghettos. Organs of the Church and state instigated riots against the Jews in various European cities. Carrying crucifices and crosses, and led by priests, the enraged and fanatic mobs attacked the ghettos, killing the Jews, "the Christ-killers".

Following this came a period of long and exhausting wars in Europe, and of the "black death", an epidemic of the plague which especially decimated the Jews, who lived in poor and crumbling ghettos. The Church again broadcast that the Jews were responsible for the plague and that they transmitted it. As a

result, in the 15th century, in many European cities such as the German cities of Strassburg, Cologne, Mainz, Wurms and Frankfurt, numerous Jewish ghettos were set ablaze together with their inhabitants.[35]

The Jews' sole refuge from the Inquisition of Europe were the Orthodox states: Russia, Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia. Thus, from the 12th century, there began a large influx of emigrant Jews to the Balkans from western and central Europe, and the number of Jewish communities increased steadily. This influx to the cities of Macedonia proceeded through the fall of the Byzantine Empire and continued during Ottoman rule.

The Visit of Benjamin ben Yonah de Tudela to Macedonia

Proof for the existence of a developed Jewish community in Salonika in the late 11th and early 12th centuries can be found in a letter which is now kept in Cairo. In this letter it is stated that Alexius I Comnenius and the Patriarch of Constantinople had decided to exempt the Jews of Salonika from the payment of taxes because of their extreme poverty, resulting from the passage of the Normans and the Crusaders.

It appears, however, that the Jews of Macedonia recovered quickly. Bejamin ben Yonah de Tudela, a Spanish traveller who visited Salonika, Drama and Kavala in 1170, notes that Salonika had 500 Jewish families, Dimitrovitsa (at the mouth of the Struma River) 20 families, Drama 120 families, and there were also Jews in Kavala, Ber and Kostur, the number of which was increasing rapidly.[36] He says that Jews in Salonika spoke Greek and that they enjoyed a certain degree of internal autonomy under the leadership of an *efor,* who was chosen by the government. In the synagogue there was a book of religious laws, compiled by Elijah ha-Levi. The rabbi of Salonika at the time was Shamuel, who also had learned sons and who, in addition, was the head of all Jewish artisans. The Jews of Macedonia of that time led better lives than Jews of other European countries, where they were persecuted by the Inquisition and the Crusaders. For this reason many Jews from Germany, France, Hungary, and Italy had already fled to Byzantium, principally to Constantinople and Salonika, and later to the interior of Macedonia. According to Tudela's information, Jews from Italy formed two, separate Italian-speaking communities, the Sicilian and the Apolusian. The new arrivals were distinguished from the older settlers in that they knew no Greek. Heretofore, the Jews had spoken only Greek, but with the arrival of the new emigrants they also began to use other languages. Since Tudela, himself a Spanish Jew, mentions a great number of Slavic

toponyms, it is certain he spent time among the Macedonians. He also mentions the "Vlach country", by which he means the vicinity of Salonika, where he speaks of the Vlachs as friends of the Jews and as their comrades against their mutual Byzantine enemy. Tudela also notes that, north of Salonika, he had met many Macedonian Slavs having Jewish Biblical names, such as Avram, Jacob, etc. He was not aware that even from the time of Samuil's state, Jewish Biblical names were commonly used in Macedonia.[37]

Judah ben Moshé Moskoni

After the arrival of the Normans and Crusaders, when the Jewish communities in Macedonia were despoiled, a period of a rapid and steady increase in the number of Jews in Macedonia ensued, owing to the great number of Jewish emigrants from Italy, Germany, France and Hungary. Not only did these communities grow in size, but their wealth also increased.

In Ohrid, in 1328, was born Judah ben Moshe Moskoni, the reknowned Jewish doctor, Talmudist, author, philosopher, mathematician, grammarian, linguist and traveller, who left many important works in the fields of philosophy, medicine, philology, geography and Talmudic studies.[38] For his great contributions to the development of culture in Macedonia just prior to the Ottoman invasions, he is expressly mentioned in the Russian Jewish Encyclopedia as "a great scholar from Macedonia". It appears that his parents came from Moscona, in Italy, but that he was born, raised and educated in Ohrid. He left Ohrid in 1360 and traveled through Chois, Cyprus, Negropont (Chalcis, in Greece), Laodicea, Egypt, Italy, Morocco, Navarre and southern France. Moskoni spent many years on the island of Majorica, where he died, although it is not known in which year. In Negropont he studied the Jewish sciences with the learned rabbi, Shemariah ben Elijah of Crete, and he continued his studies with the rabbi Ovidi in Egypt. In 1352 he was in Peprignan (France), where he befriended the scholar Moise Habroni and the astronomer David Bonet Bonjorn.

Moskoni was equipped with a firm knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic literature, grammar and philosophy, all of which were necessary for the understanding of the Bible. Being acquainted with virtually all the Jewish and Arab schools of philosophy, he carefully read the then popular commentaries on the Pentatuch by Abraham Ibn Ezra. Having read yet another thirty commentaries, Moskoni himself wrote a new tract on the same subject, *Even ha-Ezer* (1362), in which he presented new and original ideas. In order to write this commentary on the commentaries of Ibn Ezra, he had had to study the works of Samuel ben Hophni, the Arabic

translation of the Bible by Sa'adi, the works of Averroes, as well as the commentaries of Maimonides concerning Hypocrites and many other books. An inventerate wanderer and yet still a great scholar, he wrote many books in various fields. His most important works are *En Gedi* (metaphysics), *Reah Nikoah* (on the offering of sacrifice) and *Ta'ame ha-Mitva* (philology). His commentary and aswer to Ibn Ezra was particularly esteemed,[39] as was his beautifully reworked Hebrew grammar.

He became most famous, however, for his definitive edition of the important medieval work, *Jossipon*. Already in the 10th century, a Jewish historian from Italy had written a history of the Jewish people from the 6th century B. C. to the destruction of the second temple in Jerusalem in 70 a. d., various versions of which had survived in manuscript. Moskoni edited and reworked the manuscript, divided it into chapters and wrote an extremely interesting introduction. This edition of the *Jossipon* was eventually published and is considered to be the standard one. It was subsequently reissued in 1869, 1896, 1959 and 1961. The list of the books in Moskoni's personal library has remained in Majorca, and from it the great number of manuscripts from which he geaned his knowledge is evident.[40]

The Jews of Macedonia between 1282 and 1371

In 1282, the Serbian army of Milutin conquered Skopje, Dolni and Gorni Polog and Ovche Pole, while Stephan Dechanski captured Veles, Shtip and Prosek. Four years later, Stephan Dushan continued the conquest of the cities of Macedonia so that, with the conquest of Serres in 1345, Serbian authority spread through virtually all of Macedonia.

Although it is well known that many cities in Macedonia (Salonika, Skopje, Kostur, Ohrid) as well as in Albania had had Jewish religious, cultural and commercial centers, it is nonetheless curious that there is no mention of Jews in any of the numerous acts, bulls and documents from the Serbia of the Nemanja period. It seems that Serbia did not have many Jews until the reign of Stephan Dushan, since the state's capitol was near Rashka, which was removed from commercial routes. The Via Ignatia passed south of Rashka, from Drach through Ohrid, Bitola and Salonika to Constantinople; while the old commercial route led from Singidunum (Belgrade) through Nish and Sofia to Constantinople.[41] When Dushan (1331 — 1355) expanded his rule south to the Gulf of Corinth, the new Serbian state must have had Jews also, especially in Macedonia and Thessaly, as there are data from this time in which Jews are mentioned. For example, in the

Treskavets chrysobull from the first half of the 13th century, Dushan gives to this monastary land around Prilep, the borders of which are defined as lying along the "Jewish valley" and the "little Jewish river".[42] In another bull from 1345, Dushan presents the Jews of Zihna (western Thrace) to the monastary of Sveti Yovan Podrom. Thus it would seem that there were Jewish peasants around Prilep as well as around Zihna.[43]

In 1345, the Codex of Dushan was brought to Skopje, proclaiming Christianity as the state religion. Although the Codex contains regulations dealing with heretics, it mentions no such regulations for Jews. Nonetheless, in 1361, Dushan's son Stephan Urosh presented some Jews from Chalcis to the laura of St. Athanasius. In the same year the first synagogue in Skopje was erected. It is also known that Jews under Serbian rule, at least in Macedonia, paid an annual poll tax, although the rate of taxation is not known. There is no doubt, however, that this was an institution which Dushan borrowed from Byzantium. From several, specifically anty-Jewish ordinances from the reign of Dushan, it would not appear that the medieval Serbian state was more tolerant toward Jews than had been Byzantium.

Thus, on the one hand, there were no persecutions of the Jews on the eve of the Turkish incursion into the Balkans since the Byzantine emperors, caught in the whirl of military and political events that would determine the survival of the Byzantine Empire, had no time for Jewish issues. On the other hand, there is also no information for an anti-Jewish attitude by Serbian rulers. In Bulgaria, meanwhile, the followers of Shishman, in whose veins flowed some Jewish blood, offered the Jews every sort of protection. Nonetheless, the arrival of the Turks came as a great relief to Macedonian Jews, since the sultans were benignly disposed toward them, leading to an even quicker growth of the Jewish communities in Macedonia.[44]

Social Conditions of the Macedonian Jews During the Byzantine and Slavic Periods

The principal profession of Macedonian Jews were business and seamanship, for which reason Jews were concentrated either around Salonika or along the Via Ignatia. They were also occupied in other financial activities such as tax farming, credit and money-lending. This situation was the outcome of the fact that the often-persecuted Jews did not care to own immovable property but kept their wealth in cash, which was easily transportable. We have information that in southern Macedonia some Jews were engaged in the silk industry, while there was also a very small

number of Jewish peasants. Benjamin Tudela reports that Jewish slaves also existed, which is confirmed by the existence of funds within Jewish communities to be used to ransom Jews from slavery. Byzantine laws forbade Jews from dealing in Christian slaves. Tudela also mentions Jewish artisans, especially in connection with textiles. Jews were particularly numerous at the Salonika harbor, where they worked as porters, loading and unloading ships. Considering their overall number, many prominent intellectuals emerged from among the Jews, including Talmudic scholars, grammarians and philosophers. In short, only a few Jews were either slaves or land-bound peasants, while the majority were free citizens.[45]

The center of Jewish social life was the autonomous Jewish community, the *kehila,* while religious life revolved around the synagogue. These two institutions were often complementary. The head of the community until the 12th century had been the *Archisynagogus,* and later the rabbi[47] since, in Macedonia, the rabbinate as an institution had already appeared in the 12th century. Every *kehila* also had a *sofer,* a scribe who led the administration, who served as secretary in Jewish religious trials, who wrote marriage contracts *(ketubbah)* and divorce agreements *(get),* and who drafted commercial and other financial documents. Large communities such as Salonika had several *sofers.*[48] Whenever a number of Jews settled in a given location, a *kehila* would form to read the Old Testament. The community in Salonika was considered the principal one of the entire Balkan Peninsula, and members of communities in the interior would often come to its rabbi for advice, usually of a religious nature.

Nevertheless, the communities in Macedonia did not have a central organization, each one being autonomous, with its fate depending on local authorities. The community was required to care for each of its members and was a democratic establishment in which everyone was equal. The development of class differences, however, also bought about stratification within these communities, the rich having more esteem. Rules of conduct were also religiously prescribed. Thus, with the emergence of rabbis, who were often professional clergy, the community became an increasingly conservative institution in which the rabbi served as the keeper of religious dogmatism and conservatism.[49] Even as such, these communities often produced learned people and developed their own culture, contributing generally to culture in Macedonia.

Among themselves and within their communities, the Jews spoke Greek, with only a small number of people knowing classical Hebrew. Many Jews even had Greek names. For this reason, the new Jewish emigrants from Europe who knew no Greek called the local Jews *Romanioti,* and the communities *Romaniotski.* The

communities kept and sustained Jewish religious traditions and were totally autonomous regarding religion. Thus they served as a pole which, through religious means, united Jews who often spoke different languages.[50]

Each community had a religious court, which not only decided religious questions but also civil disputes among Jews. It was common for a Jew to turn immediately to the religious court to settle a dispute with another Jew, since they attempted to avoid state courts as much as possible. Weddings, divorces and other such matters of marriage and inheritance were the exclusive domain of the religious communities. Thus, for example, it was prescribed that a Jew who had arrived in Macedonia from some distant place was not permitted to marry for three years, in order to verify whether he had a wife in the place he had left. With documents or witnesses as proof, however, he was allowed to marry immediately. Those who transgressed such prescriptions could be excluded from the community for more serious actions, or could even be anathematized.[51]

Schooling was the other important function of the community. As soon as a synagogue was erected in a community, it included a school. Virtually all Macedonian cities having a synagogue thus also had a school. Only male children attended school, since it was obligatory for them to know to read the Torah. There were no schools for girls. Elementary boy's schools were called *bet ha-sefer,* while high schools for more qualified pupils were called *bet midrash.* The latter were located only in larger cities, such as the one in Salonika, founded in the 11th century by Tobias ben Eliezer.[52] Some of the teachers in the high schools became well known, attracting pupils from distant regions. After becoming literate at the school, students learned as much mathematics as was required for commerce.

Because of their commercial activities, the Jews traveled frequently, learning many foreign languages to aid in their international business dealings. Thus the Jews climbed to a higher cultural level than other peoples in Macedonia. In addition, due to the constant communication among Jewish merchants, the need for secret correspodence arose. Thus, at a congress of Jews in Wurms in 1020, it was decided to prohibit polygamy among Jews and to retain secret correspondence. Excommunication from the community was stipulated as the greatest sanction against anyone revealing this secret. Representatives from Salonika also attended this congress in Wurms.[53]

According to Jewish law, Jews were forbidden from eating certain birds or animals, such as pork. A special person, called the *shochet,* was well versed in medieval Jewish veterinary medicine and knew which animal was healthy and suitable for eating. Slaughtered animals found to have various illnesses were not

allowed to be eaten. The *shochet* knew which animal was tubercular or which might have another disease. Such an animal was declared *taref*, prohibited.[54]

Jewish communities or synagogues often had attached to them societies having a humanitarian character. One such society was known by the name *rochetsim*, that is, a society for the washing of the dead. Women also participated as *rochetsot*, washers of deceased women. Another society was the *kabbarim*, the grave diggers. A special society also existed for carrying the coffin from the house of the deceased to the cemetary. In towns where the number of Jews was small, these responsibilities were obligatorily fulfilled by adult men and women.[55]

Every large Jewish community, such as the one in Salonika, had a special fund called *pidyon shevuyim*. This was a collection of money for the ransom of Jews who had been enslaved, either in war, by pirates, or through any other means. If an enslaved Jew appeared in a city having a Jewish community, the first task of that community was to ransom him and to free him from his slavery. If the freed Jew returned to his place of origin, his first obligation was to reimburse the community that had ransomed him.[56]

Jews in the Byzantine Empire were required to pay an annual tax of one *hyperperon* per person. This Jewish tax is alluded to in one chrysobull from 1049 and in another document from 1333. Nothing more detailed is known about this tax, which seems to have been borne easily by the Jews and which has led many scholars to conclude that the condition of the Jews in Byzantium was more favorable that than of Jews elsewhere in Europe.[57]

In Salonika, already in the 11th century, various ideas were spreading among the Jews about a messiah, that is, that the time had come for God to send his messenger to Earth to free the Jews from their torments. A letter from Salonika from 1096 reports that the Prophet Elijah had been baptized there, and that his miracles had been "confirmed by Jewish and Christian eyewitnesses". It is typical that this document should date from the time of the First Crusade, when the Jews were being attacked by crusaders. Frightened and dismayed, the Jewish people sought consulation in messianic movements. Since no messiah appeared, some began to abandon Judaism in their greatest moments of disillusion. The persecution of Jews in Europe even touched Macedonian Jews, while the invasion of the Normans and Crusaders further aroused their fear and despair, which often manifested themselves as messianism in defiance of Byzantine realities.[58]

Generally speaking, medieval Jewish culture had a great influence on medieval Macedonian literature. Suffice it to point

out the numerous apochryphas from the Old and New Testaments, such as: *The Testament of Abraham, The Book of Sarah and Abraham, The Book of Enoch, The Book of the Holy Trinity, The Testament of Baruch, The Book of Joseph the Handsome, The Prophecy of Paul the Apostle,* and many others that circulated in Macedonia at the time.

Finally, we need to mention the 11th century Sinai Psalter, in Glagolitic, and the *Evangel of Dobromir* from the 12th century, which were produced by the scriptoria of the Ohrid literary school. These were discovered in the Monastary of St. Catherine, in the Sinai, by M. Altbauer, a professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who had them published by the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Skopje.[59]

Thus, Jewish and Macedonian culture were mutually complementary and influential in the medieval period. It is beyond any doubt that Jewish culture contributed prominently to the culture of Macedonia.

III.

MACEDONIAN JEWS DURING THE PERIOD OF OTTOMAN RULE

The Arrival of the Turks in Macedonia and their Attitude toward the Jews

In 1354, the Turks conquered the fortress of Tsympe on the Galipoli Peninsula, and with this first incursion they began to penetrate the interior. When the Jews of Hungary were expelled in 1360 and received by Ivan Shishman in Bulgaria, Bulgaria was fighting for its survival against the Turks. At first, these Jews went to the Jewish communities in Vidin, Nikopol and Pleven and, after some time, proceeded to Serres and Salonika, where the Jewish communities were more numerous.[1] Upon Sultan Murad I's conquest of Ohrid in 1361, he found two Jewish communities welcoming him as a liberator, since they knew that the Turks did not harbor the antisemitic attitude of the Byzantines. Fleeing church persecution in Hungary, Germany, Poland and Austria in the second half of the 14th century, a large number of Jewish emigrants arrived in Salonika, Ohrid and Serres, where they found refuge among the Macedonian Jewish communities. The Macedonian Jews called these emigrants *Ashkenazi,* from the Hebrew word for Germany; the emigrants referred to themselves by the same term. They were thus labeled because they spoke no Greek, as did Macedonian Jews, but spoke a dialect of Hebrew containing many German words. These emigrants could therefore not be included immediately in the existing, Greek-speaking Jewish communities, which they called *Romaniotski.* As a result, the new arrivals formed

their own *Ashkenazi* communities, such as those known as Budin, in Salonika and Ohrid. Their *Ashkenazi* dialect, or Yiddish, was retained through the 16th century, although it was derided by the older, *Romaniot* settlers, who pejoratively called the emigrants *Bnei Budin.*[2]

The first wave of Jewish refugees from Spain reached Macedonia before 1391. Jews from Crete would ransom their correligionists from the large, famous Cretan slave market, after which these freed Jews would usually settle in Salonika. They subsequently also moved into the Macedonian interior. It was thus that the famous Benevista family was settled in Kostur well before 1492.[3] Emigrants from Spain also knew no Greek, but spoke Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) and were therefore called *Sepharadim,* after the Hebrew word for Spain, *Sepharad.* Thus, when the Turks conquered Macedonia after the battle of the Maritsa River in 1371, they found three Jewish groups, speaking different languages, but identical or very similar in their religious customs. These were the *Romanioti,* the old settlers; the *Ashkenazi,* from central Europe; and the *Sepharadim,* from the Iberian Peninsula. The *Romanioti* were then predominant.

After the battle of the Maritsa River, Macedonia steadily fell under Turkish domination except for Salonika, which was the last to fall in 1430. Arriving in Macedonia, the Turks brought a previously unknown religion, Islam, thereby increasing the number of religions. Besides Judaism and Christianity there was now also Islam, the new but ruling religion that suppressed Christianity, which had formerly served as the state religion. While Christianity became a subordinate religion, Judaism retained the same status vis-a-vis Islam that it had had to Christianity: it too was a subordinate religion, but under more favorable circumstances, since the Turkish government treated all other secondary faiths identically.

The station of the Jews, however, changed entirely after the Turkish conquest of Macedonia. They were given equal rights with all other non-Muslims, and rabbis were made equal to the clergy of the Church. Religious leaders were permitted to administer their communities, to establish their own religious courts, to collect state taxes from Jews and to remit them to the state treasury. Jews were also allowed to freely profess their faith, to live anywhere in the Empire, to possess real estate and personal property in cities or villages, and to travel unharrassed through the entire Ottoman Empire.

The Turks found Jewish communities in the cities of Ohrid, Ber and Kostur. There is mention in the first half of the 15th century of the Rabbi Ephraim ben Gerson of Ber, who had an outstanding reputation as a learned and well-read man. The fall of Salonika in March of 1430 marked the surrender of all of

Macedonia to the Turks. Before this conquest, however, many families, including Jews, had fled the city, causing Murad II to wonder at the small number of inhabitants he found there. Murad invited Jewish refugees to return and also settled many Turks there, particularly in the region of Enidzhe Vardar. As of 1432, Salonika began to acquire a distinct oriental character, with many churches being transformed into mosques. The city's largest church, St. Dimitrius, was thus converted into the Kasimiye mosque. Only a few years after its conquest, Salonika became the center of the textile industry, thanks to the Jews, who had retained the fundemantals of this industry ever since the Ventians had ruled the city.

Even before the arrival of the refugees from Spain, the Jews were prominently influential in the sultan's court, since they were valued as good and enterprising merchants. Unlike Catholic Europe, the Turks showed themselves to be more tolerant of religions and churches other than Islam. During the reign of Mehmed II (1451—1481), the seat of the Chief Rabbi *(Hakham Bashi)* of the Empire was occupied by Moisei Kapsali, who was also a member of the *Divan,* or the council of state. In this latter role he sat next to the Muslim and Christian leaders. Among other responsibilities, the *Hakham Bashi* tended to the collection of the *haraj* (poll tax) from all Jews and had great authority in the internal affairs of all Jewish communities in Turkey. Thanks to him, many Jewish emigrants from Europe found a safe haven in Ottoman territory. The Chief Rabbi succeeded in convincing Sultan Bayezid II (1481—1512) to welcome the Jews from Spain. He was able to ransom those Jews who had fallen into the hands of pirates on their way from Spain to Turkey, or who had been preyed upon by slave dealers even before 1492.[4] This effort was continued successfully by the new *Hakham Bashi,* Eliyahu Mizrachi, known as Resm. He was born in Constantinople in 1436/37, was noted as a mathematician, astronomer, geographer and Talmudist, and was chosen as Chief Rabbi in 1492, at which post he remained until his death in 1526. Mizrachi wrote numerous works, some of which were translated into Latin. The most important of these are *She'elot u-Tshuvot* (Questions and Answers), published in Istanbul in 1560, and *Mayim Amukim* (Deep Water), which appeared in Salonika as late as 1805. His *Sefer ha-Mizrachi la Torah* (a commentary on the Pentatuch) was published in Venice in 1527, while the book, *Melechet ha-Mispar,* printed in Istanbul in 1534, was for many years the primary reference book for arithmetic, algebra and geometry. This latter work was also translated into Latin and published in Basel in 1536.[5] When Mehmed II captured Constantinople in 1453, he resettled many Jews from Ohrid there, and the Ohrid Synagogue stood in Istanbul until the 19th century.

The Great Influx of Jews from Spain and Portugal in 1492

Even before the great wave of 1492, Salonika had immigrants from Spain, since the expulsions from that country had begun years earlier, while Spain was not yet unified and while the Arabs had not been expelled entirely. Even before 1481, the kings of Castille and Aragon had demanded that the Jews either leave Spain or convert to Christianity. Under this pressure many Jews became crypto-Christians *(Marrano),* officially going to church and keeping Christian rituals while secretly practicing Jewish rites at home. They kept the Sabbath and other Jewish holidays and recited Jewish prayers. Nontheless, the *Marranos* were often attacked by fanatic Christian mobs in Toledo, Cordoba and other cities.[7]

In 1481 in Seville, the first judicial council of the Inquisition commenced its work, and after two years Tomas de Torquemada was appointed as the Grand Inquisitor. Immediately after his installation persecutions and executions began. All Christians were directed to observe whether Jews or *Marranos* wore festive or otherwise different clothing on Saturdays. All such persons were branded heretics and the jails were filled with *Marranos.* In 1481 alone, over 300 *Marranos* were burned at the stake, or *autodafé,* a cynical sentence that they be killed without the shedding of blood. Thousands of Jews were sentenced either to life imprisonment or to wearing shrouds, as a symbol of disgrace. The gold and property of the victims enriched the Spanish king.

Granada fell on 2 January 1492, after a ten year war with the Arabs, in which the Jews had been forced to give financial support to the Spanish. Upon this victory, Ferdinand and Isabella made their triumphant entry into the residence of the once mighty Caliphs, and all of Spain was now to be Christian. All non-believers, Muslim and Jewish, were to convert or to leave the country, under the threat of death.[8] Ferdinand and Isabella issued this decree in March of 1492, allowing only four months for the decision of whether to accept Christianity or to immigrate. Although the deadline was set for 2 August 1492, some chose to leave before it arrived. On this date, however, approximately 300,000 Jews set out on the difficult road of emigration.

Adding to the historical irony, only one day later, 3 August, Columbus journeyed forth to discover the New World. One *Marrano,* whose family feared for its life and who himself had been persecuted by the Inquisition, gave 17,000 ducats to support Columbus' expedition.[9] Both Vasco de Gama and Columbus were aided in the execution of their geographic discoveries by the mathematics and astronomy of this man, Avram Zakuta de la Porta, who was on

very friendly terms with the two men. It is even suspected that Columbus himself may have been of Jewish origin; he was at least under definite Jewish scientific influence.[10]

In much the same fashion, the Jews were expelled from Sicily and southern Italy in 1493, and from Portugal and Provence in 1497 and 1498. All these Jewish emigrants sought refuge in the lands of Islam, in north Africa, Istanbul and particularly in Salonika. Many also fled to Fez, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoly and Alexandria. They were most welcome in European Turkey, in Istanbul, Ohrid, Salonika and in other cities of the Balkan Peninsula. The old Jewish communities in Macedonia were expanded by their arrival. Istanbul alone had approximately 30,000 Jews and 44 synagogues. New Jewish settlements formed in Salonika had names such as the Castillian, Aragonian, Toledan, Sicilian, Callabrian, Cordoban, Portugese, Romaniot and Ashkenazi communities.[11]

Sultan Bayezid II (1481—1512) permitted the Jews to settle throughout the entire Turkish empire, although not, of course, for purely humanitarian reasons. He was convinced that the Jews, with their higher culture and their expertise in business, would contribute to the general progress of the state. He also considered the following: their commercial experience, that had been proven through history; their financial knowledge and connections with their correligionists in all parts of the world; their dealings in weapons and production of munitions; their knowledge of crafts; and their wide knowledge of foreign languages. In fact, these emigrants did bring their brilliant culture, their spirit of initiative and enterprise and their recognized technical expertise. Beyond their wealth in gold and other precious metals, the Jews brought knowledge in the fields of medicine, pharmacy, chemistry and manufacturing technology, especially in textiles and printing.[12]

Toward the end of the 15th century, Jews were fleeing not only from Spain and Portugal, but from all of western and central Europe, where frequent wars, economic crises and raging epidemics increased mortal danger and caused great famine. Rulers and high church officials needed to find a scapegoat and their fingers quickly pointed at the Jews to blame them for everything. The confiscation of Jewish property became a common practice after the establishment of the Inquisition, and these plunderings helped to fill the drained coffers of the Church and State. In a special bull, Pope Clement IV permitted the Inquisition to persecute the Jews, leading to bloody riots and burning at the stake. Totally pillaged and expelled, about 90,000 Spanish and Portugese Jews fled the Inquisition and came to the Balkans. These new emigrants outnumbered the indigenous Jews, enabling the former to assimilate the latter and also to impose their customs and Spanish language on them. Many emigrants were very cultured, having studied at

Spanish and Portugese universities. They often knew Latin, Arabic, French, German or Italian in addition to Spanish and Portugese. Many had been professors in high schools or universities. Among them was the learned and rich Don Juda Benevista who, having succeeded in preserving a sizeable share of his family's wealth, established a large library in Salonika. He was also the founder of the famous Talmudic Academy in Salonika, which became a great Jewish cultural center.[13]

The Influx of Jews to Macedonia from 1492 to 1912

A new wave of Bavarian Jews reached Salonika in 1470, forming a separate Bavarian *Ashkenazi* community. Although the *Askhenazi, Sepharadic* and *Romaniot* communities in various Macedonian cities were quite dissimilar in their customs, dress and language, they also had much in common — foremost their religion. In 1475, the rabbi Yizhak Tsarfati directed an appeal to all the Jewish communities of central Europe to come to Turkey, where their security and employment would be guaranteed. This call prompted a new wave of immigrants from Germany, Poland, Moravia and Hungary. Many of them came to cities in Macedonia, especially to the metropolis of Salonika.[14] As a result of this great influx of Jews in 1493, the Jews of Istanbul founded the first printing press which, in the following year, issued the first printed book in the Balkan Peninsula, it being in Hebrew. Another press was established in Salonika in 1515.

It is thought that toward the end of the 15th century, approximately 4000 Jews settled in Macedonia's larger cities, particularly Salonika, which the Jews therefore called the "mother of Israel". Most scholars concur that at the end of the 15th century and in the early years of the 16th, about 100,000 Jews resettled in Turkey.[15] This pattern continued through the following centuries as well, with the difference that there were no movements *en masse*. Small groups, individual families or persons would come, as our data reveal. For example, in April of 1502, a Jew who had arrived in Dubrovnik signed a contract with a *kiradzhi* who had seven horses to transport him to Salonika for 35 ducats.[16] A Jewish doctor from Lisbon signed a similar contract in 1502 for a *kiradzhi* having 22 horses to transport his family and belongings to Salonika. The route between Dubrovnik and Salonika was paid at the rate of 5.5 ducats per horse. The same year, another rich Jewish family paid for 46 horses from Dubrovnik to Skopje, at the rate of 3 ducats per horse. Again in 1502, a number of Jewish families boarded a boat in Apulia, hoping to cross to Valona and then to procede to Salonika. At sea, however, the sailors killed the

Jews, stole their belongings and resold them in Dubrovnik.[17] A caravan from Dubrovnik was organized in 1503, consisting of 50 horses and livestock to carry persecuted European Jews to Salonika. Some of the horses were to have pack-saddles or baskets to transport women and children, and the caravan had an armed guard.[18]

The Italian traveler, Jacomo Conarini, visited Salonika in 1507 and described it as having 10,000 Jewish households. On the basis of Turkish cadastral surveys from 1520—1535, however, the Bulgarian historian Nikolai Todorov, has established that there were only 7,780 Jews in all of *Rumelia*.[19] This is too small a number, considering that the sources indicate that in 1521 Bitola alone had 200 Jewish households.[20] They also show that Macedonia received Jews who had been expelled from Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Nürnberg and Regensburg. Small new waves of central European Jews immigrated in 1537, and in 1553 from Ferrara and Venice. The immigration of Jews from Ancona in 1556 prompted the Jews of Salonika to boycott trade with that city.[21] The traveler Lorenzo Bernardo was in Bitola in 1591, where he heard from Rabbi Samuel Namais that the city had 200 Jewish households.[22]

The arrival of Jews continued in the 17th century, creating serious competition among the merchants of Dubrovnik. Jews from central Europe came to Macedonia in 1604, 1609 and 1610, while an increased influx occurred during the Thirty Years War in Germany, from 1618 to 1648. A French traveler who passed through Salonika in the mid—17th century noted that "the inhabitants of Salonika are divided into three, almost equal parts, each having approximately 40,000 persons".[23] Evliya Chelebi, the Turkish traveler, reported that in 1667 Salonika had about 100,000 Jews,[24] which is definitely exaggerated, and that Ber had two settlements, mostly of Crimean Jews.[25] It has also been mentioned that, prior to the Karposh uprising of 1688, 3000 Jews lived in Skopje, which is said to have had 60,000 inhabitants.[26]

We also have information from the 18th century. In 1704, Paul Lucas was in Salonika, which he described as having "Christians numbering about 10,000, Jews numbering about 30,000 and 22 synagogues".[27] Other authors have also written that between 1720 and 1730, Salonika had between 25,000 and 30,000 Jews.[28] The traveler Aba Belley noted in 1722 that Salonika had 65—70,000 inhabitants, of whom 30—35,000 were Turks, 8,000 were Christians and 26—27,000 were Jews.[29] An Italian traveler recorded that Salonika was inhabited by 80,000 people, 23,000 of whom were Jews.[30]

Jews continued to arrive in Macedonia into the 19th century. In 1830, Henry Austen Layard recorded the fact that the population of Salonika included about 25,000 Jews, who were numerically superior to the Muslims and Greeks. He continued, "They continue

to speak Spanish and are distinguished from the Turks and Christians not only by their unusual attire and long forelocks that hang from the forehead of each man, but also by their beautiful features, blue eyes and light hair and beards".[31] The fire of 1863 in Bitola razed 1008 Jewish shops and homes.[32] The French traveler Cherveau has left us the following statistics for the year 1867:[33]

Salonika:	Muslims	20,000
	Greeks	5,000
	Jews	45,000
	Total	71,000
Serres:	Muslims	4,000
	Greeks	4,600
	Jews	400
	Total	9,000
Verroeia:	Muslims	1,200
	Greeks	1,600
	Jews	200
	Total	3,000

The Italian consul in Salonika reported to his Ministry in 1870, that the city had 80,000 inhabitants, of which one half were Jews, and two quarters were Muslims and Greeks respectively.[34] The German traveler from the mid-19th century, Hahn, noted that Skopje had 800 Jews, while an Englishman, Baker, reported that in 1877, one third of Salonika's 100,000 inhabitants were Jews.[35]

In Germany of the 1880's, passionate speeches were given about the "Jewish threat" at the "Antisemitic League", which had been organized by a group of intellectuals such as the journalist Maar, the preacher at the imperial court, Stöcker, the Prussian historian, Treitschke, and the philosopher Dühring. As the anti-semitic movement grew more impassioned, the medieval lies about "ritual slaughter" among the Jews were renewed and several judicial procedures were instigated. Antisemitism in Austro-Hungary had even greater dimensions.[36] All of this again led to an influx of Jews from these countries to Turkey, and to Macedonia. According to the English consul in Salonika, in 1833 the city had a population of 104,000, of whom 45,000 were Jews and 10,000 were *Donme* (Islamicized Jews). According to the statistics of the Russian counsul, the population was 100,000, including 63,000 Jews and 3,000 *Donme*. The Austrian consul noted 46,000 Jews in a population of 106,000, while in 1887, the French traveler Rene Millet counted 70,000 Jews in a population of 130,000.[37] In

these last decades of the 19th century, the reverse process was also occuring, with some Jewish families leaving Macedonia for England, France, the United States, Australia and Palestine. According to J. Hadzhivasiljevich, of the 2,380 houses in Kostur in 1898, only 150 were Jewish.[38] The paper *Politicheska Borba* (Political Struggle, issue #7, 29 October 1898), the organ of the Macedonian socialist revolutionaries, provides the statistics that the total population of Macedonia numbered 2,175,000: Macedonian — 1,200,000; Turks, Albanians, Tatars and others — 695,000; Greeks — 220,000; Jews — 90,000; Vlachs — 70,000.

At the end of the 19th century, many Jews came to Turkey, especially to Istanbul and Salonika, to flee the Czarist pogroms which had been incited by a strong antisemitic movement in Russia, the Ukraine and Bessarabia. For this reason, the Belgian Jew and millionaire Baron, Morris Hirsch (1831—1898), who was also a great philanthropist, spent large sums of money in Salonika, Argentina and Palestine to build barracks, hospitals and other receiving stations for Russian Jews. According to K'nchov, in the final years of the 19th century half of the population of Salonika was Jewish, in Bitola there were about 5000 Jews, 60 houses in Shtip were Jewish, Drama had 62 Jewish families, and Kostur had 750 Jews.[39] The *Encyclopedia Judaica* cites the figure of 80,000 Jews in Salonika in 1900.[40] Statistics for just prior to the Balkan War of 1912 provide the following figures for Jews in Macedonia: Drama 380, Shtip 500, Kavala 2000, Ber 500, Kostur 1600, Bitola 6000, Nevrokop (Gotse Delchev, now in Bulgaria) 110, Salonika 75,000, Serres 2000, Gorna Dzhumaya (now Blagoevgrad in Bulgaria) 50 to 100, Strumitsa 650 and Skopje 1700 — 2000.[41]

The Timariot-Sipahi System and the Jews

When they arrived in the Balkans, the Turks brought the *timariot-sipahi* system, a form of feudalism which had been adapted to their military needs. Since the Jews were settled primarly in cities and commercial centers, they were only rarely included in this system, and consequently only a small number of Jews are mentioned as peasant *reaya,* that is, as peasants bound to the land and to a *sipahi.* On the contrary, the Jews were primarily *beraya,* i.e., persons who had freedom of movement which was indispensible to the Jews as merchants. Depending on its needs, the Turkish government could forcibly return absent working Jews to their textile worshops, even if they were not *reaya.* Thus, for example, a *ferman* was issued on 7 February 1622, ordering the compulsary return of all vagrant working Jews to the textile workshops in Salonika, which they had left for other places

following a fire there. They were returned not owing to their *reaya* status, but due to the need for cloth production for the Turkish army.[42] Jewish peasant *reaya* did exist, but only in small numbers. Only four such cases are known to us: Menayim in the village of Trn, June 1636;[43] Avram in the village of Brusnik, April 1729;[44] Samuel in the village of Bareshani, October 1729;[45] and Shode in the village of Tsrno Buki, March 1741.[46] All these villages are in the Bitola district. There is mention made of a Jew, Yizhak, who in May 1636 was the *subashi* in the villages of Lozani and Dobrushevo, also in the Bitola district.[47] The inhabitants of these two villages rose against the previous Turkish *subashi* because of his maltreatment of the villagers. In compliance with the demands of the peasants, Yizhak was chosen as the new *subashi.* Ali Beg, the *sipahi* of Lozani, and Mehmed Efendi, the *sipahi* of Dobrushevo, consented with these demands. In the end, it appears that the Jews were more tolerant and tactful as *subashis* in their relations with the villagers. This is apparent from yet another document dating from November 1640, in which it is written: "Beg-zade Mustafa, Ibrahim aga, Mehmed chelebi and Dervish aga, the *sipahis,* have chosen the Jew, Mentesh, as *subashi* because the *reaya* could not tolerate the wrongdoings of the previous *subashi* and had therefore abandoned their villages and fled to other vilayets."[48] Thus, insofar as there were Jews in villages, they were either a farmer-*reaya* or a *subashi.* The decline of feudalism and Turkish military might after 17th century did lead to the creation of new modes of production, since the ruling Turkish nation did not adopt new capitalist modes until well into the mid-19th century.

The Turkish Tax System and the Jews

Although they were not *reaya,* the Jews were still not exempt from the payment of various taxes. The main tax they paid was the *dzhiziye,* or *haraj* (head tax). Exemption from this tax was granted to the Chief Rabbi *(Hakham Bashi),* community clergy *(hazan),* religious teachers *(hakham),* community administrators *(millet chaushu),* and to those persons enjoying privileges granted by the sultan's directive *(berat).* The collection of this and other taxes was conducted through the religious community, which would swear on the Old Testament that it would conscientiously and promptly collect the taxes and remit them to the state treasury. Wealthy members of the community were frequently taxed more than the poor or middle classes.[49]

The Portugese and Aragonian Jewish communities of Bitola are also mentioned in Turkish documents from 1634. Each Jew was obliged to pay the *dzhiziye* to his own community, which then transferred it to the *dzhiziyedar* (collector of the *dzhiziye).* For

tax purproses the Jews were divided into three categories. The richest paid 48 drams in silver, the middle paid 12 drams and the poorest paid 6 drams in silver. Because these two communities had quarrelled they were now to each pay their taxes separately.[50] In 1635, the Jews of Bitola paid 48,000 *akche* in *dzhiziye,* which were then given toward a textile workshop.[51] In 1649, the Jews of Bitola paid 46,000 *akche* in *dzhiziye,* and these monies were given to the *odzhak* (head) of the cloth factory in Salonika.[52] It was ordered in 1682 that the *dzhiziye* and *ispenje* should be collected together as a lump sum. The Jews of Salonika owed five *yuk* (one *yuk* equalled 100,000 *akche)* 28,000 *akche,* the Jews of Ber 8000 *akche,* the Jews of Bitola 42,700 *akche,* the Jews from the *kadilik* (Judicial district) of Shtip 20,800 *akche,* from the Skopje *kadilik* 56,000 *akche,* the Jews of Kostur 26,000 and those of Serres 13,500 *akche.*[53] These figures remained basically unchanged until the mid-18th century. From the *dzhiziye* paid by the Jews in 1706 were drawn the salaries of the *sipahis, silahdars,* janisarries, *dzhebezhis, topchus,* and *topchu-arabadzhis.*[54] In 1728, taxes were also paid in three categories, with one ,two or three *eshrefs* being paid by poor, middle class and rich persons respectively. From 1709 until 1736, the rich paid four gold pieces (ten *grosh),* the middle class paid two gold pieces (five *grosh)* and the poor paid one gold piece (two and a half *grosh).*[56]

Jewish resistance against the *dzhiziye* was expressed in various ways, be it against the actual collection of the tax, the rate of taxation or the methods of collection. In 1634, for example, the Jews of Bitola complained to the Sultan that, instead of paying 60,000 *akche,* 150,000 had been collected. The community insisted that it had collected only 60,000 and that this money had been transferred to the state treasury.[57] The Jews of the same city in 1636 complained they were being charged more tax than was prescribed, a complaint that was repeated in 1650. In 1663, Yakov Calderon registered a complaint with the judge in Bitola that he was being charged the *dzhiziye* although he was deaf and blind and therefore not accountable.[85] From a *ferman* dating to May 1708 we know that the Jews of Bitola and Salonika postponed, and did not pay the *dzhiziye,* an act which recurred in 1709. They were therefore threatened in a *ferman* that "he who does not pay or who postpones (payment) will be sentenced to a long term as an oarsman in the imperial navy". Again in 1731, the Jews of Bitola complained to the Sultan that, despite the fact that they had paid the *dzhiziye* regularly, the *dzhiziyedars, voyvodas* and *kadis* were demanding wool, rugs and other products or presents, so that some Jews had fled the city. To avoid paying the *dzhiziye,* four Jews from Kostur fled to Bitola, but were discovered and returned.[59]

The Jews paid many other taxes besides the *dzhiziye: ordu akchesi,* to maintain the military; *resm-i kismet,* inheritance tax; *chayir akchesi,* to maintain the sultan's pasture lands; *kasap akchesi,* a slaughter tax on meat; *rab akchesi,* for the benefit of the Jewish religious community; and others.[60] When the vizier of *Rumelia* or another important figure visited Bitola, the Jews paid 19 *grosh* and 5 *akche* for his and his companions' upkeep. Thus, in 1696, one such Jewish *mahalle* (residential quarter) paid 2500 *grosh* for the *kaftan beha,* a tax on clothing.[61] Bitola in 1714 paid 56,240 *akche* for the *bedel-i sursat,* a tax to provision the military with food, and in 1715 every *hane* (household) in Bitola paid 3072 *akche* for the *imdad-i seferiye* (military preparations).[63] In 1724, every household paid 20 *grosh* for the *kaftan beha*[64] and 3880 *akche* for the *imdad-i seferiye.*[65] Those Jews involved in broadcloth production in Salonika in the second half of the 16th century were assessed a fixed, collective lump sum of 1200 bolts of cloth. This tax continued to be paid until the 19th century. Because the producers had been unable to keep up with their tax payments, they accumulated over several years an unpaid debt of 4000 bolts of cloth. Consequently, the makers of broadcloth intended for taxes began to produce poorer quality material. In 1637, private Jewish producers of broadcloth sent a delegation led by Rabbi Judah Kovo to the Sultan to protest the size of the tax. The delegation's petition was not accepted and the rabbi was hanged.[66] Thus, throughout the entire Turkish period, the Jews of Macedonia were engaged in an incessant struggle with Turkish authorities, who burdened them with various taxes. Nonetheless, the Jews considered their lives in the Ottoman Empire to be tolerable since, despite the payment of various taxes and despite frequent humiliation, there were no pogroms or physical extermination as was often the case in the rest of Europe of those times.

Various Restrictions of the Jews during Ottoman Rule

Although there were no great pogroms, the Jews nevertheless were considered second-class citizens, just as all other non-Muslims, and in various ways were degraded and humiliated by the Turks. The very terms. "chifut", derived from the Hebrew word *yehudi* through the Persian *djuhad,* had a pejorative character. In 1563, the *kadi* (judge) of Bitola was ordered to investigate the issue of Jews suspected of selling wine to Muslims, while the *kadis* of Serres and Salonika were ordered in 1565 to prosecute those Jews who had Muslim slaves. Murad III, in 1595, forbade the Jews from wearing silk and other expensive materials, or from wearing expensive jewelery. These were the first public decrees of the

central government restricting the rights of Jews. A similar order was issued in 1620, when Jews were forbidden to carry arms, to ride horses or to wear turbans and fur hats. Another *ferman,* issued in 1622, further prohibited them from wearing red or purple Venetian woven materials, dustcoats made of silk or dyed turbans and also prohibited them from carrying knives or other weapons. Jewish women were not allowed to wear conical caps, green *chintiyan* (a kind of wide, cuffed trousers) or green belts. They were also banned from buying or selling slaves who had been or had become Muslims.[67] In 1656, Jews were forbidden to go through the market at night, although they could visit among themselves if they carried a lantern.[68] Scoundrel Turks, especially janisarries, often physically attacked Jews even in public places, or humiliated them in other ways. Thus, in March 1634, the *sipahi* Hasan beg of Bitola opened his umbrella in the middle of the synagogue and, on the Jewish Day of Atonement, forcibly collected 80,000 *akche* "to have in case of war". He then caught a certain David, beheaded him publicly and, carrying the head through the market, threw it into the Dragor.[60] Beautiful Jewish women were often abducted by Turks, who would either force them to marry or put them in their harems as slave concubines. We will mention only one, characteristic case. In 1634, a certain Salmo was living out of wedlock with his Jewish slave, Esther, when she became pregnant and gave birth. Salmo did not acknowledge that she was his slave or that the child was his. When Esther went to court to obtain support for the child she testified: "I am the slave of Salmo. The child I bore belongs to my master, Salmo. According to my mother, I am also Salmo's child".[70] Many Turkish witnesses confirmed Esther's testimony.

Poor Jews who could not meet their debts were incarcerated in private or state prisons. Thus, the Jew Safire spent four months in jail for a debt of 2120 *akche,* despite the fact that several Turkish witnesses swore at her trial that she had no belongings other than the clothes she wore.[71]

From time to time, numerous tales spread through Macedonia alleging that the Jews killed Christian and Muslim children, using their blood for ritual purposes. Such news spread through Bitola on 27 June 1656 when the Jew Maslim was accused of leading a Muslim child to the synagogue and murdering him for his blood. When the authorities determined that this was not true, he was released.[72] Compared to the Christians, Jews accepted Islam more easily, but for various reasons there was less pressure on the Jews to convert. We may believe the French traveler, Antione Cousinèry, who says, "if a Jew desired to become a Muslim, he would not be accepted unless he previously had been baptized, that is, had become a Christian". We have much information

indicating that the Jews were easily inclined to change their faith, particularly for commercial and financial reasons. In the latter half of the 17th century, a group of Jews in Salonika and Bitola converted to Islam, but when they resettled in Italy, they either reverted to Judaism or became Christians.

Because of such frequent changes of faith, inquisitions sentenced Jews to long periods in jail or to the gallows. Jews were prohibited from living near or around any mosque, religious school *(medrese),* dervish lodge *(teke)* or bath *(hamam),* and they were required to live in their own quarter *(mahalle).* In order to restore a damaged synagogue, a permit for repair had to be sought from the sultan himself. The permit was usually issued with the stipulation that the synagogue be restored to its original dimensions, that it could not be wider, longer or taller. Upon the completion of the work, an inspection committee had to be paid to determine that the building had its original dimensions, for otherwise it would be demolished. In 1702, the Grand Vizier Daltaban Pasha forbade the Jews from wearing yellow shoes, red fur caps or any article embroidered with gold or silver thread. This order was renewed in 1757.[73]

With the dissolution of the janisarry corps in 1826, the Jews' situation improved somewhat, since there were no more rogue janisarries constantly seeking to quarrel. The *Gülhane Hat-i Sherif,* promulgated on 3 November 1839, nominally recognized the Jews' right to testify in court (which they had not enjoyed previously), even to testify against Turks. Confiscations were terminated and civil rights were granted, as had all Turks. Four years later, the Grand Vizier Riza Pasha, in the name of the Sultan, confirmed all civil rights for all peoples in the empire. Although this confirmation was repeated in 1846 by the new Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, it is known that none of these declarations brought about any substantial changes in the social conditions of the Jews. In 1856, the Sultan issued the *Hatt-i Hümayun,* in which he again confirmed the former privileges and civil rights of all Turkish subjects. All these were formal "privileges", and those to take best advantage of such rights were the richer Jews, who were now able to enrich themselves more easily, paving the way for the development of industry. Jewish wealth grew to such an extent in this period that, when Sultan Abdul Mejid came to Salonika in 1858, the rich Jews of the city offered him and his companions their private homes to reside in. Mehmed Ali Pasha, the Admiral of the Navy, stayed in the Altini home while the Minister of the Army stayed with Solomon Fernadez. At the end of the 19th century, the chief inspector of Bitola was the Jew Hadzhiman Efendi, and the postal director was another Jew, Benzion Efendi. After the Young Turk revolution of 1908, the Jews also had their representatives in the new parliament.[74]

The Condition of the Jewish Religious Communities

The fundamental and foremost social entity among Macedonian Jews during the time of Ottoman rule was the religious community, *kehila,* which had existed since Byzantine times and in which all social and religious activities took place. On the basis of the Koran, the Turkish authorities recognized Jews and Christians as separate religious bodies, since they both possessed "revealed books", namely the Bible and the Talmud. Within such communities there was also a rabbinical court to settle disputes among Jews, particularly concerning matters of religion, marriage and inheritance. In 1557, a rabbinical resolution was reached, forbidding Jews from bringing suit in Turkish courts.[75] All disputes, including civil suits, were to be decided in the local rabbinical court or in the nearest city having such a court. Judicial advice was sought from the court of Salonika even by the rabbinical courts of Belgrade and Sarajevo, and other places, which had their own communities. As it was the oldest, this court was considered to be the central one for the entire Balkan Peninsula.

It is only natural that all medieval Jewish institutions were inculcated with a religious spirit and with religious norms. The more the religious fanaticism of the Turks pressed upon the Jews, the more the Jews sought shelter in their own religious community, headed by a rabbi whose authority consequently increased significantly, and which at times was abused.[76] These communities also had a council, consisting of several more respected citizens. In accordance with medieval Jewish law, the rabbi compiled a codex for the duties of the community, which was called *haskamot.* The rabbi reviewed and approved the resolutions of the council to ensure that they not transgress Jewish law, but he could not alter such resolutions, only comment on them. The community often passed resolutions forbidding mutual competition among Jews. It also collected taxes and presented them to the state treasury, represented Jews before Turkish authorities and vice versa. Another aim of the community was to reduce confrontations among Jews to a minimum in order to secure new economic positions, as well as civil and other rights. In this manner, the rabbi was elevated from an ordinary clergyman to the position of the religious leader of the entire community who had significant administrative power. The rabbi's most powerful weapon was his ability to bring an anathema *(herem)* upon someone. This was the most serious penalty against any Jew, since it would exclude him from the religious community. Excommunications took place ceremoniously on the Sabbath in the synagogue, when all heavenly and earthly powers were invoked to descend upon the anathematized person, and other Jews were forbidden to associate not only with the one who had been cursed,

but with his entire family. Thereafter, the excommunicated person had no hope of futher assistance from the community. Each community also had its own cemetary and arranged for its own burials.

Disputes and accusations often arose between communities, especially regarding the collection of taxes.[77] In the 19th century, larger communities such as in Istanbul and Salonika had two councils: the *mejlis-i ruhani,* dealing with religious and spiritual problems; and the *mejlis-i jesmani,* dealing with civil and laic problems.[78] Because of various weaknesses in the functioning of the communities, these councils played an important role in the survival of Judaism in Macedonia.

The Jews and the Ayduts

It is known that during the entire period of Turkish rule in Macedonia there were many *ayduts.* Jews were often the target of these bandits, since they were considered to be rich — either as money lenders having cash, or as merchants who, having their own caravans, possessed goods. There are many documents showing that Jewish caravans were attacked and plundered, on land and on sea. For this reason, the transport of goods was quite risky. The Jews called the sea pirates *sholelim,* and their flagship *daglan.* The Jews also used the Slavic word *voyvoda.*[79] Only one case is known of a Jew joining the *ayduts.* This occured in April 1705, when a group of bandits, including one Jew, attacked a caravan in the *nahiye* of Prilep as it was traveling from Bitola to Skopje, taking twelve laden horses and killing two people.[80]

Even in the cities, rich merchants were attacked by Macedonian *ayduts.* One such well-organized attack occured in Bitola in the summer of 1634, when the residence of Moyso, a rich Jewish merchant, was attacked. Upon entering the house, the *ayduts* tortured Moyso and his son Avram, so that they would reveal where they kept their money. The bandits stole the money, silver and household items worth approximately one million *akche,* which was then a considerable sum. Both Moyso and his son were then killed. Moyso was killed not only because he was rich, but also because he had been a great usurer. Many villages in the Bitola area were endebted to him, and to save themselves from this debt and the usury they sent the *ayduts* who then killed him.[81] Data exist showing that children of rich Jews were kidnapped by *ayduts* and subsequently ransomed. This happened in the village of Trnovo, Bitola distrist, in 1639, when the *aydut* band of the *haramibashi* Dude kidnapped three children and demanded money from their parents.[82] Most frequently, however, Jewish merchant caravans were attacked. One such group of Jews, traveling with a caravan from Salonika to Alasonia

in 1668, was attacked and plundered by thirty *ayduts.*[83] In November 1734, Macedonian Jews had collected gold and silver to be sent with a *kiradzhi* to the imperial mint, but complained that *ayduts* had robbed them on the road. For this reason, they did not bring gold and silver to the *darbhane* (mint) for several years.[84] Through such actions, the *ayduts* often paralyzed the commercial activities of Jews during almost the entire period of Ottoman rule in Macedonia.

The Economic Condition of the Jews

Arriving in Macedonia *en masse* after 1492, the Jews were afforded the conditions to develop their internal commercial undertakings, which intergrated Turkey into the sphere of world commerce as never before. Thus, the establishment of a united Balkan market-place coincided fully with the concentrated arrival of Jews in Turkey, who played a major role in its creation. During the course of the 16th century in Macedonia, the process of creating and strengthening certain commercial and artisan centers continued, while there was a simultaneous decline in mining centers. The Jews certainly played a role in this process since, as merchants for the most part, they invested not in the primitive and expensive metal production found in Turkey, but in the importation of metal from Europe, where it was cheaper. They also did much to increase the export of Turkish goods which Europe was lacking and vice versa. With their system of business, the Jews introduced Turkey to the wide sphere of commercial capital, connected the Turkish and European markets and facilitated the intensive exchange of goods between the two. As a result, Macedonia became a part of the large network of Jewish commerce, since the Jews were associated with their correligionsts in Valona, Drach, Dubrovnik, Venice. Genoa, Ancona, Hamburg, Leipzig, Amsterdam, Alexandria, Lyon, Marseilles, Smyrna (Izmir, Turkey), Beirut, and other large commercial centers. Salonika also thus became the commercial and financial hub for the entire eastern Mediterranean. By their actions, the Jews squeezed the Venetian and Ragusan (Dubrovnik) merchants out of Macedonia, and until the 18th century did not provide an opportunity for Greek or Vlach merchants to emerge. Via Drach and Dubrovnik, or by sea via Salonika, 16th century Macedonian Jews transported to Europe various hides (cattle, bullock, and various wild animals), oriental textiles brought from the Middle East, primarly Damascus, and also carpets *(kilim),* wool, wax, cotton, ivory, blankets and other articles. From Europe they imported metals, artisan products, textiles from Firenze, glass, and anything else which promised a profit.

Members of one Jewish family would often settle in different cities. We have an example from 1580, when the father lived in Skopje and one son lived in Valona to receive and forward goods to yet another son who lived in Ancona, where the goods were sold and where a new supply of industrial wares were secured and sent to Skopje via the same route.[85] Jews were often the representatives of foreign merchants, so that in a *ferman* from 23 January 1635, for example, the Sultan permitted a certain Istrade to be the legal representative of several European firms in Bitola.[86] In the 16th and 17th centuries, Jews virtually monopolized the Levantine trade, while a great share of Mediterranean trade was also in their hands. This was also the period during which social differentiations within the Jewish population began to manifest themselves, and continued to develop during the following centuries. Until the latter half of the 18th century, the Jews had no competitors in commerce. From that time, however, Greek and Vlach merchants emerged as their rivals, assuming sufficiently important positions in domestic and international trade, although they did not succeed in supplanting Jewish primacy in business.

The Jews also demonstrated that they were capable as money-lenders and creditors and they developed their financial operations to the limit permitted by the feudal framework of Turkish society. At first they appeared as small lenders within cities and in turn developed into creditors for international trade. *Marranos* and emigrants from Apulia were particularly dominant as financiers in Macedonia, charging as much as 30% interest, which resulted in a large number of suits and complaints against the rates of interest in the 16th and 17th centuries. We have already mentioned Moyso of Bitola, from the first half of the 17th century, who was killed by *ayduts* because he had virtually all the villages in the Bitola area in his debt.[87] Such money-lenders were also occupied in the buying and selling of invested *akches* and *groshes,* and often also redeemed taxes, from all of which they were able to accumulate much wealth.[88] For example, they could be the suppliers of alum, rice, tobacco, salt, or any other item for a monopoly in any given vicinity or region. Thus, in 1774, Avram, Ishak and Musa received a three-year alum monopoly,[89] while from 1804 to 1809 other Jews held the monopoly in alum for the area of Serres, Salonika, Bitola, Skopje, Voden (Edessa, now in Greece) and Negush (Naousa, now in Greece). The Jews were the first in Macedonia to adopt letters of finance, such as bills of exchange, checks, entabulations, insurance and other similar documents. As early as the 16th century, some men were already engaged in this kind of work: Ishak Saul and Baruch Koin from Salonika, Ishak Saso, Solomon Baruch and Avram Benevista from Kostur, and many other Jews from various cities in Macedonia.

Macedonian Jews also proved themselves to be exceptionally capable workers and masters in the making of gun-powder, weapons, hides, broadcloth, silk and other artisan products. In particular, the Jews from Toledo brought and mastered the techniques of processing wool, cotton and silk, so that in the 16th century there was already a basis for the textile manufacturing industry that was quite good for its time. In conjunction with this, they also mastered the process of dying these woven materials. The broadcloth produced in Jewish workshops not only clothed the entire janisarry corps from the beginning of the 16th century, but it was also traded for colonial products, even from Jamaica. Because of the need for broadcloth ,the Turkish government acceeded to the demands of the owners of workshops, forcibly returning to work anyone who had fled from such an *atelier.* Such cases are known from 1622 and 1640.[90] Likewise, there are *fermans* in which the *kadis* (judge) of Salonika, Bitola, Ber, Enidzhe Vardar and Shtip are directed to forbid the merchants wrote in 1667 that, „the Jews produce various, dyed Salonika broadcloth workshops had been met.[91] In 1639 it was ordered that no tax be paid on *yamboliyas* (a kind of heavy, woolen blanket) produced by Jews.[92] Evliya Chelebi, the Turkish traveler, wrote in 1667 that, "the Jews produce vaqrious, dyed Salonika caps, and to the amazement of the world 40,000 janisarries are clothed in blue and green broadcloth, which resists water. The broadcloth *(choya)* is similar to that made in London. They also produce blue silk scarves with red fringe, towels and small carpets that are sold in the Balkan Peninsula, Arab lands and the Crimea".[93] Until the beginning of the 19th century, these workshops produced many kinds of *choya, shayak* (homespun, coarse wool cloth), wool spreads, *yamboliyas* and similar goods. The rate of production of these shops began to decline with the onset of European competition in the early 19th century.[94] The French traveler Cousinèry noted in 1816 that manufacturers in Salonika no longer made broadcloth for the janisarries, except in very small quantities. The owners of these workshops had reoriented themselves toward the production of carpets in order to meet the competition of those made in Izmir.[95]

In these Jewish workshops, Macedonia experienced the first worker protests and strikes, which were expressed either by walking off the job (1622, 19—29 November 1640[96]) or by refusing to accept wages, as occured on 24 June 1641. The latter case had to be decided in court, whose decision read: "The court has ordered the workers employed in the mill of the Jew Manuelo, in the village of Dihovo in the Bitola district, to accept their wages according to the law".[97]

Jews are recorded as capable artisans in all of Macedonia's larger towns. In the source documents they are most frequently

mentioned as tinsmiths, butchers and candle-makers, only rarely in other trades. From 1634 to 1709, Jews predominated as butchers and candle-makers in Salonika, Bitola, Kostur and Skopje, with the Gypsies and Turks in second and third place respectively.[98] After 1709 the order reversed to Turks, Gypsies and Jews. Whether as merchants or artisans, the Jews frequently attended fairs in Macedonia. We have information that during the entire period of Turkish rule, they attended the fair in Struga, Prilep, Dolyani and Serres, where they encouraged the greater use of letters of finance, bills of exchange, contracts, checks, etc.

In the mid—19th century, the Jews were the first in Macedonia to begin establishing industrial companies. Large Jewish industrial firms were well-known in Europe in the second half of that century. One such company was the steam mill belonging to the Allatini brothers; another was the Olympus brewery belonging to the Allatini brothers, Saul Modiano and Fernandez Misrachi. Other companies were the thread factory belonging to Torres Modiano, the soap factory of Riccio and Budalika, and the tile factory also belonging to the Allatini brothers.

The following were among the more important Jewish commercial houses of Salonika:

merchants in ribbon and silk: { Ghedelia Abraham Errera
Iches and Cohen

merchants in silk and silk products: { Elia W. Aelion
Saltiel and Modiano
V. A. Mallah
David Molho
Jossua Mercado

Darblay Jr. and Allatini and Company had sixteen steam operated watermills, having sixteen millstones and twelve waterwheels. S. Saias and Nipoti were spinners of cotton, producing approximately 80,000 packages annually, while Torres Modiano and Company spun about 60,000 packages per year. The alcohol factory belonging to Fernandez Misrachi and Company produced fifty hectoliters of pure alcohol per day. Salonika also had four soap factories: G. Begio and Jovanni Jaco, with two cauldrons each; and Abraham Hassib and Abraham Beraha, with one cauldron each.

The brickworks of Fratelli, Allatini and Charnaud produced 10,000 bricks and 2000 tiles daily. Other brickworks belonged to S. Modiano and S. Muratori. Joseph Sciaky owned a factory for metal beds and furniture.

Another steam operated mill belonged to the Bejira brothers. All the machines for these factories were bought in France. They introduced corn into alcohol to help the muriatic acid, so that in the course of twenty four hours, 50 to 60 hectoliters of pure alcohol could be produced.

The Allatini brothers, who were Italian Jews, built a brick-works three kilometers from Salonika. Their machines were purchased from the Braton factory in Tours, France. The old forge of the smithy of Scialom and Benjamin was transformed into a nail factory. The Jews also first established water and gas companies, the bank of Salonika, electricity distribution, etc.

Industry was almost entirely in the hands of Jews, among whom Italian households, especially from Tuscany, predominated. Although the entire industrial colony numbered more than 550, the first rank consisted of twenty households and primacy was held by only three or four. These four families were the Allatini brothers, S. Fernandez and sons, Saul Modiano, and Ishak Joshua Modiano. These households also had affiliates in Marseilles. The Italian Jewish house of Judah Saul Modiano procured steamships from Marseilles, thus facilitating steam navigation to Salonika for small-scale commerce.[99]

Through the middle of the 19th century, Jewish and Greek merchants dominated Macedonian commerce, but in the second half of that century this advantage was assumed by the Macedonian bourgecisie. Nonetheless, the Jews retained great influence in the Macedonian market until 1941, when the fascist persecution of the Jews began.

Naturally, one should not assume that our information indicates that the Jews were all merchants, money-lenders, industrialists or otherwise rich persons. Just as among other nationalities, the Macedonian Jewish population was predominately poor and unemployed with vagrants beggars, porters or small peddlars selling fruits and vegetables in the streets. Such people usually lived in small, poor houses in the city outskirts, with many children and without sanitary facilities. Although there are many descriptions of this impovrished Jewish population, we will use only one illustration, as provided by the Englishman, Edward Lear, in 1848. From his impression of the port of Salonika we know that many of the Jews in this city worked as porters on the wharf. Poverty was so rampant that the porter often resorted to first-fights in order to gain the right to carry a piece of baggage, thus earning some money. Lear describes the scene upon his arrival in Salonika, when just such a fight occurred. The battle grew to such a pitch that two policemen were obliged to intercede and to disperse the combatants with their sticks and belts. Eight Jews were eventually selected to carry Lear's belongings. Lear's description of the Jews

at the port of Salonika adequately dispells the notion that all the Jews of Macedonia were wealthy merchants or otherwise invariably well-to-do.[100]

Through all of Ottoman rule, this stratum of Jews because of its extreme poverty provided fertile ground for the outbreak of various contagious diseases and epidemics which, from time to time, would decimate these Jews. Epidemics of cholera and other contagious diseases were recorded in Macedonia in 1550, 1553, 1572, 1581, 1588, 1600, 1609, 1612, 1613, 1618, 1620, 1630, 1636, 1640, 1648, 1660, 1667—69, 1679, 1689, 1697, 1712—14, 1717, 1719—21, 1730, 1740, 1748, 1758—60, 1761—63, 1832, 1857, 1893, and 1911.[101] These epidemics mostly severely affected the poor Jewish population which was concentrated in the Jewish quarter of a city *(Evreysko maalo),* while the Macedonian population suffered less, as it was located in villages, fields and mountains.

Cultural Conditions of the Jews

Salonika constituted a strong spiritual center even before the arrival of Jews from Italy and Portugal, but with the coming of the *Sepharadim,* it became the unequaled and most authoritative center for all Jewish matters, especially regarding religion. Many rabbis from the entire Balkan Peninsula came to Salonika for their schooling or training. The emigrants from western and central Europe, some of whom had studied at world-famous universities and who knew many languages, culturally enriched Macedonia, where they continued their intellectual endeavors. Others served as diplomats, translators and doctors in the sultans' courts. The doctor to Mehmed II was Jacob, Selim I had Joseph Hamon as his physician, and Süleyman II had Hamon's son. During the reign of Selim II, Solomon Eshkenazi was the doctor to the Grand Vizier and was an influental diplomat who, in Turkey's name, negotiated the peace treaty with Venice (1574) and Spain (1578). [102]

Jewish emigrants also established many pedagogical institutions for their people, such as elementary, secondary and high schools. Mathematics was taught as the primary subject, followed by theology, astronomy, philosophy and more. The *kehila* served not only as an intellectual and religious center, but also as a center for social services, collecting contributions for the poor. Here were founded various humanitarian associations *(hevra)* offering aid to the sick, disabled or poor children of the community.

It was also possible for one city to have several Jewish communities, each in accordance to the Jews' place of origin. As stated previously, these were generally divided into the *Romaniot,*

Ashkenazi and *Sepharadic* groupings. Not only were there conflicts among these three groups, but often there were disputes within one group, such as between the Castillian and Portugese communities, both of which were *Sepharadic*. Although some disputes were very heated, these communities played a significant role in the elevation of the cultural *niveau* of their members. Virtually every community, and if not the community then the grouping, had a synagogue to which were attached elementary schools *(Talmud Torah,* or *hadarim),* and schools for adults *(yeshiva*), that is, schools for rabbis or for advanced religious studies. In the former, children learned Hebrew and read the Pentatuch and Talmud. In the *yeshiva* they learned the basics of the natural sciences, mathematics and foreign languages. Girls did not attend school, but learned Hebrew and the recitation of prayers at home.[103] Almost every community, synagogue or *yeshiva* had a library that housed expensive manuscripts and first editions of books published in Istanbul, Izmir, Salonika, Italy, Holland or elsewhere. Rabbis from all the Balkans would come to Salonika to consult these manuscripts and books.

Very great intellectuals from various regions emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries. Among them was the very learned and rich Don Judah Benevista who, having rescued a significant share of his wealth, founded a large library at the Talmudic academy in Salonika, which eventually became an important Jewish cultural center. In Spain, Benevista had been the financial advisor to the Castillian king, Juan II. Among those who studied at the Talmudic academy was Shmuel Abravanel (1473), who subsequently became the minister of finance to the Neopolitan crown.[104]

In the early 16th century, the *Marrano* Diego Perez, who had been the former notary to the Portugese crown, found refuge in Salonika and Bitola. He had been a member of a secret Jewish organization, headed by "Prince" David Reuveni, which at the time had aimed at concluding a military pact with Portugal and the Pope to organize a military campaign against Turkey for the liberation of Palestine. Perez was also known by the Jewish name of Shlomo Molho. In Salonika he studied the secret book of the *Kabbalah* with Joseph Taitazak, learning its mysteries and becoming an outstanding Kabbalist. His works would later be influential over his Kabbalist followers, among whom, in the 17th century, was also the greatly popular Shabbatai Zvi, who had many of his own followers in Macedonia. Upon the request of his followers, Molho in 1529 published a collection of messianic sermons, *Sefer ha-Mefoar,* in which it was predicted that the year 1540 would bring an end to all Jewish torments because of the coming of the savior -messiah. The *Kabbalah* (from the same Hebrew word) was secret,

Jewish knowledge, religious and philosophical, the basis of which was oriental knowledge regarding emancipation and spiritual unification, meant to interpret symbols contained in Jewish legends. The Kabbalists in Salonika believed in Molho's prophecies, as well as in his divine qualities. When he was caught and burned at the stake in Mantua, while preaching the *Kabbalah* among Jewish communites, his followers believed that Molho had been rescued from the flames by flying through the sky. His Kabbalist influence was long felt in Salonika among his numerous followers.[105]

Samuel ben Moshe Kalai was born in Venice in about 1500 and died in Salonika in 1582. He was the author of the book *Mishpate Shmuel,* published in Venice in 1599.[106]

Joseph ben Lev was born in Bitola in about 1502 and later resettled in Salonika, where he attained great erudition in Jewish law. He became the president of the Jewish court in Salonika and was also an author and social activist. He became famous as the defender of the poor against exploitation by the rich Jewish ranks, for which his sons were killed and he was forced to flee to Istanbul. His writings include a four volume work, *She'elot u-Tshuvot* (questions and answers concerning religious issues), printed in Istanbul in 1556, 1573 and 1597.[107]

Samuel de Medina, known as Rashdam, was born in Salonika around 1506 to parents who had come from Medina, and was a noted rabbi, jurist and Hebraic scholar. He established his own academy in Salonika and became a generally acknowledged authority among rabbis throughout the Balkans. He is also the author of a collection called *She'elot u-Tshuvot,* which is an important source not only for the Jews but generally for life in Macedonia in the 16th century. Rashdam died in Salonika in 1589.[108]

Moshe ben Baruch Almosnino (1510—1580) was also a noted writer born in Salonika. His family was from Aragon, where the Inquisition had sentenced two of his ancestors to burn at the stake. He studied astronomy, physics and rabbinical literature, and became a rabbi in Salonika. The fire of 1545, in which approximately 8000 Jewish houses, synagogues and libraries, as well as 200 persons were burned, provided the Greeks of Salonika an opportunity to try to expel the Jews from the city. Almosnino therefore appealed to Sultan Süleyman I and succeeded in procuring permission for the Jews to remain, as well as privileges for them until they recovered from the damage caused by the fire. Almosnino's best work is his didactic book, *Regimiento de la Vide,* published in Salonika in 1564. Another member of his family, Yizhak Almosnino, translated Aristotle's *Ethics* into Hebrew.[109]

Joao Rodrigues de Castelo Branco also lived in Salonika for some time and died there. He studied medicine in Salamanca, San

Remo and Lisbon. His given name was Amado Lusitano, although he fled the Inquisition under the name of Joao, arriving in Salonika in 1555 via Anvers and Dubrovnik. He was the doctor to Pope Julius III and taught medicine in Ferrara and Ancona. Joao wrote seven volumes in the field of medicine, the last of which is devoted to the local pathology of Macedonia and is replete with new knowledge, diagnostics and therapies. On his tombstone is enscribed: "Amado Lusitano, who gave life to princes and kings, to the rich and poor, and who died far from his homeland in the land of Macedonia".[110]

Toward the mid-16th century in Salonika there lived Ovadi al-Konstantini, who had been a rabbi in Avignon, but who came to Salonika via Nikopolis in 1510.[111] Avram ha-Cohen, known in the Hebrew literature as Moarshakh, also lived there at the same time. Born in Serres, he became a rabbi in Bitola and in 1535 became the rabbi of the Castillian Synagogue in Salonika. Moarshakh died in Salonika in 1602. He left many works on Jewish law, such as *Teshuvot Moarshakh* (The Answers of Moarshakh). The first volume of this work was published in Salonika in 1586, the second in Venice in 1592, the third in Salonika in 1594, and the last was published posthumously in Salonika in 1730.[112]

Yizhak Behar Shmuel Adrabi was born in Salonika in 1520 and became the rabbi of a synagogue there. He wrote thirty books, the most important of which is *Divre Shalom* (Words of Peace), published in Venice in 1586. This is a work of philosophy that proves how the world emerged from chaos. He also wrote other philosophical tracts, such as the one concerning the reality of the soul and the meaning of life.[113]

Aharon ben Joseph Sasson was born in Salonika in 1555 and lived there his entire life. Information about his life is scanty, however. It is known that he wrote many books, but they were lost in the great fire. The only one which has come down to us is his *Torat Emet* (Law of Truth), a philosophical work published posthumously in Venice in 1626.[114]

When in the mid-16th century (starting in 1568) new, primarily *Marrano* emigrants fled the Inquisition in Portugal, Italy and southern France, the Jewish colonies in Salonika, Skopje, Kostur, Serres and Kavala increased in size. In contrast to previous emigrants, the *Marranos* succeeded in transferring a great share of their wealth to Macedonia, where they founded new synagogues, schools and libraries. These *Marranos* were highly educated, thus making it possible for more secular subjects to be taught in schools in the 17th century: grammar, mathematics, medicine and even astronomy. Although the scholastic method predominated, these schools were fertile soil not only for the growth of Jewish culture, but for an over-all contribution to the culture of Macedonia. In

the first half of the 17th century, the Turkish traveler, Hadzhi Kalfa, recorded that over 200 teachers taught at the Jewish high school in Salonika, and that among the 1000 pupils there were also some adults.[115] Due to all these facilities, the 17th century also produced a great number of learned Jews whose origin was in Macedonia. At the turn of the 17th century, there lived the well-known rabbi of Salonika, Shmuel ben Hasson ,who was also a writer and who died in the same city in 1608. His most significant work is *Bnei Shmuel* (The Children of Samuel), a collection of interesting novellas, published posthumously in Salonika in 1613.[116]

A particularly famous Talmudist was Chaim Shabbatai (1556—1647), who studied in the high school of Salonika with Aharon Sasson. He became a rabbi in 1607 and then became the chief rabbi and director of this school in 1640. He is the author of a book of answers concerning Jewish family law, published in Salonika in 1651 under the title of *Teshuvot Rav Chaim Shabbatai.* Another of his works is *Torat Chaim* (Law of Life), a collection of answers about civil law in three volumes, which were published posthumously in Salonika between 1713 and 1722. He also wrote the tracts *Ta'anit* and *Yoma,* which appeared in his son's collection called *Torat Moshe,* published in Salonika in 1797.[117]

Joseph ben Benjamin Samegah lived in the first half of the 17th century, when he was the rector of the rabbinical school of Venice, the city in which he died in 1629. Among his works are: *Mikrae Kodesh,* a study of 613 prescriptions of Mosaic law (Venice 1586); *Porat Joseph,* a collection of religious novellas (Venice 1590); *Perush Deruch Yamim,* religious polemics; and also many "answers".[118]

Meir bar Shemtov Melamed, born in Salonika, was a rabbi in Patras, but in 1625 returned to Salonika, where he died. In 1615 he published two volumes of answers, while a third volume was issued posthumously in Salonika in 1795.[119]

Joshua ben Joseph Handali was born in Skopje, but educated in Salonika. Having studied medicine, he settled in Safed and then in Jerusalem, where he became a mystic and Kabbalist. His "answers", dating from 1612, appeared in two parts: the first was titled *Shnei Meorot ha-Gdolim* (Two Great Illuminations), and the second was *Pnei Yehoshua* (The Face of Joshua). Both appeared posthumously in Istanbul in 1739.[120]

Solomon ben Aharon Hasson was the author of many "answers", collected in one volume called *Mishpatim le-Sharim,* published posthumously in Salonika in 1733. He died of the plague in Salonika in 1621.[121]

Daniel Istrumitsa (or Istrusa) was for a long time the head of the Rabbinical Academy of Salonika, at the Portugese Synagogue, and was the author of many "answers" and sermons. He died in

1654. According to his surname, he was probably born in Strumitsa. Together with four other rabbis, he wrote a work on Jewish law, *Doresh Mishpat* which appeared in Salonika in 1655. After Istrumitsa's death, his grandson published his book of answers, *Magen Giborim*, in Salonika in 1754.[122]

Shabbatai Yonah Cohen was a rabbi in Salonika toward the end of the 17th century. He was a pupil of the Salonikan philosopher Abraham ben Judah di Buton, and was also the author of a commentary on the medieval Jewish philosopher, Maimonides. In 1653 in Salonika, he published his "answers", under the title of *Shai la-Mora.*[123]

In the mid-17th century, Shabbatai Zvi came and preached in Salonika. Zvi, later to be known as the "false messiah", established the sect of Shabbatai-ist, Islamicized Jews, subsequently called the *Donme*. His ideas spread as far as Amsterdam and the Ukraine. Skopje was the second most important Shabbatai-ist city after Salonika.[124]

Chaim ben Israel Benbeniste (1603—1673) was a rabbi in many cities of Turkey and was a passionate follower of Shabbatai Zvi, especially between 1640 and 1648. He is the author of many books, extant in manuscript form, in which there is information about the Shabbatai-ists. His "answers", *B'aye Chaye* (Questions concerning Animals), was published posthumously in Salonika in 1771, in four volumes.[125]

Shmuel ben Yizhak Gaon (1610—1667) was a rabbi in Salonika, and was the author of a book of answers titled *Mishpatim la-Sharim* from 1633.[126]

Hasdai ha-Kohen Perahyah was born in Salonika, where he died in 1677. His book of answers, published posthumously in 1732 in Salonika, was called *Torat Hessed.*[127]

Elija Judah Kovo was born in Salonika in about 1620. His father was killed on 3 September 1637 while visiting the Sultan as a member of a delegation complaining about the heavy taxes the Jews were paying. Although he was left fatherless at an early age, Kovo nonetheless succeeded in attending the Jewish Academy in Istanbul. In 1670 he returned to Salonika to become the president of the Jewish court. His book, *Shnei Meorot ha-Gdolim,* was published posthumously in 1739.[128]

Yizhak Hanan, the Salonikan preacher, mystic, Kabbalist and follower of Shabbatai Zvi, died in 1687. His sermons were published posthumously in Salonika in 1747, as a collection called *Bnei Yizhak.*[129]

Aharon Chaim ha-Kohen (1648—1698) was born and lived in Salonika, and was a great Talmudic scholar. His works were published posthumously in Amsterdam in 1703 under the title of *Perach Mateh Aharon,* this being two volumes in the field of Talmudic studies.[130]

Solomon Aylon (1664—1728) was born in Safed and lived for a while in Salonika, where he became an ardent follower of Shabbatai Zvi. After a stay in Livorno, he became the rabbi for the Portugese community in London in 1696, and in 1701 he became the rabbi for Amsterdam's Portugese community. In all these places he disseminated the ideas of Shabbatai Zvi.[131]

Shmuel Yizhak Mediliano is only known as a rabbi who lived in Salonika toward the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. Only a few of this author's works have remained, among them being *Ne'eman Shmuel* (Faithful Samuel), published in Salonika in 1723. He was also the author of *Aruhat Tamid* (Salonika, 1756), which is a collection of sermons on topics taken from the Pentatuch.[132]

The Classical Age of Jewish culture was the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. Thereafter a decline began which was most apparent in the 18th and 19th centuries. Whereas the earlier period had produced a great number of learned people in virtually all areas of knowledge, the 18th century produced only a relative few, and their works are superficial and dull, consisting primarily of interpretations of religious themes which had already been the subject of commentaries by many, greater authorities. Although in the 18th century there were sixty Jewish schools in Salonika alone, decadence was nonetheless quite evident. In contrast to the 19th century, which did not produce a single reknowned person who would assume a place of importance in the development of Jewish culture in Macedonia ,the 18th century did produce several, who are not important because of the fields and topics of their work, but who are significant as material for the study of the way of life of Macedonian Jewry. Among these 18th century figures are the following:

Chaim Nisim Rafael Motsiri was born in Alexandria, and after 1793 became a rabbi in Salonika, Serres, Larissa and finally in Salonika again, where he died in 1812. He wrote a book of answers, published in Salonika in 1784, which was called *Be'er Mayim Chayinm* (Sporing of Living Water) and which was reprinted in 1794 and 1814.[133]

Chaim Avram Istrusa was a rabbi in Salonika, Serres and Kostur. His book, *Yerech Avraham* (The Descent of Abraham), was published in Salonika in 1815. In it were assembled the decisions of preceding rabbis concerning the questions of the crisis of existence, such as had occurred after the fire in Salonika in 1545.[134]

Avraham ben Shmuel Alkalai was born in Salonika. By the mid-18th century he was already a *dayan* (judge), and later became the rabbi of Dupnitsa. He died in Safed, Israel on 26 February 1811. In 1798, Alkalai published his book *Sechor Avraham*, in two volumes, while a third volume was released in 1815, also in Salo-

nika. That same year, his book of questions and answers, *Hessed Avraham* (The Righteousness of Abraham), came out. This work contains material about the life, livelihood, trades, travails and many other aspects of Jewish life in Dupnitsa, Kyustendil (Bulgaria), Serres and Gorna Dzhumaya.[135]

Yizhak Eliezer ben Sandzhi, a rabbi in Salonika in the 18th century, was a mediocre Talmudist, and died in Jerusalem in 1759. He was the author of *Be'erot ha-Mayim* (The Springs of Water), a collection of "answers", also containing some weak commentaries on Maimonides. *Be'er Yizhak* is a collection of his sermons, while *B'er le-Chai* is an assemblage of his eulogies.[136]

Chaim Moshe ben Shlomo Amarillo was a rabbi in Salonika, where he died in 1748. His book of questions and answers, *Davar Moshe* (The Words of Moses), was published in three volumes in 1742 in Salonika.[137]

A cultural phenomenon of the 19th century was the establishment of a local Salonika branch of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle,* the international Jewish cultural organization based in Paris. This branch was founded in 1864 by the Italian consul-general, Solomon Fernandez, himself a Jew. With the establishment of the *Alliance,* the Judeo-Spanish language, containing many Castillian words, began to displace French to a great extent. As of 1873, modern Jewish schools began to be founded in Macedonia, frequently independently or in conjunction with the *Alliance.* Rich industrialists or companies, of which there were quite a few at the time, gave contributions toward the foundation of these schools. Thus, for example, the Allatini Company in 1875 opened its own school with 500 pupils.[138]

Only two figures from the end of the 19th century are worth mentioning. Moshe Levi, a rabbi in Kostur, completed a compilation called *Ma'ase Moshe,* which contained an alphabetical listing of adages from the Talmud and which was published posthumously in 1874.[139] The second figure is Avram Gategne. In honor of his election as Chief Rabbi on 10 January 1875, he succeeded in obtaining the release of thirty Jewish prisoners.

The *Cerele de Intimes* society was founded in Bitola in 1880.[140] Thereafter, in all the cities of Macedonia ,commenced the establishment of modern schools, playgrounds for children, girls' schools, home economics schools and more. Some Jews attended missionary schools which existed in Macedonia. As of 1873, Macedonian Jews were regularly helped by Baron Morris Hirsch, a banker and philanthropist who was born in Munich, but who lived in Brussels and Paris. With his funds, an agricultural school and fraternity for Jews who had fled the Tsarist pogroms in Russia was established in Salonika. He also founded a home for the elderly, a hospital and clinic, as well as other schools.[141]

Jews in Macedonian Folk Verse

It was impossible for the centuries-long coexistence of the Jews and Macedonians not to find its expression in Macedonian verse. Jews are mentioned even in the oldest of Macedonian verse, portraying life in Macedonia before the arrival of the Turks. In one such song, "Bogdan the Drunk and the Golden Jewess", it is sung that Bogdan, a famous 14th century Macedonian feudalist, wagered with a Jew that he could set out for Salonika on horseback at sunrise, fetch a sign that he had been there and return to Bitola before sunset. If Bogdan were to win, the Jew would give him three bags of gold and a beautiful Jewish maiden, while if he lost, Bogdan would give the Jew his own house, wife and child. Of course, Bogdan won. There is also a variant of this song called „King Marko and the Golden Jewess". The text is virtually identical to the preceding song, except that Bogdan has been replaced by the famous Macedonia hero, King Marko. It is characteristic for Jews to be described as "golden" and to be depicted as being very rich, with "three bags of gold", or as being slave merchants. Thus, in the song, "The Good Hero is Selling his Bride", in which she is sold to buy weapons for him to flee to the mountains, it is sung:

„sell your young bride
the golden Jews will buy her"

Macedonian folk verse depicts Jewesses as extremely beautiful, and Macedonian youths as frequently falling in love with them. In order to make the hyperbole even greater, Macedonian maidens express their jealousy of beautiful Jewish girls in such a way that even they themselves fall in love with them. In the song, "I strolled, Mother, I wandered", a Macedonian girl states:

"I strolled, mother, I wandered
through desolate Bitola,
through the narrow streets,
over the muddy cobblestones,
through the Jewish quarter.
There I saw a Jewish maiden
sitting on a high divan,
combing her fair hair,
powdering her fair face,
reddening her coral lips.
— I am bursting, mother, I am trembling,
why did you bring me forth a girl,
why did you not bring me forth a boy
so I could wed a Jewish maiden? —"

Differences in religion are particularly portrayed as an obstacle to marriage between a Macedonian and a Jewess. This is expressed in many songs, such as in "Young Stefan and the Young Jewess", in which the youth says to his chosen one:

"I will say something, young Jewess, so listen to me.
Listen to me, young Jewess, and become a Christian,
so that the two of us, young Jewess, may be wed."

Similar suggestions concerning marriage are related in many other songs in which religion is the obstacle. In the following song, the young man addresses the maiden in "Slavic", indicating that Jewish girls understood the Macedonian tongue as it was spoken in the city.

"At one time I was like this, tra-la-la
I was an arm with no work, tra-la-la
So I went to Bitola, tra-la-la
To Bitola for a stroll, tra-la-la
And I passed through the Jewish, tra-la-la
Through the Jewish quarter, tra-la-la
There I met a Jewish maiden, tra-la-la
With her hair falling loose, tra-la-la
I said to her in Slavic, tra-la-la
— Ay, make yourself a Slavic maiden, tra-la-la
I will take you to a beautiful church, tra-la-la
I will give you a beautiful name, tra-la-la
You will bear a beautiful name, tra-la-la
The beautiful name, Maria, tra-la-la —"

In some folksongs, the girl rejects the offer, not wanting to "become a Slavic maiden" or a "Christian", but there are some songs in which she accepts, such as in the following:

"— Oh you Jewish maiden,
Go and ask your mother
If she will give you to me.
— Oh, I am not going to ask my mother,
I am only going to follow you."

Thus, Macedonian youths have strolled through "the Jewish quarter", where they have seen "a golden young Jewess" or a "beautiful young Jewess" as she was sitting before the "Jewish gate" or on the "Jewish balcony", where she was either combing her hair or washing herself. There are also. Macedonian folksongs

in which rich Jewish merchants are traveling by caravan and searching for water along their route, or are leading "three chains of slaves" to be sold at some slave market. Generally speaking, Macedonian folk verse does not portray the Jew in a negative light, but rather as a good neighbor and a rich merchant, although often stingy.[142]

The Participation of Jews in the Ilinden Uprising

One segment of the Jewish population was comprised of rich merchants and industrialists who were always associated with the ruling class and the government. Even among them, however, there were some who sided with the people, although these were individuals primarily from among the poorer merchants and artisans.

The majority of the Jewish population shared the same fate as the Macedonian people. Having lived for centuries in Macedonia with the Macedonians, most Jews regarded themselves as the children of that country and had their destiny in common with the majority population. Despite this, however, the Jews did not participate *en masse* in the political struggles of the Macedonian people, neither with recpect to their number nor with respect to the positions they held in the economic life of Macedonia. Upon the organization of IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), one segment of Jewish workers, artisans and merchants not only was sympathetic to the Macedonian national liberation movement, but also either actively participated in or aided it.

In Kostur a few Jews gave either material or moral support to the Macedonian revolutionary effort. Jacob Domazet, who as a manufacturer visited all the villages around Kostur, gave IMRO material aid by providing cloth for clothing and equipment for the rebels. The tinsmith Rafael served as a courier for IMRO among the villages and also gave material help. Jacob Cohen, who had a glazery, also traveled through the Kostur villages and thus had connections with IMRO, buying provisions ,arms and the like for the rebels. He continued to work in this spirit after the quelling of the Ilinden uprising. The brothers Bohor and Samoil Kamolche-Banchi, also from Kostur, were textile merchants who, through their connection to IMRO in Salonika, performed various services, among which was supplying the rebels with textiles.[143]

Todor Simovski, who has dealt more widely with the participation of nationalities in Macedonia in its revolution, has written about the role of Jews from Kostur, Salonika and Bitola in the Macedonian liberation effort. He states that in Salonika many Jews also sympathized with this movement and some of them provided material support. Thus, for example, Avram Maznu, the owner of the Hotel and Restaurant Splendid-Palas, Mushon Pesa, owner of

a furniture factory, and David Kaichki and David Kachachki, owners of boats, transported boatloads of arms at night by an arrangement with Turkish watchmen, mostly "Gra" rifles, revolvers, bullets and the like. The three Hasid brothers, one of whom owned a manufacturing warehouse and one a "chiftlik" in the village of Bugarievo, cooperated with IMRO and provided arms. The owner of the "chiftlik" transported the weapons to his land, where specially designated persons from IMRO would take delivery. Another Jew, who was a dealer in manufactured goods, supplied the revolutionary organization with contraband weapons, especially "Karadağ" revolvers. The following Jews also aided IMRO: Jacob the boatman, who with his own boat transported arms from Greece to Salonika even before the uprising; the Azari brothers, four wheelwrights who received and transported weapons to various places; Jacob Chaim, from Salonika, a trade commissioner who gave considerable material support and who often sent equipment to the rebels in the vicinity of Lerin; Avram Amar, also of Salonika, who worked with the merchants in Lerin and who gave much money to meet the needs of IMRO.[144]

An especially outstanding figure in the revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian people was Rafael Kamhi, who was born in Bitola in 1870. He was 33 years old when he actively participated in the Ilinden uprising, and he died in Israel in 1969. Kamhi was respected by Gotsé Delchev, Damé Gruev, Dimo Dimov, Gjorché Petrov and others. A. Aasa, who interviewed him, wrote that Kamhi felt more Macedonian than Jewish, that he loved the country of Macedonia as his own and the Macedonians as his own brothers, and that he considered the liberation of Macedonia as the aim of the most essential struggle of his own life. Upon incidentally meeting and befriending Damé Gruev in 1893, Kamhi was introduced to Gjorché Petrov and Peré Toshev. Some people claim that he was included as a delegate in the congress which established IMRO in Salonika in 1896.

Under the guise of a merchant, Kamhi went to Sofia, where he cooperated with IMRO's representatives Gotsé Delchev, Gjorché Petrov and Dimo Dimov. In Sofia he worked actively for the transfer of arms, munitions and bombs to Macedonia, collected money to meet the organization's needs and was sent on special missions to other countries. For many years he was the connection between IMRO's central committee in Salonika and its representatives abroad.

When the Ilinden uprising broke out in 1903, Kamhi joined the Macedonian rebels and fought in the areas of Bitola, Resen, Prespa and Kostur, assuming the revolutionary pseoudonym Skender Beg. He was a member of Gjorche Petrov's unit. After the defeat of the uprising, Kamhi hid in Salonika, continuing his own activities

in the Macedonian revolutionary effort. Following the rebellion, a fund was established in Bitola to tend for the children whose parents had died in the uprising. This fund supported a sports facility for children and helped Ilinden prisoners. Z. Shumlyanska, a teacher from Bitola who initiated the organization of this fund, later wrote in her memoirs: "The Jew, R. Kamhi, gave us about 10,000 levs and also gave us, cloth and blankets. In general, the Jews showed themselves willing to bear material sacrifices".[145]

Besides Rafael Kamhi, the Macedonian movement was also aided by his brother Mentesh. Mentesh participated in the provision and transportation of arms, clothing, sanitary materials, money and the like. For these activities, he was interned by the Turkish authorities. The brothers Avram and Musan Nissan were connected with villages in the Bitola area, to which they brought arms and other necessities for the uprising. Santo Aroesti collected money from among the Jews, while another Jew, Peris, supplied arms, sanitary materials and food for the rebels. Many other Jews also supported the Macedonian liberation movement, both before and during the Ilinden uprising.[146]

The Participation of Jews in the Worker's and Socialist Movements in Macedonia until 1918

Industrial companies began to appear in Macedonia in the second half of the 19th century. As they were owned primarily by Jews, they also mostly employed Jews. Hence the Jews were among the first to give rise to an urban proleteriat from among their midst. Jewish workers were among the earliest to be included in industrial production and were the first in Macedonia who began to establish workers' groups and organizations, after which they even began to organize Macedonian workers. Unions started to appear in the early 20th century, such as those for dock, tobacco, railroad and trolley workers, and others, all in Salonika.[147] The first strikes organized by these unions also occurred in Salonika: by the workers of the Olympus brewery, of the La Regle tobacco and cigarette factory and of the Allatini brick and tile company. There was also a general strike by shoeshops in Ohrid. Other smaller strikes took place between 1903 and 1908 in Bitola, Kukush (Kilkis, now in Greece), Ohrid, Drama, Kavala and other places. Some unions, however, were organized according to religio-linguistic or ethnic considerations and these groups often fought among themselves, as occurred in 1906—07, when the Greek woodcutter's union quarreled with the Jewish union. An identical incident happened with the bakers' union. The tobacco workers' union consisted of three sections, Jewish, Christian and Moslem, among which there were frequent disagreements.

Salonika had been a breeding ground for socialism within the Ottoman Empire long before 1908, although socialist ideas were adopted by non-Turks, namely Jews, Armenians, Macedonians or Greeks. These ideas developed primarly through the work of activists and propagandists such as Avram Benaroya, a printer, Joseph Nehame, the director of the Jewish Alliance in Salonika, Vasil Glavinov and Dimitar Vlahov, both Macedonians, Angel Tomov, a Bulgarian, and others.[148]

The dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamid in 1908 created even more favorable conditions for the growth of socialist ideas. It is certain that worker and pro-socialist elements in Macedonia enthusiastically joined the revolutionary committee of the Young Turks, which had released political prisoners, eliminated censorship and had permitted socialist groups to offer candidates in the election of 1908. Soon thereafter, however, persecution by the Young Turks was renewed. This renewal contributed to the reconciliation of various socialist groups which, for ideological or ethnic reasons, heretofore had been divided or even on unfriendly terms.

The Jews were again the first to move in this direction. On the initiative of A. Benaroya, Samushi Sa'adi, Alberto Dasa, Avram Hassan and others, a Jewish worker's club was organized in Salonika in 1908.[149] Although this club initially had only thirty members, it grew quicky and achieved great success on May Day (May 1) 1909, when it was able to organize a celebration in which Jews, Macedonians and Turks participated, carrying red flags and parading with music through the streets of Salonika. From that day, the club officially became the "Socialist Club". On 24 July 1909, the anniversary of the Young Turk revolution, the committee of the Young Turks demanded that all organizations festively commemorate the day. The Socialist Club, however, had the audacity to announce that the workers of Salonika would celebrate the anniversary, but separately from the official government. Despite numerous warnings, a separate celebration was held. During the parade, the club distributed proclamations in four languages — Turkish, Greek, Ladino, Bulgarian — announcing the establishment of the "Socialist Federation", of which the Jewish Socialist Club would be a section. The program and aims of the Federation were proclaimed in the manifesto, and workers of other nationalities were urged to form their own sections and to be included in the Socialist Federation.[150] Macedonian socialists, led by Vasil Glavinov, narrow-minded Bulgarian socialists and the Greek socialist group felt that in Turkey there should be one, united socialist party and not a federated socialist organization of various groups. A. Benaroya and Alberto Arditi again accurately demonstrated that, since so many different nationalities inhabited

Turkey, no single language was suitable for reciprocal ties or influence. It was therefore necessary to follow the natural and moderate path toward the unification of all worker and socialist forces from all nationalities. Only Jewish leaders comprehended the necessity for each nationality to have its own section within a federation, where socialist ideas could be disseminated in its native language, and they were thus among the first to expound this idea.

As a result of its orientation, the Federation began to issue its own weekly paper, in four languages: Ladino, in which the name was *Giornale Lavor;* Greek, *Efimeris tu Ergatu;* Turkish,*Amele Gazetesi;* and Bulgarian, *Rabotnicheski Vesnik.*[151] The Ladino edition was prepared under the direction of Benaroya and Menase, the Greek edition under I. Gazes, and the Bulgarian under Angel Tomov. The Federation also founded the first library having Marxist literature in all European languages, which quickly acquired many books and periodicals.

In 1909 the workers of Salonika organized several strikes and joined the Macedonian expedition from Salonika which resisted the counter-revolution of the Sultan. At the forefront of this struggle were Macedonian activists such as Yane Sandanski, Chernopeev and Panitsa, as well as some Jews such as Bekarov and others. By 1910 the Federation had come of age and was incorporated into the Socialist International, whose office in Brussels decided to accept it as one of its members. Because of its recognition and international reputation, Turkish authorities attemped to restrict the Federation's activities and imprisoned Benaroya. Under the pressure of domestic and foreign public opinion he was realeased.

At that time two principal parties existed among the Macedonians within Macedonia, especially in Salonika. One was under the direct influence of Bulgaria officially and was known as "The Union of Bulgarian Constitutional Clubs". It was led by advocates of the Bulgarian government such as Karayanov, Panche Dorev and others. The second was known as the "National Federation Party" (NFP), which represented the left wing of IMRO headed by Sandanski, Panitsa and Dimitar Vlahov, all of whom disagreed with the Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian politics of interference in the internal affairs of Macedonia.[152]

In the first elections, the leftists of IMRO from the revolutionary districts of Salonika and Strumitsa proposed that Vlahov be sent as their representative to the Turkish parliament. Upon receiving the support of the Federation Vlahov was elected. It should be mentioned that, after the adjournment of the NFP in the summer of 1910, Vlahov became an official member of the Federation and, in the forum of the Turkish parliament, was a passionate defender of the working class in general, regardless of

religion or nationality, but especially of the Jews in Salonika and Palestine. When the Arab feudalist of Palestine requested the Turkish government to bar the settlement of Jews in Palestine, Vlahov rose in the defense of the Jewish and Arab working classes of Palestine and against the Arab feudalists.[153]

In 1911, the May Day worker's holiday was commemorated particularly festively. A huge rally was organized in which Jews, Macedonians, Greeks and Turks participated. The crowd was addressed by speakers such as Vlahov, Arditi, Benaroya and the Turk, Ishan. The "International" was played by four bands and sung in four languages simultaneously. All flew red flags. According to Benaroya, 12,000 workers went on strike that day and 7000 joined the parade.[154] It is for this reason that Vlahov rightly claimed that the enthusiastic workers and intellectual Jews of the Salonika Socialist Federation were those who provided the tone for the entire worker's movement in Macedonia, especially in Salonika, Serres, Drama and Kavala. In the fall of 1912, the Young Turk regime jailed Samuil Yona, Levi, Ishak and Benaroya. The first three were held by the police, while Benaroya was interned in Serbia. Both Vlahov and the Armenian socialist representatives reacted strongly in parliament, demanding the release of the jailed socialist leaders. The socialist parties of Europe also joined in this call. Consequently, a large protest meeting was organized in Salonika and was addressed by Vlahov, the Armenian, Zaharian, and by the Jew, Arditi. Saul Nahum, the representative of the Federation to the Socialist International, aroused the entire socialist press of Europe and, under the pressure of public opinion, the prisoners were released. Benaroya returned from Serbia, where he had spent eight months.

In the interim, however, the First Balkan War had drawn near. The Balkan states concluded a compact to attack Turkey and to divide Macedonia among themselves. Under these circumstances, Istanbul was visited by Krsto Rakovski, representing the Socialist International in Brussels and the Rumanian Social-Democratic Party, and by the Russian Social-Democrat, Pavrus. They were to consult with the two Armenian Social-Democratic parties, with the Jewish Socialist Party of Istanbul, *Po'ale Zion,* led by Ben Gurion and Ben Zvi, and with Vlahov, who represented the Socialist Federation of Salonika. These men drafted and signed the well-known manifesto that condemned the war and which sought the federation of all nationalities in eastern Europe, including Macedonia. This manifesto was published in virtually all the socialist papers in the Balkans.[155]

In the period between the Young Turk Revolution and the Balkan Wars, an important role was played by the *Donme,* the Islamicized Jews of Salonika who were members of the sect

established by Shabbatai Zvi in the 17th century. In his memoirs, Vlahov mentions that often, when he was being hounded by the Turkish authorities, he would find refuge among the *Donme*. When he was imprisoned, the Jews arranged for a *Donme* family to bring him food to jail. Vlahov received such large quantities of food that he distributed it among other prisoners as well. In their ranks the *Donme* included some of the Young Turk elite, as well as lawyers, poets and other intellectuals.

The First Balkan War began on 4 October 1912 and ended with the defeat of Turkey, at which time Macedonia was divided among the surrounding monarchies. Bulgaria claimed to have received too small a portion of Macedonia and thus instigated the Second Balkan War against her former allies, which ended with Bulgaria's defeat.

Immediately after the war, the Socialist Federation in its newspaper *Avante* attacked the crimes of the armies that had entered Macedonia. The Federation's office was also visited by members of the famous Carnegie Commission, headed by the English publicist Henry Noel Brakesford, as well as by the Russian social activist and historian, Miliukov. The leaders of the Socialist Federation, Arditi, Rekanati, Hazan, Benaroya and Vlahov, informed them of the crimes of the invading armies and arranged for the Socialist International in Brussels to raise its voice in protest against the atrocities which had been committed and against the partition of Macedonia. The Federation also engaged the founder and president of the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme,* Francis de Préssance, to write in defense of Macedonia.

Upon the conclusion of the Second Balkan War, the Federation found itself located in the Greek sector of a divided Macedonia. Even under these conditions, however, the Federation continued its activism, often coming into conflict with Greek authorities. Thus, in 1913, the tobacco workers from the eastern part of Aegean (Greek) Macedonia summoned their first congress, where they elected Yonah, a Jew, as the first president of the Central Committee, while Benaroya became the secretary of the tobacco worker's club of Salonika. As a consequence of these actions, the Greek government imprisoned Benaroya, Arditi and Yonah in 1914, but released them soon thereafter due to pressure by the workers. The government of Venizelos then attempted to place the socialist movement of Salonika under its control, the failure of which led to the sowing of anti-Jewish sentiments among the workers in the hope of thereby destroying the authority of the Socialist Federation. On 24 June 1918, the Serbian military government conducted a raid of Benaroya's residence, where they also interrogated him.

The Socialist Conference of London was held between the 20th and 23rd of February 1918, to which the Socialist Federation

of Salonika was also invited. The Greek government, realizing that the Macedonian question would also be discussed, became interested in the conference and sent its own representatives. Besides the Federation's delegates, Sideris and Kuryel, the Athenian socialist, Dimitratos, also attended. With regard to the Macedonian issue, these men took the position that it was necessary to form a Balkan democratic federation, an opinion for which they were later criticized in the Greek press.[156]

In Athens, on 4 November 1918, the first united, all-Greek socialist congress was held. The Federation was represented by the delegates A. Benaroya, K. Andoniu, H. Benduri and P. Petru. I. Karaso and A. Levi represented the "youth", while the paper *Avante* sent Alberto Arditi. The congress passed a resolution calling for the unification of all socialist groups into a single party to be called the Socialist Worker's Party of Greece (SWPG); a central committee was also chosen. Thus the Jews, who had been the driving force of the Federation, were also among the founders of the SWPG.[157] With the establishment of this new party, the Federation ceased to exist. During its duration, from 1909 to 1918, regardless of various insufficiencies, it had contributed immensely to the development of socialism both in Macedonia and in Greece.

IV.

THE JEWS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

The Condition of the Jews in Vardar Macedonia

Prior to the Balkan Wars, the Jews of Salonika and Bitola were aware of the imminent withdrawal of the Ottomans from the Balkans, and were frightened of the eventual partition of Macedonia into three sections. Together with the Macedonians, the Jews opposed such a partition. With their refined commercial sense, these visionaries concluded that the partition of Macedonia would result in the presense of a greater number of Greeks, which would only serve to make their own business more difficult. More people favored Macedonia's remaining part of Turkey than its becoming the captive of neighboring countries. For this reason, rallies were held in many places to safeguard the unity of Macedonia.

When the partition of Macedonia finally occurred, it had a negative effect on commerce as a whole, but particularly for the Jews. We will use the city of Bitola as an illustration. Prior to the Balkan Wars the city had a population of 60,000, many of whom were Jews engaged in business, trades and manual labor. Because of the imposition of artificial borders at the end of the war, commerce which had previously been directed toward the ports in Aegean Macedonia was terminated, as a consequence of which many Jews and Turks departed the city. Thus, in 1925, the population numbered only 26,000, including only 2600 Jews.

After World War I, the Vardar region of Macedonia was made part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e., the Yugoslav Kingdom, in which the rights of Macedonians were not recognized. Macedonians were regarded as "south Serbs" and Ma-

cedonia as "South Serbia". The Macedonian language was banned from everyday use in schools, the press and public places. Attempts were made to entirely Serbianize the region. In this respect the Jews were better situated than the Macedonians, since they were permitted to organize according to their religion and language, to have their community organizations and to publish Hebrew newspapers. Nonetheless, the Jews empathized with the Macedonians. Having inhabited this territory for more than two thousand years, the Jews realized that the Macedonians were neither Serbs, Bulgarians nor Greeks. Thus, after the First World War and the formation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), both Jews and Macedonians adopted the ideas and slogans of the CPY. In the general elections of 1920, communist candidates from Skopje and other larger Macedonian cities received the majority of votes, thanks to Jewish ballots. Upon this announcement, however, several communist and progressive figures were jailed by the Yugoslav monarchy.[1]

In Macedonia following World War I, a privileged stratum of Serbian bureaucrats and bourgeoisie formed quickly, whereas a local Macedonian bourgeoisie had not yet developed. Besides this newly created Serbian bourgeoisie, there was also a stratum of rich Jewish bourgeoisie which had existed since before the war. Unbridgeable antagonism existed between these two groups, however. The Jewish bourgeoisie was old, locally rooted and closely tied to the local population and market. On the other hand, the Serbian element was new, intolerant and seeking to enrich itself quickly. It also lacked any hold on the Macedonian market. For political reasons, this group was often boycotted by the urban Macedonian population. The Serbian bourgeoisie did have certain advantages over the Jews: it very quickly bound itself to the government and to the Serbian bureaucracy, which supported it. Serbian commercial competition also benefited from the fact that the Jews, according to their tradition, closed their shops on the Sabbath and holidays and were compelled to do likewise on Sundays and Christian holidays.[2]

It is true, however, that as of 1920 one segment of the Jewish commercial bougeoisie began to cooperate with the new government and with bourgeoise political parties such as the radicals. The paper *Sotsialistichka Zora* (Socialist Dawn), issue 128, 1 December 1920, published in Skopje, printed a prominent article regarding this matter, stating that "some time ago, certain Jewish businessmen from Skopje established the so-called 'Jewish Businessman's Club', for the location of which space was procurred at the 'Palas' Restaurant". No one had imagined that this was the work of the radicals, as was discovered before the elections. The initiators

and founders of this club were Salvator Musaphia and Samoel Aseo, who had gone from shop to shop persuading the Jews to register with the radicals and to vote for them. Despite this, the Jews of Skopje realized that their only true defender was the communist party, and thus, nearly all the poorer Jews voted for the "red sheet" of the communist party.

Antisemitic ideas, emanating from Germany and Austria, began to appear around this time, spreading throughout the Yugoslav Kingdom via Croatia. A suggestion, made in 1920 during the course of municipal elections by a reporter, Milovan Obradovich, appeared in his pamphlet "How Shall We Solve the Jewish Question", published in Vidovo, which aimed to demonstrate the "threat" of the Jews and communists who had been active throughout Europe ever since the victorious October Revolution. This suggestion consisted of the following elements: forbidding freedom of movement of Jews and restricting them to ghettos; forbidding the Jews from referring to themselves as "Croats of the Mosaic faith", forbidding Jews from making loans to Christians; annulling previously accrued debts to Jews; restricting the schooling of Jews; forbidding Jewish doctors from treating Christian patients, and vice versa; prohibiting Jewish lawyers from representing Christian clients; prohibiting Jewish teachers from teaching Christian children; barring Christians from service in Jewish homes. From these and other suggestions it is evident just how rapidly antisemitic, retaliatory and fascist ideas from Germany and Austria infiltrated the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This fascist, anti-communist and antisemitic propaganda, supported even by the government, spread from the north southward into Macedonia, where its sole objective was to assert some influence on the communists who had become active there. Anti-communist propaganda in Macedonia was accompanied by antisemitism as well. In March 1922, the residents of Bitola were informed that a child had been murdered by Jews in order to use the blood for Passover. The insenced inhabitants surrounded the house of the eminent Jew, Samuel, in whose home the alleged ritual killing had taken place. The situation of the Jews of Bitola had become frightful. In this case, however, a police official quickly announced that not a single child in Bitola was missing, and that such stories should not be heeded.[3]

According to statistics for all of Yugoslavia for 1921, of a total population numbering 12,017,323 people, 64,221 were Jews. In other words, 5% of the total population of the country was

Jewish. Surviving statistics for Macedonia from 1930 show the following number of Jews:

Bitola	2,682
Skopje	1,889
Kumanovo	18
Ohrid	11
Tikvesh	10
TOTAL	4,610

Just prior to 6 April 1941 ,the number of Jews in Macedonia increased due to the arrival of emigrants from central Europe, where fascism had already become militant.

Jews resided in all the larger cities of Yugoslavia, where they were occupied either in small business or in artisan trades. Some smaller towns also had Jewish communities. All these communities embraced Jewish culture and language, producing great cultural education and much religious activity among their members. Such communities had no political character, but were exclusively national, cultural-educational, religious and humanitarian in nature. Thus, for example, the religious communities of Bitola and Skopje initiated a series of humanitarian efforts, for which purpose several special funds existed:

Bikur Holim (Visitation of the sick) was a fund serving to offer financial assistance to those families which, due to the illness of the head of the house and wage-earner, were deprived of their income. Such assistance was disbursed each Thursday by special trustees, who would personally visit each affected family.[4]

Ozer Dalim (Help for the ill) was a fund serving only to help heal the ill. These monies paid an annual honorarium to retain the services of a doctor and to pay for medicine obtained from a specified apothecary.[5]

Matanot la-Evyonim (Gifts for the poor) served to improve the feeding of poor Jewish pupils. The foodstuffs purchased with this fund were prepared for morning and mid-day meals, which were distributed throughout the school year.[6]

Malbish Arumim (Clothing the naked) also served to assist poor pupils. The money from this fund was used to buy clothing and other school supplies for young boys and girls. It was also used to pay an honorarium to teachers who would spend summers assisting weak students prepare for their examinations.[7]

The source for the above-mentioned funds was a voluntary tax, known as *pecha,* which every Jew paid according to his ability and his means. From this tax, heating fuel (firewood, etc.) was procured for poor Jews during the winter and flour was also bought, especially at times of religious holidays.

These same religious communities also sponsored various societies for sports, music and singing, and other sorts of Jewish cultural or educational activities.

The poverty of the majority of Jews, as well as capitalist exploitation by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, were among the principal reasons that many Jews left their native cities to seek their fortune in America and other countries. It was usually only in the case of utmost poverty, however, that the Jews resorted to this step.

The influence of SKOY (League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia) began to increase among the Jewish youth toward the end of the 1930" s. This influence was particularly evident in the two Jewish youth groups *"Ha-shomer Ha-sa'ir"* (The Young Guard) and *"Tehelet lavan"* (Blue and White). The objective of these two organizations was to develop a sense of communal life among young people. One activity sponsored by these groups was the collection of voluntary contributions to enable all young people jointly to attended the cinema, or to go on excursions and outings, regardless of any person's individual wealth or poverty. The organizations' leaders were usually registered members of SKOY.[8]

The Jewish population prior to World War II included many doctors, veterinarians, judges, lawyers, architects, engineers, draftsmen, and even agronomists. Being a notable urban element, the Jews participated in all the cultural and artistic events in their cities frequently attending concerts and the theater and providing patronage for various artists, primarly Jewish painters. Besides the often very wealthy Jews, the Jewish population consisted of workers, artisans, small businessmen, minor officials and many impovrished persons. In Skopje they lived in the poor and delapidated houses between the Vardar River and the fortress *(Kale),* behind the wooden Jewish bridge. In addition, the population included a large number of Jewish intellectuals, mostly from wealthy families, the majority of whom were absorbed with Marxist ideology. For their participation in the workers' movement, some of these intellectuals were jailed by the pre-war Yugoslav regime.

As of 1935, the pro-fascist forces of Dr. Milan Stoyanovich and Tsvetkovich-Machek gradually began to introduce fascism to Yugoslavia, thereby resulting in one wave of Jewish immigration from the country. In order to reassure the perturbed Jews, as well as to trick them, Governor Pavle, President Stoyanovich and Internal Affairs Secretary Koroshets were pushed to issue identical statements, which read: "The Jews are fully equal citizens of Yugoslavia, and their unhindered cultural, social and economic life can only bring joy to Yugoslavia".[9] Only a few years later, however, nothing remained of these promises, since a series of

anti-Jewish laws had been promulgated, as will be discussed in forth-coming chapters.

Conditions for the Jews worsened still further after 1939, when the first Jewish persecutions began and when pro-fascist worker's organizations, such as *Yugoras,* were formed. The Jews abandoned this organization, and Jewish workers and youth either joined the URS (United Worker's Union), which was under the direct influence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, or else formed their own anti-fascast organizations. One such group was *ha-Shomer ha-Sa'ir,* comprised principly of educated young people who were also often members of SKOY. Most of the members of *Tehelet-Lavan* were progressive, Jewish working youth, either sympathetic to, or members of the CPY or members of the URS. The Jews of Skopje frequently participated in excursions organized by the CPY or URS to Usye, to the village of Shishevo, or to other places in the city's vicinity. They also joined in demonstrations and rallies staged by the communist party.

In 1939, the Tsvetkovich-Machek government announced the first restrictions for Jews and commenced with the first persecutions, as a result of which many Yugoslav Jews emigrated to Palestine. The Yugoslav government permitted them to leave and to take their possessions with them.[11] Not only did the Jews flee from Yugoslavia, but the Yugoslav authorities passed a series of laws expelling them from the country. These original anti-Jewish laws, passed on 27 July 1939, were general legal prescriptions, which stated:

1. Jews who arrived in Yugoslavia after 1 January 1935 must leave the country within three months.

2. Jews who arrived in Yugoslavia before 1 January 1935, but who have lived in the country for less than ten years, must leave within six months.

3. Jews who have lived in Yugoslavia for more than ten years, but who do not claim Yugoslav citizenship (including those who have requested but have not yet been granted such citizenship), must leave the country within one year.[12]

As early as 1938, before the passing of these laws, an anti-Jewish campaign had begun in the press, appearing first in the newspaper *Balkan,* and subsequently in others. At this same time, the operations of Jewish cultural and youth organizations also began to be restricted. The first such restriction took place in Sarajevo, where the *Matatya* society was outlawed.

All these measures greatly concerned Yugoslavia's Jews who were aware immediately that this was the prelude to their tragedy.

For this reason, a delegation of Jews requested an audience with Dragisha Tsvetkovich, the current President of the Miniterial Council and the Minister of the Interior. The delegation was led by the President of the Organization of Jewish Religious Communities, Fridrih Pops, and also included the Organization's Vice-President, David Albala, and its Secretary, Sima Shpitser. Upon being received by Tsvetkovich on 22 February 1939, Albala requested that the persecution of the Jews be terminated, and he complained about the items appearing in the paper *Balkan* and the banning of the *Matatya* club.

Tsvetkovich interpreted the delegation's petition as a political gesture intended to compromise the government's policies. His reply therefore contained the threat that "it is not in the interest of the Jews to involve themselves at all in politics in times so dangerous for them". In conclusion he further threatened, "that events..... at least for the Jews, have taken a turn for the worse.....".[13]

The following year, 1940, the Tsvetkovich-Machek government took the first formal measures abolishing the formal, civil equality of the Jews. These were known as the "Koroshets Laws", banning Jews fom certain professions and limiting their rights to schooling.[14] Resolution # 14097, 15 October 1940, was adopted by Minister of Education Antun Koroshets and declared that only a limited number of Jewish children would be permitted to enroll in secondary schools: four girls in the girls' high school, Princess Maria, in Skopje; six girls in the co-educational high school in Bitola; and three girls in the co-educational high school in Shtip. In other words, only thirteen Jewish girls were enrolled in high schools in all of Macedonia.[15]

Reactionary circles in and around the government supported this social discrimination in numerous ways, often calling upon age-old prejudices. Nonetheless, antisemitism was not very rampant until 1939, when pro-fascist and reactionary regimes offically began to support it. An important role in this process was played by various fascist organizations such as the *Lyotichevtsi*, *Ustashi*, *Krizhari*, *Kulturbundovtsi* and, in Macedonia, the fascist organization of Ivan Mikhailov.

The condition of Jews in Yugoslavia consequently grew even more difficult since, after the "Koroshets Laws", other legal measures were adopted to further restrict Jewish civil rights. Among these restrictions, Jews were prohibited from dealing in the sale of foodstuffs. By means of confidential orders, the authorities precluded Jews from certain degrees of advancement in the military by ensuring that they would not pass the officer's examinations.[16]

Also around this time, numerous pamphlets began to appear, either in the newspapers or as separate publications. "The Jewish Question", one such pamphlet from May of 1940, stated: "One of the most important issues in the interest of saving Christian civilization is the need to solve the Jewish question as quickly as possible. This issue long ago became an imminent danger to the entire Christian world. In his brochure 'The Drama of Contemporary Humanity', Dimitriye Lyotich has definitively discussed the satanic plan of the world's Jews and their role. Of all the political parties in Yugoslavia, the movement 'Zbor', of which Lyotich is president, is the only one to have taken a resolute stand against the infernal intentions of the Jews and to have undertaken a radical struggle against the Jewish spirit, which has sunk deep roots in our country in order to uproot, suffocate and destroy it".[17] Other pamphlets with similar antisemitic contents demonstrated the approach of the drama of Yugoslavia's Jews, who therefore opposed the Triple Pact *en masse* and who joined the demonstrations of 27 March 1941.

Thus, after 1939, by means of such laws and numerous other regulations, the Yugoslav monarchy paved the way for fascist racial theory and prepared for the greatest tragedy of Yugoslav Jewry, a tragedy which would result in the annihilation of eighty per cent of the Jews who lived in pre-war Yugoslavia.[18] Before the war 75,000 Jews lived in the country and, according to the data provided by the Commission for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators, only 12,000 survived.[19]

Of all Jews in pre-war Yugoslavia, approximately one tenth lived in Macedonia. According to a register preceding 6 April 1941, Macedonian Jews were located in the following locations and numbers:

Locations and numbers:	families	persons
Skopje	1,181	3,795
Bitola	810	3,351
Shtip	140	551
Veles	2	8
Kumanovo	7	13
Gevgelia	3	11
Kriva Palanka	1	5
remaining locations in Macedonia	6	28
TOTAL	2,150	7,762

Only three religious communities existed in Macedonia: in Skopje, Bitola and Shtip. The number of Jews in Macedonia increased after 6 April 1941, when approximately 300 Serbian Jews, mostly from Belgrade, fled to Macedonia (Skopje and Bitola), where they remained illegally. Thus, the number of Jews in Macedonia approached 8000.

The Condition of Jews in Aegean Macedonia

Having defeated Turkey in the First Balkan War and Bulgaria in the Second Balkan War, Greece succeeded in taking possession of the largest and most fertile, coastal part of Macedonia. The Jews were opposed to the partition of Macedonia and the imposition of borders which would sever Salonika from the rest of Macedonia, since this would result in a reduction in the rate of over-land trade of Salonikans, particularly Jews, with territories to the north. The bulk of Salonika's trade, however, came by sea.

During the First World War, in August 1917, the Jews of Salonika experienced a catastrophic fire, in which many homes and shops, thirty-two synagogues and houses of worship and a sizeable number of humanitarian institutions were razed. The Ashkenazis were left with only one synagogue, the rest being Sepharadic. In the effort to rebuild, assistance came from Jews throughout Greece, as well as from international Jewish organizations, so that life returned to normal shortly after the war.[21]

In the 1920 Greek census, the first after the war, the population totaled 4,943,088, of whom the Jews represented 2.2%, or 110,000 people. Although there had been large numbers of Jews in Salonika, many of them emigrated to the United States or France after the war, since Greek attempts to Hellenize this city had resulted in the passage of the "Laws for Jewish Communities", which prohibited Jews from residing in certain parts of Salonika. The second wave of Jewish immigration occurred in 1922, when Jewish businesses were ordered to remain closed on Sundays, in contrast to Turkish laws, which had permitted Jews to close on the Sabbath and to open their shops on Sundays. This new order was intended to benefit Greek merchants at the expense of the Jews. The second wave of immigrants turned east, to Palestine and Alexandria. Although the laws of 1920 and 1922 had antisemitic overtones they did not directly compel many Jews to leave Aegean Macedonia.[23] The laws acted as economic disincentives, but did not affect Jewish civil, religious or political rights, since there were still two Jewish representatives in the Parliament.

Jews were permitted to pursue religious, educational and humanitarian activities within their communities, which were led by the Chief Rabbi and his spiritual council. A religious court, *Beth Din,* stood in each community and resolved judicial issues among Jews, applying the canons of Jewish law. The decisions of these courts were subject to review by authorized Greek judges. Jewish communities also had the right to collect a personal tax, *pecha,* from its members and to tax certain kinds of foodstuffs, *gabela.* Children were educated free of charge in Jewish schools, and there were also a number of secondary and trade schools in several cities. For medical care, Salonika had the special Baron Hirsch hospital, centers for the mentally ill, a clinic for free medical attendance, a clinic for housecalls, an apothecary distributing medicine free of charge to poor Jews, a home for the aged, and a home for impoverished children. School kitchens provided free food to poor children, while students received help from another special fund. The city also had various artisan associations, Zionist clubs and other organizations.[24]

When the Greek army was defeated by Ataturk in the Greco-Turkish war in Asia Minor (1922), two Greeks officers, Plastiras and Gonatas, emerged in Athens and took over the reins of government. In 1923, during preparations for parliamentary elections, Secretary of the Interior Papaandreas ordered: "Jews and Muslims shall vote in separate electoral locations so that the enemies of the nation shall not be permitted to influence the outcome of the election". This order led to a small wave of immigration of Jews from Aegean Macedonia to Tel Aviv and Haifa.[25]

Various Jewish humanitarian and sports organizations functioned freely between the two world wars. Among them were the Allatini orphanage; the Aboav orphanage for girls; *Bikur Holim,* for visiting and helping the ill; *Malbish Arumim,* for providing clothing to the poor; *Yeshu'a ve-Rahamim,* a charitable society; *Le-hachnasat Kala,* providing financial aid to the poor;[26] *Makabi,* a sports organization; *Ahdut,* a Zionist club with branches in various cities and communities. A lively Jewish theater also existed in Salonika, Ber and Kavala, the actors being both children and adults. The performances, given in the open air, on terraces or in schools and clubs, had themes inspired by Biblical legends such as David and Goliath, or the tale of Joseph and his brothers. These plays were usually presented around the holidays of Purim and Hanukkah.[27]

Socialist associations existed in addition to Zionist ones, of which some leaned to the left and some to the right. Between the two wars, Aegean Macedonia's Jews developed a wide field of publications, issuing the papers *El Popular* and *Avante. Diskutant,* a theatrical farce with socialist leanings, was printed in *El Popular.*

Nyim Zemirot, a collection of Jewish songs, primarily Sepharadic songs from the vicinity of Salonika, was published in 1929.[28]

Some Jews resettled in Palestine between 1933 and 1941 because of the growth of fascism in Europe, beginning in 1939, and because of the appearance of antisemitism in Greece as well. Nonetheless, approximately 60,000 Jews lived in Salonika in 1935. The rate of immigration increased when the fascist Metaxas dictatorship came to power in 1936. In the Greek Assembly, several antisemitic representatives publicly accused the Jews of being responsible for the economic crisis, the increase in prices and the deteriorating conditions off the middle and lower classes. Jews were also accused of attempting to undermine Greece's domestic capital.[29]

When fascist Italy attacked Greece on 28 October 1940, 4000 Jews mobilized and fought bravely on the Albanian front together with Macedonian and Muslim soldiers, all under Greek commanders. Hitler's Germany attacked both Greece and Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941. In summation, approximately 77,000 Jews lived in Greece just prior to World War II, of whom 70,000 were in Aegean Macedonia and of whom 90% were liquidated by the Nazis.[30]

The Condition of Jews in Pirin Macedonia

The partition of Macedonia among Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia was accomplished by the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 28 July 1913. Pirin Macedonia, which for two decades had been a fortress holding out against the attacks of *vrhovism* (a belief in Greater Bulgaria), found itself within the borders of Bulgaria. This destruction of the territorial unity of Macedonia struck a blow to the economic life of both cities and villages in Pirin. Forcibly separated from the other two parts of Macedonia, the Macedonians in Pirin felt bound to other Macedonians by their history, nationality, economy and, in every respect, by their fate. They thus gave expression to their solidarity, which was supported by the fact that, after the wars, Macedonians represented 96% of the total population of Pirin. Although there were also some Jews in Pirin, their number was quite small and is not known exactly.

Approximately 952 Jews in the Bulgarian army died on various fronts during the two Balkan Wars and World War I. This army included about 6000 Jews, from the total Jewish population in Bulgaria of approximately 40,000.[31] Whereas in the 1920 census Jews represented 0.9% of Bulgaria's population, or 45,000 persons, this number increased to 55,000 by 1930.[32] The only data for Jews in Pirin come from the town of Petrich, for which the 1920 cencus lists 471 Jews.[33]

Conditions for Jews in Pirin Macedonia between the two world wars were similar to those of Jews in Vardar and Aegean Macedonia. There were occasional outbreaks of antisemitism on the part of the Bulgarian bouregoisie and the Coburg court, especially after the court restored the two old "vrhovists", Aleksandar Protogerov and Todor Aleksandrov. These men were instructed to form a terrorist organization in Pirin, which they named IMRO in order to give the illusion that its members were followers of Gotse Delchev. From 1919 until 1934, the terrorist IMRO was "a state within a state", especially after Vancho Mikhailov came to head it in 1924. The IMRO period was one of systematic political assasinations in Pirin Macedonia and in all of Bulgaria, during which many Macedonian patriots lost their lives. This fascist organization was also the source of early antisemitic sentiments, although such antisemitism found no support among the masses in Pirin.

Except for one short period, the Jews in Pirin between the world wars enjoyed virtual autonomy within their communities, where they had their own religious, sports and humanitarian organizations. Nonetheless, they were constantly aware of the approach of fascism, particularly after Hitler's ascent to power in Germany, when one segment of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and the royal court also turned to fascism. The antisemitism which began at this time eventually led to the conclusion of an agreement between Bulgaria and Germany, in which all the Jews of Bulgaria were to be delivered to the Germans. This was not the case entirely, however; rather, only the Jews of the "newly liberated territories", those being Vardar and Eastern Macedonia occupied by Bulgaria in 1941, were actually deported.

V.

THE ONSET OF NAZISM AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

National Socialism elevated the Jewish question to a place of foremost importance in its domestic politics, and started a merciless war against the Jews, blaming them for any and every matter. The Hitlerites' racist theory enabled them to present the "German race" as the one perfect race which was predestined to rule and lead, i. e., to exploit other nations. This was the theory of most of the German bourgeoisie, behind which it concealed its desire to pillage. The target of this desire included the Jews, among others, since they were a significant economic factor in Europe.

The fathers of modern antisemitism, however, were not Hitler and Mussolini; rather, as we have said, antisemitism in theory and practice had its roots as early as ancient times. Even in the 19th century, one finds university professors theoretically and "scientifically" defending antisemitism. The fatherland of antisemitism was Germany, in whose larger cities a strong wave of antisemitism began in 1819. A mob of fanatics crying "death to the Jews" pillaged and plundered Jewish shops and homes. Such occurrences were repeated in 1830 and 18148.[1] In 1843 Bruno Bauer published his book, *Die Judenfrage* (The Jewish Question). Bauer's postulations were answered and critically analysed by Karl Marx in his book, *Zur Judenfrage* (Concerning the Jewish Question), published in Paris in 1844. German society in the mid-19th century was so obsessed with the "Jewish question" that Marx was unable to avoid it.

The antisemitic wave of 1874 included sympathizers from segments of the population which had formerly been indifferent. The books of the university professor Roling contributed to the spread

of antisemitism among intellectuals. In the first of his "scientific works", *Talmdjude* (Talmudic Jews), Roling heatedly attacked Jewish customs and Talmudic dogma as allegedly compelling Jews to hate all non-Jews. Roling's writings spread throughout Germany with tremendous speed and he became the primary source from which future antisemitic agitators drew their ideas. Adolf Stecker, a court preacher, emerged in about 1888, and with his agitations, the Jewish question became the topic of daily, virulent disputes. He established the "Christian Social Worker's Party" and the „Association of German Students", by which two means he was able to poison the minds of innumerable students, who then tried to bar Jews from institutions of higher learning. As Germany approached defeat in World War I, antisemitism grew even greater. Chief of the General Staff Ludendorff attacked the Jews in his book *Kriegführung und Politik* (Waging War and Politics) as being the supposed reason for the war and for Germany's defeat.[2]

Antisemitism had existed in western and central Europe throughout the entire Middle Ages. With the French Revolution, however, Jews were made equal members of French society and were no longer persecuted. Germany and Austro-Hungary, however, did not experience a genuine bourgeois revolution as had occurred in France, and thus no bourgeois democracy evolved there. When the defeat of these two countries in World War I was followed by an economic crisis, antisemitism assumed even greater dimensions. In other words, the poorer a society was the stronger it expressed its antisemitism, with the backward classes always being its exponents. It is evident from history that the prelude to each war against democracy was a war against the Jews.

Upon the conclusion of World War I, antisemites were part of the same camp as those militarists seeking revenge for their defeat in the war and who with other reactionaries. called the liberal Weimar Republic the "Judenrepublik" (The Jewish Republic). All such reactionaries found their leader in Adolf Schickelgruber Hitler, who had become the head of the Nazi Party. The party's twenty-five point working platform, adopted at a meeting in a Munich *hofbraühaus* on 20 February 1920, included three points concerning the Jewish issue.[3] In the Munich coup of November 1923, these forces attempted to seize power under the leadership of the former *Kappler* of Austrian origin, Hitler. The coup failed and Hitler was jailed, but eventually pardoned. While in prison, Hitler wrote his infamous *Mein Kampf*. Here he presented his barbaric ideas, preaching in particular that Germany needed to avenge her defeat in the war and to again become a great global military power. He also outlined his racist theory taken, in fact, from the preceding century. Hitler proposed the inequality of races, among which the Germans

belonged to the "Aryan race", allegedly superior and thus meant to rule over other nations. According to him, the Germans were a "master race" *(Herrenvolk)* and all other nations were destined to be its servants: he placed the Germans above the Latin race, with the Slavs yet lower and with the Jews at the very bottom, as the most despicable race. Hitler confused the notions of race, people and nation. For him the Jews were the source of all evil, not only for Germany but for the world.

Mein Kampf was a portentious book, preaching hatred of everything which was not German.[4] Hitler accepted and revived those 19th century ideas which had long been denounced and abandoned. As though to ironically scorn the "Aryans" and the "Norse", the founders of this racist theory maintained that they had to be "blond like Hitler, slim like Georing, and tall and handsome like Goebbels".[5] The constant propaganda of Hitler and his followers, coming in those years of a world economic crisis when millions of people were unemployed and eking out an existence, gradually found its audience, particularly with its promise of eliminating unemployment if Hitler came to power.

Hitlerites called themselves "The National-Socialist Worker's Party", although they were far removed from the workers, nationalism and socialism. Such Nazis would roam the streets singing, "may Jewish blood run by the knife", and "Germany arise, death to the Jews". The party formed storm troops (S. A.), whose uniform was a brown shirt with the swastika, and "special forces" (S. S.), who wore black shirts bearing a skull.[6] Having won over the people with his demagoguery, Hitler rose to power in Germany on 30 January 1933, and began to implement his insane ambition of creating the "Thousand-Year German Reich". Rather than one thousand years, Hitler's Third Reich endured only twelve years and four months; more specifically, from 30 January 1933 to 9 May 1945.

When Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich and introduced the Nazi dictatorship, all other political parties were banned. Persecutions also began, not only of Jews but of other progressive people, all of whom were sent to concentration camps. Just two months after his election, Hitler produced the first anti-Jewish laws. Anyone who was Jewish half- or quarter-Jewish, or who could be shown to have any Jewish ancestor as far back as seven generations was brutally excluded from the course of everyday life. Thereby, Jewish doctors, lawyers, engineers, professors and others were dismissed from their jobs. As of 1 April 1933, Jews in Germany were required to be distinguishable by having to wear a star of David. In May of the same year, in a Berlin square, all books which were "Jewish infections" were burned. The German poet, Henrich Heine, was the first to suffer this fate.

These persecutions were all executed legally with the assistance of the apparatus of state, and included Jews, Democrats, Socialists, Pacifists, intellectuals and all other progressives. When the League of Nations attempted to intervene on behalf of the victims, Germany took offense and withdrew from the organization in 1934. Hitler bloodily settled his account with the opposition within the Nazi Party on 30 June 1934 by killing Ernst Röhm and his followers. With the death of the former president, Hindenburg, also in June 1934, Hitler became the sole lord over Germany, her "Führer".

At a special meeting of the Nazi Party held in Nürnberg on 15 November 1935, the "racial constitution", consisting of two laws, was formulated: the first law concerned the rights of citizenship, and the second was concerned with the protection of the German race and its honor. The first law declared that only a German of the pure Aryan race could be a citizen of Germany, while all other people could only be "subjects". The second law prohibited marriages between Germans and Jews, annulled existing marriages and also led to a series of restrictions of Jewish civil and human rights.[7]

Feeling himself to be suficiently strong in 1935, Hitler intentionally violated the terms of the Versailles Treaty and instated obligatory military service, leading to the rapid militarization of the German state. Jews were then forbidden from frequenting public places such as cafes, parks, theaters, cinema and baths, or even from using public telephones. In 1936, Germans were prohibited from selling food to Jews, and as of 13 July of that year, the Jews' permission to work as clothiers was revoked, even if only to collect and resell used clothing.

This furious anti-Jewish propaganda was closely linked with anti-socialist and anti-communist propaganda, for which reason the Nazi vocabulary frequently used the terms "Chifutkommunist" and "Judeobolschevik". The Nazis also revived the medieval tale about a blood ritual among the Jews. The paper *Der Stürmer* instigated this propaganda and, by means of fantastic illustrations, ignited the German imagination that Jews murdered German children in order to use their blood in a special ritual. This was necessary in order to arouse the passion of the millions among the German proletariat, to disarm them and to turn their seething hatred in another direction, namely toward the senseless war against the Jews. Rather than being vented against the sinister, reactionary and anti-national regime, the accumulated electric tension of the people was artificially channeled against the Semites who, together with the communists and capitalist magnates, were the object of Hitler's persecution. The war against the Jews and communists

strived for total liquidation, while that against the magnates and capitalists was merely a smokescreen, being limited only to those capitalist Jews.

Fascist „scientists" were mobilized to demonstrate coldbloodedly and anthropologically that the Jews were the lowest among the races, they had no value to science or art, that they were selfish and antisocial, and that they therefore ought to be the object of contempt and hatred, thereby justifying their persecution and extermination. These scientists also resurrected the abandoned and forgotten theories of Dühring, Joseph Arthur Gobineau, Otto Amon, Person, Günther and others, by which they attempted to rationalize their antisemitism before the eyes of the world. In this manner, the ideological antisemitism of the 19th century was transformed into state antisemitism under the leadership of Adolf Hitler.[8]

The rapprochment between Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy in 1936 strengthened Nazism, making it bolder and more audacious. As a new military power, Germany exercised her influence over other European and non-European countries. Her numerous agents and propagandists abroad fueled antisemitic sentiments everywhere: Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and other countries. This tendency quickly made Hitler the spiritual leader of antisemitism not only in Germany, but throughout the world.

The tragic fate of the German Jews reached the Jews of Austria in March 1939, when Hitler occupied Austria and annexed her to the Third Reich. Austrian Jews were then subjected to imprisonment, plunder, murder and various other acts of violence. Entire families were known to have committed suicide to avoid the Nazi terror.

New measures against the Jews in the Third Reich were prescribed in July of 1938: no painting by a Jewish artist should be exhibited in a public place; no music by a Jewish composer should be performed publicly, and, "No Jew may own German land". This final measure meant that Jews were no longer allowed to be farmers and that previously owned land was to be expropriated. Likewise, Jews were required to register all their real and movable property, as well as any articles of value which they kept at home or in the bank.[10]

The Nazi Party gradually approached the physical annihilation of the Jews, for which only a provocation was needed. This provocation occurred on 7 November 1938, when a 17 year-old youth, Herschel Grynszpan, killed Ernst vom Rath. an advisor to the German embassy in Paris. For the leaders of the Nazi Party this assassination served to incite a riot against the Jews, conducted under the resounding name of the „crystal night". On the night of 9 November 1938, a mob of Nazi fanatics murdered Jews,

raiding and plundering their homes and shops. The German press reported this event as a "spontaneous and conscious revolutionary demonstration by the German people", something which no one believed since it was known that the leaders of the riot were Nazi functionaries in civilian dress. During the "crystal night", which was only one stage along Hitler's bloody path, 177 synagogues were razed, 7,500 Jewish shops, workshops and homes pillaged, 20,000 persons arrested, and 36 deaths officially reported.[11] Beginning with be exterminated in all of Europe, including million Jews would be exterminated in all of Europe, including approximately sixty thousand from Macedonia.

After Czechoslovakia was annexed to Germany in March 1939, Hungary and Rumania also began to legalize antisemitism. The year of 1939 is significant not only as the beginning of World War II, but it has a special significance for the Jews, as the solution of the Jewish question in all the territories occupied by Germany was then given immediate priority. The first suggestion was the resettlement of all European Jews on Madagascar, but in 1941 this solution was replaced by the expectation of physically eliminating the Jews and expropriating their wealth for the benefit of the Third Reich.[12]

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war in 1939, Heydrich Miller formed special units called *Einsatzgruppen,* which entered occupied territories behind regular troops. Their mission was the elimination of the enemies of the Reich, including communists and Jews. When Eichmann was entrusted with the implementation of the extermination of the Jews in 1941, these *Einsatzgruppen* were placed under his direct command.

The Jewish question evolved according to the political climate within the German Reich. Thus, on 8 February 1939, Alfred Rosenberg, one of the Reich's ideologists, stated: "There is only one solution to the Jewish question for National Socialism, and that is for the very last Jew to depart from the territory of the German Reich". This same Rosenberg stated over the radio, on 28 March 1941, that, "The Jewish question will be eliminated for Europe when the last Jew has left the countries of Europe". In 1943, however, Walter Gross, director of the race section of Hitler's party, proclaimed that eliminating Jewish influence was only possible through the total extermination of Jewry.[13]

Parallel with Hitler's plans for the occupation of Europe, plans were also drafted for the liquidation of the Jews and for the Germanization of particular regions. These plans were constructed and executed by the omnipotent organization, the S. S., which often had more actual power than the *Wehrmacht.* Heading the S. S. was Hitler, who was simultaneously the leader of the Reich and the Commander-in-Chief of the *Wehrmacht.*

Following Hitler came Gehring and then Heinrich Himmler, who was the *Reichsoffizer* (chief) of the S. S., Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German Police.

The "Supreme Council of the S. S.", directed by Himmler, consisted of twelve departments, all of which served to assist in terrorizing and exterminating the enslaved nations. One of these twelve departments was the *Reichssicherheitshauptampt* (RSHA), or the Main Office for the Security of the Reich. To this office belonged all services dealing with security, police and political information. Following Himmler as the fourth person in the state hierarchy was Heindrich, who was the chief of RSHA until his death in Prague in 1942. His successor was Kaltenbrunner, a patron of Eichmann. RSHA consisted of seven departments, the fourth of which was the *Gestapo*. At the head of the Gestapo and all of its functions was Heinrich Miller, deciding the life or death of millions of people. The Gestapo was empowered to freely order mass executions, deportations to concentration camps, forced labor, or the resettlement of entire nations from particular locations, and to settle the state's accounts with the communists, Jews and other elements opposing the government.

The Gestapo was organized into divisions, labeled by capital letters (A, B, C, etc.). These divisions were further reduced into sections having Arabic numerals. The Gestapo's divisions dealt with various related problems, whereas the sections were each concerned solely with one problem. Thus, section IV B 4 was responsible for the extermination of the Jews and for the Germanization of certain territories. In its title, IV represented the Gestapo as the fourth department in RSHA, B designated the division within the Gestapo, and 4 signified the section within the division. Thus, within divison B there were three other sections, namely those concerned with the churches, sects and the masons.[14]

Directing section IV B 4 was Karl Adolf Eichmann, who worked with his superiors Miller, Kaltenbrunner and Heinrich, and at times with Himmler personally. Although Eichmann never attained a rank higher than colonel, he preceded many generals and was entrusted with much broader powers within a wider field of activities, that being all of occupied Europe.

Eichmann had his subordinates throughout Europe, through whom the orders and directives of his section were transmitted and lists and warrants for the extermination of the Jews were compiled. Eichmann also coordinated the work of the German authorities in the occupied territories, carrying out the tasks which were within the competence of section IV B 4. These duties included recruiting native quislings, implementing mass deportations and resettling those areas with Germans, organizing concentration camps and supervising them, organizing and directing the *Einsatzgruppen*, and exterminating Jews in gas chambers and crematoria.

Eichmann's assistants in the extermination of the Jews included Globocnik, von Wisliceny, Theodor Dannecker, Beckerle, Alois Brunner, Hermann Krumey, and Dieter. Globocnik, for example, was responsible for the extermination of the Jews of Poland and, when the decision for their liquidation was reached in 1941, he established fifty work camps and four extermination camps at Lublin: Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka. It was here that the Jews of Macedonia were liquidated. Von Wisliceny was initially responsible for Czechoslovakia, but was subsequently transferred from Bratislava to Salonika, where he sent approximately 50,000 Jews to their death in the camps.

Before the German invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia Theodor Dannecker was the German Consul-General in Skopje. On 6 April 1941, however, he was assigned to be the special German envoy to Vichy, the unoccupied part of France, where he was unable to convince the French authorities of the need to deport the Jews in their region. Dannecker was subsequently sent to Sofia as a special representative concerned with the Jewish question, successfully convincing the Bulgarians to deport the Jews from Macedonia. In the name of the German government, *Hauptsturmführer* Dannecker, a capitain in the S.S., signed an agreement with the Bulgarian government for the deportation of 20,000 Jews.[15] Because of the specific conditions created by the presentation of a large part of Macedonia to Bulgaria by Germany, Eichmann decided to solve the Jewish question in Macedonia through his specialist, Dannecker. Dannecker was instructed to leave executive measures such as imprisonment, house searching and firing squads to the Bulgarian police and to the Commissariat for Jewish Matters, and to limit himself only to general supervision.

Adolf Hans Beckerle was the German Plenipotentiary in Sofia who, upon the order of section IV B 4, began the initial negotiations with the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, Peter Grabovski, for the deportation of 20,000 Jews from Bulgaria. Further negotiations were delegated to Dannecker.

All camps came under the jurisdiction of section IV B 4. The most infamous of these were Treblinka, Majdanek, Belzec, Auschwitz, Birkenau, Bergen-Belsen, Sobibor, Mauthausen, Buchenwald and Theresienstandt. Their noteriety grew particularly after mid-1941, when the final decision to exterminate the Jews was reached. The first massive operation of the gas chamers and ovens located at Auschwitz began in September of that year.

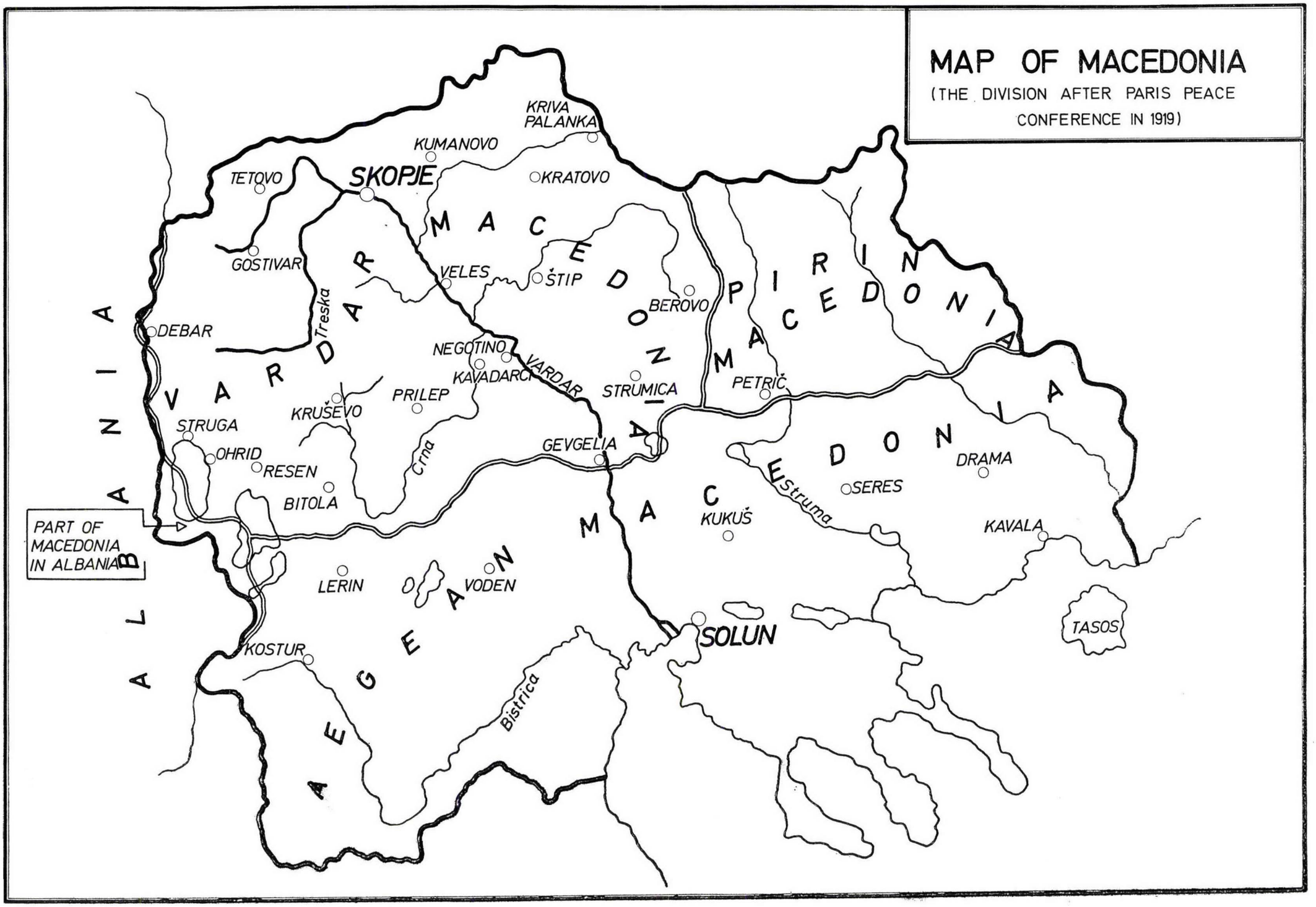
Toward the end of 1941, Eichmann asked Chief of the Gestapo Miller to engage his own chemists to invent a substance more effective than the carbon monoxide which had been used in the gas chambers until that time. These chemists offered Eichmann several alternatives, of which he finally selected "Zyklon B", a

type of crystaline hydrocyanide, the fumes of which cause a quick death. The gas chambers were improved yet further in early 1942, when a certain Viktor Brack devised a method for even more massive exterminations in specially constructed chambers. Satisfied with these means, Eichmann ordered the construction of a greater number of camps.[16] Thus, with the liquidation of approximately six million Jews during World War II, the cities of Europe lost their Jewish population, this loss accounting for over one third of world Jewry.

Renewed resistance against fascism took place on 22 June 1941, when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. This event gave new momentum to movements of national liberation in Europe. Although such resistance had existed in Yugoslavia prior to the attack on Russia, it expanded as a result of this action. On 14 August 1941, Churchill, and Roosevelt proclaimed the Atlantic Charter, which united all the forces of free mankind in the struggle against Nazism. Twenty six nations signed this pact in Washington on 1 January 1942, joining in the war against the axis of Rome, Berlin and Tokyo. By the time the free world had organized to combat fascism, the Nazi leadership had summoned a conference on 20 January 1942. Only one item was on the agenda, that being "the definitive solution of the Jewish question in the territories annexed by Germany and in the satellite countries".[17]

During the time that Germany and her lackies were destroying the Jews of Europe, Germany had also begun to suffer military defeats on nearly all fronts. Hitler's great offensive in the Soviet Union, which took place between 13 June and 10 November 1942, was unsuccessful and, in the historic battle of Stalingrad of 12 November 1942 to 2 February 1943, the elite troops of the *Wehrmacht* were annihilated. Likewise, the Italian and German troops in the western Egyptian desert, led by Erwin Rommel, were lost between 23 October and 2 November 1942.

The "Thousand-year German Reich" was collapsing everywhere. In face of these circumstances, Eichmann attempted to save the Reich by ransoming Jews in concentration camps, where they had been intended for extermination. He selected Joel Jeno Brand, a Jew from Budapest, and sent him to England and America to raise funds from international Jewish organizations in order to buy trucks. Eichmann promised to exchange 100 Jews for each truck; in total, ten thousand trucks for one million Jews. Brand realized that the Allies would not agree to such an arrangement but, by protracting the negotiations, he sought to buy time and to impress upon people the necessity for some kind of action. Brand's tactic was also intended to delay the extermination of the Jews.


MAP OF MACEDONIA
(THE DIVISION AFTER PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE IN 1919)
KRIVA PALANKA
KUMANOVO
SKOPJE
TETOVO
KRATOVO
GOSTIVAR
VELES
ŠTIP
BEROVO
DEBAR
Treska
NEGOTINO
KAVADARCI
VARDAR
STRUMICA
PETRIČ
PRILEP
KRUŠEVO
STRUGA
OHRID
RESEN
BITOLA
Crna
GEVGELIA
DRAMA
SERES
Struma
KUKUŠ
KAVALA
PART OF MACEDONIA IN ALBANIA
LERIN
VODEN
SOLUN
TASOS
KOSTUR
Bistrica
ALBANIA
VARDAR MACEDONIA
PIRIN MACEDONIA
AEGEAN MACEDONIA

VI.

THE PARTICIPATION OF THE JEWS IN THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION *(NOB)* AND IN THE REVOLUTION IN MACEDONIA

Jews in the War of National Liberation in Vardar Macedonia

On 6 April 1941, Germany attacked Yugoslavia without a declaration of war and bombed Skopje on the same day. The following day German troops entered Skopje, fanning out in search of Jewish shops, which they ransacked. Having stolen textiles, pharmaceuticals and other goods, the Germans sent them to their wives and mistresses in Germany as "war booty". The plundering continued on April 8 and 9, during which time the Germans ransacked the majority of Jewish shops in Skopje, as well as in other Macedonian cities. While merchants of other nationalities suffered relatively slightly at the hands of German soldiers, Jewish merchants were virtually economically ruined within three days of the German arrival in Macedonia. As of 10 April 1941, Jews ceased to be a significant factor in Macedonian commerce as they had once been.

Upon the arrival of the Germans, anti-Jewish slogans began to spread through Macedonia to a greater extent than had occurred in pre-war Yugoslavia. S. S. Hauptsturmführer Dannecker, then the German Consul-General in Skopje, was the local specialist in organizing anti-Jewish propaganda.

Under the attack of the German army, Yugoslavia surrendered in less than two weeks. The Germans created several occupied and satellite zones from this territory. At a meeting held in Viena on 21 and 22 April 1941, ministers Ribbentrop and Ciano agreed to divide Macedonia into three parts. The largest section was to be annexed to

Bulgaria, the smallest was to be given to Albania, i. e. Italy, while Aegean Macedonia was to be made an occupied zone under German authority.

As soon as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had surrendered and German troops had occupied the country, squads of *Einsatzgruppen* from RSHA arrived, led by Eichmann's men. The squad sent to Yugoslavia from Berlin had the title *Einsatzgruppe für Jugoslawien.* Leading this squad were Wilhelm Fuchs, S. S. Brigadierführer Franz Walter Stahlecker, S. S. Brigadierführer Artur Nebe, S. S. Brigadierführer Otto Rasch, and S. S. Obergruppenführer Otto Ollendorff.

Dr. Fuchs and his squad were located in Belgrade and had the task of patrolling all the sectors within the jurisdiction of the headquarters of his superiors in Berlin. From Belgrade he dispersed his *Einsatzgruppen* to Osijek, Sarajevo, Novi Sad and Skopje. The squad in Skopje operated throughout Macedonia until the territory was transferred into the hands of Bulgarian occupiers. Thereafter, Eichmann's section IV B 4 did not solve the Jewish problem through the *Einsatzgruppen,* as was the case in other regions occupied by Germany. Rather, this matter was handled by the German embassy in Sofia where Eichmann had his subordinates, Beckerle and Dannecker, by the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, and by the "Commissariat for Jewish Affairs" which had been created in the Ministry of the Interior and which had the mandate of liquidating the Jews.[1]

The situation grew critical for the Jews after the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the occupation of Macedonia by German, Bulgarian and Italian fascists. The Jews faced the choice of either waiting quietly to be exterminated or of joining the anti-fascist struggle together with the other Yugoslav nationalities. Throughout Yugoslavia partisan detachments were organized and the war of national liberation began, joined by many young Jewish men and women.

The help given by Macedonian Jews was universal, consisting not only of food and money, but of offering many residences for the use of the liberation movement. Through their active participation and support, the Jewish contribution to NOB was not small. In Shtip, for example, Jews supported the movement through significant contributions of money and gold. In Bitola alone, 37 Jews fought from the start of the revolution until the final liberation of Yugoslavia.[2] Of these Jews, 18 men and women fought in partisan units in Macedonia, 4 in partisan units in other parts of Yugoslavia, and 15 were arrested by Bulgarian authorities as active members of NOB and were sentenced either to prison terms or to death. Thirteen Jews from Bitola alone gave their lives for the liberation of Macedonia.[3]

When the armed revolt began in Macedonia on 11 October 1941, some Jews were already active members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. One such person was Isak Sarfati, from Bitola, who was a member of the CPY in 1940 and who, in 1941, became a member of the local committee, where he was responsible for *Narodna Pomosh* (popular, or national, help). The Jews of Bitola also formed a subcommittee for *narodna pomosh,* led by Morits Shami. Other members of this subcommittee were two lawyers, Leon Ishakh and Perets Ruso, as well as Dario Aroesti and Leon Franko. For his activities, Ishakh was sentenced to death in absentia by the Bulgarian authorities. He was eventually caught and executed by the Germans in Aegean Macedonia.[4]

Among others mentioned as members of the Communist Party in 1940 were Pepo Kamkhi and Eliyas Barukh. Modro Nahmias was a member of the party in Bitola in 1941, his home serving as a refuge for many famous Macedonian revolutionaries, including Stiv Naumov, Vera Atseva and others. He joined the partisans as a machinegunner in 1942, fighting in the "Dame Gruev" detachment in the Resen and Kichevo districts. Nahmias died in 1944.[5] Other members of the CPY in Bitola at the time were Beno Russo, Marsel Demayo, Avram Sadikario, Simo Kalderon, Morits Shami, Viktor Pardo and Miriam Popadich. Another fifty people were either members of SKOY or were candidates for membership. In Bitola in 1942, more than 30 members of the CPY, 150 members of SKOY and 650 organized Jews assisted directly in the war of national liberation. In late 1941 and early 1943, the Jews of Bitola also contributed 200 gold Napoleons to the city's *narodna pomosh.* Most of these Napoleons were donated by SKOY members Rashel Levi, Alegra Nahmias and the Shami family. Approximately 100 persons gave monthly contributions to this cause.

Another figure to emerge at this time was Rafael Batino, who was born in Bitola in 1910. As a young child he was sent by his parents to Mexico, where he eventually became a member of the Mexican Communist Party. After returning to Bitola in late 1934, Batino came to live in Skopje in 1935 and participated in a series of strikes and demonstrations. For his revolutionary activities in Skopje, the authorities of the Serbian regime sentenced him to five years imprisonment, which he served in the jail in Sremska Mitrovitsa. While in prison, Batino translated *Das Kapital* into Macedonian and prepared a Macedonian grammar. He was still in prison at the beginning of the occupation. Escaping from prison through an underground tunnel, Batino joined the partisans and died heroically in Sandzhak in 1942 while fulfilling his party duties.[6]

The two Zionist organizations in Bitola, *ha-Shomer ha-Sa'ir* and *Tehelet-Lavan,* began their active participation in NOB toward the end of 1942, and about 70% of the members of both groups began to help in this multi-ethnic war. Among the young Jews to distinguished themselves in 1942 were Avram Anaf, Eli Faradzhi, Moris Shami and Morits Romano, who were imprisoned by the Bulgarian police for their uncompromising struggle against the occupation. Only Anaf did not spend the entire occupation in prison, his life having been cut short by a fascist Bulgarian bullet. In this war against the occupiers, Isak and Leon Faradzhi and Marsel Demayo, all from Bitola, also lost their lives. Moris, Sarina and Viktor Levi were arrested in Skopje in the summer of 1942 and were later put to death in an extermination camp.[6]

The home of Pepo Hasson in Bitola was also well known. One room of this house was placed at the service of NOB and was used to hide fugitives. Both Stiv Naumov and Vera Atseva lived and worked there for a while in early 1942. The same year, an illegal party printing operation was set up in the house, using Naumov's drawings and the skills of Beno Russo, who was a technician. Under their direction, flyers were printed raising a call to arms and providing a proper political perspective. The room containing this operation consisted to two sections: the foreroom, serving as a bedroom; and the rear area, surrounded by a screen and having an exit to a side street, which stored printing materials. Each week, more than five kilograms of various materials were printed and distributed in other parts of the city and in villages via an organized network. Only a small number of people such as Beno and Alberto Russo and Stiv Naumov knew of the printing operation. Besides the approximately ten companions who distributed these materials, no other person knew their origin.[9]

The Bulgarian police futilely endeavored to discover the location of the press from which these menacing flyers emanated. Due to the danger presented by a possible police raid, however, the press remained in Hasson's house only until August 1942, when it was shifted to a new location.

The homes of Jews from Skopje and Shtip also served as havens for hiding activists. Kole Chashule, Veselinka Malinska and other organizers of the national liberation movement hid in the houses of several Skopje Jews, where meetings of the Communist Party and SKOY were also held. Jews from Skopje offered assistance to *narodna pomosh* in the form of money, food and other materials of which they themselves were being deprived at the time. Branko Fritskhan, a Jewish member of SKOY from Skopje, took part in the assassination of Mane Machkov, the notorious agent of the Bulgarian state security forces, who was killed in 1942.[10]

In late 1942, the Macedonian regional committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia issued a call to the Jews of Macedonia, summoning them to join the struggle against the occupation together with the Macedonian people. It pointed out the terrible tragedy awaiting them at the hands of the German and Bulgarian fascists. Because of the importance of this document, the original of which is kept at the Institute of National History in Skopje, the text is presented here in its entirety:

JEWS OF MACEDONIA!

The noose around the rights, freedom and life of the Jewish people is being tightened. Hitler's ascent to power began with one bloody blow against the Jews. Emboldened international reaction has followed Hitler's path. On all sides, anti-Jewish organizations and leaders have emerged. Europe has become an arena for pogroms, tyranny, plunder, and annihilation for the undefended Jewish masses.

The war and the military defeat of the enslaved peoples of Europe have intensified the mad persecution of the Jews. All of Europe, under the bloody boots of Kappler HHitler, has become Hell for the Jewish people. Having begun in Germany, the anti-Jewish cholera has infected all of Europe: Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Croatia, Bulgaria, France. Hitler's obedient agents, regardless of whether their names are Pavelich, Laval, Antonescu, Nedich, or Gabrovski have commenced a furious persecution of the disenfranchised Jews. Jews of Macedonia! The government of Greater Bulgaria has sold out and is bringing upon you the mad politics of the Gestapo. None of you will remember greater injustice or lawlessness, even during Turkish times.

Your money has been stolen by various 'national banks'. Your shops, plundered by German soldiers, have been ransacked by the Bulgarian occupying bandits. Your homes, always burdened with terrible taxes, are now being taken away and you are being driven into the shameful ghetto. You have been forbidden from working even as assistants or journeymen, without a thought as to how or where you will live.

This, however, has not been enough for the enemies of the people!

They want to debase you to the level of vermin. Bulgarian ladies treat their dogs more humanely than the Great Bulgarian occupiers treat you. Hitler's government in Sofia has given them the right to rob, insult and degrade you,

which will happen without a response from anyone. The government of Filov-Gabrovski has brought banditry upon you. It has tagged you with symbols only to separate you from the other peoples of Macedonia, who are enslaved just as you are. It has barred you from walking in the streets of the city, or outside the city, only to destroy your pride and your spirit of resistance. It has introduced special curfews for you. Today it is systematically sending you, one by one, to concentration camps, leaving your lives bare with humiliation, tyranny and insult.

But do not think that they are not going to take your very lives! Hitler's bloody hands have already begun to prepare for the complete elimination of the Jews. Poland, Croatia and Rumania are examples of this. Tomorrow this could reach you in enslaved Macedonia. Everything indicates it is already coming.

ONE MUST THINK WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME. TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE!

Where is the salvation from this infernal cauldron into which Hitler and his agents are thrusting the peoples of Europe, especially you, the Jews?

Jews of Macedonia, THERE ARE ONLY TWO ALTERNATIVES:

One is the path of sumbissiveness, suffering, seeking pity. This is the route of suicide, in that it means self-deception. The enemies of the people have no pity for the enslaved nations. And they will have the least for the Jews!

The other is the path of war and vindication, the path of victory and freedom. All nations, enslaved and free, have arisen, some to protect their freedom, others to gain it. Along with other nations, the Macedonian people have also raised high the standard of freedom and war. An impenetrable front of freedom has been created. On this front are found the greatest, strongest and richest powers: Soviet Russia, America and England.

Who among you has not heard of the heroic struggle of the partisan movement in the Soviet Union, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, Albania or Greece? Who among you has not heard the freedom-loving call of the brave sailors of Tulun? The Macedonian nation, with its heroic partisan detachments, is also on this front today. Jews of Macedonia, your place is also on this common front of victory!

The Macedonian and Jewish people have lived together for hundreds of years and are brothers by virtue of misfortune,

torment and destiny. The Macedonian people have seen that evils first wreaked upon you are finally brought upon them. Our enemies are one and the same — the war against them must be one and the same!

Every freedom-loving nation must find its place in the war against the common fascist enemy. Every enslaved people must contribute toward its own liberation.

There is no people more enslaved than the Jews — and there should be no people more militant than the Jews. Only the struggle remains. Another solution not only is dishonorable, it does not exist!

Jews of Macedonia! Raise your proud heads! The pirate ship of fascism is sinking. The Red Army from the north and east, the Anglo-American armies from the south, and the allied air force from the west are demolishing the crumbling structure of tyranny and fascism. The day of freedom is approaching!

The Macedonian people are extending a fraternal hand and calling you to war. Every Jewish partisan will strengthen our brave partisan detachments. Every *lev* (unit of money) that is contributed will help the national struggle. Every pair of shoes, socks or article of clothing will bring us closer to victory.

Down with the international antisemitic banditry of Hitler and his faithful dogs, the Bulgarian fascists! Down with the pillage of the Jews!

Down with the symbols and the shameful ghetto!

Down with Grabovski's concentration camps!

Down with forced labor and slavery!

Long live the brotherly solidarity of all people in Macedonia!

Long live the partisan liberation war in Macedonia!

Long live brotherhood between the Jewish and Macedonian people!

Long live the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance!

Long live the struggle of the enslaved nations of Europe!

Long live victory and freedom!

The Macedonian Front for Victory[11]

The following Jews fought in the "Dame Gruev" partisan detachment in 1942- Viktor Meshuyayum-Bustrik, a soldier at the end of NOB and a recipient of the partisan decoration; Pepi Peso, who was arrested by the Bulgarian police, tortured by having his legs broken, and eventually killed; Murdo Todolanu who returned from the detachment due to an illness and who was deported.

The "Yane Sandanski" detachment included these Jews: Mordechai Nahmias, partisan name — Lazo, who was a political commissar in the Third Macedonian Brigade and died in the struggle against the Bulgarian occupiers in 1944; Aron Aroesti, killed by the Bulgarian police in 1942; Beno Russo, a soldier and military commander during the entire war, who was awarded the 1914 Partisan Decoration and is now a lieutenant general in the Yugoslav National Army; Nisim Alba, partisan name — Miki, who attained the rank of colonel and received the 1941 Partisan Decoration.

In early 1943, other Macedonian partisan units included the following Jews: Albert Kasorla — "Berto"; Alberto Russo — "Kote"; Adela Faradzhi — "Kata"; Stela Levi — "Lena"; Estrea Ovadia — "Mara"; Zhamila Kolonomos — "Tsveta"; Samuel Sadikario — "Mo"; Moshe Bekhara, who died during the liberation of Kichevo; and Rosa Kamhi, who upon joining the partisans was arrested and sentenced to prison. Of the persons just mentioned, Estrea Ovadia and the Sadikario brothers died bravely during frequent and heavy fighting with the numerically superior Bulgarian enemy, which was also much better armed.

Estrea Ovadia, who bore the partisan name Mara, was born on 25 December 1922 to a poor family in Bitola. She became a member of the CPY as a worker in 1942, and joined the partisans in April 1943. Having distinguished herself as an outstandingly brave fighter, she was made the political commissar in the Seventh Macedonian Brigade. Ovadia was voted a Yugoslav national hero on 9 November 1953.[13] Her memory is kept alive in a Macedonian folksong with these words:

> . . . remember her, brothers,
> Estrea Mara,
> Estrea Mara,
> who died for the people,
> who died for the people,
> for Macedonia . . .[14]

Another Skopje Jew worthy of mention is Josif Shurna, who was a tinsmith. Because of the terror of the Bulgarian police, he fled to safety in Gostivar in 1942 and joined the First Macedonian-Kumanovo Brigade at the time of its formation in December 1943. He was located in the most remote positions, distinguishing himself as a machinegunner. Shurna bravely lost his life in May 1944.[15]

Special mention must be made of Gjorghi Blaer, born in 1908 in Stara Pazova to a famous Jewish family. After coming to Skopje in 1932, he was jailed for his progressive ideas and

eventually joined the Communist Party in 1937. A fascist Bulgarian court sentenced Blaer to prison in 1942, but he helped organize the escape of political prisoners from the jail at Idrizovo in 1944. He then joined the partisans and established a hospital at the Macedonian headquarters of NOB and POY. After the liberation of Yugoslavia he helped to revive the Jewish community in Skopje and was its first president. Blaer died in Skopje on 19 March 1970.[16]

Shimon Demayo worked as a shoemaker in Bitola. Having become acquainted with progressive ideas as a young man, he became involved in organizing several strikes. Demayo joined the partisans in early 1943 and died in 1944 during the fighting on the Kozhuf Mountains.

David Dik Navara, a Jew from Skopje, lost his life during a push to the front at Srem in 1945.[17]

From the beginning of the war and until the final liberation of Vardar Macedonia, innumerable Jews fought for the freedom of Macedonia, many of them losing their lives. Some Jews assumed important social and political positions in Macedonia after the war: Beno Russo, Lieutenant General in the Yugoslav National Army; Morits Romano, a vice-president in the Macedonian government; Moris Shami, a vice-president in the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce; Zhamila Kolonomos, an assistant professor at the University of Skopje; and Avram Sadikario, a professor at the medical school in Skopje.

The Participation of Jews in the War of National Liberation in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia

Neither Macedonians nor Jews could be members of an all-Macedonian communist party, since such a party did not exist. Thus, they belonged to regional parties in Yugoslavia, Greece or Bulgaria, depending on the area of their residence. As is known, Germany attacked both Greece and Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941. Upon the capitulation of the Greek monarchy, the eastern part of Aegean Macedonia was annexed to Bulgaria, central Aegean Macedonia, with its capital of Salonika, became a German occupied zone, and a small part of western Aegean Macedonia, including Kostur, was added to the Italian occupied zone. Very soon thereafter, resistance against the occupiers began in all three zones. The Greek Communist Party was responsible for this resistance, which was organized through its organs EAM (National Liberation Front of Greece) and ELAS (National People's Liberation Army of Greece). Jews from all three zones participated in the war against fascism, joining both EAM and ELAS. For reasons known to us

today, very little has been written about the Jews who took part in the Greek resistance. We can rectify this situation only somewhat by presenting here some of the data collected by the Jewish community in Salonika concerning some of the more outstanding Jewish activists:

Shemtov Alaluf, a fighter in the resistance; Ino Atias, shot in Salonika on 5 April 1943; Avram Zhak of Kavala, a partisan in the 16th brigade, who fought on the Vermion Mountain; Bezha Zion, who also fought in the same brigade; Mentesh Besanchi, a reporter from Salonika who helped organize an illegal press; Alberto Benvenist, shot in Salonika on 5 May 1943 for resisting deportation; David Benvenist, a partisan on the Payak Mountain; another Benevinst from Kavala, personal name unknown, who fought in the 36th brigade of the 13th division; Isak Burla, a partisan in the 16th brigade on Mt. Vermion; included in the same brigade were Yolanda Burla and her sister, whose name is unknown; Mishel Brudo, a partisan on Mt. Payak; Barukh Shibi, a reporter in Salonika and one of the leaders of the resistance; Albert Cohen from Drama, shot as an activist; Robi Samuel Cohen, a 14 year old courier in the 54th division; David Cohen, a partisan in the 16th brigade; Moris Cohen, a member of the same brigade; Nisam Cohen, a partisan who died in action; Tori Kenka, shot in Salonika on 5 April 1943 for resisting deportation; Yizhak Emanuel, a partisan on Mt. Payak; Moris Erera, shot in Salonika for resisting deportation; Raul Frans, a partisan on Mt. Payak; Moris Chaim, who escaped from the forced labor camp at Leptokaria and joined the partisans, where he died; Nisim Kamhi, shot in Salonika for resisting deportation; David Mizan, shot as an activist-fugitive in Drama; A. Molho, a writer from Salonika who actively participated in the resistance. There were also many more people, both known and unknown.[19]

Jews from Vardar Macedonia also participated in the Greek resistance. The Greek partisans were joined in 1943 by these people from Bitola: Samuel Kalderon, David Kalderon, Marsel Demayo, Pepo Hasson, Mentesh Ishak, Luna Ishak, Pekho Ishak, and Albert Kasorla. These Jews fought in Greek partisan units until 1944, when they transferred to Yugoslav partisan brigades, where Pepo Hasson lost his life. Pepo and Dora Nahmias and Alegra Shami, also from Bitola, entered the German occupied zone but were unable to make contact with the resistance movement. All three were discovered and sent to the camp at Auschwitz.

Still other Jews from Bitola are mentioned as fighters in the partisan forces in Aegean Macedonia. Among them are Albert Levi, Zhak Kalderon, Mentesh Hasson and Simon Kalderon. Leon Faradzhi was born in Bitola in 1924 and became a member of SKOY at the trade academy there. Because of his great activism,

he was faced with the prospect of immediate imprisonment and therefore fled to Aegean Macedonia. Somewhere in the Lerin district he was captured and shot. Either with their lives or with their activism, these and many other Jews contributed to the expulsion of the fascist occupiers from the soil of Macedonia. Thus, it is justifiably said that the soil of Macedonia is soaked with the blood of Macedonian Jews.

We have no information about the participation of Jews in the anti-fascist struggle in Pirin Macedonia. There are two reasons for this lacuna: first, there were few Jews in Pirin Macedonia; and second, the existing data are not accessible to us. Heretofore, Bulgarian historians have not written about the contribution of the Jews from Pirin Macedonia to the common struggle of the Bulgarian people against fascism. Albeit that the struggle in Pirin had a different character, the Jews certainly took part in it. The historical literature, however, has not yet provided us any information about this matter.

VII.

THE DEPORTATION AND LIQUIDATION OF THE JEWS OF MACEDONIA

THE DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS IN THE BULGARIAN OCCUPIED ZONES

The Deportation and Liquidation of the Jews in the Vardar Region of Macedonia

As has already been stated, in addition to the Pirin region of Macedonia, which had been in Bulgarian hands since the Balkan Wars, most of Vardar Macedonia and eastern Aegean Macedonia were also occupied by Bulgaria. The extermination of Macedonian Jews by the German and Bulgarian occupying forces, a crime in which the Italians did not participate, constitutes a singularly important part of modern Balkan history which has not been studied sufficiently, since relevant documents have only recently been discovered. This organized genocide will certainly be a topic of historical research in the future. On the basis of currently familiar documents, we will present the most important information concerning this great tragedy of the Macedonian Jews.

As fascism emerged in the Balkans, antisemitic declarations grew in intensity in Bulgaria, especially in the Bulgarian occupied zones. Already in November of 1940, the Bulgarian Tsar, Boris III, met with Hitler to prepare the way for Bulgaria's joining the Triple Pact. The Bulgarian President, Bogdan Filov, signed the triple alliance on 1 March 1941, and on that same day German troops marched into Bulgaria, surrounding Yugoslavia on yet another side. These troops also reached the Greek border, but waited until 6 April 1941 before attacking both Yugoslavia and Greece.

Under the force of the German attack, Yugoslavia and Greece were very soon defeated. After German soldiers entered

Skopje and other Macedonian cities on 7 April, Hitler's "Crystal Night" was manifested on a smaller scale by the breaking and looting of display windows of Jewish shops. Infuriated German soldiers and their few sympathizers, especially in Salonika, went through Jewish commercial districts plundering Jewish shops. This also occured in Bitola, Skopje and elsewhere. When Bulgarian troops marched into Vardar Macedonia behind the Germans, and after the bulk of the German soldiers had been withdrawn from Macedonia and sent to the east to fight the Soviet Union, many Macedonian Jews believed that they would fare better under Bulgarian occupation than under direct occupation by the Germans. In this they were deceived, however, since the fascist Bulgarian government kept the "Jewish question" on its agenda until the complete annihilation of all Macedonian Jews had been achieved, while protecting the Jews in Bulgaria.[2]

The new Bulgarian government immediately initiated anti-Jewish orders. The first of these was issued by the command of the district police, informing all Serbian Jews who had arrived in the Skopje district after 6 April to register with the police. These Serbian Jews had come to Macedonia after 6 April, thinking that they would find greater protection under Bulgarian occupation than they had experienced under direct German occupation in Serbia. To the contrary, those Jews who registered with the Skopje police were the first victims in Macedonia, since the Bulgarians handed them over to the Germans in Belgrade, where they were shot at the fair grounds.

In June 1941, the German ambassador in Sofia, Beckerle, paved the way for the solution of the "Jewish question" in Bulgaria. Beckerle sent a telegram to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 31 June, in which he reported that he had discussed this issue with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Popov, and that Popov had accepted his suggestion that the Jews not wear military, police or other uniforms, but that they be used for the most difficult physical labor.[3] On 8 August, the union of dealers in foodstuffs was informed that Jews were no longer permitted to deal in these commodities.[4] Ribbentrop and Popov then met in Berlin on 26 November 1941 to discuss the status of Jews in Bulgaria who were foreign nationals. It was then that Ribbentrop conveyed Hitler's idea of ridding Europe of all Jews.[5] It appears, therefore, that Bulgarian officials were aware of the Jews' ultimate fate, and that there is no truth in the claims of some Bulgarian historians who have written that the Bulgarian authorities at the time were unaware of the Germans' intentions to annihilate the Jews, as these officials claimed before a court investigating war crimes on 9 September 1944 in Bulgaria. Ribbentrop and Popov met once more, on 30 December 1941, and again discussed the preparations for

deporting the Jews from Bulgaria, as well as the status of Jews with foreign citizenship.[6]

Anti-Jewish propaganda, mixed with anti-communism, received a significant boost in Bulgaria after Hitler's attack of the Soviet Union, at which time many books and brochures by "authoritative scientists" began to be published. We cannot give excerpts from all such books, circulated as "patriotic" literature, because their number is too great. Two authors, nonetheless, will serve as examples. In his book, *The Jews (Iudei),* Sofia 1942, Stefan Tsankov cites and rephrases the words of Hitler taken from *Mein Kampf,* saying: "When I fight the Jews I am performing a sacred deed", or, "If Judaism, with the help of Marxism, were to be victorious, our planet would once more become depopulated as it was a million years ago". Tsankov then calls on the help of Jesus, who allegedly said: "Those who say they are Jews are not, but are a satanic assemblage". He futher appeals to Bulgarian religious sentiments with these words: "The Jews killed Jesus, the son of God. The Jews are the children of Cain, and Cain is the son of the Devil". The author also cites the Jewish god, Jehovah, whose alleged words were, "My people are stupid and have no sense. They are capable only of evil and cannot perform a good deed".

The second author is Iliya Serafov who, in his pamphlet "The Jewish Question as a National Evil", Sofia 1942, presents the following motto on the first page: "Extreme ideological doctrines, created and nurtured by international Judaism, have drawn nations into social and class differences, toward persecution and conflicts and into innumerable national catastrophies. Until the Jewish question is decided on an international scale, there will be no peace on earth". He then states with "pride": "Does the Bulgarian not have his national honor, his moral and human dignity, his authority, to tolerate for so many years on end the ravishing of his now and future spouses by the god-damned race of Judo-iskariots? We must accept it bitterly today that 95% of the loose women in our country are the innocent children of the industrious Bulgarian villagers, whose demise is the responsibility of debauched Jewish males". Serafov finally ends with these words: "Bulgarians, despise all the Judoiskariots for the sake of the greataness and illustriousness of our dear hameland. All else is diabolical". And so, these were the thoughts of some intellectual circles in Bulgaria, weaned on false patriotism, in contrast with Bulgarian workers, who sympathized with the persecuted Jews.

Numerous telegrams were exchanged in early 1942 with regard to the deportation and liquidation of Bulgarian Jews. On 9 May, Beckerle informed Luther at his ministry about the negotiations with the Bulgarian government.[7] Luther in turn informed Beckerle on 19 June about the discussions between Popov and Ribbentrop in Berlin, and about German and Bulgarian intentions to deport

all Jews from Bulgaria to Germany's eastern occupied territories, i.e., to Poland.[8] On 25 June, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior Todor Gabrovski was able to report: "The measures undertaken thus far concerning the Jewish question have been fruitful but insufficient, and therefore, this problem must be solved definitively .... New measures against the Jews must be undertaken .... It is imperative to move quickly and unexpectedly .....".[9]

At its seventh meeting, held on 28 June 1942, the Bulgarian parliament passed the "Law advising the Ministerial Council to undertake measures for the solution of the Jewish problem and other problems related to it", This law was confirmed by the royal decree of Tsar Boris III and was then published in the "state newspaper", number 148, on 9 June 1942. The Ministerial Council was thus legislated the right to do as it pleased with the Jews: to pass laws and other regulations for the "solution" of the "Jewish question", with the goal "of creating and enforcing more all-encompassing and more effective restrictions of people of Jewish origin",[10]

The Ministerial Council was given the right not only to promulgate new laws and directives against the Jews, but also to change or amend as it wished the laws and directives passed by the "National Assembly". Although this law had only three articles, because of its importance and its consequences it assumes second place in the list of anti-Jewish legislation, just behind the Law for the Protection of the Nation. This latter law sealed the fate of Macedonian Jewry.

On July 6 and 7, Beckerle negotiated with the Bulgarian government and took its advise on the treatment of Bulgarian Jews in German territory and German Jews in Bulgarian territory.[11] On 9 July, Klingenfuss, from the German Foreign Ministry, informed the security chief of the Reich by telegram about the impending understanding with Bulgaria concerning the treatment and fate of Bulgarian and German Jews in the other country's territory.[12] Beckerle sought information on 9 July from the Foreign Ministry as to whether Germany had reached an agreement with other countries concerning the destiny of their Jews.[13] Luther informed Beckerle on 5 August that the German government was negotiating with its other satellite countries in eastern Europe and that it was in their mutual interest to remove the Jews from Europe.[14] On the basis of these negotiations, the National Assembly passed a law recorded on work list #148, 28 July, resolving that the Ministerial Council should produce anti-Jewish laws for the protection of the nation and should undertake other anti-Jewish measures as well. Following lengthy discussions in the Bulgarian parliament, the Ministerial Council passed a resolution at its meeting on 26 August 1942, calling for the formation of the "Commissariat for Jewish Problems" (KEP). This commissariat

was to be part of the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, and was to be headed by Aleksandar Belev, who had been in Germany several times for "specialized training" and who would be responsible for the implementation of these harsh measures.[15] On 29 August, the Ministerial Council published the following anti-Jewish laws and measures in its work sheet #198: the singling out of the Jews; the establishment of a person's Jewish origin; the establishment of a person's place of residence and his removal; the restriction of various trades and activities; and measures concerning Jewish property.[16]

On 3 September 1942, the Ministerial Council appointed Belev Commissar of the already established Commissariat. The seat of the Commissariat was to be in Sofia, but Belev had officies and delegates wherever there was a Jewish population, including Macedonia. The Commissariat's principle task was to control the Jews and to initiate the undertaking of new anti-Jewish measures. Needless to say, the Commissariat was in contact with the German Embassy in Sofia, and even with the Gestapo. The Jews were required to finance the entire, complex apparatus of the Commissariat, which was supported by the funds of the "Jewish Communities". This fund was created by the Bulgarian government's freezing all Jewish accounts in Bulgarian banks and by transferring the following amounts from these frozen accounts into the fund of the "Jewish Communities":

5%	of accounts not exceeding	100,000	*Lev*
8%	of accounts not exceeding	300,000	*Lev*
10%	of accounts not exceeding	1,000,000	*Lev*
12%	of any account exceeding	1,000,000	*Lev*

In addition, the fund of the "Jewish Communities" included all the properties of Jewish religious communities and of Jewish humanitarian and cultural institutions and associations. In this manner, Jewish communal and personal property was legally plundered and was used to help in the extermination of the Jews.[17]

On the basis of the agreement which had been reached, the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior on 4 September 1942 ordered all the chiefs of police and security offices concerned with Bulgarian Jews living within Bulgaria to implement all anti-Jewish measures, such as wearing the yellow Star of David.[18]

On 11 September, Beckerle informed his ministry about the implementation of anti-Jewish measures in Bulgaria and of Germany's readiness to take all the Jews who would be deported from Bulgaria.[19] Beckerle again reported to his ministry on 13 October, saying that in all of Bulgaria it was required for Jews

to wear a Star of David, even for foreign Jews, except those having a valid transit visa.[20] By October 1942, only a few details were unresolved in the negotiations about the deportation of the Jews, details such as who would finance the transportation. Luther informed Beckerle by telegram on 18 October that Germany would be prepared to spend 250 German marks per person for transportation.[21] Eichmann's office and the German Embassy in Sofia continued to correspond between 18 October 1942 and 19 March 1943 to decide who would cover the expenses accruing from assembling and deporting the Jews.[22]

As has been mentioned, the Commissariat dispatched its representatives to larger towns to deal with the „Jewish question". Ivan Zakhariev was appointed the Skopje representative by an order #14 of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, dated 22 September 1942. Upon his arrival in Skopje on 24 September 1942, Zakhariev informed the authorities in charge that in the future he would personally handle all matters concerning the Jews under the jurisdiction of the Skopje Jewish religious community. He thus became the terror of the Jews in Skopje.[23] By sending such representatives to other places in Macedonia, the Commissariat created an organized network of anti-Jewish organs throughout all of Bulgaria and Macedonia. The Jewish communities, which had previously served the cultural, regious and humanitarian purposes of the Jews, now became centers for the annihilation of the Jews under the direction of these representatives.

On 21 January 1943, Rademacher in Berlin sent a telegram to Adolf Beckerle in Sofia stating that Eichmann's emissary, S.S. Obersturmführer Theodor Dannecker, would be arriving in Sofia on 21 January at 2 : 00 in the afternoon.[24] As a special emissary of the Gestapo, Dannecker's fundamental task was to accelerate the deportation of the Jews, a hellish plan that had been fixed but which still needed to be realized. There still were points of contention over the payment of transportation and other expenses. Thus, on 22 January, Beckerle proposed that, „considering that the property of the removed Jews will remain in Bulgaria and considering the great expenses being borne by the Reich, it is suggested that Bulgaria somehow share in these expenditures". Foreign Minister Popov finally agreed that "the Bulgarian government will pay one lump sum for the removed (Jews)". The amount of this "lump sum" was to be determined at a later time.[25]

Something much more important than the financial issue was resolved that same day, as evidenced by a telegram sent by Beckerle to his ministry. In it Popov is reported to have said that "only the Jews from Thrace and Macedonia will be considered for deportation"; that is only the Jews from „the newly liberated territories", as the Bulgarians called the areas they occupied in Macedonia and

Thrace. Just as the other telegrams which have been cited, this one is housed in the Jewish Museum in Belgrade, under the call-number 2778 k. 23-7-2/3. This particular telegram is extremely important for the Macedonians because its contents reveal the colonial politics of the Bulgarian government of that time, which was willing to sacrifice the Jews from Macedonia and the Aegean region while "protecting", in their own words, the Jews of "old" Bulgaria.

On the basis of this arrangement between Beckerle and Popov (Dannecker was absent), Commissar Belev informed his ministry on 2 February 1943 that Dannecker had come to him to report that "the Reich is prepared to accept the Jewish population from Macedonia and the Aegean region, as well as the undesirable Jews from the old territories".[20] The following day, Belev telegrammed an order to his representatives in Macedonia and the Aegean region to prepare a detailed list by family of the entire Jewish population in all communities. All family members were to be listed by age, sex and profession, with the name the street and number of the house where they lived. One copy of this compilation was to be sent to the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Sofia no later than 9 February. From these lists, the Commissariat's statistician, Zakhariev, prepared a general register of the entire Jewish population in Macedonia and Thrace.[27]

The signing of a written agreement between Germany and Bulgaria took place on 22 February 1943. The lengthy negotiations, now committed to paper, signaled the death sentence for the Jews in the "new" territories. The "Agreement for the Initial Removal of 20,000 Jews to the Eastern German Districts" was signed by Dannecker in the name of Germany and by Belev in the name of Bulgaria. This agreement was later published by Natan Grinberg in the collection, *Dokumenti* (Sofia 1945, pp. 12—14). In it one can discern all the details of the organization of the concentration camps as well as the method of assembling and deporting the Jews from Macedonia and the Aegean region.

In following the subsequent German-Bulgarian negotiations for the deportation and liquidation of the Jews, our documents indicate that the fascist Bulgarian government was at times even more extreme than the Gestapo itself. The following case is an example. On 4 February 1943, Beckerle informed the German Foreign Ministry that the Bulgarian President, Bogdan Filov, had informed him of England's proposal, conveyed via the Swiss Embassy, that five thousand Jewish children be taken from Bulgaria to Palestine. It is evident from this telegram that, even at this early date, the British government was aware of what lay in store for the Jews and that it therefore attempted to save at least these five thousand children. Filov, however, was of the

opinion that these children should not be given over. Beckerle again sought the opinion of his ministry,[28] and was informed on 10 February that Germany was opposed to the removal of five thousand children, otherwise designated for deportation, to be resettled in Palestine under Swiss auspices, because this would be detrimental to German politics with regard to the Arabs.[29] In a telegram from 13 February, Beckerle again reported Filov's stand that the resettlement of five thousand children was absolutely out of the question.[30] As will be seen later, Germany's reasons for vacillating on this question was its policy of allowing some Jews and Jewish children from the occupied parts of Europe to settle in Palestine. The Bulgarian government, however, was categorically opposed and would not permit this. On 3 March, several days before the actual deportation of the Jews of Skopje to Treblinka, another attempt was made to save at least one thousand children and one hundred adults from deportation and to send them to Palestine via Turkey. The Bulgarian government again created difficulties and did not allow this to occur.[31]

On 14 March 1943, Eichmann's representative in Bucharest, Kilinger, complained to his chief that the Bulgarian government had not permitted seventy-seven Jewish children to cross its border on their way to Istanbul, and that he therefore had to send the transport train through Macedonia and Thrace, where jurisdiction over the rail lines was divided between the Germans and the Bulgarians.[32] Beckerle also complained to the German Foreign Ministry on 16 March, that the Bulgarian government would not allow a transport carrying 150 children from Rumania to Palestine to pass.[33] On April 9, Kilinger once again informed Eichmann that the Bulgarians were creating problems around the resettlement of another seventy-four Jewish children, traveling from Rumania through Bulgaria to Turkey and then to Palestine.[34] With regard to these children, Wagner from the German Foreign Ministry informed Beckerle in Sofia by telegram on 20 April that, despite the intervention by the International Red Cross, the Bulgarians would not permit the transportation of seventy-four Jewish children through Bulgaria.[35] Beckerle in turn reported to the German Foreign Ministry that Bulgaria was hindering the transit of seventy-four children from Rumania to Palestine.[36]

On May 13, Beckerle sent a telegram from Sofia to the German Foreign Ministry reporting that the head *mufti* of Bulgaria was requesting Ribbentrop to intervene with the Bulgarian government to thwart the transportation of 4000 Jewish children and 500 adults through Bulgaria to Palestine. The *mufti*, el-Huseyn, felt that this intervention would be in the interest of both the Arabs and the Germans.[37] A detailed report was sent to Sofia by the German Foreign Ministry on 21 May concerning steps taken to remove Jewish children from Bulgaria, Rumania and other sa-

tellite countries and to resettle them in Palestine. Himmler was of the opinion that this policy would be permissible if, for each resettled Jew, four Germans either from South America or from former German colonies were allowed to return.[38]

On 21 July, Wagner of the German Foreign Ministry reported that the Red Cross in neutral countries and international Jewish organizations were taking steps toward the resettlement of Jewish children from occupied and satellite countries to Palestine. In return Germany was seeking the repatriation of several thousand Germans from South America.[39] The German Foreign Ministry informed Beckerle on 28 October 1943 about an attempt to resettle 5000 Jews from Bulgaria in Palestine, for which purpose the Swiss Embassy and the Red Cross had been engaged. Beckerle was assigned the task of convincing the Bulgarian government to permit this resettlement only if Germans and Bulgarians outside of Europe were allowed to return to their countries.[40]

From the cited documents it is clear that the Bulgarian government hindered the efforts of international organizations to rescue Jewish children and adults from deportation and extermination, not only in currently occupied Bulgarian areas, as were Macedonia and the Aegean region, but also in Rumania and other satellite countries; this despite the fact that Himmler and Eichmann had agreed to such a policy under certain conditions. The occupied status of Macedonia and the Aegean region is also quite clear, vis-a-vis both Bulgaria and Germany, when one considers the fact that Germany had to send its trainloads of children along this circuitous route because Bulgaria would not permit these transport to cross through her „old territories". The Bulgarian government's zeal is also evident in a telegram sent by Beckerle to the German Foreign Minstry on 12 June 1943, in which he reports that Bulgarian Foreign Minister Popov had informed him of the Bulgarian government's attitude that it was no longer interested in the destiny of the deported Jews, or in the fate of the Jewish Bulgarians living within the Reich or in German occupied territories and satellite countries.[41]

Anti-Jewish Legislation and the Economic Ruin of the Jews

The conditions for anti-Jewish legislation had been favorable in Bulgaria even before Bulgaria joined the Triple Pact. As Bulgaria allied herself more closely with Germany, anti-Jewish laws and propaganda increased, especially after the arrival of German troops in Bulgaria and the German attack on Yugoslavia and Greece.

The initial purpose of the anti-Jewish laws was to eliminate the Jews as an economic factor in the state, to be followed by

their political denigration and finally by their physical annihilation. In this chapter we shall enumerate only the most important laws enacted by organs of the Bulgarian state in order to legally bring about the economic ruin of the Jews.

I. The Law for the Protection of the Nation, Directive #3, was passed by the National Assembly on 21 January 1941. The regulations appended to this law were passed by the Ministerial Council of the fascist Bulgarian government on 13 February 1941 and were confirmed by imperial decree #21 on 15 February 1941. This law was intended to "protect" the nation from the Jews, all of whom had been proclaimed to be enemies of the state. Jews were now barred from many professions. Those Jews already engaged in these professions had to dissolve their businesses within six months, i.e., to sell them at a loss or to relinquish them to persons of non-Jewish origin. Paragraph 27 of this law read:

"Persons of Jewish origin may not be owners, shareholders or capital investors in educational institutions, theaters, cinemas, publishing houses, companies selling or producing gramophone records and films . . . . . hotels, commercial outlets, or in companies producing arms.

"Within six months all these interests must be dissolved or transferred to persons of Bulgarian origin . . . Property not liquidated or disposed of. . . will be confiscated".[42]

As is evident, the Jews were not barred from all occupations by this law, but only from some. In other words, they could still engage in industry, business and crafts, as long as these occupations were not connected with the production of arms, films, publications or gramophone records. The law expressly stated, however, that Jews should be removed from educational institutions such as schools, theaters, cinemas and the press, because of the fear of eventual Jewish propaganda.

According to this law, the Jews were still permitted to engage in agriculture, although only on land which was not their own because, as we shall soon see, the Jews had been denied the right to own farmland as early as 1941.

This law was particularly strict concerning the employment of Jews in the Bulgarian administration. Jews were banned from virtually all positions in the civil service. Those Jews already employed in the administration were required to relinquish their positions within a month.

According to this law, Jews could not be members of executive councils, directors, assistant directors or business representatives for any kind of firm, public or private, even if it was purely Jewish. They were not allowed to be employed by public or private credit institutions or banks. Jews were not allowed to own

pharmacies, drugstores or sanitation companies and stores. They could not act as business agents or brokers, nor could they be bookkeepers or accountants. They were forbidden to deal in stocks or precious metals. Finally, paragraph 48 of this law prescribes: "In no organization or company..... are they allowed to hold service positions".

Jews who owned private financial or cultural institutions, arms factories, theaters, cinemas, hotels, companies producing films or gramophone records, newspapers or publishing houses were required to give up their businesses within six months. Owners of pharmacies, drugstores and sanitation enterprises had to do the same within one year.

Paragraph 26 of this law stipulated that all the money accumulated by the Jews as a result of this rapid and compulsory liquidation must be deposited in a running account in a Bulgarian credit bank. Although the deposits were considered the Jews' private property, the money could not be withdrawn because the accounts were frozen. This article of the law was later expanded to cover all Jewish savings accounts in Bulgarian banks, which were frozen and placed under the control of the banks. Persons leaving Bulgaria did not receive their savings, nor did they receive the deposits from their previously liquidated businesses. Furthermore, persons needing to leave Bulgaria, most often foreign citizens, could not get a passport or an exit visa unless they had such an account in some bank. Paragraph 26 finally states:

"Within one month..... all persons of Jewish origin possessing any property in the country must declare all their movable and immovable property to the Bulgarian National Bank". Thus, according to this paragraph, all Jews were required to submit a "declaration" of their movable and immovable property. These "declarations" called for the following kinds of information:[43]

1. The amount of income from businesses, artisan workshops, employment, leases and other sources of income.

2. The value of movable property: furniture and household articles, precious metals, clothing, stocks, cash and other movable property, all of which was assessed by a committe from the Bulgarian National Bank.

3. The value of immovable property: houses, shops, farmland, garden plots and other immovable property.

These "declarations" were needed by the Bulgarian authorities in order to have a survey of Jewish property, which they intended to expropriate by various means. The confiscation of Jewish agricultural land was the first such occurance, as prescribed in a law which read: "Persons of Jewish origin may not possess... any agricultural property. Owners of such land are required to offer it for sale to the Ministry of Agriculture within three months".

The numerous Jews who did not declare their agricultural property within the three month period had their lands confiscated. No excuses were considered. The archives of the Jewish Religious Community of Skopje contains many documents and decisions concerning the confiscation of such properties.

An ordinance was subsequently issued, forbidding Jews from owning "covered assets" such as houses, shops and other buildings. Jews owning such property were obliged to sell it. In the archives of the Jewish Religious Community of Skopje we discovered the original list, which indicates that 397 persons from Skopje did, in fact, dispose of their "covered assets".

The promulgation of the "Law for the Protection of the Nation" was accompanied by a great propaganda campaign on the radio and in the newspapers and cinema. On the streets, walls were covered with posters and caricatures depicting the Jews as the enemy of the Bulgarian people.. Fascist propagandists aroused fervent racist hatred, preparing the Bulgarian people for the "definitive solution of the Jewish question", i.e., for the removal of the Jews to the death camps. One segment of the wealthiest Bulgarian bourgeoisie pushed for the rapid enactment of this law, and some even urged that it be made stricter. A communiqué by Bulgarian industrialists from that time states: "The time has finally arrived for the Bulgarian economy, that huge, vital current which nourishes the people and the state, to be exclusively in Bulgarian hands".[44] The Bulgarian bourgeoisie considered the Jews as its competitors and thus openly expressed its support for the anti-Jewish measures adopted by the state. This attitude is further attested to in a letter sent to Eichmann by the German police attaché in Bulgaria, Hoffmann, in which he writes: "Upon the removal of the Jews, the Bulgarian government first of all pursued its material interests, consisting of these Jews' property which was then given to loyal Bulgarians in order to appease them".[45]

II. On 4 October 1941, the Skopje and Bitola District Branches of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry issued a directive forbidding Macedonian Jews from engaging in industry or commerce. This ban had previously pertained to certain branches of industry and commerce, but as of 4 October 1941 it was applied generally. Existing businesses and industrial enterprises were obligated to liquidate by the end of the year. According to this decree the Jews had less than three months to sell their inventory, at a fraction of its cost, or to transfer their shops and companies to persons of non-Jewish origin. The Jews were thus economically ruined, since business and industry had been the Macedonian Jews' principal occupation. Jewish merchants, who for centuries had been

the pivotal factor in Macedonian commerce, now ceased to exist. Jewish artisans endured somewhat longer.[46]

III. In the first half of 1942, a law was passed for the payment of an *ad hoc* tax, and on 2 July a supplement to this law was also issued. All Macedonian Jews were required to present one fifth of their property to the Bulgarian government. Every Jew was again required to prepare a list of all his belongings: movable and immovable property, claims, cash, valuables, furniture, household items and the like. A special commission examined the accuracy of the prepared list and assessed its value. Failure to declare even the smallest item could be sufficient reason for confiscating the entire property or for imprisonment. Since the state was collecting an "*an hoc*" tax of 20%, the commission would assess Jewish property in such a way as to obtain the highest possible tax. The property of those who could not pay was immediately sold at auction.

We will present several excerpts from "The Law for an Ad Hoc Tax on the Property of Persons of Jewish Origin", signed by Tsar Boris and published in the *Dŭrzhaven Vestnik* (State newspaper) #142, 2 July 1942 and #151, 14 July 1942.

Article 1. All properties of any sort belonging to persons of Jewish origin are liable to an *ad hoc* tax of 20% on their value up to three million *lev*. Property valued at less than 200,000 *lev* is not liable.

Article 4. By this law, all movable and immovable property is liable to *an ad* hoc tax.

Article 5. Within one month, all persons of Jewish origin are obligated to submit a declaration. Undeclared property will be confiscated for the benefit of the state.

Article 13. The payer of the assessed tax is obligated to remit one half of the assessed amount within thirty days and the balance within six months.

Among Skopje Jews alone, the value of all the property subjected to this *ad hoc* tax was assessed at 320 million *lev*. The total tax which was to be collected was set at 69,142,693 *lev*, but 2,548,454 *lev* were subsequently deducted from this amount. The remainder, to be collected from the Jews of Skopje, came to 66,594,239 *lev*, or an average of 17,082 per capita, including children and those persons whose property was non-taxable. Of this assessed amount, the Bulgarians actually suceceded in collecting only 42,643,728 *lev*, or 12,872 per capita.

IV. The Commissariat for Jewish Problems issued and published its decree #5 on 8 September 1942, giving details for placing all Jewish property under its control.

Article 1 of this decree states: "Persons of Jewish origin may not possess any sums of money from private individuals, companies or savings accounts, nor may they receive money from insurance

or inheritance. Neither may they receive money from the sale of, damage to, or confiscation of their property". This decree further provides that, "in the name of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems of Bulgaria, these particular persons — the Jews — are obligated to bring all stocks and bonds to the Bulgarian National Bank. Jewish merchants who have been traveling are to be denied permission to travel".[47]

V. The Jews were also restricted with regard to housing. Thus, for example, they were forbidden to live in state-owned buildings and were required to vacate those apartments which they already occupied. The contracts and previous arrangements between Jewish owners of residential properties and various state and private firms and individuals were now subject to revision.[48] The aim of these revisions was to reduce the amount of rent collected by the Jews. Jews were not permitted to evict any of their tenants, but landlords of non-Jewish origin had the right to evict their Jewish tenants.

With regard to this issue, the Commissariat for Jewish Problems issued a decree on 14 January 1943, prohibiting the conclusion of contracts with Jewish owners of residential properties, insofar as these properties had not yet been confiscated by the state. Future contracts could be reached on behalf of the Jewish owners only by delegates appointed by the Jewish Religious Community. Neither would the rent be remitted to the owner personally, but would be deposited in the owner's name into a frozen account at the bank.[49]

VI. In its decree #77 of 12 February 1943, the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Skopje ordered the rapid liquidation of artisan shops. Every Jewish craftsman was obligated either to terminate his business or to transfer his shop, along with tools and machinery, to a person of non-Jewish origin by 1 March 1943. The money received from this quick liquidation also had to be deposited in a frozen account in the bank. By 3 March, every Jew was required to submit a declaration *(otchet)* that he had liquidated and that the money had been deposited in the bank. Shops which had not been liquidated were confiscated.[50]

In the Archives of Macedonia in Skopje, thousands of such *otchet* documents have been preserved. From these it is clear what the actual value of the tools was and at what price they were sold. A few excerpts will serve to illustrate.

1. Yosif Isak Levi sold for 15,000 *lev* and deposited the entire amount in bank account number 505.

2. Yakov Biti Koen sold tools valued at 67,000 *lev* for 7,000 *lev* and deposited the money in bank account number 212.

3. Ana Mushon Sarfati sold tools worth 40,850 *lev* for 12,000 *lev*. She spent the money rather than depositing it.

4. David Mois Berakha sold photographic equipment worth 44,900 *lev* for 28,000 *lev* and deposited the money in bank account number 571.

5. Sabatai Isak Levi sold goods costing 52,000 *lev* for 7,000 *lev* and deposited the money in bank account number 580.

6. Albert Solomon Yakov, a plumber, sold his business worth 60,500 for 21,580 and put the money in bank account number 585.

7. Bendzion Avram Simon sold his assets of 2,100 *lev* for 500 *lev* and spent the money on the upkeep of his family.

8. Mordekhai Barukh Kamhi sold his belongings worth 3,300 *lev* for 1,000 *lev* and spent the money on the upkeep of his family.

9. Yakov Nisim Lazar, a tailor, sold his business valued at 4,800 *lev* for 200 *lev*, which he spent on the upkeep of his family.

10. Mentesh Rebeka Berakha was unable to sell his property valued at 32,960 by 1 March 1943, and it was thus confiscated by the state.

It is evident from these examples that there were also many poor Jews who were unable to meet the Bulgarian demands and who spent the money received from the sale of their tools and inventory on the upkeep of their families.

VII. Since the highest Bulgarian authorities had passed a resolution to remove all Jews from Macedonia, they also resolved to confiscate the property of the Jews who had left. This resolution was passed at the session of the Ministerial Council held on 2 March 1943. The following decisions were also reached at that session:[51]

1. The immovable property of Jews emigrating beyond the borders of Bulgaria is to be confiscated on behalf of the state . . . . . This decision is not open to appeal.

2. The movable property of emigrant Jews is to be sold at auction by the Commissariat for Jewish Problems. The money obtained from such auctions will be deposited in the bank in the name of the former Jewish owner, or else in the name of the Jewish Community if the owner is unknown.

3. Because of the emigration of the Jews, all the property of the local Jewish Religious Communities as well as of their religious and cultural institutions will be at the disposal of the municipalities.

Thus, from early 1941 until 1 March 1943, the Jews were subjected to continuous economic liquidation.

Anti-Jewish Legislation and the Political Restrictions of the Jews

I. "The Law for the Protection of the Nation" brought about political as well as economic restrictions for the Jews. Foremost among these was that the Jews were no longer considered Bulgarian citizens.

The following political restrictions resulted from this law:

1. A Jew from Macedonia was unable to hold Bulgarian citizenship. He was considered a Yugoslav citizen and paid a monthly tax of thirty *lev* in order to reside on Bulgarian territory. He also was issued a special identity card.[52]

2. Jews were forbidden to vote or to be elected.

3. Jews were barred from employment in state, municipal, public or private organizations and institutions.

4. Jews were not allowed to serve in the Bulgarian army, but were required to pay a special military tax in place of military service. In times of need, however, the Bulgarian authorities would conscript them to serve in work battalions fixing roads, digging ditches, etc.

5. As of 14 July 1941, all Jews were obligated to declare their ethnic origin and place of residence to the police within one month in order to be entered into the police files.

6. Pupils from Jewish families were not allowed to attend regular schools. This article was not enforced entirely and one finds documents in the schools indicating that Jewish children were in attendance even after the passage of this law, although less frequently.

7. The Jews were forbidden to will their property to their new-born children. They could choose only one piece of property appearing on a special, short list posted on the wall of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems.

8. Jewish surnames could not end in "ov", "ev", "ski" or "ich".

9. Jews could not employ Bulgarians for any form of domestic service. Those already so employed were to be released within fifteen days of the enactment of the Law for the Protection of the Nation.

10. Jews could be barred from entering clubs, either at the request of the owner or merely by the presence of the police.

11. Jews were not allowed to reside in the same dwelling as a person of Bulgarian, or related, origin. Neither could they reside in hotels or apartment houses.

12. The size of a Jew's residence depended on the size of the family: 2 members — one room, 3—4 members — two rooms, 5—6 members — three rooms, and over 6 members — four rooms. Jews having more than the alloted number were obligated to vacate the rooms or to rent them to other Jews.

13. According to decree #1891 from 28 June 1941, issued by the Ministry of the Rail and Postal Services, all Jews were obligated to turn in their radio receivers to the nearest telegraph-

post office for "storage" no later than 5 July. Persons not complying were liable to imprisonment in accordance with the Law for the Protection of the Nation.

14. Jews were forbidden to enter into matrimony or to live in extra- marital relationships with non-Jews. Marriages concluded after the enactment of this law were considered void.

15. Jews were barred from living in certain cities or in certain quarters within a city.

16. Without a police permit Jews were not allowed to move from one city to another or from one quarter to another.

17. Persons of non-Jewish origin were forbidden to adopt a Jewish child, even if only one parent was Jewish.

18. On 5 September 1942, Commissar for Jewish Problems Belev issued a decree based on article #26 of the Law for the Rapid Solution of the Jewish Question, which had been approved by the Ministerial Council. As of 15 September, 18 x 12 centimeter signs, on white cardboard or on metal, reading "Jewish Residence", had to be posted over the door to every Jewish home. A 5 x 5 centimeter Star of David was to appear to the left of such a sign. The entrance to each house was to have a list giving the members of the family, including which family resided on which storey of the building. As of the same date, Jewish shops had to have a sign reading "Jewish Shop" *("Yudish Magazin")* placed at their entrances. If the shop door was constantly open, or if the interior of the shop was visible, such a sign also had to appear inside. All circulars, letters, envelopes and other Jewish mail had to be clearly stamped as Jewish. The products of Jewish firms had to be labeled "Jewish product". Companies involving the use of Jewish capital had to have a sign at the door identifying them as such. The same sign had to be posted inside. Improperly labeled products of Jewish firms and of firms using Jewish capital, were to be confiscated on behalf of the fund of the Jewish Communities.

II.On 23 September 1942, Commissar for Jewish Problems Aleksandar Belev signed a new law concerning the Star of David, which the Jews were to wear as of 29 September of that year. According to this law, the following persons were exempt from wearing this symbol:

a. children under ten years of age.

b. Jewish Bulgarian citizens who underwent Christian rites of matrimony with persons of Bulgarian origin before 1 September 1940 and who were baptized before 23 January 1941. Such persons who had been divorced were no longer exempt.

c. Jews who were foreign citizens and who were in transit through Bulgaria.

All other persons were required to wear one of two kinds of Jewish symbols: a circle, or a Star of David. Circular patches were to be worn by Jews having rendered service to the state, and whose service was recognized in article #52 of the Ministerial Council's decree of 26 August 1942. Three categories were recognized:

1. those awarded a medal for bravery
2. war invalids eligible for invalid pensions
3. war orphans or the children of reservists

Persons from the above categories could not wear a circular patch if they had been indicted for communism. speculation or acts against the government. All other Jews were to wear the Star of David. The round patches were light yellow, had a diameter of 21 centimeters and cost ten *lev*. The Star of David patches were yellow and had a diameter of 33 — 35 centimeters. Any Jews caught without a patch after 29 September would be imprisoned and fined 100,000 *lev*. Persons of non-Jewish origin were forbidden to wear such patches, which were made available through the Jewish community.

Within five days, namely, on 28 September 1942, the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior had already prepared about 60—70,000 Jewish patches for the whole of Bulgaria.[54] On 14 December 19, the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Skopje received the 5,000 patches it had requested from the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior.[55] Ivan Zakhariev, the representative of the Skopje Commissariat, issued a directive on 26 December 1942, ordering how the patches should be sold to the Jews:

50% of the patches at 20 *lev* each
25% of the patches at 10 *lev* each
25% of the patches free of charge for poor Jews

These patches were both the Star of David, to be worn by Jews on the left side of the chest, and circular patches having a star imprinted in the center. Zakhariev's same directive set the price of the round patches at 10 *lev*.[56]

According to these directions, the patches went on sale as of 28 December 1942, and from that day on the Macedonian Jews were not permitted to remove them in order that they be distinguishable from the remaining population. Every Jew in Skopje had to purchase a patch that very day, and indeed, the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Skopje sold out all its patches on that day. This is evident in that, on 28 December, the Commissariat in Skopje sent the Commissariat in Sofia a check in the amount of 6,500 *lev*.[57]

It was particularly difficult for the Macedonian Jews that Bulgaria did not recognize them as its citizens. They entertained the thought that, if Bulgaria were to accept them as its subjects, it would also protect them as its citizens. "... how is it that we who were born here, who have lived here for centuries, whose innumerable forefathers have left their bones and lives here, are being treated as strangers...", was part of the protest sent by the Jews on 12 January 1943.[58] The protest was in vain, however, and the persecution of the Jews continued.

III. On 15 January 1943, three days after the protest was lodged, Ivan Zakhariev issued a new decree with the following contents:

1. I forbid all Jews to frequent restaurants, pastry shops, cafes, dairies, *boza* shops and all other shops selling drinks and delicatessen foods, which are located on Tsar Boris III and Tsar Ferdinand Streets and in the Central Square.

2. I forbid the same persons to attend the cinemas in Skopje on holidays, Sundays, Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays.

3. The same persons are forbidden to attend dances...

4. I forbid the same persons to frequent the City Park on Sundays and holidays, as well as after 4:00 p. m. in the winter or after 6 : 00 p. m. in the summer.

5. I forbid the same persons to visit the military cemeteries and the municipal beaches.

6. I forbid the same persons to walk through the main streets of town.

7. I forbid the same persons to attend the National Theater on Sundays.[59]

IV. The same day, Zakhariev issued a supplementary decree:

1. I forbid all persons wearing a Jewish symbol to visit all hotels in Skopje other than the Sofia, Krushevo and Lovets Hotels, which they may visit once every six months...

2. These persons are forbidden to take refuge in public shelters during air raids.[60]

V. On 2 March, the Ministerial Council passed a resolution stripping Bulgarian citizenship from all Jews who were to be removed from Bulgaria and who had either possessed or acquired Bulgarian citizenship. Bulgaria thereby officially lost interest in the destiny of the deportees. Among those attending this historical session, which determined the ultimate fate of Macedonian and Thracian Jews, were Bogdan Filov, Petar Gabrovski, Boris Yotsov, Dobri Bozhinov, Nikola Mikhov and Nikola Zakhariev. This resolution was not published in the state newspaper, and had to be hidden from the public.[61] At the same session it was resolved to invoke the civil mobilization of those persons who would be working on the deportation of the Jews.

The very fact that Germany insisted that Bulgaria rescind the citizenship of those Jews who were to be deported and that it no longer take any interest in them demonstrates that the Bulgarian court and government knew, or at least anticipated, that the Jews were facing liquidation. There is therefore no justification for those who claim that they were not aware of what fate lay in store for the Jews. Further evidence is the Bulgarian law passed in 1941 which stated that, "all Yugoslav and Greek citizens living in the newly liberated territories are automatically Bulgarian citizens", and which had a clause appended to it in March 1943 stating, "This decree does not apply to persons of Jewish origin".[62]

Due to this serious situation, many Jews decided to leave Bulgaria. This was possible only for foreign citizens and even they received exist visas from the Bulgarian authorities only with difficulty. Most of these persons were Italian and Spanish citizens, and the majority of them departed for territories occupied by the Italians (Albania, for example) where the Jews were not being persecuted. In order to obtain an exit visa, the Jews needed to prove their foreign citizenship and to demonstrate that they had settled their accounts, that they owed no money to the Postal Service, to the Municipal Administration, to the Tax Department or to the National Bank. They also needed to show that they had complied with article 26 of the Law for the Protection of the Nation and had liquidated their property, depositing all the money in the National Bank.

THE CONCENTRATION OF JEWS IN CAMPS (11 MARCH 1943)

The First Physical Liquidation of Macedonian Jews

The earliest liquidations were of individuals or of small groups, carried out by German authorities against those Jews handed over by the Bulgarian authorities. The first such case was recorded as early as 1941.

As has already been mentioned, when the Bulgarian army marched into Macedonia, approximately 300 Jews fled from Serbia to Macedonia since Serbia was under direct German occupation and these Jews hoped for better conditions under the Bulgarian regime. These people lived illegally, mostly in Skopje, until November 1941, when the Bulgarian police issued an order for all Jewish refugees to register. Only 60 of the 300 registered, and 48 were immediately arrested by the Bulgarian authorities and handed over to the Germans for deportation to Serbia on 27 November.[63] The Germans conveyed them to Serbia, where they were shot on 3 December 1941.[64] Three Macedonian Jews were also among those

48 who were shot: Leon Levi from Bitola, forty years old and married; Avram Albakhari, a clothier, thirty five years old and married; and Benyamin Remier from Skopje, thirty years old and single. The victims included four doctors, two engineers, two lawyers, one pharmacist, merchants and others.[65]

Yet, the Germans were not satisfied with individual executions. They thus prepared, negotiated and planned the total destruction of the Jews of Macedonia with the highest Bulgarian authorities.

The First Negotiations and Preparations for Deportation

The first negotiations between the Bulgarian government and German representatives in Sofia for the deportation of Jews from Bulgaria began toward the end of 1941 and intensified in 1942.

The initial negotiations concerning this matter started between the German Minister Plenipotentiary Beckerle and the Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, Petar Gabrovski. In general terms they agreed that Bulgaria should turn over to the Germans the first group of 20,000 Jews from the newly-annexed Bulgarian territories. It was also decided to postpone the drafting of a written agreement to a later time. It was Dannecker who later continued the negotiations on Germany's behalf.

On 2 February 1943, the following verbal agreement was reached between Dannecker, who was accompanied by the Police Attaché to the German Embassy in Sofia, and by Aleksandar Belev, the Commissar of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems:

1. The Reich is prepared to receive the Jews of Bulgaria.
2. The number of Jews to be deported is to be determined in advance.
3. The deportation is to commence at the beginning of March.
4. The Jews are to be handed over to the German authorities at specified places.
5. As soon as the Bulgarian authorities have completed handing over the Jews to the German military authorities, the Jews are to lose their Bulgarian citizenship, if they had held it, and the Bulgarian authorities will cease to protect them.
6. The Jews are to be concentrated first in temporary camps in the vicinity of the railway station.
7. The Jews are allowed to bring with them only clothing and food for a trip lasting 10—15 days.
8. The concentration of the Jews in camps should be carried out quickly and by surprise to prevent escape.[66]

In connection with this agreement, Aleksandar Belev gave Minister Gabrovski his suggestions, in which he stated: "In

connection with the concentration of the Jews in camps, it is necessary to have cooperation between the police and the military. The Jews in the camps should be told that they are being moved from one district in Bulgaria to another, but they should not be told that they are being handed over to the Germans. After the removal of the Jews, their entire property should be confiscated on behalf of the state".[67]

On 3 February 1943, the day following his talk with Dannecker, Belev sent instructions by telegraph to all the representatives of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in the country to draw up lists immediately of all the Jews in their areas.[68]

On 22 February, following brief negotiations and consultations, a written agreement — "Agreement for the removal of the first group of 20,000 Jews to the eastern German territories" — was reached. This agreement was signed by Aleksandar Belev on behalf of Bulgaria and by Dannecker on behalf of Germany.

The following is an excerpt from this important document:

"Upon the approval of this agreement by the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, the deportation of 20,000 Jews will be undertaken, regardless of the person's age or sex. The Reich is prepared to receive these Jews into its eastern provinces... The Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior will guarantee that the transports consist only of Jews... The Jews are not permitted to carry with them any arms, poison, foreign currency, precious metals, etc.....

"Lists shall be compiled for each transport. Two copies shall be submitted to the German military authorities taking delivery of the transport, and one copy is to be sent to the German Plenipotentiary in Sofia.

"Presumably, the German military units will take delivery of the transports at the boarding stations.

"Under no circumstances may the Bulgarian government demand the return of the deported Jews".[69]

Immediately following the conclusion of this agreement, preparations were begun for the deportation of the Jews, although it was still necessary to wait for the formal confirmation of the agreement by the Bulgarian Ministerial Council. Organizers were appointed to prepare the deportation of the Jews. Zakhari Velkov was assigned to organize Macedonia as a whole, Peyo Draganov and Ivan Zakhariev were assigned to the Skopje district, and Stoimenov was assigned to the Bitola district.[71] Detailed plans were drafted but, due to the speed with which the deportation was carried out, these plans were frequently altered. At this time, buildings started to be transformed into areas to serve as temporary concentration camps. Regulations were even issued as to how these camps were to be managed. Each camp was to have its

own "commandant", who would be assisted by delegates from the local Commissariat for Jewish Problems as well as by administrative and police authorities.[72]

On 2 March 1943, the Ministerial Council approved the agreement reached on 22 February 1943[73] and reached its final conculsion to rescind Bulgarian citizenship from all Jews who were to be forcibly deported.[74]

Thus, Hitler's intention of exterminating all the Jews in occupied Europe was being put into practice. These racist theories found fertile soil in Bulgaria owing to her fascist government.

Macedonia, 11 March 1943

The morning hours of 11 March 1943 were the final hours of freedom — a fatal time — for all Macedonian Jews. At 2 : 00 a. m. on that Thursday morning, several hundred trustworthy persons were assembled at the buildings of the Police Administration of Skopje, Bitola and Shtip. These were the people who were to carry out the forcible deportation of the Jews of Macedonia, sending them to the death camps from which not one would return. In those early morning hours before the police stations, several hundred cart-drivers were waiting with their carts, having been mobilized the previous day and told to be at the police stations at 2 : 00 in the morning. These carts were meant to carry the Jews' baggage as well as the ill.

Inside the buildings themselves, those persons responsible for the deportation of the Jews issued the following, final instructions: the collection of the Jews from their houses is to proceed according to the lists prepared in advance, and the Jews are to be handed over to the camp command in accordance with the same lists. Groups of several policemen were then formed to make the rounds of Jewish houses, assemble the Jews and to send them to the camps. Each group was given a number of square, punched cards conforming to the number of families to be picked up. Each card had inscribed on it the name and surname of the head of each Jewish family to be picked up, as well as the name of the street and the number of the dwelling. Each group was also provided with pieces of string and was directed to attach the keys of the Jewish apartment to the corresponding card having the name of the head of the house on it.[75]

The police were instructed to attempt to convince the Jews that they were being moved temporarily to other districts within Bulgaria, and that at the end of the war they would be returned to their homes. The police were given special instructions to recommend to the Jews that they take all their cash and valuables with them, "to have in case of need".[76]

When a Jewish family had vacated its apartment, one of the policemen was to check whether all members of the family had left, whether all doors and windows were locked and the fire extinguished. He was then to inspect the entire premisis again to determine that no one was hiding. If all members of the family were not present, in accordance with the list, the list was to be marked with the location of the missing person. The leader of each group was also given red wax and a seal to seal closed the apartment.

A temporary concentration camp was prepared for all the Jews of Macedonia in the building of the state tobacco monopoly in Skopje. Rather than having two camps, one in Skopje and one in Bitola, as had been the plan, only one camp in Skopje was prepared.

For several days before and after 11 March 1943, additional guards were posted along the Macedonian-Albanian border to thwart attempts at fleeing.[77]

These steps were taken because the Bulgarian authorities realized that some Jews had become aware of what lay in store for them. In fact, several days prior to 11 March 1943, some Jews in Skopje had been forewarned, but most of them would not take heed. That the Jews of Skopje were so informed is known for certain from the statement made by Pepo Moshe Alaluf after the liberation, in which he said:

"As Secretary of the Jewish community, I was in daily contact with Ivan Zakhariev, the hangman of the Jews, who was continuously accusing the Jews of Skopje of openly expressing their sympathies with the military successes of the USSR . . .

"I know that A. Belev came to Skopje a few days prior to the blockade and that he held a conference with prominent local fascists and anti-Semites . . .

"Dr. Toma Petrov kept telling me that we would not be sent away from Skopje and that the camp would be within the city itself.

"On 8 March 1943, Zhelezkov, then Secretary of the Municipality, came to my office and told me that Adzhisto Aroesti, President of the Jewish Religious Community of Skopje, and I were to be arrested since we had become aware that the Jews were to be sent to the camps; this was to prevent the escape of the remaining Jews. Zhelezkov then said to me: 'Flee, because all the Jews will be sent to the camps within a few days. That evening we informed some of our comrades of this and then fled to Albania".[78]

Although some Jews in Skopje and other Macedonian cities realized what was to happen to them, they nevertheless decided not to flee; many because they wanted to be with their families in times of difficulty, and many because they did not understand fully what was awaiting them.

Skopje, 11 March 1943

This was the fatal day for the Jews of Macedonia. That morning at three o'oclock, the Bulgarian army blockaded the entire city. All along the streets of Skopje armed soldiers were posted every ten meters to prevent residents from leaving their apartments. As this was not the first blockade in Skopje, the people had already become accustomed to them. As has been mentioned, Peyo Draganov Peev and Ivan Zkhariev Iliev were the ones responsible for rounding up the Jews in the Skopje district.

The words of some of the Jewish eye-witnesses and survivors tell us what happened. Here is the account of Heskiya Piyade:

"It was as though we had anticipated the disaster. We slept in our clothes. In the morning around five o'clock, we heard that the city had been blockaded. Nothing was audible other than the dull thuds of police boots. A dog was whining as if it could sense the calamity. Two armed policemen accompanied by three police detectives roughly barged through the door and began to read our names off a list. 'Take with you all your gold, jewelery, watches, cash and whatever else is of value. You have a long trip and it may come in handy', is what one of the detectives said. In the street we saw a freight cart and several families rounded up before us..... We were shivering, partly of fright and partly of cold. Everyone was looking at his mother, sister or brother as though he would never see them again. In the yard of the Monopoly a few tables had been arranged and some policemen and detectives stood off to the side. Jewelery, gold and watches were lying on the tables, and the detectives' pockets were bulging. We brought out everything we had taken with us. A detective put some things in his pocket and entered some into a 'register'. 'Take out your money, your money and gold', said the detective, 'because if I search you and find anything, I'll have you shot like a dog'. I glanced into the neighboring room and there I saw a detective removing the jewelery from my wife and my grandmother. They searched every part of the body. What a humiliation! The yard of the Monopoly was encircled by police mounted on horses".[79]

Berta and Miko Noakh of Skopje give this account of that same day:

"Three detectives and two uniformed policemen with rifles in their hands came in. One of them stepped forward, pulled out

a list from his pocket, opened it and began to call our names. The same detective, apparently the leader of the group, looked at us hostiley and said to us with hatred in his voice, 'I'm giving you ten minutes to get ready and to prepare some food'. You can imagine the terror that seized us. We didn't know what to do. Our legs collapsed from beneath us. I cannot recall my mother putting some clothes and other things in our hands, and these we forgot anyhow. Our consternation was increased by the policemen's remarks, 'five minutes to go... four minutes... three minutes to go...'. In front of our door was a cart into which we put our things and in which my mother sat. The streets were deserted. Here and there one could see a soldier with his rifle, and every now and then a curious head would poke out of the window of a neighboring house. We asked the detectives where we were going. They replied, 'to the Monopoly', and ressured us that nothing bad was going to happen to us. All the while, along the way we came across other carts, and in front of the doors to the Monopoly there was a long line. You can imagine what a sad sight that was. The carts were loaded with luggage. On top of the luggage were the elderly or the ill and behind the carts came the other members of the family. Mothers were carrying crying infants in their arms and had nothing with which to calm them since they themselves were also crying. We were searched in the yard of the Monopoly. They took away everything — food, soap, medicine. The men were stripped naked as the day they were born...".[80]

Asen Georgiev, the district police commander in Skopje, gave this testimony before a board of inquiry after the war with regard to the preparations for the deportation of the Jews: "In early March 1943, the director of the district, Raev, summoned me. When I arrived, someone from the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Sofia, by the name of Peyo Draganov, was also present. The commander of the Fifth Army, General Boydev, and General Pop Dimitrov were also there. Draganov explained the Bulgarian government's confidential decision to deport the Jews from Macedonia. He had been charged with organizing this operation. It was then that we decided to impose a blockade on Skopje and to bring the city's Jews to the Monopoly".[81]

Stroilo Antonov Krstov, the director of division "B" of the district division of State Security in Skopje, testified before the Macedonian boards of inquiry concerning the deportation and plundering of the Jews. He said: "In March of 1943, we received a directive from Sofia to prepare a plan to jail the Jews and to hand them over to the German military authorities. The Jews were assembled and interned in the tobacco warehouse. Whatever valuables they had were taken from them. Occasionally, an individual

State Security official, officer, policeman or soldier who participated in the internment would pocket some of these valuables".[82]

A number of people did succeed in escaping across the border to Albania or to Kosovo. On 2 April 1943, Belev issued an order with regard to this, in which he directed Kalitsin to inquire when and how these persons had gotten out of Skopje. In his letter #186 of 13 April 1943, Ivan Zakhariev, the Commissariat's delegate, explained that only eleven persons had escaped a few days before the Jews were taken to the camps, but it was uncertain under what circumstances they had fled.

It is known that, despite the severity of the situation, some people were saved from deportation. The Catholic priest of Skopje hid three children, two girls and a boy, in the church building, where he looked after them for some time. He later sent them to a Catholic boarding school in Croatia, having given the children false, Christian names, and there they were raised. Aleksandar Todorov, an electrician from Skopje, was the partner of one Aron Bekhar. Having realized on March 10 what was in store for the Jews, Bekhar wanted his three year-old daughter, Beti, to be cared for. Beti was left in the care of Todorov, who kept her hidden from his neighbors for the duration of the occupation. She now lives in Israel.[83] Dr. Hadzhi Mitkov and his wife hid the family of Mois Franses. The Franses family now resides in Tel Aviv, but they and the Handzhi Mitkov family visit each other. The Bulgarian police spent fifteen days, 15—30 March 1943, searching for ten-year-old Rudi Konfino in order to send him to the camp in Skopje; the police realized that he was being hidden by a non-Jewish family.[84] As was stated previously, between 9 — 10 March, eleven Jews escaped to Albania, having realized they were to be sent to the camps. At its meeting on 21 February 1945, the Jewish Community of Skopje voted to make V. Petrov an honorary member for the danger to which he exposed himself by hiding Skopje Jews during the deportation.

Bitola, 11 March 1943

The collection of the Jews of Bitola was delegated to Kiril Stoimenov, Georgi Dzhambazov, Vasil Vasilev and General Marinov. On 11 March, 793 families, consisting of 3,351 persons, were rounded up. The Jewish quarter of Bitola was divided into twenty sections, and for each of these a group was formed, comprising a police commander, a teacher, five policemen and six soldiers. At two o'clock in the morning, those persons assigned to the operation were assembled at the Police Administration, while at the same time the military blockaded the city, restricting all

traffic. Between five and six o'clock, all the Jews were informed to be ready to go within an hour. At seven o'clock, the Jews left their homes and were escorted by the police to the assembly place. All groups later met at the railroad station, where the Jews were searched and their valuables taken. It was a cold day and snow was falling. Sick Jews were brought to the station from the Bitola hospital by truck. These were eight persons, of whom two had undergone operations only a few days earlier.[85]

Albert Sorfati gives us this account of that day:

"They loaded us into cattle wagons, fifty to sixty people per wagon, including luggage. There wasn't enough space and many had to stand. There was no water. The children were crying... A woman in one wagon was giving birth... but there was no doctor. We reached Skopje at midnight. Night. Darkness. They opened the wagons and in the darkness pushed us into two large buildings. Cars carrying the Jews from Shtip had been added to our train. Stumbling over one another in the darkness, dragging our luggage and continuously being beaten by the Bulgarian soldiers, the children, the aged and the infirm tried to squeeze into the building. When the sun rose, we realized we were in Skopje in the building of the Monopoly, and that all the Jews of Macedonia had been rounded up that same day".[86]

Vasil Georgiev Vasilev, the Inspector for Bulgarian State Security in Bitola, gave the Macedonian board of inquiry this testimony with regard to the events in Bitola: "The district commander charged me with executing the plan to blockade Bitola. I divided the city into fifty small areas. The (district) commander and I then went to see the divisional commander, General Marinov. He was also prepared, i. e., he had determined how many soldiers would participate in the blockade".[78]

With regard to the concentration of the Jews, the Communist Party of Bitola issued a manifesto describing the atrocities committed by the Bulgarian fascists against the Jews, and calling upon the peoples of Macedonia to learn their lesson from this. The manifesto is housed in the Institute of National History in Skopje.

Shtip, 11 March 1943

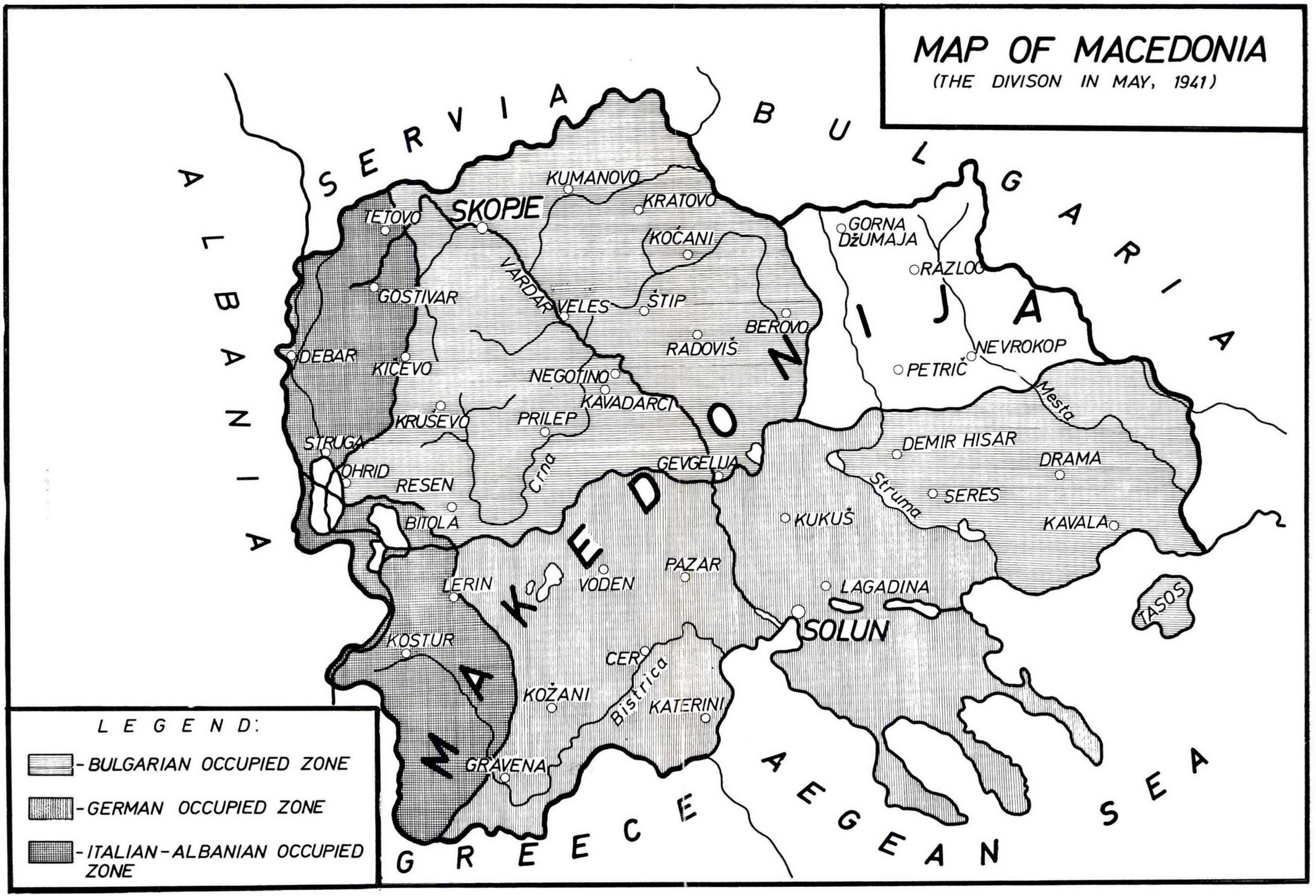
Stoyan Khristov Bachevandzhiev and Police Commander Ignat Atanasov Motsev directed the collection of the Jews of Shtip. The town's Jewish quarter was blockaded at four o'clock in the morning. Ten groups consisting of policemen and detectives informed Jewish families to be ready by six o'clock and to take their

valuables with them. At six o'clock the Jews were assembled in the square and their homes were sealed. Together with their baggage, the Jews were put on trucks and driven to the train station, approximately three kilometers from the city. There they were searched thoroughly and all valuables, cameras and the like were taken away. This plundering continued for five hours. The train departed at 5 : 48 p. m. The Jews were loaded into fourteen wagons, forty persons per wagon. The train was escorted by 21 policemen who had been provided by the Veles police. In Veles, these wagons were linked to the train which had arrived from Bitola and which carried the Jews of that city. Together they arrived in Skopje at midnight.[88] Thus, 131 families consisting of 551 persons, were removed from Shtip on that day.[89]

In the other towns of Macedonia, in which there were only a few Jewish families, no blockades were imposed. These families were simply arrested and sent to the camp in Skopje.

In its illegal paper, *Naroden Glas* (Voice of the People), #1, May 1943, the Communist Party of Shtip wrote the following with regard to terror which the Jews were experiencing:

"One day, early in the morning, the mad Gestapo agents and the damned Bulgarian detectives and militia blockaded the entire town and began knocking on Jewish doors. They began to throw women, children and men out of their own houses into the street like livestock. The militia herded them into the station with their bayonets, as though the Jews had committed some unimaginable offence. The insatiable fascists rounded up all the Jews, with whom we have been living for centuries. At the station the Jews were stripped down to their bare skin in order to be searched. Everything was taken away: clothing, food, and money down to the last *lev*. The Jews were left only the clothes they were wearing and a mattress and quilt, and so they were transported to the Skopje Monopoly, where the Jews from all of Macedonia had been gathered. There they were detained for a while like cattle, bunched together, hungry, naked and barefoot. The Jews of Macedonia were then sent to various camps where, surrounded by guards and given only one hundred grams of bread, they will be forced to work until they collapse. In this way, they will be systematically annihilated, one by one. While the Jews were being taken to the camps for extermination, various mayors, officials, detectives, militiamen and officers were pillaging Jewish property. The insatiable pillagers carried away Jewish property, various articles of furniture, food and the like in carts".


MAP OF MACEDONIA
(THE DIVISON IN MAY, 1941)
SERVIA
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
AEGEAN SEA
MAKEDONIJA
SKOPJE
KUMANOVO
KRATOVO
TETOVO
KOĆANI
GOSTIVAR
VARDAR
VELES
ŠTIP
BEROVO
RADOVIŠ
DEBAR
KIČEVO
NEGOTINO
KAVADARCI
PRILEP
KRUŠEVO
STRUGA
OHRID
RESEN
Crna
GEVGELIJA
BITOLA
LERIN
VODEN
PAZAR
KOSTUR
CER
KOŽANI
Bistrica
KATERINI
GRAVENA
GORNA DŽUMAJA
RAZLOG
NEVROKOP
PETRIČ
Mesta
DEMIR HISAR
DRAMA
Struma
SERES
KUKUŠ
KAVALA
LAGADINA
SOLUN
TASOS
LEGEND:
- BULGARIAN OCCUPIED ZONE
- GERMAN OCCUPIED ZONE
- ITALIAN-ALBANIAN OCCUPIED ZONE

AT THE CONCENTRATION CAMP IN SKOPJE

The Personnel and Organization of the Camp

Zakhariev Velkov, who was responsible for rounding up all the Jews from Macedonia, traveled around Skopje and Bitola between 16 and 21 February, in order to familiarize himself with the terrain which would be suitable for the establishment of a camp.[90] Although it had originally been intended to establish two camps, one in Skopje and one in Bitola, this plan had to be discarded due to the speed with which the Bulgarian authorities, under German pressure, carried out the collection of the Jews. Zakhariev therefore ordered the establishment of only one camp, for which he considered the buildings of the State Tobacco Monopoly in Skopje to be most suitable.

The adaptation of the Monopoly for this purpose was begun a few days before 11 March 1943, and cost 1,264,609 *lev*. The work was executed in complete secrecy, and not even the Monopoly directorship was aware of the purpose of the renovation.

The camp was headed by a commandant, Peyo Draganov Peev, who was in charge of the entire camp and who "tended to" its subsequent organization. He was assigned a considerable number of assistants, policemen, detectives, guards, soldiers, administrative personnel and orderlies. The administrative personnel and the orderlies were appointed by the camp commandant himself.[91]

According to the "house rules", camp inmates had to rise at 7 : 00 a. m., and went to sleep at 8 : 00 p. m.

A search of the camp was carried out twice daily, in the morning and in the evening. Camp inmates were not allowed to possess money, weapons, cigarettes, matches, or the like.

Entrance into the camp was forbidden to outsiders, while inmates were forbidden to converse with or to see outsiders. Doctors from outside the camp were also not permitted to enter. The ill were examined by camp doctors who were also Jewish inmates. Food was doled out to adults twice a day, and to children under ten years of age three times daily.

The use of latrines was permitted only in groups, and then only under guard.

The inmates were forbidden to decorate the walls or to drive nails into them, to smoke, play any kind of game, sing, read newspapers, drink alcoholic beverages, receive food from the outside, look through the windows, correspond among each other, walk from section to section, and so forth. The beds in camp were made of boards. For some 8,000 inmates there were only fifteen latrines, in front of which there was always a waiting line.[92]

Life in the Camp according to Statements by Inmates

These are the statements of several camp inmates who survived merely by chance because they were doctors or pharmacists, or because they were foreign citizens and were released. Here is an excerpt from the statement by Elena Leon Ishakh, a doctor from Bitola:

"In one room there were over 500 of us... We arrived in Skopje around midnight and were locked up in the building of the Monopoly. The entire following day, we and the Jews from Shtip were kept under lock, because the search and plunder of the Jews from Skopje was still going on. Having been locked up in the wagons the day before, and now the whole day in the building without latrines, people were compelled to relieve themselves in the corners so that the air soon became unbearable... Whenever one of us would peek through the window, a police officer would fire his pistol into the air. On 13 March, they finally let us out to use the latrines..... They let out the 500 of us who were in the room for half an hour and then locked us up again, so that more than half the people were unable to relieve themselves or to get water..... They let us out only once a day, section by section. and then for such a short time that many of the weak, ill and invalids could not get down the stairs... Hunger pervaded... Only on the fifth day did the camp authorities set up a kitchen, but for over 7,000 of us there were too few stoves. Food was doled out starting at eleven in the morning, and the last ones were fed around five in the evening.

"Food was distributed once daily and consisted of 250 grams of bread and plain, watery beans or rice... They also gave us smoked meat, but it was so bad that, despite our hunger, we couldn't eat it... Not even one fifth of us had dishes, so that several people had to use the same dish.

"Under the pretext of searching us to find hidden money, gold, or foreign currency, they sadistically forced us to undress entirely... In some cases they even took away baby diapers... If anything was found on somebody, he was beaten... We were beaten mostly by one police officer whom we called 'the Tatar', because he was like a Mongol and was a sadist. He would wander through camp all day long with a whip in his hand. He would beat anyone, regardless of whether it was a child, a woman, or a sick or elderly person. When they drove us back into the building with their whips, they would stand in the middle of the couryard and laugh at us. The same policemen, however, would secretly sell us bread, preserves and other commodities at fantastic prices, such as a loaf of bread for 500 *lev* (for which they had paid 16 *lev*). Many mothers lost their breast milk out of fright. The babies had

no milk. A few days later, milk was 'magnanimously ordered to be brought for the babies, but it was drunk by the policemen and detectives. After one of the searches they left us not even one box of aspirins. For the first several days we were permitted to send the gravely ill and women in labor to the hospital, but as soon as their turn came to be deported, they were returned from the hospital regardless of whether they were cured or not".[93]

Miko Noakh of Skopje made this statement before the Federal Commission of Macedonia for the Investigation of the Crimes of the Occupiers and their Collaborators:

"The building in which the tobacco was stored had already been made into a camp. The Monopoly consisted to several mutiple-storey buildings, surrounded by a large courtyard and a high, wooden fence. One entered the courtyard through one small path which had a barracks. The carts would arrive at the barracks, throw the luggage inside and return to bring more. Whoever entered the camp could not leave again. A search ensued. For the search the women entered the barracks while the men stayed outside. Although it was March, the weather was very cold. The search itself was heinous robbery. They took everything away from us: food, soap, medicine, knives, scissors, linens, clothing, money and jewelery. In the courtyard they stripped the men bare, as bare as the day they were born. It was a rare exception that a generous searcher would leave someone a shirt or two. This was very lucky. Everything else was tossed onto one great heap. I remember how they ripped apart the pillows and feathers went flying in every direction. With our own eyes we saw how they took the shoes from those people whose footwear appealed to them".[94]

Berta Khaim Noakh of Skopje, who spent eighteen days in the camp but was released because she was a Spanish citizen, gives this account:

"When we reached the camp at the Monopoly, we found all the Jews of Skopje, women, children, old people and adults, assembled there. At the camp we were subjected to pillaging regardless of age or sex. They took from us all our money, valuables, medicine, soap, watches, rings, shirts, linens, clothing, shoes, blankets, coats, and whatever else the detectives conducting the search wanted. During all of this the detectives were terribly crass and rude, beating us and cursing us. We slept in the Monopoly warehouses, 300 people to a room. The rooms were filthy and reeked of tobacco. It was forbidden to open the windows of the warehouse. We slept on boards. We were given no food for the first three days, and thereafter they gave us bean soup and 250 grams of bread. Sanitation at the camp was terrible. We had no water to wash with. Drs. Ampov and Boyadzhiyan served as

physicians in the camp, giving cursory examinations without any medicine. Not a single person from the Red Cross in Skopje came to see us or to offer moral or material support. Thus we were left to the winds of fate and to the whims of the German and Bulgarian fascists — cut-throats who plundered and tormented us. A few times the camp was visited by the German Consul, Arthur Witte, and the Assistant District Director, Kosta Nenov, who lied to us by promising that we would be sent into Bulgaria and not to Germany. Asen Bogdanov, the former police commander, came to the camp when the citizenship of the Jews was being determined. Aleksandar Belev, the Commissar for Jewish Problems in Sofia, also came and behaved very crassly. I remained in the camp for eighteen days and was then released because I was a Spanish citizen. My parents and my brother Zhan were sent to the death camps. The Jews were transported from the camp in three stages. When I returned to my father's and my father-in-law's (Mois Noakh), everything had been pillaged".[95]

This is the account of Boro Baron, a doctor from Skopje:

"On 11 March 1943, all the Jews of Skopje were concentrated in a camp. From there only physicians, pharmacists and Spanish citizens, who with their families totaled approximately 120 persons, were released. Otherwise, not one Jew returned from the camps... When the Bulgarian occupiers began to prepare for the imprisonment of the Jews and started taking them to the camps, about 150 Jews succeeded in escaping to Albania, from where they all eventually returned... Life in the camp was horrible and miserable. Several hundred of us were crowded into the warehouses of the Monopoly, which stank of tobacco and filth. Many feeble persons fell ill. Not a day passed without one of the Jews dying. The food was like dish water and the sanitation was beyond comment. For 8000 people there were only a few latrines. The guards behaved terribly crassly and inhumanely. We were treated worse than animals. Only we doctors worked during the day, giving vaccinations to our fellow Jews".[96]

Leon Bokhor Aladzhem, who spent thirteen days in the camp and who was subsequently released because he was a Spanish citizen, gave the following account:

"For the first three days we received no food... The search began the first day and continued for several more... During the search they ripped apart our quilts and winter coats, and took away everything: gold, watches, pens, rings, earrings, medicine, clothing, shoes and so forth".[97]

Kheskiya Piyade, Secretary of the Jewish Religious Community of Skopje, spent several days in the camp. Upon the Ten-Year Anniversary Commemoration for the Jews of Macedonia, he gave the following account of life in the camp to the editor of the paper, *Nova Makedonia:*

"It was then that we felt the bestiality of Bulgarian and German fascism, but also became aware of the love of the citizens of Skopje. For the first four days we were not given any food, and yet, many loaves of bread, soaked with the tears of the citizens, were thrown over the walls and fences of the camp. People would climb on the nearby railroad cars in order to toss to us some bread and other food... Sometimes we were allowed into the courtyard, but then, like madmen, they would attack us with whips. One time, they chose a few Jews and lined them up in front of the wall as though they were going to be shot. The triggers clicked, but the rifles were not loaded. The Jews went pale, but those others just laughed".[98]

Khovsep Agon Boyadzhin, who performed doctor's duties in the camp, gave this account:

"Upon entering and leaving the camp we were searched quite thoroughly. For the first two or three days, the camp administration had ordered that the gravely ill be sent to the hospital, but this was halted later... The regime in camp was terrifying. The camp was full of detectives and German and Bulgarian guards. One tall Bulgarian policeman would beat the Jews with his whip. No one from the Red Cross Society ever visited the camp".[99]

This is the narration by Albert Safati, an eye-witness who escaped from the concentration camp in Skopje:

"The camp was tightly guarded with machine guns. Police with *schmeizers* formed a second cordon. The third cordon consisted of police on horseback, and beyond the fences was the army. When we entered the room we saw a terrible sight. People had put their bedding on the floor. There were about 250 of them, and the air was stifling. The children were crying and the women were carrying on about the tragedy. The men were having a discussion on the other side of the room. They cleared a little space for our family. We put down our bedding and sat down. I tried to fall asleep because the trip had exhausted me, but could not sleep all night. The young children kept crying. It was forbidden to open the windows. In the morning I arose early and began to scrutinize the camp. There were five, large, four-storey buildings, surrounded by a wooden fence. Two of the buildings contained the Jews from Skopje, and the other two housed the Jews from Bitola and Shtip. That morning we were not fed, and for lunch we were given only some watery bean soup. We all lined up to get our portion. As soon as the food had been doled out, if by chance there was any soup left in the cauldron, all the children would crowd around it and wipe it with their fingers in order to drink the remainder of the soup. The fascists had set up an infirmary, but it was located in a depot where one could not breathe because of the

tobacco. In place of mattresses, the ill lay on paper and they had to cover themselves with whatever blankets they had of their own. Every building was closely guarded by the fascists. There was a machine gun in every corner and in the entrance to each building stood a policeman who would not let us out. Before lunch the women were let out to get water and use the latrine. From time to time, mothers with young children were allowed to wash diapers. The worst of the lot was the police lieutenant commander, who was a terrible sadist. He would beat young and old women and children without mercy. If someone was talking a little loudly when we were let out to walk, or if someone failed to wear the Star of David, the policeman would take him to a depot and beat him within an inch of his life. We called this lieutenant commander 'the bloody Tatar', and he was the terror and trepidation of us all. When the women were let out during free time to prepare something to eat, he would unhumanly knock the pots off the fire and then beat the women with a rubber strip measuring five centimeters in diameter and a meter in length. The camp commandant was a civilian who came to the camp every morning in a horse-drawn carriage. We would ask him, 'Where are you going to take us?', and he would lie to us and promise that we would be taken to the Old Territories. He was always accompanied by Commander Panov. Panov was the Jews' worst blackmailer, always saying that he would free them for huge sums of money. He would take the money but still keep the people in the camp. After a few days in camp another thorough search was conducted. We went into the courtyard room by room, with all our luggage, and they took our last *lev* and anything else we had. If someone had two pairs of shoes, they would take one pair. They only left us the clothes we were wearing at the time, or one change of underwear. ... If someone had somewhat nicer clothes, they would ask him whether he had any money hidden. They would then take a pair of scissors and cut up his clothing, or cut short his pants and coat while making fun of him. I am an eye-witness to such scenes. The rabbi from Shtip was always being searched, and his black coat was torn all the way down the back as a result of this maltreatment... The rabbi and his familly went off to the side, and the criminals laughed at him while he cried. But that's nothing. There were even sorrier scenes. Young Jewish girls worked as sisters of mercy in the infirmary, where the police officers taunted them. They would take the girls into their offices and I don't know what they did to them. The girls would come out shaking and with tears in their eyes. I would ask the girls what had been done to them but they were not allowed to tell. One young girl named Zhana did tell me that they had violated her and had threatened to shoot her if she told anyone. That is how we spent ten days, hungry and tormented. Everyone was ill. They

gave us food once a day, and then not regularly. We received nothing for breakfast or dinner. Life was unbearable".[100]

The documents and narrations which have been cited are in essential concurrance. It is evident from them that life in the camp was frightful, and yet something even worse was still in store. Conditions in the camp were so terrible that the Police Commander himself, Asen Bogdanov, upon one of his visits to the camp, called it "a horrible picture". The concentration camp in the buildings of the Monopoly in Skopje remained in existence from 11 March to 29 March 1943.

Camp Statistics

These statistics are extremely important in determining the precise number of people who were in the camp and who were subsequently deported. The number of inmates was continuously changing due to the constant arrival of new Jews and the infrequent release of someone who was a foreign citizen. We will use the figures compiled personally by the commandant of the camp, Peyo Draganov, since these are the most reliable data.

This is the number of camp inmates at approximately 11 : 30 p. m. of 11 March 1943, that is, after the arrival of the Jews from Shtip and Bitola:

Age	From Skopje	From Bitola	From Shtip	Total
Up to 5	195	302	42	539
5 to 10	265	290	47	602
10 to 16	378	695	98	1172
16 to 60	2125	1622	290	4037
over 60	350	441	74	865
TOTAL	3313	3351	551	7215

Of these 7,215 persons, 275 were seriously ill and entirely bedridden.

These are the statistics compiled personally by Peyo Draganov during the night between 11 and 12 March. It is evident that only the Jews from Skopje, Bitola and Shtip are present and not the remaining Jews from smaller places in Macedonia. This was probably due to the fact that those transports had not yet arrived.

Within two days, the number of inmates had increased by 25, most likely people who had arrived from the interior. The exact statistics for 15 March 1943 were:[102]

children up to 1 year old	154
children ages 1 to 5	433
children over the age of 5	6653
TOTAL	7240

This number increased again after 13 March, but Draganov did not leave figures for each day separately. However, as we shall see later, since he left the exact number of Jews put onto the deportation trains, and on the basis of other information left by the Germans, we will be able to determine the accurate number of inmates in the camp for the days following 13 March 1943.

The total number of people present in the camp on 13 March 1943 included the following:[103]

	From Skopje	From Bitola	From Shtip	Total
Pregnant Women	9	?	?	17
Born in the camp	2	?	?	4
Sick children	24	?	?	43
Sick Adults	43	?	?	82
Infirm elderly	65	?	?	125
Died in the camp	2	?	?	4
TOTAL	145			275

There are no separate statistics for the Jews from Bitola and Shtip, but when we subtract the number of Jews from Skopje from the total, we get the following figures for the Jews of Bitola and Shtip together:

Pregnant women	8
Born in camp	2
Sick children	19
Sick adults	39
Infirm elderly	60
Died in camp	2
TOTAL	130

Camp Commandant Draganov also compiled a list of "room wardens", who were themselves camp inmates. Each room elected its own "room warden".

This list is very important because one sees here that the Jews were accomodated only in buildings II, III, IV and V of the Monopoly, in a total of 30 rooms:

Building II	9 rooms
Building III	5 rooms
Building IV	8 rooms
BuildingV	8 rooms
In all four buildings:	30 rooms

Given the total number of 7240 Jews, the average number of people per room was 241.

It is also evident from further down the list that two additional rooms were left empty for the possible accomodation of Jews, but that they were never used. The entire stock of tobacco of the Monopoly was collected and locked up in five rooms. This list also indicates that the administration of the camp compiled another statistical list of inmates by building and room.

These are the figures by building and room which were compiled personally by the Camp Commandant:[104]

Building II

Room	Persons	Families
II—1	327	83
II—2	307	73
II—1 I	377	72
II—2 II	131	33
II—1 II	224	47
II—2 II	219	49
II—1 III	227	55
II—2 III	206	46
II—1 IV	294	96
TOTAL 9	2308	527

Building III

III—1 I	285	68
III—2 I	315	64
III—1 II	359	93
III—1 III	302	72
III—1 IV	299	48
TOTAL 5	1561	345

Building IV

Room	Persons	Families	Chldren to 4 yrs.	4—10	over 10	Total
IV—1	266	76	10	24	232	266
IV—2	256	77	13	21	222	256
IV—1 I	236	63	21	19	196	236
IV—2 I	250	69	20	24	206	250
IV—1 II	245	58	17	27	200	245
IV—2 II	229	68	11	26	192	229
IV—1 III	119	32	13	15	91	119
IV—2 III	244	61	22	24	198	244
TOTAL 8	1845	504	128	180	1537	1845

Building V

V—1 I	41	?	—	6	35	41
V—2 I	194	?	3	19	172	194
V—1 I	173	?	9	14	150	173
V—2 I	189	49	7	20	162	189
V—1 II	156	49	10	13	133	156
V—2 II	199	55	7	26	166	199
V—1 III	178	61	3	13	162	178
V—2 III	249	62	24	16	209	249
TOTAL 8	1379	?	63	127	1189	1379

The number of families in Building V is incomplete. The total number of people in all the buildings on 22 March 1943 was:

Building II	2308
Building III	1561
Building IV	1845
Building V	1379
Total of all 4 buildings:	7093

New arrivals in camp after 22 March	221
Born in camp	4
Total number of people who passed through the camp	7318

All doctors were released from the camp except Albert Saul Gategno, who was put onto a transport together with several of the ill. The members of the doctors' immediate families were subsequently also released. Pharmacists and their immediate families were let out of the camp, but it seems that veterinary doctors were not.

The surviving statistics for those persons who were released from the camp are:

1. Doctors and the members of their immediate family	32
2. Pharmacists and members of their immediate family	35
3. Spanish citizens	74
4. Albanian citizens	19
5. Italian citizens	5
TOTAL	165

Jews who were freed from the camp because of their Italian or Albanian citizenship were obliged to leave Bulgarian territory. Some of them were chased out by the police, while some made their way to Prishtina, at the time under Italian occupation. In Prishtina, twelve persons were caught by the Gestapo and sent to the concentration camp in Bergen-Belsen. Four of these died in the camp, while the remaining eight returned to Macedonia after Germany's surrender.[106]

Finally, we should mention those persons who escaped from the camp. One was Albert Mushon Aroesti, age 36, who was in the camp between 11 and 24 March 1943. He managed to escape on the night of 25 March and hid at the home of Apostol Shumanov in Skopje. After 24 hours he proceeded to Uroshevats, then under Italian occupation, where he remained until the liberation of Yugoslavia.[107] Albert Sarfati of Bitola escaped on the night of 26 March.

Another one to escape was Zhozef Kamhi, the grandson of Rafael Kamhi, who was mentioned in connection with the Ilinden Uprising. This is his account as narrated in Israel after the war:

"Until the war, life for the Jews of Macedonia was wonderful. They were grateful for favorable economic conditions as well friendly relations with the Macedonians. Anti-Semitism never existed in Macedonia. To the contrary, the Macedonians always sought an honest friendship with their Jewish compatriots. Unfortunately, the deportation conducted by the Bulgarian occupying forces put an end to all of this. I escaped at the very last moment. I became aware that something horrible was in store for us and so I fled. Everyone was so attached to loved ones that no one considered fleeing. Besides, the Bulgarian authorities were clever and convinced us that we would be 'temporarily interned' in Bulgaria".[108]

This account is from Mrs. Kamhi, released from the camp because she was a pharmacist:

"The blockade of Skopje began at about midnight. Early, before dawn, they began to collect all the Jews. They also came to our house. I asked the policeman where they were going to take us. He replied curtly that he didn't know. 'To Bolgaria?' 'I

don't know'... A few days later I was set apart from the Monopoly and taken to the police. I remained there until evening with my children, but without food, water or any news of my relatives who had stayed at the Monopoly. I was released because I was a pharmacist and, by the time I returned home, no one was left at the Monopoly. None of those people ever came back. Only those few families who were doctors, pharmacists, or Albanian or Italian citizens remained alive".[109]

All in all, 168 persons were released from the camp.

The Deportation of the Jews from the Skopje Concentration Camp to the Treblinka Death Camp

All the Jews at the concentration camp in Skopje were transported to the camp in Treblinka, Poland, where they were put to death. They were taken in three trainloads, although five had initially been planned for.

The Commissariat for Jewish Problems had previously issued instructions as to how the deportation of the Jews was to be organized. The main railroad administration was directed to convey all the Macedonian Jews to the border. For this first transport, the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior had assigned an officer and twenty soldiers. The transport was to be turned over to the German military authorities in accordance with lists which were to be compiled both in German and Bulgarian. From the time the Germans took delivery of the transport, the Bulgarian authorities would no longer have any say concerning it.

The First Transport

The first transport, consisting of some 40 cattle wagons, left on 22 March at 12 : 45 a. m. Each car had a small barrel of water and several buckets into which people could relieve themselves. Eighty people and their luggage — 40 kilograms per adult and 20 per child — were in each wagon.

This is how some eye-witnesses have described it:

"The first transport departed on 22 March 1943. The previous day, only about 1600 people were selected for this transport. They were given food for a trip lasting fifteen days, namely, 1 1/4 kilos bread, 1/2 kilo *kashkaval* (a hard cheese), 2 kilos marmalade, 2 kilos *peksimit* (a kind of bread or biscuit), and 1 kilo of unboiled smoked meat. Everyone refused to take the meat as a sign of protest. The morning of that same day it was announced unexpectedly that an additional 800 people would be leaving. Since the

train was supposed to leave soon, these people were huriedly forced onto the transport and many of them did not manage to secure any food. When an individual's turn came to be transported, no one asked whether that person was ill, whether a woman was pregnant or whether she had given birth just the day before".[110]

Such eye-witness accounts are essentially accurate. At times there are errors in the figures, but even these are negligible. More accurate information than that of the eye-witnesses was left by Camp Commandant Draganov:[111]

First Transport
22 March 1943

Building IV

Room	Persons	Families	Chldn. up to 4	Chldn. 4—10	Over 4	Total
IV—1	266	76	10	24	232	266
IV—2	256	77	13	21	222	256
IV—1 I	236	63	21	19	196	236
IV—2 I	250	69	20	24	206	250
IV—1 II	245	58	18	27	200	245
IV—2 II	229	68	11	26	192	229
IV—1 III	119	32	13	15	91	119
IV—2 III	244	61	22	24	198	244
Total for Building VI	1845	504	128	180	1537	1845
From Bldg. V—1	156	52	6	14	136	156
Total in Train I	2001	566	134	194	1673	2001

These statistics are important because they provide us with information about the number of families and their ages. It is evident that the train was supposed to depart with 1845 persons but that on the day of departure, the people from room V—1 were added, bringing the total figure to 2001. And yet, the train did not leave with that number of people either, but with 2338 persons. This means that just before the actual departure, an additional 337 persons were jammed into the train, a fact we know is accurate from German documents which were captured. It is also from these documents that we know what subsequently happened to the Macedonian Jews.

The train from Skopje departed exactly on schedule. It was escorted by Bulgarian police as far as the station in Lapovo, where a unit of 35 German soldiers, headed by *Schutzpolizei* Sergeant Roth, was waiting for it. This unit had come from Nishka Banya upon an order telephoned by Dannecker from Sofia. Roth took delivery of the transport in Lapovo on 23 March 1943 at 3 : 00 in the afternoon. He had been ordered to deliver the transport to the Treblinka Camp, near the Malkinia station in Poland. *En route* between Lapovo and Zemun one Jewish woman passed away, and between Piotrkow and Malkinia another three Jews died. Their bodies were turned over to the commandant of the camp upon arriving at the final destination. The local Camp Commandant took delivery of the transport on 28 March 1943 at 7 : 00 a. m. The most precise statistics for this transport come from a German report which states:

Received from the Bulgarians	2338 persons
Died *en route*	4 persons
Delivered to Treblinka	2334 persons

The train took this route: Skopje, Nish, Lapovo, Zemun, Piotrkow, Malkinia, Treblinka and arrived at the death camp in less than six days.[112]

The Second Transport

The second transport departed on 25 March 1943 at 2 :00 p. m.

"The second transport left on 25 March and consisted of a group of Jews from Skopje, a group from Bitola and all the Jews from Shtip. This transport was taken over by a unit from the Gestapo in Skopje, whereas the first transport had departed under a Bulgarian police escort. The second transport had a wagon with no windows. When I requested the German officer to have that wagon replaced because the people would suffocate, he replied that he could not look for another wagon since the train was about to depart".[113] That was the statement made by Leon Isharp of Bitola.

Albert Sarfati's eye-witness account states:

"One day, a commission arrived headed by Belev, the German Consul, some German officers and their Bulgarian lackeys. They went from room to room inspecting us. The following day, an order was issued for the first building to prepare its baggage for departure. A railroad train consisting of about 40 cars, and called 'the death train', arrived in camp. A small barrel of water

and buckets for physiological needs were placed in each wagon. Food for fifteen days was doled out: bread for seven days and *peksimit* for eight days. *Pastrma* was also distributed, but the meat was so dry that even animals would not have eaten it. Twenty Germans led by an officer arrived to escort the 'train of death'. Until that moment, we had hoped that we might be sent to Bulgaria, but now we realized what lay ahead for us. As soon as they saw the Germans, both men and women understood that we had been sentenced to death. Everyone was crying. Early in the morning, the train was loaded with its 'livestock'. Each wagon carried between 60 and 70 people with all their baggage. The people came out of the building carrying their belongings on their backs. Everyone was carying things, from the oldest person to the youngest. With bowed heads, all approached the black train. In front of each wagon stood a German and a Bulgarian policeman checking off a list. It was impossible to sit down in the freight cars. As soon as the 'livestock' had been loaded into a car, it was locked and sealed. Only heads were visible through the small windows... Those of us in the building were not permitted to watch, and the police waved their machine guns toward our windows to keep us from watching. The train was ready and left at about eleven o'clock. Hands were waving good-bye from the small wagon windows and all of us in the building were shedding tears. When I saw this tragedy I resolved to escape. A few days later, the second order for 'livestock' for far-away Poland arrived. It was then that I saw an even sadder sight. The last wagon of the train had no windows and from inside one could hear voices calling 'help, help'. The people were suffocating. One of the deportees approached the commandant of the train but the German officer ignored him and answered very curtly in German that it would be impossible to replace that wagon. What happened to them? Two days later, my destiny was decided. I was to be on the final transport. Life or death. I preferred death over being taken to Poland".[114]

This final transport also included 15 patients from the camp infirmary, together with the nursing personel and doctor Albert Gategno.

For the second transport Camp Commander Draganov prepared two sets of statistics which have survived. It is our opinion that these figures which Draganov compiled are inaccurate and that the train did not depart with the number of people indicated by either list. Nonetheless, his statistics are very important because they provide the number of families and the ages of their members.

This is the first set of figures:[116]

Second Transport

Departed on 25 March 1943, 12 : 45 p. m.

Rooms in Bldg. V	Persons	Families	Children. up to 4	Chldr. 4 to 10	Persons Over 10	Total
V—1	41	?	—	6	35	41
V—2	194	?	3	19	172	194
V—1 I	173	?	9	14	150	173
V—2 I	189	49	7	20	162	189
V—1 II	156	48	10	13	133	156
V—2 II	199	55	7	26	166	199
V—1 III	178	61	3	13	162	178
V—2 III	249	62	24	16	209	249
Bldg. V Total	1370	?	63	127	1189	1379

From	Persons	Families	Chldrn. up to 4	Chldrn. 4 to 10	Persons over 10	Total
III—1 I	285	68	12	28	245	285
III—2 I	315	64	27	38	250	315
III—1 III	26	4	1	4	21	26
Total in Train II	2005	?	103	197	1705	2005

This statistical sheet was signed by Commandant Draganov. We have presented the figures just as Draganov compiled them. that being the reason why the category "families" is incomplete Draganov indicated that the train was to depart at 12 : 45, but it was actually delayed until 2 : 00 that afternoon.

The following is Draganov's second set of statistics:[117]

Second Transport

Room	Persons	Families
V—2 I	189	49
V—1 II	148	46
V—2 II	199	55
V—1 III	178	61
V—2 III	249	62
III—1 I	285	68
III—2 I	315	64
III—1 II	359	93
III—1 III	26	4
III—1 III	250+26	68
III—1 IV	200	48
	2398	
	+26	
TOTAL	2424 persons	

24 March 1943 Commandant Peyo Draganov

Draganov did not indicate the number of families, that being 618. The train was supposed to leave with the number of people designated by the figures, but for some unknown reason it departed with only 2402 persons, leaving 22 behind.

Delivery of the transport was taken at the building of the Monopoly. It was received by *Schutzpolizei* Corporal Handrik who, having recived his orders from Dannecker by telephone from Sofia, left Nishka Banya with a unit of 35 German soldiers and arrived in Skopje at 11 : 00 p. m. on 23 March.

On 25 March 1943, at approximately 6 : 00 a. m., the loading of 2402 Jews into the freight cars began in the courtyard of the Monopoly. The entrainment was completed by about 1 : 00 p. m. and the train departed at 2 : 00 p. m. Because a section of the tracks had been destroyed, the train was routed through Kosovo, which at the time was Albanian territory.

The train took this route: Skopje, Kraljevo, Zemun, Ruma, Zagreb, Lindenburg, Czestochwa, Piotrkow, Warsaw, Malkinia, Treblinka.

A 96-year-old woman died between Zemun and Ruma, and her body was turned over to the station authorities in Ruma. In Zagreb a 75-year-old man died and in Lindenburg a 2-year-old child passed away.

On 31 March 1943 at 5 : 30 p. m., the transport reached its final destination, the train station at Malkinia. That same afternoon at about 6 - 30, 20 wagons were taken to the nearby camp at Treblinka and unloaded. The remaining wagons spent the night at the train station in Malkinia and at 6 : 30 a. m. of 1 April 1943 were sent to the camp to be unloaded.

The statistics for this transport are:

Recived from the Bulgarians	2402
Died en route	3
Delivered at Treblinka	2399 persons

The day following the departure of the second transport, on 26 March, Beckerle informed the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the deportation of the Jews from Skopje had begun on 22 March and would be completed by the beginning of April.[119]

The Third Transport

The third transport left on 29 March 1943 at 12 : 30 p. m.

"The third transport carried about 2500 people, those being the Jews from Bitola, approximately 40 Jews from Skopje and about 90 Jewish youths from Kavala".[120]

The Camp Commandant left us information for this transport as well, and the statistics which he signed are presented below in full. It appears, however, that this is the final document, or one of the last, which he signed as commandant of the camp. Just prior to the depature of the third train, he was dismissed for abuse of authorithy and was replaced by Asen VI. Paytoshev.

Belev, who had first visited the camp on 21 March, again came to the Skopje concentration camp on the eve of the departure of the third transport. He was accompanied by Dannecker and his assistants Y. Kalitsin, Kv. Toshev, P. Lukov and Zakhari Velkov.[121]

Below are the figures for the people in the third transport, as compiled by Draganov:

Third Transport

Room	Persons	Families
II—1	327	73
II—2	357	73
II—1 I	323	72
II—2 I	131	33
II—1 II	224	47
II—2 II	219	49
II—1 III	227	55
II—2 III	206	46
II—1 IV	204	69
TOTAL	2308	
newcomers	+ 3	
	2311 persons	

Note: The third train will also include newcomes and those left behind from the previous trans.

Peyo Draganov, Commandant[122]

Draganov did not count the number of families, who were 527 in all. He also did not leave the number of newcomers and those excluded from previous trains, but we can deduce this from German statistics compiled when they took delivery of the transport. The Germans received the train with 2404 persons, meaning that the newcomers and those left behind previously numbered 93 persons.

For the third transport, the most accurate information has again been left by the Germans. Upon Dannecker's instructions telephoned from Sofia, the first unit of German soldiers from the

Police Guard of Nishka Banya, headed by Lieutenant-Corporal Buchner of the *Schutzpolizei* left for Skopje, where they arrived at about 11 : 00 p. m. On 29 March 1943 at about six o'clock in the morning, the loading of 2404 Jews into freight cars began at the tobacco depot. The entrainment was completed by noon and the train left for Kosovo at 12 : 30.

The third transport followed the same route as had the second. Five Jews died along the way: a 76-year-old woman on 30 March, an 85-year-old man on the night of 31 March, a 94-year-old woman and a 6-month-old child on 3 April, and a 99-year-old woman on 4 April.

The train reached its final destination, Treblinka, at seven o'clock on the morning of 5 April 1943. Between 9 : 00 and 11 : 00 a. m. of that day the train was unloaded at the camp.

The figures are:

Received from the Bulgarians	2404
Died *en route*	5
Received at Treblinka	2399

Here let us recapitulate the figures for the number of Jews deported to Treblinka and exterminated:

	Received in Skopje	Died en route	Delivered at Treblinka
I	2,338	4	2,334
II	2,402	3	2,399
III	2,404	5	2,399
TOTAL	7,144	12	7,132

Finally, on the basis of these figures and earlier information from the camp in Skopje we are able to compute the exact number of people who were at the Skopje Concentration Camp.

Deported by the Germans	7144
Died at the camp in Skopje	4
Released from camp — doctors or foreign citizens	165
Escaped from camp	3
Born in camp	4
Total number of people who passed through the camp in Skopje	7320

Of these 7320 persons, only 168 survived. The others died either at the camp in Skopje, while *en route*, or were exterminated and then cremated at the camp in Treblinka, from where not a single one returned. The Treblinka camp became the common graveyard for all the Jews from Vardar Macedonia. This is the camp to which the greatest number of Macedonian Jews were deported and where they were put to death. A few individuals or very small groups of Jews were also sent to various other camps, including several in Yugoslavia: Yasenovats, Banyitsa and Saymishte. The Saymishte Camp was officially known as "Dulag No. 172". Macedonian Jews were also found at camps outside of Yugoslavia: Auschwitz, Dachau, Lublin, Bergen-Belsen, Majdanek, Mauthausen and Treblinka.[124] A great number of Macedonian Jews lost their lives in these camps.

The Liquidation of Jewish Property after the Deportation of the Jews

As early as 2 March 1943, the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria passed a law for the liquidation of the remaining property of those Jews who were to be deported from Bulgaria. According to this law all immovable property would become the property of the state, while movable property would be sold at public auction. The entire immovable property of the "Jewish Communities" became the property of the Municipality, since the Jewish communities had been destroyed.[125]

The liquidation of Jewish property began the day after the concentration of the Jews in the Skopje camp. District Director Raev issued instructions to this effect on 9 April 1943. The following is an excerpt from his directive:

"Directive of the Skopje District Director, Dimitar Raev, for the sale of Jewish property within the Skopje District. I am ordering: 1. Movable items belonging to the Jews who have moved from the country are to be sold by commissions consisting of the Skopje Municipality and the following members: representatives of the Municipal Police Administration, of the Municipal Tax Department and of the Supply Commissariat. 2. The commission is to unseal the dwellings of the deported Jews and is to commence selling their belongings in accordance with a list. All cash, stocks and bonds or other valuables are to be brought to the Bulgarian National Bank and deposited in the frozen account of their Jewish owner. The National Bank will systematically sell the stocks, bonds and valuables and will retain the money in the frozen accounts. Prior to the commencement of the sales, the commission may pick out items sought by various state or municipal agencies or items chosen by delegates from the Commissariat for Jewish Problems,

which will be handed over to those delegates for safekeeping. The proceeds from the sale of all other items will be remitted in their entirety to the treasury. Only persons of Bulgarian origin are permitted to purchase any of these items... 3. I am permitting the delegate of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems to take household items from some Jewish dwellings and to put them on sale. Otherwise, the delegate is to put the dwellings and household items at the disposal of police chiefs to be used for the accomodation of important officials whenever they pass through town. 4. As soon as any dwelling formerly belonging to a Jew has been opened, its keys are to be given to the delegate who will be in authority until the dwelling is assumed by the State".[126]

Special commissions formed by the District Directorates were given the keys to Jewish apartments and went from house to house, collecting the food which had been left behind. In this manner, the undisguised looting of Jewish homes began with the food. Perishable goods were distributed among the chiefs of police for consumption by the police guard.[127]

Four liquidation commissions operated in Skopje and seven in Bitola. These commissions transported all goods to the public market, where they were sold by auction at a low price. All items of outstanding beauty or value were sorted out at the Skopje Synagogue. These were later given away to various agencies and institutions or to "meritorious" private individuals, although quite a few things were stolen by the police and detectives. These items represented the deported Jews' finest possessions: bedrooms suites, tableware, featherbeds, quilts, pianos, rugs and the like.

All institutions and authorities submitted requests to rececive various things needed to complete their inventories. We cannot enumerate all these institutions because their number is too enormous, but we will mention just a few of them: The Police Administration of Gevgelia, the District Court, the Railroad Administration, the Second Cavarly Division, the Municipal Health Department, the Theater of Skopje, various schools, lawyers and more. The archives of the Jewish Religious Community of Skopje contain several hundred such letters of request, which demonstrate what kinds of Jewish property were received by various institutions from throughout Macedonia. There are also requests made by individuals, primarly policemen, detectives and other "functionnaries", who sought a share of these goods at no cost or at a low price because they were "poor" and consequently "of merit".

Among all the petitioners, however, priority was given to the German institutions in Skopje. The Germans were the first to submit their requests to the Commissariat for Jewish Problems and they sought the finest items. Already on 12 and 13 March, the Germans in Skopje had sent in their requests in order to

complete the inventories of their institutions or to furnish the apartmants of their officers and N.C.O.'s. They sought cupboards, hassocks, bedside tables with night lamps, mirrors, carpets, pianos, tableware, guitars, violins, any Latin-alphabet typewriters, easy chairs, various kinds of blankets and so forth.[128]

In its letter #356 of 24 April 1943, the German School of Skopje requested the following items, all of which it received: one bedroom suite, three chests of drawers, two bookshelves, two stoves, one piano, one refrigerator and three carpets.

In letter #389 from May of that year, the German School of Skopje sought an additional 36 items, and this request was again fulfilled. When this same school again requested some household items on 5 August 1943, the Commission consisting of Mile Popov, Mile Serafimov and Tikhomir Khristov met at the warehouse where the belongings of the deported Jews were stored and decided to once more meet the request of the school. This request included: a corner table, two chests of drawers, two couches, three sets of bed sheets, four curtains, five napkins, a towel, a table, two mattresses, ten feather pillows, three silk quilts and quilt sheets, one complete bedroom suite with a corner table, two beds, two bedside tables, one toilet made of walnut, four tablecloths, material for two dresses and more.

In letter #1211/7, April 1943, the District Council of Berovo requested of the Director of the Skopje District, "that it be given pieces of confiscated Jewish furniture for use in the office of the District Council, the office of the Chief of Police and the office of the Secretary of the District Council".

The "State Property" agency of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce in Skopje ascertained that some of the vacated Jewish apartments were being inhabited arbitrarily by the families of civil servants and demanded that they be evicted.

The attendant at the warehouse received items without registering them and without providing any document or receipt from which it would be possible to determine what was stored in the warehouse.[129]

Many articles were simply stolen. The theft was joined by unscrupulous people who broke the seals on Jewish homes and carried away whatever they found. Most of the thefts, however, were committed by policemen and detectives who broke into Jewish apartments at night and looted them. Others engaged in such theft were members of various commissions, watchmen, liquidation officials and the like.

A few documents have been preserved which indicate that the police itself participated in the theft: "that things were carried away by police organs";[130] that the seals were broken by the police.[131] *Oruzheinik* (a rank in the Bulgarian police) Slavcho Stoi-

lov was fined a quarter of his monthly wages by the Police and was required to return all items he had stolen, namely, a stove, bed-springs, two night tables, three sets of sheets, three pillows and a wall mirror. According to the signatory at the end of one document, District Police Chief Asen Bogdanov, this same Stoilov "at my personal request was fined for his carpriciousness".[132]

On 29 March, while the deportation of the Jews from Skopje to Treblinka was still underway, the director of the fascist Bulgarian police sent a strictly confidential memorandum from Sofia to the district police chiefs of Skopje, in which he instructed them to verify the accuracy of rumors that "during the imprisonment and deportation of the Jews from the Bitola, Skopje and Aegean areas, impermissible things took place". The Bulgarian director of police confirmed that "searches were conducted without the presence of the owners and without registers or lists being compiled, so that when the detectives uncovered them, they pocketed any hidden money or other valuables". The director from Sofia pointed out to officials in Skopje, Serres and Drama, where such occurrences had taken place, that it would be madness to allow these detectives to soil "the good and illustrious name of the Bulgarian police". His confidential statement continues, "There are even cases where police repeatedly entered some locked houses through the windows or other entrances and took away carpets and other things".[133]

Detective Ilia Nedkov, from Skopje, gave this testimony before Macedonian investigators:

"The deportation of the Jews from Skopje took place during the month of March 1943. It was then that we detectives took whatever we could from the Jews. I personally took for myself a pen, three door locks, two shirts and a suit. Gjorgji Tsonov and Anto Antov entered a Jewish house one day before the Jews were taken away, conducted a search and took some gold. I heard this directly from them. Detective Todor Tashev took some furniture. Antonov, from group "B", took some furniture which he conveyed by truck to his birthplace, Kyustendil. Emil Mikhailov took a bedroom and a from Jewish homes and shops. Boris Dzhulgarov said to me and Yordan Dzhogenski had over 30 suits made from material he took from Jewish homes and shops. Boris Dzhugarov said to me and the others that he had taken a pouch containing 30 to 40 gold pieces which he gave to his chief, Tsankov, who then kept them for himself. Dzhulgarov kept scolding himself, 'Why did I give them to him, why didn't I keep them for myself,' It was said that Ivan Zakhariev, the Commissar for Jewish Problems for all of Skopje, sent truckloads of Jewish belongings to his home town in Bulgaria. As for Nikola Kodov, it was rumored that, in his capacity as an official of the Skopje district administration, he took Jewish valu-

ables and money having a total value of some six million *lev*. At a price, this official facilitated the flight of numerous Jews to Albania. It was also said that the District Police Chief himself, Stefan Stefanov, issued false passports to Jews, enabling them to escape to Albania, for which he took enormous bribes . . ."

Khristo Stoilov, initially the Group Commander in Skopje and later the District Police Inspector, gave this testimony at the investigations after the war:

"I heard that officer Panov had taken great sums of money from the Jews of Bitola, where he had recently been posted. Officers Simeonov and Tsankov maintained ties with the wealthy Jewish industrialist Avram Florentin. One day, detective Aleksandar Lazarov told me that he had been summoned to Simeonov's office, where he was beaten for spreading rumors that Simeonov and Tsankov had accepted a one million *lev* bribe from Florentin".[134]

But the police and detectives were not the only ones to plunder the helpless Jews. Dimitar Raev summoned Archimandrite Stefan from Sofia and brought him along to various celebrations and other events. Raev wanted to make him the Bishop of Skopje. This cleric very quickly revealed his real nature. He used his church position for so much propaganda against communism, and especially against the Jews, that he very soon earned the nickname "Evroyad" (Jew-eater). When, in the autumn of 1942, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior Petar Gabrovski came to Skopje, Archimandrite Stefan publicly said to him, "Our District Director, Raev is very good, but he is very soft on the population". Upon Stefan's transferral to the duties of Metropolitan in the autumn of 1943, nine large chests filled with Jewish belongings were found in his house.

On 21 June 1943, "Integrated Bulgaria" published a short notice informing the citizens of Skopje that a public auction of Jewish belongings would be held: bedroom suites, tables, dining room sets, sewing machines and other items which were, in fact, the remainder of the plunder of Jewish property by occupying Bulgarian functionaries, detectives and police.

Due to the numerous thefts which occurred, the anticipated amount of money was not attained at the auctions. Whereas fifty million *lev* were expected from Jewish property in Skopje, only 12,070, 960 came in. In Bitola, thirty-three million *lev* were expected and only 19,564,486 were received. The total sum of money coming from the liquidation of Jewish property was thus 33,112,714 *lev*.[135]

From the manner in which movable and immovable property was liquidated, it is evident and one can assume that the Bul-

garian authorities knew that the Jews would never return to inquire about their stolen property.

Thus, were annihilated virtually all the Jews of Vardar Macedonia, who had lived there for almost two millenia. This was the most shocking tragedy in the history of the Macedonian Jews.

The Deportation and Extermination of the Jews of Eastern Macedonia

The destiny of the Jews in Eastern Macedonia was fated to be the same as that of their brothers in Vardar Macedonia, as both areas were under Bulgarian occupation. Immediately upon the commencement of this occupation in Eastern Macedonia, antisemitic propaganda and persecutions began, aiming at the economic and political liquidation of the Jews, just as had occured in Vardar Macedonia. There is therefore no need to repeat the array of measures, laws and decrees issued against the Jews by the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, which were valid for the entire territory under Bulgarian occupation. Similar conditions pertained in western Thrace, then also under Bulgarian occupation, but, as we are interested here only in Macedonia, we will not discuss the deportation of the Jews from western Thrace. In contrast to Vardar Macedonia, the Bulgarian authorities in Eastern Macedonia undertook strict measures, not only against the Jews but also against the Greek population, which had remained after the defeat of Greece. The Jews here also had their property stolen, confiscated and appropriated, while they were denied the right to engage in various economic activities. Their valuables were taken away and they were made to wear the yellow Star of David on their chests. Jews were forbidden to walk in the main streets, to frequent the cinema and other public places or to use shelters during air raids. All the other measures in force in Vardar Macedonia also pertained here.

According to the deportation plans, a total of 6000 Jews were to be removed from Eastern Macedonia and western Thrace together, that number being, according to documents which have been collected, the entire Jewish population of the area. In early March, the Jews of the Aegean region were to be assembled in temporary concentration camps which were to be organized in Kavala, Serres, Drama, Xanthi and Gjumurdzhina (now Komotini, Greece). From these camps, the Jews were to be transported by truck and train to Gorna Dzhumaya and Dupnitsa (now Blagoevgrad and Stanke Dimitrov, Bulgaria), where there were to be larger concentration camps for the longer containment of the entire Jewish population of Eastern Macedonia and western Thrace.

The entire operation was to be directed by Yaroslav Kalitsin, who was stationed in Xanthi. His assigned assistants were Yonchev for Serres, Drama and Kavala, Dobrovski for Xanthi and Gjumurdzhina, Altanov for Drama, Decho Popov for Serres and Demir Hisar, and Ovcharov for Demir Hisar.[136]

The plan took into account details such as how to execute the operation so that there would be no chance even for a single escape. In contrast to Vardar Macedonia, the deportation here included Jews with foreign citizenship. The plan categorically forbade any transport to cross through Turkish territory. Highly confidential memoranda were dispatched to the War Ministry and to the Ministry of Public Works for all Jewish citizens who had been mobilized to work in labor battalions to be demobilized and sent directly to the camps in Gorna Dzhumaya and Dupnitsa.

According to the deportation order, Jewish men were to first receive summons allegedly calling them to military exercises and were to be confined in barracks. The following morning, groups of police and detectives would collect the women and children. In item 4 of the order it was planned that all towns having Jews would be blockaded by the military on the night of 4 March and that the deportation would be complete by about 10 March.

On 1 March, all delegates of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems were provided with an order containing these points: 1. All Jews are to be collected on the basis of prepared lists showing the name of the head of the family and family members and the street and number where they live; by these lists, people will be admitted into the temporary camps until they are given over to the Germans. 2. Tobacco warehouses, schools and other designated buildings are to be readied for the temporary stay of the collected Jews. 3. The collection of the Jews is to take place at night, without street scenes if possible. In some places, the men are to be assembled first for supposed military exercises and the remaining members of the family are to be collected the following day. In other places, everyone is to be collected at once and is to be told that they are being moved temporarily to the "old territories" until the end of the war in order to pursuade them to take all their money and valuables "to have in case of need". 4. Once in the first camp, everyone is to be searched carefully and all valuables, money, weapons and the like are to be taken away. Each person is allowed to have 50 kilograms of baggage, including his food. Upon the evacuation of a family from its dwelling, the home is to be locked and sealed before their own eyes in order to give the impression that the government will look after their property. 5. During the search, everything taken from the Jews *(levs,* foreign currency, jewels, etc.) is to be entered on lists and valuables are to be deposited in the bank while weapons

are to be turned over to the local police. 6. On the day following the deportation, Jewish dwellings are to be unsealed and special commissions are to compile an inventory of everything found inside. Food and other perishable items are to be given to municipal authorities, and valuables to the bank. The houses are then to be locked and sealed and the keys are to be delivered to the delegate of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems.[137]

The order also dealt with the organization of the temporary camps: supplies of food and water, organizing sanitary facilities, internal and external police and military guards. Every camp was to have a commandant who would determine the camp's internal order. The operation was expected to begin at 4 : 00 a. m. on 4 March, and the blockade of towns having the greater number of Jews was to take place somewhat earlier. The military was to keep anyone from moving about in the streets, even from one house to another, except for persons on duty who had been provided with special passes. The blockade was to end at 7 : 30.[138]

On 23 February, the day following the signing of the agreement between Dannecker and Belev, the delegates of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems left for their assigned posts. Belev himself, accompanied by Kalitsin, Ilia Dobrevski, Ivan Ovcharov and Belev's secretary, Lilyana Panitsa, left for the Aegean. Kalitsin stayed in Xanthi, Dobrevski in Dede Agach and Ovcharov proceded to Demir Hisar (Sidirokastron). Belev and his secretary meanwhile visited Serres, Drama, Kavala, and other places, where Belev found everything to his satisfaction, before returning to Sofia.[139]

Serres, 4 March 1943

On 22 February, Khristo Vasilev, an official of the Ministry of the Interior from the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, was sent to Serres on a special secret mission to undertake the deportation of the Jews. Two days later, Kalitsin informed Vasilev that, immediately upon the latter's arrival, he had met with City Police Chief Kolibrov and with Garrison Commandant Iliev and that together, they had drafted a plan of action set for 4 March. On 25 February, a list of Jews to be deported was prepared, and it was determined that the 4-storey tobacco warehouse belonging to the Greek, Marulis, and located in the eastern section of town was most suitable for the purpose at hand. The Jewish population of Serres was approximately 476, plus another 19 in the town of Zilyakhovo, which amounted to 495 people in 116 families.[140]

The operation began on 4 March at precisely 4 o'clock, and was carried out by 249 persons divided into 80 groups of 3. Two soldiers were then added to each group for extra security. Every group had one person who was responsible for informing the Jewish

family that it had half an hour to prepare for its departure to the "old territories" and to remind the family not to forget to take as much money and valuables as possible "to have in case of need". This same person then locked all the windows, turned off the stove, locked the door and sealed the dwelling. He took the keys and attached them to a card having the name and address of the head of the household. The family was then taken to the Marulis Monopoly and turned over to Camp Commandant Geno K'nev, who was in fact an official of the first police precinct, namely, that for the Jewish quarter. A search was conducted at the Marulis Monopoly and everything of value was taken away.[141]

On 9 March, Kolibarov sent a report to Kalitsin in which he stated: "I am informing you, Mr. Director, that prior to the commencement of the operation the number of Jewish families in Serres was 111 and 5 in the hamlet of Zilyakhovo, or 116 families in all. The number of persons in Serres was 471 and another 19 in Zilyakhovo, or 490 in all. There have been 103 families rounded up in Serres and 5 in Zilyakhovo, the difference of 8 families being accounted for by the fact that some smaller families have been grouped together with their parents. 489 persons have been located, plus Sol Sarvitor Loya, who was excluded because she was being treated in the neurological ward of the hospital. According o the list, 487 persons have been handed over in Gorna Dzhumaya to the delegate for Jewish problems, Ivan Tepavski, excluding the ill woman and Sokula David Koen, who died at the station in Simitli. A total of 487 persons were handed over. There are no individuals or families who are unaccounted for. On 5 March, prior to their departure, enough bread for three days was distributed".[142]

Khristo Vasilev informed Belev of what had been done in a report dated 24 March, in which he said the following: "The operation was carried out quietly and without incident. By 8 o'clock in the morning all the Jews were in the camp ... the blockade was lifted at 7 : 30. According to instructions, at 8 : 30 p. m. on 5 March, all the Jews were removed from the camp and loaded into railway cars departing for the interior. The Jews were led from the Monopoly to the train station through the city outskirts in order to preclude the possibility of any sort of street scenes. Generally speaking, the operation was executed very successfully thanks to the collaboration and personal active participation of Police Chief Kolibarov, who succeeded in maintaining secrecy and in using fine tactics. I am satisfied that his participation in the liquidation of Jewish property will also be significant".[143]

Abraham Salomon Ovadia from Serres, who survived by some miracle, gave this testimony after the war: "Our Jewish community numbered approximately 600 in a town of 35,000 inhabitants. All

were exterminated. We had to bear a double occupation: German and Bulgarian. In Serres, just as in other towns, a Jewish quarter had existed for centuries. The people were suprised in their sleep. The Police were so brutal that they did not permit us even to dress properly. Everyone was taken to the Marulis Monopoly under guard. We heard later that a round-up had taken place that same night in Kavala, Drama, Komotini, Alexandropolis and Xanthi. About 5000 people were collected in Drama: men, women and children of all ages, healthy and ill. None of the deportees has remained living. They were taken in sealed railway cars to Sidekastron, Simitli, Gorna Dzhumaya, Dupnitsa and then Lom, and from there to Vienna by boat. From there they made the 2000-kilometer trip to Treblinka in cattle wagons, where they died either from the pistols of the S. S., the whips of the Ukrainians or in the crematoria".[144]

Drama, 4 March 1943

According to evidence left to us by Kalitsin himself, on Friday, 26 February, he went to Drama to arrange the deportation of the Jews. There he met with District Director Klechkov, his assistant Karapandzhiev, Police Chief Ts. Gruev and the Inspector from the Ministry of the Interior, Viktor Altanov. At this meeting they decided that the operation should be executed on 4 March before dawn, and then only by uniformed police without the participation of civilian officials. Later in his report Kalitsin states that he proceeded from Drama on an inspection tour of Kavala, Serres and Demir Hisar and that he was satisfied with the preparations everywhere, but especially in Kavala. All the police commandants were instructed to prepare written plans of action for the operation.

Police Chief Gruev was responsible for the deportation of the Jews from Drama, and he designed the plan of action. According to his plan, the operation was to take place on 4 March at 4 : 00 in the morning[145]. Participants in the operation were to assemble at Police Headquarters at 3 o'clock, at which time the city was to be blockaded by soldiers from the local garrison. Seventy-seven strike groups were formed for the collection of the Jews. Each group consisted of two policemen and one soldier, and had the task of knocking on the doors of Jewish homes and informing the head of the house to be ready to depart within half an hour.

Thirteen other commissions were formed to seal the dwellings evacuated by the Jews. The families were then taken to the Monopoly building, which had been transformed into a temporary camp and which was located in the city outskirts near the St.

Barbara spring. It was from this spring that inmates, under guard, drew water for drinking and cooking. The inmates did all their cooking in four large cauldrons.

The Camp Commandant was G. Kortenski, an officer in a motorized unit. Security was maintained by mounted and foot police, and there were three machine gun nests as well. Three barbers who had been mobilized came to the camp and sheared the men and the women.[146]

Samuil Sabatov, who was in this camp, later reported that the mayor of Drama, Angel Cherkezov, gave a speech to the inmates in which he deceived them by saying that their behavior would determine whether they remained in the "old territories" for a shorter or longer period. He urged them to hand over everything they had, to reveal where they had hidden their money and precious possessions and to reveal who their non-Jewish cohorts were. Some people believed him and were escorted into town to show where or with whom they had left their valuables.[145]

For the collection of the Jews Gruev sent a report having the following figures:

Number of Jewish families living in Drama	154
Number of persons	592
Number of deported families	153
Number of Jewish families living in Drama	589

He subsequently mentions that between 9 and 13 March, another two persons were deported, bringing the total number of deportees from Drama to 591.[148]

After the war, Mois Pesakh of Drama gave the following testimony: "On the night of 4 March 1943, in very cold weather, the police surrounded the Jewish quarter. All the inhabitants were brutally removed from their homes. All were forcibly taken to the tobacco warehouse, just as in Kavala and elsewhere. This was a large building with two storeys. The unfortunate people remained here for several days. They were later taken in cattle wagons through Simitli to Lom and there all traces of them were lost".[149]

Kavala, 4 March 1943

The Jews of Kavala were collected in much the same manner as in the other towns. It is thought that on 2 February about 2000 Jews were living in Kavala but, as we shall see, a far smaller number were deported. Here there was a specific need to secure trucks to transport people to Drama and then to the railway station. On 27 February, all Jews from Kavala who had been

mobilized for "labor service" on the railways in the village of Meshtitsa in the Breznik district were demobilized and returned to their homes.[150]

Toward the end of February, Slavcho Yonchev, the representative of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, and Police Chief of Kavala A. Trifonov, formulated a plan for the intended operation. They decided that the most suitable building for a temporary camp was the tobacco depot belonging to the company by the name of "Commercial Company of Salonique", which had several storeys and sufficient space to hold 2000 persons. For Camp Commandant they selected the chief of the first police precinct, Simeon Nikolov Stamenov, and for his assistant they chose Boris Georgiev, the area Police Chief. Fifty groups of two policemen each were designated to round up the Jewish families and to bring them to the monopoly, where they would be searched thoroughly.[151]

On 26 March, Slavcho Yonchev sent a report to Belev with regard to the completed operation, in which he states: "Lists for all the Jews by family were prepared in six copies. Prior to the commencement of the operation the lists were checked on location according to the addresses. At precisly 1 : 00 on the morning of 4 March, the city's mayor, the persons responsible for carrying out the operation and six women who would search the arriving Jewesses arrived at the police station... At 1 : 30 the Director of the Bulgarian National Bank arrived, together with four bank employees who were to receive the money and valuables which were taken away... In the camp there was one woman suffering from intestinal typhus and two children suffering from scarlet fever and whooping cough. The last Jewish family was brought to the monopoly on 4 March at 11 : 00, at which time the blockade of the city that had started at 1 : 00 was terminated. During the search, 1,079,704 *lev* and many rings, earrings, necklaces and watches worth approximately 365,903 *lev* were taken away. *Drazhmas* and other foreign curency having a value of 1,246,615 were also found. Three hundred seventy-nine families consisting of 1471 persons were brought to the temporary camp. Another 16 persons from three families on the island of Thassos and a family of five persons from Pravishte were also brought. Two other families of six persons were subsequently found and brought to the monopoly. On 7 and 8 March, all the Jewish inmates of the camp were transported by truck to the railway station in Drama, and from there by train to the camp in Gorna Dzhumaya. There were no deaths. To the above-mentioned number it is necessary to add 18 newly-discovered Jews who were sent to Gorna Dzhumaya on 10 March, 3 who were sent on 24 March and yet another 3 who were sent on 28 March...".[152]

After the war, detective Boris Georgiev Bozukov gave this testimony concerning the treatment of the Jews during their collection and stay at the camp in the monopoly: "From 1 September 1941, I was posted in Kavala as a temporary detective... The removal of the Jews from their homes presented a jolting picture: the old, children, women, all sleepy and frightened, burdened with suitcases and constantly prodded by the police to hurry up... There were cases of some people falling to the ground, possibly because they were ill and infirm... At the tobacco depot where they were interned, they were subjected to a very thorough search. The women were searched by women such as Mrs. B'rzakova who now lives in Sliven, and by other women whose names are not known to me but are known to Kiril Khristov from Haskovo. The search was very through, and they even checked the women's sexual organs to make sure they were not hiding any money or jewels. One very rich Jew, Eshkenazi, who according to Kostadin Topuzov had three cannisters of gold, was beaten severly in order to make him reveal where his gold was".[153]

Several Jews who were at the monopoly in Kavala and who by some means succeeded in surviving the deportation, gave testimony before organs of inquiry after the war. Moris Benevist gave this eye-witness account: "Kavala, in Macedonia, is situated on a bay across from the island of Thassos and was occupied on 10 May 1941. First there was a parade of Germans and then came the Bulgarians. The Germans did not stay for long, maintaining only one base for hydroplanes... The new government wanted to quickly Bulgarify the region... On the night of 4 March, a monstrous round-up was carried out. In weather of five degrees below zero the detectives collected 1800 Jews. Not one of the deportees ever returned. The people were first interned in numerous tobacco depots, where they remained three days and nights. They were then sent to Drama and on to Poland, where they were exterminated at Treblinka. During the occupation our beautiful synagogue and cemetery were destroyed. After the war, our Jewish community had only 30 people in it".[154]

A Greek woman who had Jewish neighbors on the same floor of her building states: „My name is Evangelitsa Hamuri. In the house where I lived there was one Jewish family. One day I saw them with a gold star and I said to myself, 'They're marking these people; it doesn't look good'. They also marked Jewish homes and shops... It was midnight and we were asleep, as were Tamara Simantov and her husband and children... All of a sudden, here were the Bulgarian police with a large night lamp. They came up the stairs and illuminated every door. As soon as they saw

the yellow Jewish star they knocked on the door and when no one answered they opened it by force. The Simantov children began to cry. Those poor ones thought the Bulgarians had come after their father. They were told, 'Don't cry, you'll stay together. We'll take you all out'. Poor Mrs. Simantov quickly took whatever was within reach. She lost her head. I said to my husband, 'Oh Lord, they're taking them on such a cold night'... From our quarter they took another Jewish family, that of Isak Koen, his wife, three children and Flora Yuda from Salonika, a 90-year old grandmother who was deaf and blind. There were people who carried nothing with them, while others carried barrels on their backs. Whoever witnessed the departure of the Jews will never forget it... They took them to the monopoly. We neighbors decided to bring them something, but the police dogs wouldn't let us get near the fence. They remained there three days and were then taken somewhere from which no one returned. The police sealed the apartment. After a while, civilians and police opened it. They sold everything cheaply at auction. Bulgarians bought mostly. One Greek woman who had bought a mattress found money and other valuables hidden in it....".[155]

Mois Peysach, one of the few people to have returned from Auschwitz, gave this testimony after the war: "Approximately 9000 Jews were removed from eastern Macedonia and western Thrace on the night of 4 March 1943. They were taken at night, interned in tobacco warehouses and after three or four days, were taken to Gorna Dzhumaya and Dupnitsa and then to Lom, where they were turned over to the Germans. The initial Bulgarian measures were: mobilization for forced labor; registration of property and confiscation of 20%; forced display of the yellow six-pointed star on clothing, homes and shops; forbidding of any kind of work for merchants, employees and even porters; forbidding us to walk along the main streets or in public places; and finally the confiscation of all belongings... Only 65 to 70 persons returned after the war, of whom 36 were from Kavala and 4 from Drama".[156]

Sari Shaban, 4 March 1943

On 8 March, District Police Chief Tr. Petkov sent a report in which it was stated: "Four Jewish families consisting of eleven persons resided in the town of Sari Shaban. We have deported all of them. There is no one who has not been sent. During the search 23,690 *lev* were taken away. No other money was found. We did not provide anything to feed them. There were no scenes during the search and deportation".[157]

We have this statement from Marko Avram Perets, a Jew from Sofia who was interned along with his family in Sari Shaban and who returned from the camps after the war: "We and another three Jewish families, each with 50 kilograms of baggage, were searched by a commission headed by the police chief. Thanks to the humaneness of the commission, they only took away our shaving kits, three watches and cash, all of which were worth about 20,000 *lev*. On 5 March, they took us to Xanthi by car and turned us over to the police chief. Here we were searched again, men by men and women by girls. Without compiling a list they took away 80,000 *lev,* a necklace, a large gold brooch with diamonds, 6 gold teeth, 2 gold Napoleons, one accordion a leather purse, two obligatory notes issued by the Turkish railways and more ... They then put us in a room together with the Jews from Xanthi ... It appeared that their baggage had been packed in a rush because some of their things were superfluous and other necessary items were missing ... There were sick people, paralyzed ones, and persons infirm from old age or poverty. Most of them were poor. Already in Xanthi we realized that everything which had been left behind at home had been stolen by the authorities. After three days, they took us under guard, in lines of four, to the railway station. Each person carried his own baggage and every time he stopped to rest along the way, threw away whatever he could not carry ... They took us to Demir Hisar and then to Germany".[158]

In the Aegean area, Jews with foreign citizenship were not excluded from deportation. In Gjumurdzhina six Jewish families with Italian, Spanish and Turkish citizenship were left behind, but elsewhere twenty-one other such persons were rounded up and deported.

The Detention Camps along the Way to the Concentration Camps in Gorna Dzhumaya and Dupnitsa

Originally, three concentration camps for the Aegean Jews were planned for Gorna Dzhumaya, Dupnitsa and Radomir, but the one in Radomir was soon eliminated. The plan called for the processing of 800 to 1000 persons daily. Each railroad had one senior and one junior officer in charge of the guard. The plan called for the Jews from Eastern Macedonia to be concentrated in Gorna Dzhumaya and the Jews from western Thrace in Dupnitsa. Here we will present only the train schedule and statistics

concerning the Jews from Eastern Macedonia. The train schedule as planned was as follows:[159]

Station of Departure	Date	Time of Departure	Number	Destination
Drama	5 March	4 : 05 p.m.	500	Gorna Dzhumaya
Serres	5 March	8 : 15 p.m.	500	Gorna Dzhumaya
Drama	6 March	4 : 05 p.m.	120	Gorna Dzhumaya
Drama	7 March	4 : 05 p.m.	400	Gorna Dzhumaya
Drama	8 March	4 : 05 p.m.	800	Gorna Dzhumaya
Drama	10 March	4 : 05 p.m.	600	Gorna Dzhumaya
		TOTAL	2920	

The switch from normal to narrow gauge trains was to occur in Demir Hisar. In order to assure the handling of this matter, Atanas Iv. Ovcharov, a junior official in the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, was sent to Demir Hisar on 23 February. On 2 March, he informed Kalitsin that everything was in order, a message which he repeated on 12 March, after the completion of the operation. From this report we will take only those figures concerning the Macedonian Jews, which will help in determining exactly how many Jews from this part of Macedonia were deported. In the report Ovcharov states:

"On 5 March, the train arrived in Demir Hisar at 9 : 24 p.m., carrying 496 persons from Drama and 482 from Serres. Car by car, these persons were transferred to the two waiting narrow gauge trains. The first train departed for Gorna Dzhumaya on 6 March at 3 : 00 and the second at 5 : 00.

"On 6 March, the train arrived at 9 : 20 a. m., and of the 1040 persons it carried, only 125 were Macedonians from Drama. They were transferred and left the same day.

"The train on 7 March arrived at 9 : 05 a. m. carrying 952 persons. Among them were 141 people from Kavala. The train had a security force of ten police and nine soldiers. They left that day at dusk.

"Seven hundred and two persons from Macedonia, i. e., Drama and Kavala, arrived on 8 March and proceeded along their way that same day.

"On 9 March, a train carrying 361 persons from Kavala arrived at 9 : 25. It left again that afternoon."

Ovcharov finally states that a total of 4039 persons were transferred from one train to another.[160]

From these statistics we can calculate that, of the 4039 persons who passed through Demir Hisar, 2600 were Macedonians and 1439 were from Thrace. These figures correspond to the previ-

ously-mentioned statistics. One or more persons per car died during the transportation of the Jews in the cold weather and harsh conditions.

The heartlessness of the Bulgarian authorities and especially of Ovchraov is evident in the testimony given after the war by Roza Mois Yakova, an old Samaritan and the only Jewess from Sofia. She stated: "According to the instructions of the Bulgarian Red Cross, I left on 4 March for Demir Hisar, along with two other Samaritans... There we were introduced to Ovcharov, an official of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems in Sofia, who had been sent to handle the operation. His first question to us was whether we were carrying letters or packages for the Jewish deportees. We replied that we were not. He then ordered that we be searched and that whatever money we were carrying be taken away. The following day we waited for the train to arrive from the Aegean. In the locked livestock cars traveled children, old people and mothers, all helpless, naked and barefoot. It was getting dark and a strong wind was blowing. When the train came to a halt Ovcharov shouted, 'Get out quickly and get into the small open wagons'. He ordered the guards to 'hit them with the rifle butts to make them hurry up so we won't lose the night'. The children cried and whined. They were hungry and there was no food at all. They were given only hot water. During the day we wore the Jewish emblems, but at night or when the deportees arrived Ovcharov prohibited us from wearing them so that deportees would not know that we too were Jewish. Late one night a train arrived, and on it was a new mother. We found some kerchiefs to wrap up the baby, but the mother was nonetheless put on an open wagon".[161]

At the Camp in Gorna Dzhumaya

As previously mentioned, although concentration camps were slated to be built in Gorna Dzhumaya, Dupnitsa and Radomir, they were only constructed in the first two cities. The camp in Gorna Dzhumaya contained mainly Macedonian Jews, with only 60 persons from Thrace. The camp in Dupnitsa had only Jews from Thrace. We will therefore concern ourselves with the camp in Gorna Dzhumaya, giving only a few pertinent data about the one in Dupnitsa.

The Dupnitsa camp was located in the municipal Monopoly and was headed by Commandant Kerenkov and Asen VI. Paytashev, a delegate of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems. The first group of Jews arrived the evening of 7 March. The camp remained in existence for 15 days, during which time five persons died and were buried by the Jewish community of Dupnitsa in the Jewish cemetery.[162]

In Gorna Dzhumaya the camp was located in three buildings: the junior high school, the Anton Raynov tobacco depot, and the economics school. The Camp Commandant was Ivan Tepavski. The first inmates arrived on 6 March and the last departed on 19 March 1943. One to three persons per day died in the camp. The deceased's relatives expressed joy because the death had shortened the person's torments. Many people, especially the old and children, were ill from being transported in the cold weather and from indequate food and clothing. One hundred-fifty grams of bread were doled out for an entire day's food — that amounting to 50 grams per meal — and this was usually eaten at once as soon as it was distributed. Once a day, "warm" tea was given out or some murky water with a few beans.[163]

On 18 March, the first transport left the train station at Gorna Dzhumaya for the port of Lom on the Danube. This train held:

Children from the ages of 4—10	181
Persons over the age of 10	216
Children under the age of 4	1648
TOTAL	1985

The transport's security consisted of four German and 43 Bulgarian police headed by Veselin Sp. Stambolov. The train was composed of 38 freight cars and two passenger cars for the police, and departed form Gorna Dzhumaya at 7 : 38 a. m.

On 19 March, the second transport left Gorna Dzhumaya with the remaining Jews:

Under the age of 4	47
Between 4 and 10	59
Over the age of 10	586
TOTAL	692

The first and second transports together carried 2677 persons. It is known that 2600 persons from Eastern Macedonia and 60 from Thrace were admitted into the camp, meaning that the numbers reflect a difference of 17 people. These were probably brought to the camp from various small towns in Eastern Macedonia between 6 and 19 March. It is also known that no one was released from the camp. In other words, 2617 persons were deported from Eastern Macedonia. The second transport left Gorna Dzhumaya at 7 : 38 with 8 freight wagons and one security car.

Also on 19 March, two other trains left the station. These were from Pirot and departed at 7 : 35 with 4 cars carrying the following deportees:

Under the age of 4	4
Between 4 and 10	12
Over the age of 10	142
TOTAL	158

Another train left Dupnitsa at 9 : 45 and consisted of 28 freight cars and one security wagon. It carried these deportees:[164]

Under the age of 4	75
Between 4 and 10	171
Over the age of 10	1134
TOTAL	1380

These last three transports joined up in Sofia, where they formed two trains that departed for Lom. At every train station along the way to Sofia the Jews "gave heart-wrenching cries for water", since they had been given salted, smoked meat but insufficient water. It is clear that these trains carried only Jews from Macedonia, Thrace and Pirot, demonstrating the characteristic colonial policies of the Bulgarian government of that time toward the "newly liberated lands".

The Jewish community of Sofia sent 5 crates and 18 barrels to the deportees but, rather than being distributed, these things were stolen by other people as we shall see below.

The first train of deportees arrived in Lom on 19 March at 12 : 01 and the second on 20 March at 10 : 30. At the station the local Jews were given the bodies of two persons who had died *en route* to be buried. One woman gave birth at the depot.

Immediately upon their arrival, the deportees were transferred to four ships:

On 20 March, the "Kara Gjorgje" departed at 2 : 00 p. m. with 1100 persons.

At 8 : 30 p. m. on 20 March, the "Voyvoda Mishich" left with 877 persons.

On 21 March at 1 : 00 p. m., the "Saturnus" left with 1256 persons.

At 8 : 00 p. m. on 21 March, the "Tsar Dushan" left with 986 persons. In total, 4219 persons "left the territories of the Bulgarian Kingdom", in the words of Kalitsin's report. All the ships departed for Vienna.[165]

For the trip from Lom to Vienna we have quite a few important reports sent by participants in the operation to their

superiors. For example, Svetislav Nikolov, an inspector for the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, wrote a report in which he stated: "Commissariat Delegate Slavi P'ntev received from the police 102,000 *lev* taken from the Jews who were searched, which he did not take to the bank but kept for himself". Nikolov further wrote: "The aforementioned crates of various clothing sent by the Jewish community of Sofia were not given to the deportees, but rather, P'ntev gave them to the women who were supposed to distribute them to the deportees... there is information that the delegate sold these things to peasants and Gypsies and that his wife gave them to the women who cleaned their house".[166]

Dr. Viktor Georgiev Nikolov and Dr. Ivan Dobrev Mihailov, the physicians who accompanied the "Tsar Dushan" from Lom to Vienna, gave the following testimony: „The 'Tsar Dushan' was escorted by 18 Bulgarian police and by two German military policemen. When the ship was reloaded in Moldavia a tugboat was added, onto which the healthier of the men were tranferred, while the women and children remained on the ship... the deportees were often sick with malaria, influenza, pneumonia, gastritis, old age infirmity, sciatica, lumbago, neurological disorders, or the like. Because the trip on the Danube lasted ten days the food did not suffice and more had to be procurred in Budapest... Seven persons died *en route*. The bodies were turned over to health officials in Turnu Severin, Novi Sad and Vienna... We reached Vienna on 31 March, where the transport was received by German authorities, at which time we were released".[167]

Dr. Vasil Tsenev, who accompanied the "Saturnus", wrote in his report: "I arrived in Lom on 21 March and that day at 1 : 00 p. m. we departed for Vienna in the 'Saturnus', which was carrying 1256 Jews... One 75-year-old man from Drama was very ill with pneumonia and died on 23 March near Orşava, where his body was turned over to Rumanian health authorities. For security the ship had 25 Bulgarian police and two German military policemen. We reached Vienna on 26 March at about 2 : 00 in the afternoon. The German military authorities took delivery of the deportees and told us to go back".[168]

A fourth doctor, Mendizov, who was dissatisfied with the reception by the German authorities, wrote: We were greeted coldly in Vienna and were told that we had brought very poor human material. When I objected to their asking where the Jews from Sofia were, they imprisoned me for 2—3 hours until I proved anatomically (by showing them my sexual organ) that I was Bulgarian. We were then forbidden to go to Katobitse and the Bulgarian authorities instructed us that anything else was not our concern".[169]

The deportees in Vienna were then put on a train and taken through Katobitse to the death camp at Treblinka, where they were all exterminated.

At the end of March, Beckerle sent a telegram to the main security office of the Reich, in which he reported that 4211 persons had been deported from the Aegean region and 7123 from Skopje.[170] Beckerle's figures differ only slightly from those we have given. In another telegram sent to the same office on 15 August, Beckerle claimed that the deportation of the Jews had not caused the anticipated increase in anti-Semitism, and that Jewish influence in upper government and Church circles was on the rise, so that the future solution of the Jewish question would be met by greater difficulties.[171]

The Liquidation of Jewish Property

As early as 6 March, immediately after the deportation of the Jews, instructions were issued as to how to liquidate Jewish property. This indicates that the Bulgarian authorities were aware of what destiny awaited the Jews and that they therefore undertook measures for the disposal of all their movable and immovable property. The plan was to create twenty liquidation commissions headed by presidents, who would unseal the dwellings of the deportees and who would compile an inventory of household items. These things would then be taken to general warehouses, sealed and kept under police guard. Carts and workers were mobilized to haul the things to the warehouses.

The articles brought to the warehouses were sorted by type rather than by owner, so that everything was mixed together and it was impossible to determine who the original owner had been. In every town of Eastern Macedonia, two or three rooms were left intact and served as free lodging for officials in that town.

Each commission was given eight to twelve homes for which to draw up an inventory. This work was conducted very superficially, however, so that all tableware, kitchen appliances and glass-ware, for example, would be placed in one crate. The crate would be labeled, "one crate with glassware" or "one barrel of clothing", without a number, value or any other information.[172] All this presented ample opportunities for theft, by the inventory commission itself, by the haulers, as well as by warehouse workers and sortes. We have a statemetn to this effect from Sv. Nikolov, an inspector for the Commissariat for Jewish Problems, dated 13 March: "During the hauling it was ascertained that thefts were going on with the consent of the police itself".



The Jewish Synagogue in the ancient city of Stobi, along the Vardar River



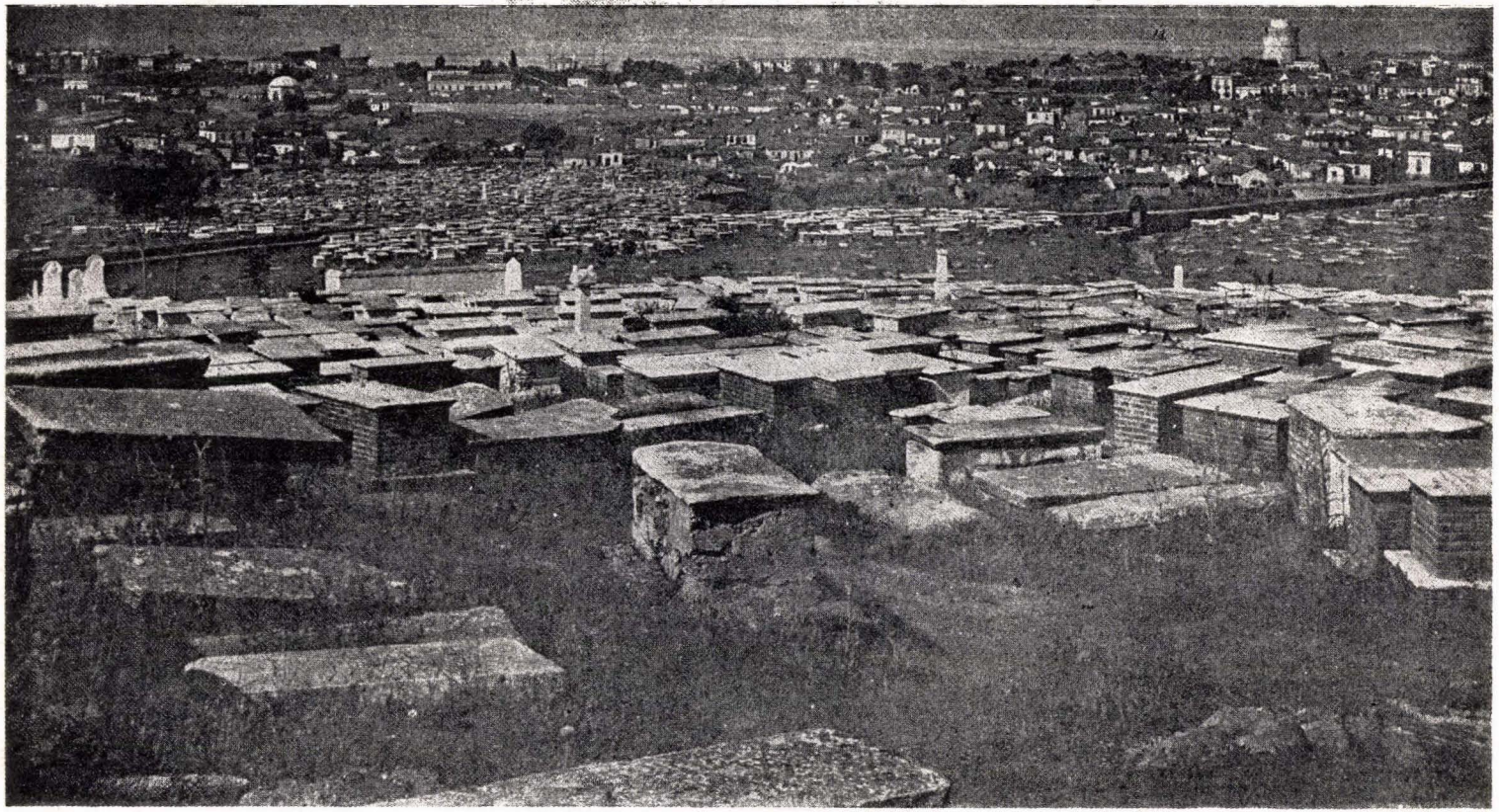
One of the many extended Jewish families of Bitola



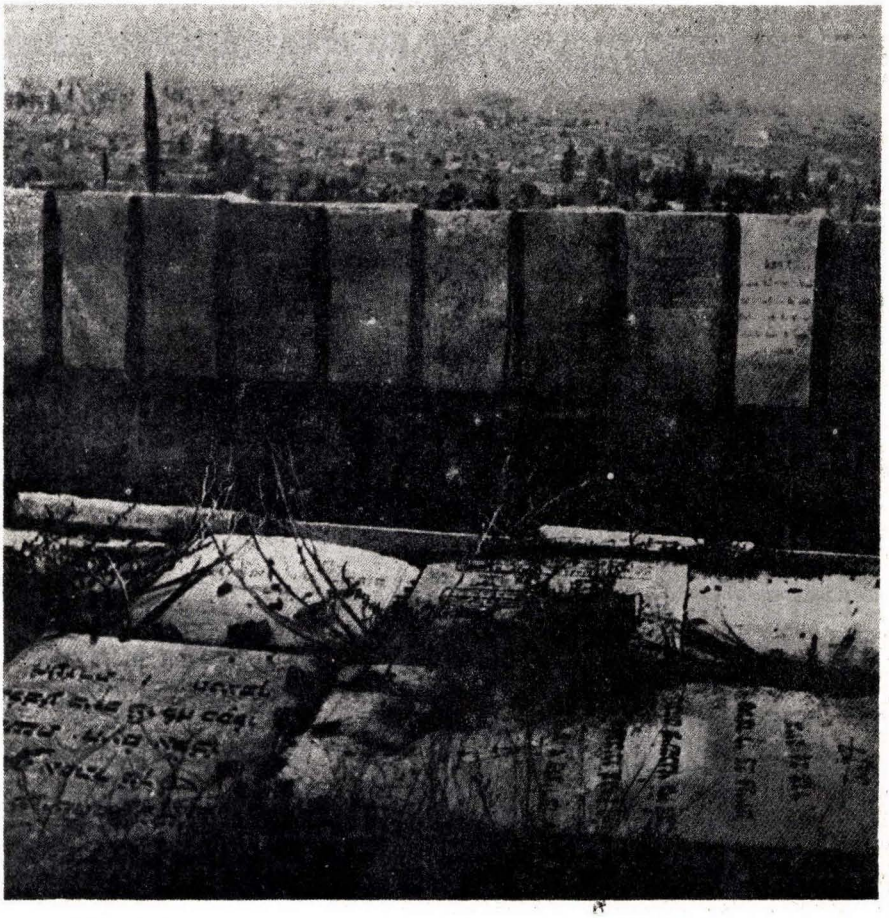
Jewish physician



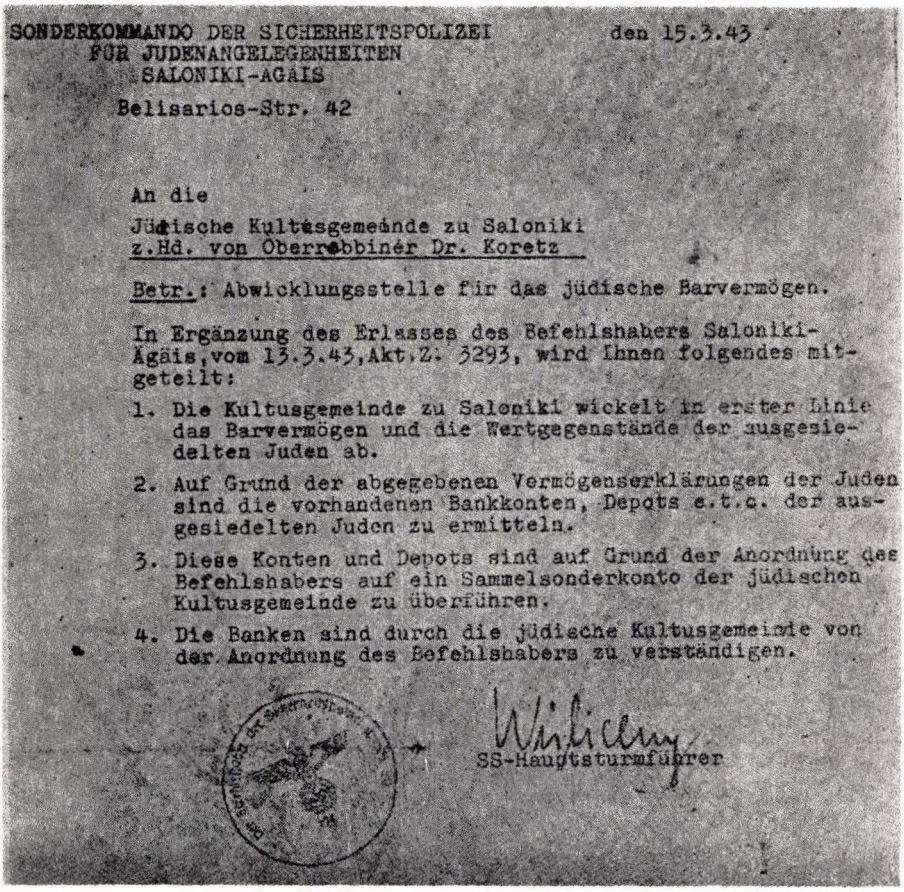
Jewish standard-bearers — a glimpse of Jewish life in Salonika



A view of part of the Jewish cemetary in Salonika



The Germans built a swimming pool in Salonika using the head-stones from the Jewish cemetary



SONDERKOMMANDO DER SICHERHEITSPOLIZEI
FÜR JUDENANGELEGENHEITEN
SALONIKI-AGÄIS

Belisarios-Str. 42

den 15.3.43

An die

Jüdische Kultusgemeinde zu Saloniki
z.Hd. von Oberrabbiner Dr. Koretz

Betr.: Abwicklungsstelle für das jüdische Barvermögen.

In Ergänzung des Erlasses des Befehlshabers Saloniki-Ägäis, vom 13.3.43, Akt.Z. 3293, wird Ihnen folgendes mitgeteilt:

1. Die Kultusgemeinde zu Saloniki wickelt in erster Linie das Barvermögen und die Wertgegenstände der ausgesiedelten Juden ab.
2. Auf Grund der abgegebenen Vermögenserklärungen der Juden sind die vorhandenen Bankkonten, Depots e.t.c. der ausgesiedelten Juden zu ermitteln.
3. Diese Konten und Depots sind auf Grund der Anordnung des Befehlshabers auf ein Sammelsonderkonto der jüdischen Kultusgemeinde zu überführen.
4. Die Banken sind durch die jüdische Kultusgemeinde von der Anordnung des Befehlshabers zu verständigen.

Wisliceny
SS-Hauptsturmführer

Directive for the liquidation of Jewish property

Aussenstelle der Sipo und
des SD in Saloniki
IV B 4

Saloniki 17. 2.1943.

An die
Jüdische Kultusgemeinde zu Saloniki,
z.Hd.des Oberrabbiners Dr. Koretz.

Betrifft: Kennzeichnung der jüdischen Geschäfte und Wohnungen.

Auf Grund des Erlasses des Befehlshabers Saloniki-Ägäis vom 6. 2.43 wird Ihnen folgendes mitgeteilt.:

1.) Als jüdisch gilt ein Geschäft oder Unternehmen, wenn ein oder mehrere Inhaber oder Teilhaber Juden sind. Ein Geschäft gilt ferner als jüdisch, wenn ein oder mehrere leitende Angestellte Juden sind.

2.) Wie bereits mündlich angeordnet müssen die jüdischen Geschäfte durch ein sichtbar angebrachtes Plakat gekennzeichnet werden, das in deutscher und griechischer Sprache die Bezeichnung "Jüdisches Geschäft" trägt.

3.) Die Angehörigen sogenannter Intelligentberufe wie Ärzte, Apother, Rechtsanwälte usw. haben die Räumlichkeiten, in den sie ihre Tätigkeit ausüben, in entsprechender Weise wie die jüdischen Geschäfte zu kennzeichnen.

4.) Ab 25. 2.43 sind sofort alle von Juden bewohnten Wohnungen oder Grundstücke wie folgt zu kennzeichnen:
An der äusseren Wohnungstür ist ein Schild mit einen Zionstern auf weissem Papier anzubringen. Falls in den Haus oder Grundstück nur Juden wohnen, genügt die Anbringung des Kennzeichens an der äusseren Haustüre.

Wisliceny
SS-Hauptsturmführer.

Instructions to have Jewish homes and shops distinguished as such

Изх № 255

Чрезъ
СКОПСКАТА ЕВРЕЙСКА ОБЩИНА
До
КОМИСАРСТВОТО ЗА ЕВРЕЙСКИТЪ
ВЪПРОСИ
София

5.4. 3

ОТЧЕТЪ

на Йосифъ Исакъ Леви -
ул. "Ягодина" № 28

за начина по който е ликвидиранъ
занаятчийска дейность

На основание нареждане № 77 отъ 12-II-1943 година на Г-на Делегата на Комисарството за еврейскитѣ въпроси въ гр.Скопие съ настоящето уведомлявамъ Комисарството за еврейскитѣ въпроси че на 25 февруарий 1943 година прекратихъ занаятчийската дейность. За начина по който ликвидирахъ предприятието си подавамъ следния

ОТЧЕТЪ

I- Сегашно по рано дадената декларация, капиталътъ въ предприятието ми се състоеше отъ следнитѣ имуществени части:

1/ Оборотенъ капиталъ..... Лв. 1500 -
2/ Готови стоки..... " .....
3/ Първични материали..... " 1000 -
4/ Апаратъ и другъ инвентаръ..... " 18600 -
5/ машини ..... " .....
6/ Задължения ..... " .....
7/ Вземания отъ Еленовъ Ребеке ..... " 14928 -
8/ Разни непредвидени..... " 1600 -

II- Ликвидацията е извършена както следва:

1/ Отъ разпродбата на горепосочените имуществени части получихъ ресенъ ..... Лв. 15000 -
както сума внесена на блокираната ми сметка при "Български Търговски" банка въ гр. Скопие. книжка № 545 -
2/ Притежавамъ следнитѣ апарати и машини, които не съмъ продалъ, на обща стойность..... Лв. ..... 14928 -
3/ Имамъ вземания по приложения списъкъ Лв. .....
4/ Имамъ задължения по приложения списъкъ Лв. .....

26/II 1943 година
гр. Скопие

Съ почитъ

Отчетътъ е изготвенъ въ
Счетоводителъ Йосифъ Исакъ Леви -

By means of this kind of document, Jewish shops in Skopje were liquidated just prior to deportation

3

Преписъ.

17-XI

6

ЗАПОВѢДЬ
№ 1

ОБЯВЯВАМЪ, че съгласно заповѣдь № 14 отъ 22 септемврий 1942 год. на Комисарството за еврейскитѣ въпроси и съгласно отъ Наредбата на Министерския съвет отъ 27 августъ 1942 год., съмъ назначенъ за делегатъ на Комисарството при Консисторията на Еврейската община.

Вследствие на това, и на основание на казаната Наредба, за въ бждеще всички въпроси свързани съ еврейския въпросъ въ района на Скопската еврейска община, да ми се представятъ за съответно разрешение.

Преписъ отъ настоящата ми заповѣдь да бжде изпратена до всички административни и полицейски учреждения, за сведение и до Скопската еврейска община за изпълнение.

гр. Скопие, 24. IX 1942 год.

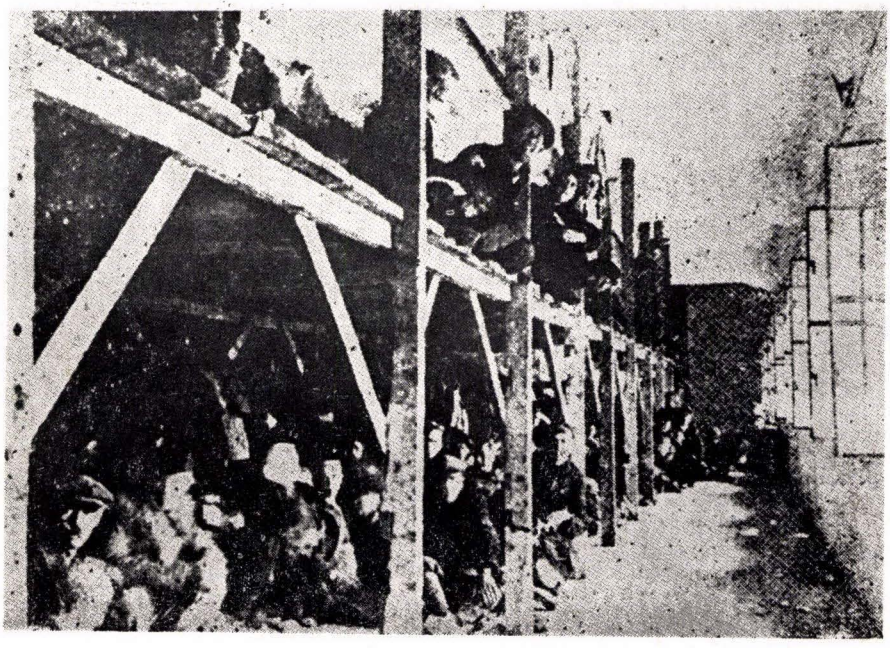
ДЕЛЕГАТЪ НА КОМИСАРСТВОТО ЗА
ЕВРЕЙСКИТѢ ВЪПРОСИ/п/Ив. Захариевъ

В ѣ р н о,
МАШИНОПИСКА: Узлоски

Decree by Zakhariev in which he announces his appointment by the Bulgarian Ministerial Council as Delegate assigned to the Jewish Community of Skopje



Jews assembled in Salonika from Aegean Macedonia, in March 1943, before being deported to the death camps



Jews from Bitola at the camp in Skopje



Macedonian Jews boarding a deportation train. This photograph was taken in the courtyard of the concentration camp in Skopje



On 11 July 1942, 9000 Jews were assembled in Salonika and then sent to the gas chambers



Great abuse of the Jews of Salonika; summer of 1942



Jews from the eastern region of Aegean Macedonia, who were collected by Bulgarian soldiers on 3 March 1943, and whose homes were subsequently plundered



A view of the old cemetary in Salonika after its destruction in 1943



Estrea Ovadia, National Heroine of Yugoslavia



Albert Reuven Priznalis, member of the resistance movement in Serres



Leon Ashkenazi, member of the resistance movement in Aegean Macedonia



The new building housing the Jewish Community Center of Skopje

Various institutions filed demands to have their own inventories filled with tables, chairs, pianos, carpets and the like. Throughout cities in the Aegean area there were Bulgarian-German Friendship Associations, which took the most valuable items. Upon the satisfaction of the demands of these institutions the remainder was sold, first to higher officials, then to lower funcionaries, and whatever remained was then sold to the public at auction. These auctions attracted various merchants and speculators from Bulgaria and the Aegean, who would buy carpets, sewing machines and other items at very low prices. For this we have the report of another Commissariat Inspector, Boris Iniev, who says among other things: "Items were sold without regard to their value. The privileges granted to officials were abused when some of them resold what they had bought at higher prices to merchants". It was determined that the bulk of thefts of the most valuable articles was carried out by police commandants, police secretaries, judges and virtually all police and bank officials involved in commissions for the liquidation of Jewish property. There was even a case of a plundered house being set on fire after such a theft. It was later established that the Kavala police had itself set fire to the houses of the influential Jews, Isak and Yuda Chemino.[173]

The following amounts of money were received through the auctioning of household items:[174]

From Drama	4,162,272	*lev*
From Kavala	5,803,380	„
From Serres	2,528,175	„
TOTAL	12,493,727	*lev*

In a report dated 30 November 1943, Svetislav Nikolov claims that the reason for the collection of such a small sum was that supreme disorder and chaos prevailed during the hauling and sale. Later, criminal theft charges were brought against 60 individuals, among whom were some high functionaries whom Nikolov names in his report. Thus, many people in the Bulgarian administration became rich to the point of being millionaires by stealing Jewish property.[176] Immovable Jewish property was confiscated on "behalf of the Bulgarian state".

The Deportation and Extermination of Jews from Pirin Macedonia

Pirin Macedonia, separated from the rest of Macedonia as of 1912 and incorporated into the Bulgarian state, was not treated as a "newly liberated land". The status of "newly liberated land" was ascribed only to Eastern Macedonia, Western Thrace, Vardar Macedonia and Pirot, and it was only from these regions that

the Jews were deported and liquidated. Since Bulgaria considered Pirin Macedonia as "her own", the Jews there shared the fate of those from the "old territories" and only "undesirable Jews" were turned over for deportation. Even though the exact number of deportees from Pirin Macedonia is not known, it is certain that this figure did not exceed ten, most of whom were communists.

Why the Jews of Bulgaria were not Deported and Exterminated

In their articles and at international congresses, many Bulgarian historians claim with particular pride that "Bulgaria is the only country in Europe which resisted Hitler and did not hand over her Jews, this owing to the menacing raised fist of the people which shook up those who had lost their awareness".[176] This, however, is only partly accurate. It is true that the Jews of Bulgaria were not deported but, when Bulgarian historians take such pride in the fact that the Jews were not handed over, they silently pass by the fact that the Jews from Thrace, Macedonia and Pirot, the „newly liberated lands", were in their entirety deported and exterminated.

Does this mean that these Jews were not Bulgarian and that Bulgarian public opinion therefore did not intercede on their behalf? Even the Bulgarian Jew, Izrael Mayer, takes his cue from the writings of Bulgarian historians, since his work would not have been published had it expressed a differing opinion. In his article, *The Rescue of the Bulgarian Jews from Annihilation,* Sofia, 1967, Mayer writes that, on 25 March 1943, Vice-president of the National Assembly D. Peshev lodged a protest with the President of the government against the deportation of "undersirable Jews" from Bulgaria. This protest was signed by 43 representatives of the then fascist "National Assembly".

Is it necessary to remind Mayer and other Bulgarian historians that this protest, which they label "Bulgarian public opinion", appeared after the Jews of Thrace, Macedonia and Pirot had already been deported? Furthermore, why did the "public opinion" of the fascist representatives not assert itself for the Jews of the "newly liberated lands"? Does this not demonstrate the typical colonial politics of the fascist Bulgarian government with regard to the "newly liberated lands" from which the Jews were so easily sacrificed, while the "fist of the people" and "public opinion" were raised on behalf of Bulgarian Jews?

Is it possible to consider Vice-president Peshev and the 43 "national representatives" to be "public opinion", when it is known what sort of people were then permitted to serve as representatives in a fascist government such as that of Filov, under

whom Peshev served as Vice-president? Is it necessary to recall that on 25 March, when the protest was lodged, the battle of Stalingrad had already been decided and a reversal in international politics and in the military balance had already occurred? Is Bulgarian historiography blind to the fact that these "national representatives" were more concerned with saving their own skins than with the fate of the Bulgarian Jews?

After the war, various foreigners, especially Americans, were invited to Bulgaria in order to prove to them that Bulgaria had resisted the Germans by not handing over Bulgarian Jews. By using German and Bulgarian documents which have become accessible, we will demonstrate that the Bulgarian government of the time conducted a typical form of colonial politics towards the "newly liberated lands" and that only through the sacrifice of the Jews from those territories were the Jews of Bulgaria rescued.

On 22 January, at the beginning of the negotiations, when the agreement between Dannecker and Belev had not yet been signed, Beckerle sent a telegram to the German Ministry of the Interior in which he reported that *"only the Jews from Macedonia and Thrace are being considered for deportation"*.[177] We will glance at the agreement reached on 2 February, in which it was determined concretely which Jews would be considered for deportation. Point „a" states: „The Reich is prepared to receive the Jewish population *from Macedonia and the Aegean area* as well as the undesirable Jews from the old territories".[178] This agreement was concluded 20 days later, on 22 February. The first item of this agreement is cited here with no revisions: "As soon as this (agreement — A. M.) has been approved by the Ministerial Council, 20,000 Jews, regardless of age or sex, will be readied for removal from the new Bulgarian territories of Thrace and Macedonia". This agreement appears on page 14 through 16 of Grinberg's book.

After the agreement had been drafted, one of the negotiators took an ink pen and crossed out the words, "in the new Bulgarian territories of Thrace and Macedonia". But why? Because it was not considered suitable for the fact to be underscored that only the Jews of Macedonia and Thrace would be deported, thereby exposing the colonial attitude toward these areas. Since the deportation from these regions would be carried out in any event, it was not necessary for this to be emphasized in the agreement.

Thus, according to the plans of the Bulgarian government, by this agreement all the Jews of Macedonia, Thrace and Pirot, "the newly liberated lands", were to be deported. The Jews of the "old territories", who numbered approximately 50,000, were not slated for deportation, except for those who acted as the

leaders of the community, namely, those who upheld the spirit of the local Jewish population. Others marked for deportation were those Jews who were well-to-do and those manifesting communist or other anti-state ideas and feelings. These were the Jews whom Bulgarian authorities labeled "the undesirable Jews from the old territories". From this agreement one can discern the colonial policies of the Bulgarian fascists toward the "newly liberated lands", whose inhabitants they sacrificed while somewhat "protecting" the Jews of the "old territories", except for the "undesirables". Of the "undesirable" Jews from the "old territories" who were to be deported, approximately 8500 were not expelled. In place of the 20,000 deportees anticipated in the agreement, only the Jews of the occupied territories of Macedonia, Thrace and Pirot suffered that fate.

The greatest fascists among the Bulgarians protested the changes in the agreement, while the German representative, Dannecker, applied pressure on the Bulgarian government and on Belev not to accept the demands of certain representatives for changes in the accord. As a sign of protest, Commissar Aleksandar Belev of the Commissariat for Jewish Problems submitted his resignation. His four assistants, Goshev, Velkov, Lukov and Kalitsin, also voiced their opposition to the abrogation of the agreement. Among others opposed to breaking the terms of the accord was Dimitar Chkatrov, who wrote in a policy letter dated December 1943: "The action of certain national representatives, led by Vice-president of the National Assembly Dimitar Peshev, for the protection of the Jews has aroused opposition among the people here . . . Similar actions have weakened our morale and our position with the Germans".

We will cite several other documents from which it is evident that the Jews from the "old territories" were excluded from the very beginning, pending developments in the war and in political conditions. As early as 8 February 1943, Beckerle informed his ministry that his discussions with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Popov only concerned the deportation of Jews from the "newly liberated areas".[179] On 16 February, Beckerle again informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Bulgarian President Filov only consented to the deportation of the Jews from Thrace and Macedonia, and that Bulgarian Jews would only be sent to forced labor.[180] In the report of Bulgarian Minister of the Interior Petar Gabrovski to President Filov, from early March, one finds: "In accordance with the understanding with the German authorities, 20,000 Jews from the newly liberated lands are to be removed from the country".[181] Tsar Boris held discussions with Hitler and Ribbentrop on 31 March. On 4 April, Ribbentrop sent a confidential telegram, #422, to Beckerle informing him that "the Tsar has given his consent

for the removal from Eastern Europe only of the Jews from Macedonia and Thrace and of a small number of Bulgarian Jews who are the Bolshevik communist elements. The others are to be put in concentration camps because they are needed for construction and road work".[182]

On 14 April, the Tsar conferred with Bulgarian bishops. Bishops Neofit and Stefan "interceded only on behalf of baptized Jews".[183] Beckerle reported to his ministry on 17 May that, after the deportation of the Jews from Thrace and Macedonia, another 51,000 remained in Bulgaria, but that the Tsar was opposed to their deportation because they were required for forced labor.[184] On 24 June, Beckerle informed Eichmann's office that the deportations from Macedonia and Thrace were completed, but that no pressure had yet been applied for the deportation of the Jews from Bulgaria.[185] Beckerle sent another telegram to the Ministry of the Interior on August 18 reporting that he was encountering difficulties due to the stand of the Bulgarian government, which was afraid of Anglo-American reprisals as well as of Bulgaria's deteriorating international standing.[186] An official of Eichmann's office demanded that Beckerle apply pressure on the Bulgarian government to hand over the Bulgarian Jews, but in a telegram dated 31 August Beckerle replied that the Bulgarian government would not consent to this, due to the fear of bombings and of Bulgaria's foreign political situation.[187]

In other words, after the sacrifice of the Jews of Macedonia and Thrace, the Bulgarian Jews were saved by developments in the war and in the world political situation, particularly after the battle of Stalingrad, as well as by fear of the bombardment of Sofia and by Bulgaria's worsening political circumstances as a German satellite; not by the "public opinion" of a few fascist representatives who sought a way out of the *cul de sac* in which they and Bulgaria found themselves.

It should be emphasized here that, in addition to the Tsar and the government, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, which included the richest artisans, was content with the deportation and liquidation of the Jews since by this means they would be free of a serious competitor. Quite a few telegrams to this effect exist from that time from various parts of Bulgaria, in which the bourgeoisie, merchants and craftsmen welcomed the anti-Jewish measures of the Bulgarian government.

Unable to resist Hitler's demands, the Bulgarian government first sacrificed the "non-Bulgarian" Jews, namely, those from the "newly liberated lands" whom they did not consider to be their own, while the Jews from the "old territories" were held in reserve. Had the war and the world political situation progressed favorably for Germany, it is certain that these Jews would have

been deported. If, on the other hand, events led in the other direction, Bulgaria could redeem itself to a certain extent through these Jews and could claim to have contributed to the struggle against fascism. Even now, certain Bulgarian historians are going so far as to attempt to prove and proclaim that Peshev, the Vice-President of the fascist Assembly, and his 43 representatives were heroes, since they were the individuals who opposed the government of that time, despite the fact that they themselves were the executors of its criminal polices.

THE DEPORTATION AND EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS IN THE GERMAN-OCCUPIED ZONE OF MACEDONIA

The First Anti-Jewish Measures

It is estimated that, before the German attack, approximately 75,000 Jews lived in the Greek kingdom, of whom 53,000 to 56,000 resided in Salonika, the total population of which was 260,000. Germany declared war on Greece on 6 April 1941, and three days later German forces entered Salonika. During the first few days of German occupation many Jewish shops were closed due to the plundering by German soldiers. Shortly thereafter, German and Greek language placards appeared on the streets, proclaiming that the German troops had come as friends and calling upon residents to resume their normal lives and to reopen their shops.

As of 11 April, however, the first anti-Jewish measures began. The three Jewish newspapers in Salonika were banned: "L'Independent" and "Le Progres", which were in French, and "El Messagero", which was in Ladino. The new government began to issue its own paper, "Nea Europi", edited by the anti-Semitic German collaborators Papastratigakis and Malzakis.[188] Numerous Jewish houses and institutions were requisitioned and their inhabitants evicted.

The German army occupied the Jewish hospital in Salonika, built by the famous Jew, Baron Hirsch, and expelled all the Jewish patients. On 15 April, the Gestapo imprisoned the members of the Council of the Jewish Community, the President of which was Rabbi Tsvi Korets. Placards appeared on the doorways of coffee houses forbidding Jews to enter and ordering them to surrender their radio sets.

On 22 June 1941, Germany declared war on the Soviet Union and that same day many Jews were arrested under the pretext that they were communists. The first was executed on 2 July 1941, the reason given being that he had failed to show enough

respect to a representative of the German military. This was followed by night raids and incarcerations 'ustified by accusations of communism or responsibility for the war.

Dengler, Chief of the *Feldjandarmerie,* assigned to the presidency of the Jewish community Sabi Saltiel, who did not have the strength to oppose him. Saltiel replaced Korets, who had been transferred to a prison in Vienna. The occupiers sought to demoralize the Jews by means of hunger, unemployment and disease. Staples grew more expensive with each passing day and with the arrival of winter, many Jews went hungry or searched through trash bins for bits of food. On every corner there were Jewish beggars or children who had died of starvation, cold and disease. On the average, 80 persons per day died. To alleviate this misery to some extent, the new president, Saltiel, sold several buildings and lots belonging to the Jewish Community and opened public kitchens to dispense one meal a day to poor Jewish children. This was a futile effort since there were approximately 12,000 such children in the city. The richer Jews were also powerless to help because all of their property had been confiscated.[189]

Toward the beginning of 1942, Dr. Max Merten arrived in Salonika in the capacity of chief of the War Department. He was about twenty-eight years-old and born in Berlin. Merten bears the blame for many of the anti-Jewish acts performed in Aegean Macedonia, exploiting his position to enrich himself personally by plundering the Jews. On Saturday, 11 July 1942, Merten issued an order for all Jews between the ages of eighteen and 45 to assemble at the "Elefteria" square. The 9000 persons who assembled experienced extreme degradation, for the Nazis kept them in the blazing sun the entire day, forcing them to perform various exercises "to test their endurance". Those who could not endure were either beaten or shot. Let Pepo Koen recount this torture which he experienced:

"Until July 1942 it was possible somehow to endure, even despite the unemployment, the epidemics and the frequent humiliations. The most inhumane anti-Jewish measures began on Saturday, 11 July. The collaborationist papers 'Nea Europi' and 'Aroyematini' published Mertan's instructions for all Jews between the ages eighteen and 45 to assemble at 8 : 00 at the 'Elefteria' square. Here we were at the square where, in 1908, the Young Turks issued their manifesto for brotherhood, freedom and equality in ten languages for all the citizens of the Turkish empire. About 9000 people assembled in the square. It was a sunny day. We had to stand in formation. The Nazis had surrounded the square with machine guns and small artillery. We were forbidden to sit, to leave the formation, to shade ourselves from the sun with a newspaper, to wear sunglasses, to light a cigarette or to motion to a

friend. The Nazi soldiers and sailors observed us and hit us on the head, arms and elsewhere. Then they forced us to perform gymnastics, to crawl through the dust, to roll over, to jump like frogs and more. This was all accompanied by shouts, curses and whippings. That day I saw how great man's inhumanity could be. I saw people falling unconscious . . .".

On 13 July, many Jews were sent to various forced labor camps: 600 to Katerini, 400 to Litohoron, 600 to Leptokaria, etc. Within a few months, a large number of the mobilized Jews were cut down by malaria and malnutrition due to the difficult work conditions and poor food. The data show that 12% died. Fearing that the Jews would be liquidated through forced labor, the Jewish Community of Salonika began negotiating with the Germans in Salonika to buy their release from the work. The money was collected with great difficulty, and for a while the members of the community were convinced that their compatriots had saved them from certain death.[190]

At the trial of the German war criminal Max Merten in Athens, February 1959, the witness Aser Moisei gave this testimony concerning the dispatch of 9000 Salonikan Jews to forced labor in the German company Tot: "The second lie of the beast Merten was the deception of the Jews during the signing of the protocol releasing us from forced labor for military purposes. As Yakoel has written in his dairy, the German entrepreneur Müller, from the company Tot, was charged with preparing a certain number of defense ditches. Considering that most of the Jews who had been sent to him had died due to difficult conditions, resulting in the loss of working hands, he contacted some functionaries of the Jewish community and suggested to them to secure a certain sum of money in order to buy the release of the Jews from forced labor. The members of the community accepted the suggestion and called on Müller to meet with Merten to convey his idea. Two days later, Müller reported that Merten had consented to meet with representatives of the community to hold discussions, not in his offices, but rather, in the basement of a building used as a messhall by the Jews. During the negotiations Merten demanded to be given 3.5 million *drachmas* as well as the Jewish cemeteries in Salonika. When the Jews heard the demand for the cemeteries they backed away, ostensibly in order to discuss the matter with their religious elders. At the second meeting the following day, the Jews said that their holy laws did not permit them to make such use of the cemeteries and they explained that, if the Germans aimed to take them away, they would have to do so themselves. In this way the Germans also became the masters of the cemeteries, which were included in the total ransom for the forced labor. But this too was a futile sacrifice, because we lost the cemeteries, and our money, and they still sent us to the camp at Auschwitz . . .".[191]

According to witness Aser's words, it was agreed to give Merten 2,000,000 *drachmas*, which converted into 8,000 gold pounds Sterling. Other witnesses at the trial testified that the amount given him equaled 25,000 gold pounds Sterling. Aser, however, based his evidence on the information contained in the diary of the Jewish lawyer from Salonika, Yakoel, in which it was noted that the first payment was 4,500 pounds and the second 3,500 pounds.

Max Merten also stands accused with regard to the question of the Jews who were mobilized and their ransom. He disclosed information about the Germans, first acts of pillage in Salonika, when objects of great value were stolen from Jewish synagogues and other social organizations. Jewish bookstores were confiscated and their owners imprisoned with the clear purpose of extracting money from them. According to Merten, all these acts were perpetrated by the Gestapo. He admitted that the conditions under which the 9000 laborers had had to work building military structures were insufferable; the Jews were unaccustomed to this sort of work, the food was poor and the work was harsh. Many of the Jews died within the first few days, and as soon as Merten became personally aware of the situation he took the initiative to ransom the labor hostages. Merten stated that the first sum of money, paid through the Greek bank, amounted to 700,000 *drachmas*, the second 500,000 and the third 400,000 *drachmas*. His claim that the money was paid by check is an obvious attempt to acquit himself, but there is no denying that the entire matter constituted a criminal act. Many of the Jewish witnesses at Merten's trial testified that the money was stuffed into sacks and taken to Merten's office in wheelbarrows, where it was given to him personally in cash. One may also doubt Merten's testimony when one considers that all the negotiations were held in a basement and not in Merten's official office or in another occupied building. Merten also did not keep his word as an officer that, after the ransom of these 9000 people, no other measures of reprisal would be taken against the Jews. Not only did they continue, but they grew harsher day by day. As early as the summer of 1942, the Jewish quarters "Vardar" and "Kala Maria", as well as the outlying neighborhood 151, were turned into ghettos.[192]

In September 1942, representatives of the "Rosenberg Institute" arrived in Salonika. Cecil Roth, professor of Jewish history at Oxford University, has published a study of the drama of the Jews of Salonika during World War II, from which we learn that all the confiscation of Jewish communal and private property in Salonika was done by the infamous "Rosenberg Institute", which was based in Frankfurt.

Roth writes that, throughout Europe, the Nazis demonstrated an unusual interest in Jewish libraries and in spiritual and religious

artifacts. On the one hand, these items were valuable and could be sold. On the other hand, a library was created in Frankfurt, which became virtually the world's largest institute for Jewish studies, albeit for propaganda purposes. Roth continues that the members of the Rosenburg Institute installed themselves in the building of the former American Consulate in Salonika almost immediately upon the Greek surrender to the Germans. Under the direction of J. Paul, a doctor of Hebraic studies. the Rosenberg Institute plundered Jewish libraries and synagogues throughout Europe, sending all items of value to Germany.

Skilled forgerers were also employed by the Rosenberg Institute to insert falsified materials among the stolen ones for the purpose of creating anti-Semitic propaganda. In September of 1942, the Institute's Secretary for the Balkans, Mertsch, arrived in Salonika. He was a polyglot, born in the Banat, who knew German, French, English, Italian and the Balkan Slavic languages. He was also comfortably acquainted with Latin, Classical Greek, Arabic and Hebrew. Mertsch's assignment was to visit all the Jewish communities of the Balkans and to collect whatever documentation he could concerning their past, which would serve anti-Semitic purposes. In pursuing his task, Mertsch confiscated libraries, archives and various invaluable manuscripts.[193]

The rare and historical Jewish cemeteries of Salonika, dating from the 15th century, were destroyed on 6 July 1942 in compliance with Merten's order. This is how some eyewitnesses later described it: "On the morning of 6 July 1942, the news spread that 'they're destroying the cemeteries'. About 500 of us got together with shovels. The Jewish community said that it would help anyone who wanted to transfer the bones of the dead to a new location along the Vardar. Other implements were also distributed. My parents and I went to the cementery. The sight was terrible. People were scurrying among the workers begging permission to salvage the remains of their dead. At our family's burial site was the grave of my 25-year-old brother, who had died during a trip to Rome. His body was brought back from abroad in two coffins, one wooden and one tin. When we opened the coffin, my brother was visible in a smoking jacket and light-colored shoes, as though he had only been buried the day before. My mother fainted. A few months later, my mother, father and other relatives were all put to death in Auschwitz".

Another eye-witness told the following: "For several weeks our cemeteries were transformed into a market for bricks, marble remnants and other material used in the construction of roads. Trucks would load up and would sell the material to various companies, as a result of which the price of marble fell sharply very

quickly. The Germans built themselves a swimming pool using the marble from the cemeteries. The bones and other remains of the dead were thrown into the sea. Once they had taken our precious manuscripts and holy relics, they also destroyed our cemeteries".[194]

The "Baron Hirsch" and "Pavlos Melas" Detention Camps

The Gestapo commission of Dieter Wisliceny and Alois Brunner arrived in Salonika on 6 February 1943, and immediately began to implement the plan for the liquidation of the Jews. A few days later the order was issued that, in the future, all Jews were to wear a yellow Star of David and that this emblem had to appear on all Jewish shops and homes. Every Jew over the age of five, male or female, was required to wear this Jewish emblem as well as an identity number on his lapel. Any Jew attempting to change his residence without permission was considered a deserter and would be shot. No Jews were allowed on the streets at night nor could they use the telephones, trolleys or other vehicles.[195]

Here are some data about the two Gestapo agents who, under Eichmann's command, were to conduct the deportation of the Jews from the German occupied zone of Macedonia and to send them to the death camps. S. S. Captain Dieter Wisliceny, age thirty, was born in Regulovken in eastern Prussia. As a lawyer and Eichmann's agent for the liquidation of the Jews in Slovakia, Greece and Hungary, he came to Salonika from Vienna. He was tried in Slovakia after the war, in May 1946, and executed as a war criminal.[196] Alois Brunner, age twenty-three. was short and thin, had a brutal appearance and was a notorious sadist. He was a delegate of Eichmann's department for the liquidation of the Jews in Vienna, Berlin, Salonika, Paris and Bratislava. According to some information, this S. S Major was executed in Vienna in 1946, while according to other sources he fled to Syria.[197] These two men comprised the "Commission Speciale" under Eichmann's "Bureau IV B 4", charged with preparing the deportation and extermination of the Jews.[198] This "commission" was accomodated in a Jewish house in the Jewish quarter and used the cellar of the house as a torture chamber. Jews were brought there and tortured to make them reveal where they had their money and other valuables. Unimaginable horrors were performed there.

On the day of their arrival, Wisliceny and Brunner issued an order for a Jewish company to produce 100,000 Stars of David which every Jew had to wear, including those couples where only one spouse was Jewish.[199] Merten instructed that this order be transmitted to all the Jewish communities in the German occupied

zone by Rabbi Korets, who in the meantime had been brought back from Vienna and reinstated as president of the Jewish community of Salonika. Korets now submissively fulfilled all the commands of the occupying authorities. On 12 February 1943, Wisliceny and Brunner issued this order:

> External Service of the Security Police and the Security Service of Salonika
>
> Salonika, 12 February, 1943
>
> To the Jewish Community of Salonika through Chief Rabbi Korets. Subject: emblems for Jewish shops and houses.
>
> By the power of the order of 6 February 1943 from the Commandant of Salonika and the Aegean it is hereby ordered:
>
> 1. Any shop or company having one or more Jewish owners or shareholders is to be considered Jewish. Any shop having one or more Jewish employees is also to be considered Jewish.
>
> 2. As has been ordered verbally, Jewish shops must be distinguishable by means of a visibly displayed sign in German and Greek stating: "Jewish shop".
>
> 3. Those people having independent professions — doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, etc. — are required to indicate the place where they conduct their profession in the same manner as the Jewish shops.
>
> 4. As of 25 February 1943, all houses and neighborhoods inhabited by Jews are required to post a Jewish star on white cardboard on their outside doors.
>
> Wisliceny
> S. S. Hauptsturmführer[200]

On 25 February, all the Jews of Salonika were ordered to gather at two assembly camps. One was in the ghetto which gradually had also become a camp and which was named after the founder of the neighborhood, Baron Hirsch. This quarter consisted of congested houses and narrow little streets. When the Jews were informed that they would be concentrated in ghettos, they were told to bring whatever they had of value because they would find it necessary. The second large ghetto-camp was "Pavlos Melas", but there were also some smaller ones. The largest one, however, was "Baron Hirsch", located near the train station.

It was here that, with Baron Hirsch's funds, Jewish refugees from Russia had been settled in the final years of the 19th century.

This quarter, accomodating 2,500 persons in 593 small rooms, was separated from the rest of the city by tall pickets. Three entrances were marked by signs in German, Greek and Latin. Reflectors and machine guns were placed behind the fence. Outside the fence, by the station, 300 railway cars were constantly in sight, ready to take the future victims to Treblinka, Auschwitz and the other death camps.[201]

At Merten's trial, numerous Jewish survivors related shocking details of the terror and pillage perpetrated on the Jews in their homes and in the ghettos; for example, the Inquisition-like tortures borne by one Mataraso in an effort to take 3½ kilograms of gold from him, or the murder of two old men who preferred to die in place of their children. Another witness, Edgar Kupio, testified that, among the Jewish police appointed by Wisliceny and Brunner, there existed an organized group that participated in the plunder of Jewish families or which cooperated with organs of the S. S. Among the members of such groups were Mainzer, the director of the food service for Salonika, and Wagner, the administrator of the Hirsch ghetto.

It must be mentioned that a large number of Greeks, who had become the tools of the Germans, exploited the Jews' misfortune to enrich themselves. One such person was the night watchman Kiriakis Papadopolous, one of Merten's agents. Everyone who passed through the gate to the Baron Hirsch camp was thoroughly searched and all money or valuables were taken away. This is the account of a female eye-witness who survived her incarceration:

"The Baron Hirsch quarter became an Inferno . . . there were three entrances and the whole place was surrounded by high pickets having machine gun nests and storm troopers in some places — a real concentration camp. The camp was lit up by flood lights at night. The southern and eastern entrances were on Yanitsa Street and the third faced the railway station. . . The S. S. men tortured people to make them reveal where they had hidden their money and other valuables. If they gave in, the S. S. would take them into town to disclose where or with whom their money was kept. The Nazis shaved the beards off the rabbis and older men and made them collect refuse in the streets. They forced the most eminent ladies to wash their laundry and had the beautiful girls dance to the orchestra that they organized in the camp. One of the rabbis was Hayyim Habib, a great scholar beloved by all. I cried when I saw him with his beard shaved, sweeping the streets . . . In the Baron Hirsch camp they made us change all our *drachmas* for Polish *zloty*. For 1000 *drachmas* they gave us 33 *zloty* which were ostensibly going to be paid by check at the bank in Krakow. The S. S. office was located in the old synagogue

and in the neighborhood hospital . . . I was present at two executions in the camp. The first took place on Monday, 5 April 1943. In the presence of all the inmates, three youngsters between eighteen and nineteen years of age were executed. The second time they executed Nisim Kamhi and Alberto Benevista, both about 50 years old, while all their immediate and distant relatives were deported".

The camp held approximately 3000 inmates of all ages, watched over by the Gestapo, the Greek police and by a specially-organized Jewish police force called "Shipos". As a result of filth and hunger in the camp, various contagious diseases broke out very quickly and caused the deaths of several people every day.[202] Within the camp the Jews were permitted to move through the streets, but only specially designated individuals having passes were allowed out of the camp. One such person was Dr. Koenka who, as a physician, could visit sick Jews in all the camps.

Dr. Koenka and his family lived in a small house in the Baron Hirsch quarter before it was fenced off and made into a camp. On the eve of 19 March he was arrested and on 21 March the following instructions were issued:

"Commandant of Salonika and the Aegean
Department of Jewish Administration
M U Act. 5 3767
21 March 1943
To the Jewish Community of Salonika via a Special
a Special Greek Courrier

Subject: The Escape of the Jew, Dr. Koenka

Dr. Koenka, who despite his being Jewish enjoyed a certain degree of freedom due to his medical profession, escaped from Salonika on the eve of 19 March 1943. To avoid such future occurrences I am ordering these punitive steps:

1. Twenty-five Jews are to be arrested as hostages immediately and are to be shot at the smallest transgression of the regulations established by the body responsible for the Jews of Salonika.

2. All Jews in Salonika and in the ghetto are to leave their residences only between the hours of 10 : 00 a. m. and 4 : 00 p. m. Any Jew caught in the streets or in the open at any other hour will be shot on the spot. German and Greek police patrols will see to the maintenance of undisturbed order.

For the Commandant of Salonika — Aegean
Max Merten
in charge
Chief of Staff"[203]

This contrived case of Dr. Koenka served to justify the Germans' hellish intentions of forbidding all movement to the Jews of Salonika, thus gradually transforming the ghettos into cells for those who had been sentenced to death and who were agonizingly awaiting their execution. Dr. Koenka, who survived and returned from Auschwitz, testified at Merten's trial that it was only due to the intervention of the Swiss Dr. Burkhard, Director of the International Red Cross, that he received permission to circulate among the ghettos.

On the eve of 19 March, two S. S. men came to Koenka's home, arrested him and his wife and led them to a secret spot in the Baron Hirsch camp. The following morning, just as the third transport was ready to leave, Koenka and his wife were covered with a blanket to avoid recognition and were thrust into a railroad car which was immediately sealed. The train then departed. Thus, the contrived Koenka escape was designed to frighten the Jews to keep anyone from attempting to flee just before the transports were to leave for the death camps.[204]

The second largest ghetto-camp was "Pavlos Melas". As of 6 March, all its entrances were carefully guarded by the Greek militia and "Shipos". It was even forbidden to go from one camp to another. To avert any escapes, 104 of the most respected Jews were chosen as hostages. If anyone did escape, the hostages were to be shot.

The "Epta Piron" quarter, near the fortress known as Yedi Kule, or Sedum Kuli (Seven Towers), was also converted into a ghetto-camp. The "Agia Paraskevi" ghetto-camp was located in the quarter by the same name. Mizrachi and Singuri streets, as well as the small nearby roads, were transformed into such ghetto-camps, as were the other two Jewish quarters. In all of them, conditions resembled those in the Baron Hirsch camp.

The Deportation of the Jews

The deportation of the Jews from the German occupied zone was carried out in nineteen transports during the period of 15 March to 7 August 1943. The following is Wisliceny's account of the deportation of the Jews of Salonika, as given at the war crimes trial in Slovakia:

"On about 20 January I went to Berlin to see Eichmann. He informed me that his representative, Sturmführer Rolf Gunder, had left for Salonika by plane to consult with the local military administration. Until January 1943, "Referat IV" and "Referat IV B" of the Reich's central security administration had not had an emissary dealing with Greece... Toward the end of January, Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, from Vienna, unexpectedly re-

ported to me and told me that he had received orders to go to Salonika. Toward the middle of March, the company Tot turned to the military administration of Salonika for a work force for the erection of military structures. Merten, the advisor to the military administration of Salonika, then promised to send Jews as workers. Alois Brunner went to see Eichmann in Berlin to resolve this matter. Upon his return he informed me that Eichmann had ordered the deportation of the entire Jewish population of Salonika and of all of Macedonia. Only 3000 workers from among these Jews would be put at the disposal of Tot. I personally informed Chief Rabbi Korets of this decision. He was struck terribly by the news and begged me to use all my influence to prevent this from happening. To avoid the deportation Korets offered to send 15,000 workers to work on Greek territory; he would mobilize them himself. He also emphaized the poor health of Salonika's Jews due to the typhus epidemic... I then sent a telegram to Eichmann in Berlin asking him to rescind the decision for deportation and suggesting the creation of work brigades for Greece itself. By way of reply Eichmann sent a telegram to Brunner ordering the undelayed implementation of the deportation orders. Brunner immediately sought a squad of police from Belgrade to escort the groups of deportees. As soon as 'this squad' arrived, the evacuation of the ghettos and the deportation began and continued for nine weeks. Jews having foreign citizenship were excluded from the deportation. Brunner selected members of the Jewish police to form a special group, led by Hasson and Amster, and they assisted him during the deportations".[206]

From Dieter Wisliceny we know that, at that time, Salonika was visited by the Greek quisling premier, Ralis, and that Korets came to him with a request to intervene with the Germans to rescind the order for the deportation of the Jews. Ralis, however, discounted any possibility of intervention. Korets' attempt had a great impact nonetheless and led to his imprisonment as soon as Merten had heard of it. Brunner intended to include Korets in the next deportation group but, upon Wisliceny's intervention, Korets was only put in the ghetto with the strict warning not to venture into the city. Wisliceny also said of Brunner that he was such a great sadist that he did not respect the special arrangements for Jews with foreign citizenship, so that there were frequent disputes with the Italian and Spanish embassies.[207]

The first transport of these "apostles" (as the deportees were called in important letters written by Gestapo officials) left on Monday, 15 March. Already on the morning of 14 March, the inhabitants of the Baron Hirsch camp were told to assemble at the synagogue, where Chief Rabbi Korets would inform them that they were to be deported to Poland. In their program for the extermination of the Jews, the Germans adopted a system of

bewildering their victims *(Tarnung Sistem)*. By means of lies and a variety of orders the Germans carried out the deportation, lulling their victims so successfully that, until the end, they rounded them up without anyone escaping. This system was also used because of foreign public opinion, so that the purpose of the deportation would not become known. At their trials, many German war criminals denied any knowledge of where the Jews were taken. This was the case with Max Merten, Eichmann and others.

As has been stated, the first transport of Jews from Salonika was organized on 15 March 1943. To deceive the deportees, the Germans announced through Korets that the Jews would find new homes among their correligionists in Poland, that the large Jewish community in Krakow would welcome them as brothers, and that every man would be employed in his own profession. Some Polish currency was handed out to the soon-to-be victims in order to make the move seem more convincing. On the other hand, the Jews were only allowed to bring 20 kilograms of luggage, which had to be put in barrels since they were not permitted to use suitcases.

The following day, everyone was ordered into railway cars, which were filled to twice their normal capacity with people. The cars were closed and sealed. The first train that headed down the road to death held mostly deportees from the Baron Hirsch camp, but also a few Jews from Langada. Three thousand persons and a few members of Shipos were crowded into 40 cattle cars, traveling through Belgrade toward the crematoria at Auschwitz. This is the eye-witness account of a member of the Jewish community of Salonika:

"The military command permitted our community to supply the deportees with 10,000 kilos of bread, 4,000 kilos of dates, 4,000 kilos of raisins, 3,500 kilos of olives, 3,500 kilos of orange jam, 3,000 lemons and 3,000 oranges. All of this was loaded into one special car. The Germans told us the journey would take about fifteen days. Merten, Wisliceny, Brunner, as well as other S. S. officials were at the railroad station when the train left. They tried to calm us by pursuading us that the bank in Krakow would reimburse us in *zloty* for everything we had paid in *drachmas* or other valuables".[208]

We do not have data for all 19 of the transports, and will therefore mentioned only those for which we have information. The second transport left on 17 March, carrying the Jews from the Agia Paraskevi ghetto-camp, mostly workers and paupers.

The third transport departed on 19 March.

The fourth train of "apostles" left on 21 March. The only specific date known for the subsequent transports is for the one on 3 April.[209]

By some means or unforeseen circumstances, some of those who suffered the calamity of being sent to Auschwitz remained alive to bear witness to the world of the drama of their survival. Thus, at Merten's trial in Athens several of the surviving Salonika Jews appeared and their public recounting of the facts was chilling. This is how Karolina Gavriylidu described her experience:

"On 2 April 1943 they arrested me and my sisters — six in all — as well as 12 other relatives, and took us to the 'Baron Hirsch' ghetto. There they threw us into a room that already had 50 others in it. The next day they loaded us into a railroad car. They gave us a little food and we carried a little of our own. In one corner of the car stood a pail to relieve ourselves. Our water ran out quickly and you cannot grasp the kind of dramatic days we endured because of the children wailing for water. Our condition was tragic. We saw how the children were suffering and we could do nothing to help. When we arrived they pulled us off the cars. Those who could not walk, the small children, the old and sick, invalids and many women, were put on trucks and taken to the camp. The others went on foot. We were the fortunate ones. I say that because those who went by truck were taken directly to the crematoria and made into soap. We were taken to the camp where we joined another 1500 people. As we entered we were searched, but they did not find many things on us because we had already been through the German vice in Salonika. After the Germans in Auschwitz had searched us they took us to an area where they tatooed a number on everyone's arm. Before going to take showers with cold water, they shaved our hair and then gave us some long clothing, an army shirt from Soviet prisoners of war and a pair of pants . . .".[210]

It is known that, on 30 April, 400 Jews from Lerin were taken to Ber and that, on the same day, 600 Jews from Ber went to Salonika, from where they departed for Auschwitz or Treblinka on 1 May.

The sixteenth transport took place toward the end of May and, according to official German data, a total of 42,830 persons were deported.

The seventeenth transport, on 1 June, carried 820 people.

The eighteenth transport left on 2 August with approximately 1000 persons.[211] This transport included the deportation of Jews having Spanish citizenship, 267 persons put in separate cars. Among them was the Spanish Consul in Salonika, Salomon Ezrati. Here is what one survivor said of this transport:

"On 2 August, the convoy departed for Germany. The trip took eleven days. In Austria, one car from our train was sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau. The others headed for Hannover. On 11 August,

we went through an air raid on our train near Nürnberg... It was hell in Bergen-Belsen; this was a camp for gradual death. Our group proceeded toward Spain. We left Bergen-Belsen on 4 February 1944, and the second group left on the seventh of the same month. We traveled in third class cars... We reached Barcelona on 14 February...".[212]

The final, nineteenth transport left on 7 August with about 1200 people, those being the Jews who, until then, had been working at forced labor near Salonika. They were brought from the airport and other places where they had been working to the Baron Hirsch camp. The Jews were pale, tormented and lacking necessary clothing and shoes. On 7 August they were sent to Treblinka, from where not one of them returned. Included in this transport were Chief Rabbi Korets and other members of the Jewish Community, as well as the remainder of the Jewish police. And so, Salonika and the other towns were rid of their Jews. This transport left for Bergen-Belsen, in Austria, and for Terzin in Czechoslovakia. Not one of the people sent to Terzinka returned, but a few of those taken to Bergen-Belsen survived. Among them was Korets, who died the very day that Germany surrendered.[213]

We can now ascertain that a total of 45,650 persons were deported from the part of Macedonia which was in the German occupied zone.[214]

Finally, it must be stated that the Greek bourgeoisie, particularly that of Salonika, looked upon the Germans' anti-Jewish measures with a degree of sympathy, since by these means they would be freed of some serious competitors. This was even admitted by Logotepulos, the president of the quisling Greek government, when he said that "the deportation of the Jews from Salonika and its vicinity is in the Greek interest".[215]

The Liquidation of Jewish Property

The pillage of Jewish property began on the very day that the German troops marched into Salonika and the neighboring towns. Jewish stores were ransacked by German soldiers. The Gestapo and other military authorities then inflicted various tortures on rich individuals to make them reveal where they kept their gems. It is known that Merten himself arrived in Salonika with suitcases filled with gold and diamonds, which he remanded for safekeeping to one Frau Eiser. After the war he bought a villa with some of these gems and lived an extravegant life.[216]

At his trial Merten underscored the fact that, besides the Merten-Wisliceny-Brunner triumverate, which demonstrated its

thieving greed during the confiscation of Jewish property, some Greek citizens who were agents of the German occupiers also engaged in these acts. Through official agreements, the shops having the most expensive wares were alloted to friendly Greeks who cooperated with the occupiers, something which was repulsive to the Greek people themselves.

Ilias Duros was head of the Finance and Tax Department (Eforia) of Salonika and was in charge of the disposal of Jewish property during the occupation. In Salonika, on 12 December 1945, while testifying at his trial as a collaborator with the enemy, Ilias provided much information about behind-the-scenes activities, in particular, the theft of Jewish property and its apportionment to people who had collaborated with the occupiers. In his tesimony Ilias stated, "Merten played an active role in the allotment of Jewish property, giving it to friendly individuals who had performed services or who had expressed their allegiance to the occupation. Among these was the well-known Laskaris Papanaum, to whom Merten gave the leather factory belonging to Amir Mevora . . .". Ilias further explained how the occupiers ransacked the store belonging to one Kunio, which contained 150 cameras and many boxes of film having a value of 500,000 pre-war *drachmas.*[217]

Much light is shed on the question of the theft of Jewish property by the testimony of Edgar Kunio who, together with his father, was the owner of a pharmacy. The Germans sold this business to the bankrupt tobacco merchant Grigoriades. The value of the inventory was approximately 3000 gold pounds Sterling. Kunio stated: "In August 1943, the Germans took me, another 61 of my correligionists and seventeen persons from the next-to-last deportation shipment and sent us to Bergen-Belsen near Hannover. Chief Rabbi Korets was also with us, but he died of typhus. I returned in September 1945 and discovered that our apothecary had been sold to the tobacco dealer Grigoriades for forty million *drachmas,* which he was going to pay in twenty monthly instalments".

Merten revealed under questioning that Grigoriades had paid almost nothing for the business and that, in fact, this service had been performed for him because his daughter had been a German spy and because the Fifth Army Command had therefore decided to present this store to him. People such as Grigoriades, Ilias Duros and others who received Jewish property from the Germans for their acts of treason could be nothing other than overt or covert collaborators and spies for the fascist occupiers.[218]

One such case was brought to light through Max Merten's initiative in the *Hamburger Echo* and in the German magazine *Der Spiegel.* Merten was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in Athens in 1959 but, on the strength of a special Greek law,

he was subsequently sent to Germany where he was eventually released. The publication of these documents provoked stormy discussions in the Greek parliament and press because the materials and accusations against Merten mentioned the names of the wife of Prime Minister Dimitrios Makris and of Defense Minister Georgios Temelis who, according to Merten, offered their services to the German occupiers, in return for which they received Jewish poperty in Salonika.[219]

The press printed the list of people, read at Merten's trial in Athens, who in 1943 received Jewish shops and goods. Here is a list of some of those people whom the Greek press benignly called "bad Greeks", whose past has not hindered them from holding important functions in today's Greek state administration: Dimitrios Lamzakis, Ioanis Ganioglu, Eli Gibel, Alexandros Petchakis, Martiris Kalustian, Dionysios Agatos, Asteriadis Konstantinos, Ioanis Merziru, Vasil Etondiur, Georgis Petridis, Ioanis Milonas, Osman Hadzhi Osman, Vaso Chrisopulu, Maria Benovich, Maro Kirmazian, Mihail Marinakis, Nina Levanti, Dushan Getokov, Gaspar Gasparian, Aliki Asaliyan, Chrisantos Varidis, Paraskevi Polichronu, Alexandros Diamandidis, Maria Raptopulu, Andreas Proedru, Ioakim Agatoklis, Christodulos Zaras, Maria Georgiadu, Kon Asteriadis, Anastasios Miziu, Christos Kirmanzidis, Evstratios Karamanidis, Ana Pali, Edmond Aslan, Kiriana Grebenikova, Evlavia Tavitian, Panaiotis Panaiotidis, Angelos Konaras, Alexandros Georgiadis, Georgios Palasa, Alind Mastakas, Ana Manusi, Dimitrios Ikonomu, Evangelos Sarandopolous, Aristidis Biaitakis and others.[220]

In Salonika there used to be over 2000 commercial and industrial businesses with capital assets in the hundreds of millions of gold pounds. According to an official report released by U. D. I. P., a special investigation service created by the Germans, Salonika had 2000 registered Jewish shops, 2324 buildings and 5921 people working in them. And, as the Greek journalist Ianis Ioanidis has written, all of these legendary properties found their way into the hands of the German occupiers and their local agents.[221]

THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN THE ITALIAN OCCUPIED ZONE OF MACEDONIA

As is known, Macedonia during World War II was under three occupying forces which, in their severity toward the Jews, rank in this order: German, Bulgarian and Italian. Many documents and Jews who have survived attest to the fact that, until Italy's capitulation on 8 September 1943, no rigorous anti-Jewish measures were undertaken. The zone occupied by Italy in Macedonia was not very large and consisted of the area around the towns of Te-

tovo, Gostivar, Kichevo, Debar, Struga and Kostur. Except for Kostur, which had a small number of Jews, the other towns had no Jews at the beginning of the Italian occupation. Because of the more benign and tolerant attitude of the Italian occupying authorities, however, immediately after the partition of Macedonia many Jews from the German and Bulgarian zones fled to the "Italian territory", as the Jews themselves called it. Not only were they not persecuted there, but they were even protected by the Italian authorities.

Jews in the Italian occupied zone were not made to wear the yellow Star of David, nor were their shops and homes marked as "Jewish shop" or "Jewish house". Their freedom of movement was not restricted by area or by hour. We have information that some Jews, due to their knowledge of languages, were employed in Italian military and administrative organs, where they did not experience degradation. It is definitely known that the Italian authorities in this part of Macedonia never initiated any sort of mass anti-Jewish measures or pogroms for the physical annihilation of the Jews, as was done by the Germans and Bulgarians. To date we know of no law, proclamation or local act issued by the Italian authorities in Macedonia having anti-Jewish contents. Jews were imprisoned in this zone, but only if they displayed communist sympathies or were active in the resistence. Not one person, however, was jailed merely for being a Jew.

This in no way implies that the Italian occupiers were "good". Racist doctrines were proclaimed during the occupation of Albania in 1939, after 28 October 1940, when Italy attacked Greece and occupied her section of Albania, and after 6 April 1941, when virtually all of Greece and part of Macedonia came under Italian occupation. These doctrines were almost never enforced, however, or if they were it was without the enthusiasm and severity practiced by the Germans and Bulgarians.

The following are the personal experiences of individual Jews. Pepo Koen tells about his escape from Salonika to the Italian occupied zone in 1943: "Although Italy was a German ally, the Jews in her zone were not persecuted. To the contrary, the Italian authorities offered help to Jewish refugees. Any Jew who illegally crossed the existing demarcation line and who reported to an Italian border post received a pass to proceed through the Italian occupied zone and could even get a free ride on military transports. I then went to Athens".[222] Baruch Shibi, who also fled from Salonika to Athens through the Italian zone, confirmed that the Italian authorities extended him help despite knowing that he was a Jew and that he had escaped from Salonika.

When the deportation of the Jews was being prepared in February 1943, the Italian consulates in Salonika and Skopje issued Italian passports to some Jews, although they were not Ital-

ian citizens. Consequently, on 8 February, Beckerle informed the main security administration of the Reich that many Jews had become new Italian citizens. On 6 March, Kaltenbrunner, head of RSHA, pressured the highest Italian authorities to warn their consular officers in Salonika and Skopje not only to cease issuing new passports, but also not to recognize the validity of those passports already issued. They were also to cease taking any interest in the Jews who held Italian citizenship, since their deportation was inevitable.[224] Nonetheless, despite the pressure, the Italian consuls in Salonika and Skopje did not permit the deportation of Jews holding Italian passports.

As has been mentioned, the Jews of Skopje and Bitola who had Italian citizenship were withdrawn from deportation upon the demand of the Italian consul in Skopje. These Jews either remained in Skopje or went to Tetovo or elsewhere in the Italian zone. The same pertained to the Italian consul in Salonika, who in 1942 was Emilio Neri, an anti-Nazi and the son-in-law of the commandant Dolfini. According to the account of one Madam Malach, Neri rescued many Jews by transferring them to the Italian occupied zone. In her own words: "The Italian consul Neri greatly helped the persecuted Jews. He put us in contact with Greek railway workers who, either for small amounts of money or just out of sympathy, would hide Jews in transport cars carrying potatoes or other goods to Athens. In the Italian occupied zone all Jews were helped and were even issued falsified documents without Semitic names".[225]

Sarina Saltiel also confirmed that, „Emilio Neri and Captain Mersi rescued us. Captain Mersi was the connection between the consulate and the German authorities, and he and Neri would frequently come from Salonika to Platamona, which was on the border of the Italian zone. There they would put Jewish refugees on military convoys or would dress them in Italian military uniforms in order to transfer them to the Italian occupied zone. This they did out of humanistic compulsion and with no financial reward".[226]

And finally, this is the account of yet another woman who fled from the Baron Hirsch camp: "I ran into the Italian consulate. Captain Mersi received me and I begged him to get my two sons out of the camp too. He got my sons out and eight others as well. He rescued all of those who had even very distant ties to some Italian family. To one Jewish woman, Buena Sarfati, he gave a passport under the name of Maria Tivoli and thus saved her from deportation".[227]

Zamboni, the new Italian consul in Salonika, also did whatever he could to save as many Jews as possible by transferring them to the Italian occupied zone, usually Kostur, Larissa or Platamona. There the Jewish refugees received permission to continue their journey and the Italian authorities even gave them financial assistance from money earmarked for refugees. Due to the insis-

tance of the German authorities, Zamboni was quickly removed and replaced by Gastruccio, who was no different than the two men who had preceded him. Not only Italian consuls, but also Italian generals did not want to become involved in the deportation of the Jews. When the German General Alexander von Lehr turned to Italian General Carlo Gelozo for help in the deportation of the Jews, the latter categorically refused. Lehr then turned to another Italian general, Tripiccione, but received the same reply.[228]

Just before the deportation, or while it was in progress, the two brothers Sevi and Naytas, together with their families, went to Tetovo and then to Gostivar in the Italian zone, due to the help given them by the Italian consulate in Skopje. Naytas, the older brother, remained in Gostivar, where he worked in the buying and selling of livestock, and Sevi lived in the village of Vrapchishte, where he had a butcher stop. Nakhmiyas, a Jew from Skopje, crossed the border illegally and went through Tetovo to Tirana, where he found work with a Jewish relative. Other Jews from Skopje and Bitola came to Italy via Tetovo and Albania. The Italian authorities helped these refugees in their flight. Many people fled from Bitola, Lerin and Ber to Kostur, which was under the Italians.

These conditions, however, only continued until 8 September 1943, when Italy capitulated and when the German army disarmed the Italian garrisons in the Italian occupied zone. Once again there were black days for the Jews, since the Germans initiated anti-Jewish measures and the deportation of small groups which were formed between the autumn of 1943 and the spring of 1944. The biggest raid took place on 25 March 1944, when they rounded up the Jews of Kostur and those Jews who had fled from Macedonian cities under German and Bulgarian occupation to Kostur, which was under Italian occupation. It is thought that a total of 763 persons were taken to Auschwitz, only a few of whom returned after the war. After Italy's capitulation, the world political situation and Germany's military situation on the Eastern Front had changed entirely, so that even the Germans could not implement their anti-Jewish measures with the same fervor as they had previously.[229]

The Death Camps: Treblinka, Auschwitz and Others

Most of the Jews from Macedonia were taken to the death camp in Treblinka, and the second greatest number to Auschwitz. Smaller groups of Jews were sent to the camps in Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor, Birkenau, Bergen-Belsen, Mauthausen, Buchenwald, Theresienstadt, Oshenchin, Lublin and Dachau. As most

Macedonian Jews lost their lives at the Treblinka and Auscwitz camps, we will concern ourselves chiefly with these two.

When the German leadership reached its decision for "the final solution of the Jewish question" in mid-1941, Himmler encharged Eichmann with the implementation of his decision. Among other things, Eichmann ordered the construction of a number of camps for the extermination of the Jews. Treblinka was located approximately 100 kilometers north-east of Warsaw, near the Malkinia train station. The first camp began to be built in the summer of 1941 and was officially opened on 15 November 1941. The camp was known as "Treblinka I" and was intended for the forced labor of healthier Jews and other inmates and prisoners of war.

The construction of "Treblinka II" was begun in the spring of 1942 and was completed in mid-July of that year.[230] This camp, situated two kilometers away from the first, was equipped with gas chambers intended for the liquidation of the Jews. The camp was divided into two sections. The first section, which was fenced off separately, contained administration and security barracks, offices, garages, workshops and warehouses for storing confiscated property. The "train station" was also located here, and arrows pointing to the "platforms", "ticket windows", "cafe" and "toilets" helped to keep the victims deceived until the last moment. The irony was made even greater by a sign indicating the "Office of the International Red Cross". The second section contained barracks for the inmates and a building with three gas chambers. In the fall of 1942, another building with ten gas chambers was constructed. These gas chambers together held 2000 persons, who were put to death at once. The camp was guarded by several dozen S. S. troops and several hundred Ukrainians. Franz Paul Stangl was the Camp Commandant and Kurt Franz was his assistant.[231]

The victims were brought to the Treblinka station in cattle wagons, but only nineteen railroad cars actually brought them into the camp. There the cars were opened and the passengers were let into the yard. In each car were the bodies of several people who had died during the journey, and the stench of the rotting corpses was released as soon as the wagon doors were opened.

The separation of men and women began in the yard. A third classification consisted of those people who were immobilized, such as the ill, the old, invalids and infirm children. People so classified were sent to the "infirmary", where they were killed immediately by S. S. troops who shot them in the head. The healthier of the men were sent to forced labor in Treblinka I. All the others were instructed to disrobe in order to shower, but

they were first sheared to save the hair, especially women's hair, for future use. Before being sent to the showers, everyone was given a kind of soap, which was, in fact, made from the compressed ashes of previously cremated Jews that had been covered with a thin layer of soap. The Jews were then driven into the showers with whips in order to squeeze in as many people as possible. Small babies were often tossed in over the women's heads. The doors were then hermetically sealed and carbon monoxide or cyanide were released through the showers, suffocating the victims in 15 to 20 minutes.

Other inmates would then remove the bodies from the "bath". Among these inmates were "dentists" who were obligated to examine the mouths of the deceased and to extract any gold teeth with pliers. "Gynecologists" were required to examine all vaginas for hidden objects. The storehouse workers from among the inmates sorted into separate piles all the shoes, clothing, eyeglasses and other belongings of the victims. The entire operation, from the arrival of 2000 people to the removal of their corpses, took two hours. The bodies were then buried in the vicinity of the camp but, as soon as the crematoria were built, the bodies were burned.

This death factory was operating at its greatest capacity between August and December 1942, and between January and May 1943, precisely those periods when the Jews of Macedonia were sent there. Between 2—20 September 1942 alone, 203 wagons filled with clothing, shoes and other articles were sent to Germany from this camp. Dispensible Jews from Treblinka I were periodically brought to Treblinka II to be exterminated. Himmler visited Treblinka II in February 1943 and was satisfied with its operation.[232]

On 2 August 1943, an uprising took place in the camp, led by the physicist Dr. Julian Chorazycki. The rebels killed several of the S. S., cut through the fence and fired on the Ukrainians, who had themselves considered fleeing due to the approach of the Red Army. Nearby German garrisons and patrols joined in the search for the escapees, even using airplanes to scour the terrain. Most of the rebels were killed, but a few succeeded in reaching the Polish partisans or in hiding out. Following this insurrection, in November 1943, Treblinka II was dismantled as a camp. Because of the approach of the Red Army, the gas chambers and other structures were demolished and the earth was scorched and planted with wheat, In this camp alone, about 750,000 persons were put to death. One of the few survivors of Treblinka was Jean François Steiner, who wrote a book in French called *Treblinka,* in which he recounts his memories of this camp.

At the time of the extermination of the Macedonian Jews, the commandant of the camp was Franz Stangel. He was impri-

soned by the Americans after the war, but managed to escape to Brazil where he became an executive of Volkswagen and where he and his wife lived in a posh villa. Stangl was found by Simon Wiesenthal, the famous hunter of war criminals, who paid another former S. S. individual seven thousand dollars to turn him in. After his arrest, Stangl's extradition was sought by Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria and West Germany. He was remanded to the German authorities and was sentenced to life imprisonment, which was subsequently reduced to twenty years. Stangl died in prison in June 1971.[234]

Conditions in the other camps to which Macedonian Jews were sent resembled those in Treblinka. The second largest number of Macedonian Jews was sent to Auschwitz, from where only a small number returned. From those who returned we get a clear picture of life in the camps, the death factories. Here is one description of life in Auschwitz:

"A few Jews had fled from Bitola to Kostur where, after the capitulation of Italy, they were arrested and sent to Auschwitz. Some people died along the way. The camp commandant separated the men from the women and the able-bodied from the disabled. Then everyone was tatooed with a number. In camp, blood was taken from us for German soldiers. We rose at 2 : 30 in the morning and waited in the barracks until 6 : 00. Work began at 6 : 30 and ended at 5 : 30 in the evening . . . People howed, plowed, and loaded and unloaded wagons. They got 250 grams of bread daily. Every month they conducted a selection in the camp and the disabled were sent to the crematorium . . . There were nine crematoria in the camp. Through the chinks in the barracks we watched the arrival of trains filled with Jews. They were stripped naked and given 'soap' and then taken to the baths, where they were suffocated by poison gas within ten minutes. The bodies were then taken to the crematoria, from which tall flames were visible. Those who worked in the crematorium were not permitted to come into contact with the others. Among these were also some Jews and the same fate awaited them after a month. The bodies that were taken to the crematoria were turned into ashes needed for making new pieces of 'soap' for the new arrivals. These were real death factories where the process went on continuously".[235]

One witness, Natan, describes the suffering of the victims imprisoned at the Auschwitz camp: "One day they took two Polish, Dutch, French and Greek men to use as guinea-pigs. They wanted to see how these men would react to various poisons. Two of them were given arsenic, and when they had terrible cramps [the Germans] were pleased. Another two men received strychnine and the rest were given various kinds of other poison. One was forced to swallow fire and another was ordered to swallow some

glass. Yet another man, who refused to obey, was subjected to unheard-of tortures. They stripped him and slowly burned his genitals. Another person who refused to follow their orders was made to sit in a trough of scalding water".[236]

Isak Arukh describes the tragedy of his family as follows: "I was saved several times from imprisonment because I had paid some money. I had already paid more than 150 pounds Sterling, but in the end they arrested me, my wife and my two daughters, one son, my mother, three brothers and fourteen other relatives. Together with our other correligionists, we were loaded onto cattle wagons and sent to Birkenau in Poland. The able-bodied were seperated from the rest, who were put in other rooms. No one knew what was in store for him. One time I sat next to a furnace to read a paper by the light of what was burning inside. I could not have imagined that the flames that were providing me light to read by were coming from the bodies of my unfortunate children, who were being burned just then".[237]

Isak Arukh also provides details about the gas chambers and crematoria: "Barely 15% of us were fit for work. The other 85% were taken to special rooms, where the weakest were sent to beautifully arranged baths. These areas really were tastefully appointed with beautiful pictures on the walls, mirrors, chairs for sitting and other comforts. The victims entered, believing that they would actually wash themselves well. They shed their own clothes, hung them on hangers and then turned on the faucets to wash. But they could not bathe because, instead of water, the murderes released gas which killed them. The bodies were taken to the ovens by special conveyors which held 80 corpses at a time, and there a special machine pumped the fat into a basin to cool. After being formed into slabs, the fat was sent to factories to be made into soap".[238]

The Germans did not let any exhausted inmate live for more than five months. Such a person was not to consume too much bread. He had to die, for he was unprofitable for the Reich to keep. Thus, his end would come one day in the gas chamber and crematorium, from which he would be sent to the soap factories.

A Recapitulation of the Number of Jews Deported from all Parts of Macedonia

From Vardar Macedonia	7,144
From Eastern Macedonia	2,617
From Pirin Macedonia	10
From the German Occupied Zone	45,650
From the Italian Occupied Zone	763
TOTAL FOR ALL MACEDONIA	56,184

To the above total one must add another 31 persons who died either in temporary or detention camps or during the deportation journey. This raises the total number of Jews deported to the death camps from the detention camps and those who died *en route* to 56,215, or approximately 98% of the total Jewish population of all of Macedonia.

A small number of Jews who were saved from extermination returned to Vardar Macedonia immediately after the war. These were people who had either found refuge outside of Macedonia or who had miraculously survived the concentration camps. The following number of Jews came back to Vardar Macedonia:

From refuge in Albania or Italy	116
From various concentration camps	65
From military incarceration in Germany	15
TOTAL	196

Skopje was liberated from German-Bulgarian occupation on 13 November 1944, and already in December the Jewish community was restored. The Jewish community of Skopje was the first in all of post-war Yugoslavia to recommence its work. With the return of approximately twenty Jews from partisan units and the return of numerous Jews who had fled abroad before 6 April 1941, the Skopje community numbered 650. These Jews stimulated cultural activity in the restored community until 26 July 1963, when the catastrophic Skopje earthquake demolished the Jewish community building, killing eight people. A wave of immigration to Israel ensued so that, by 1972, the Jewish population in all of Vardar Macedonia was 99, of whom 95 lived in Skopje. The Jewish community of Skopje is now one of the least numerous active communities in Yugoslavia.

Only 40 Jews returned to Eastern Macedonia after the war: 36 to Kavala and four to Drama.

Approximately 2000 people returned to Salonika after the war. Most of them had been abroad or had found refuge on the Greek islands, although some had saved their lives due to their Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish or other foreign citizenship. As a result of immigration to Israel, the size of the Jewish community in Salonika had dwindled to 1129 by 1971. Only 35 Jews returned to Kostur, three to Serres and another eight to Kavala.

No deported Macedonian Jews came back to any towns in Macedonia other than those which have been mentioned. Thus, after having lived on the soil of Macedonia for more than two millenia, Macedonian Jewry was exterminated almost entirely. The Macedonian nation maintains and sustains the memory of its Jewish compatriots by erecting numerous monuments in honor of

the slain Jews, by holding commemorations and jubilees and by publishing articles and books, all of which are intended for future generations as testimony to the crimes of the occupation and to the love of the Macedonian people for their compatriots, the Jews.

We shall end with the poem "Rashela", written by the contemporary Macedonian poet Gogo Ivanovski and reprinted frequently in Macedonia. This poem, based on the deportation of the Jews of Macedonia, is presented here in an abridged form:

Arise, Rashela . . . Before your gate
With the face of a mortician stands a strict policeman . . .
You must pay for your faith,
For your name, for your own birthright.

We will forever remember: people lived
On our street, on the ground floor
Like any person, like the rest of us,
People lived in our town.

The column is moving . . . Hurry to it
To overtake your mother and distant kin
The column is moving . . . Oh, farewell Rashela
We will remember your long road.

WE REMEMBER AND SHALL REMEMBER, RASHELA

FOOTNOTES

I.

THE JEWS OF MACEDONIA IN ANTIQUITY

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II.

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[85] B. Hrabak, Jevreji u Albaniji od kraja XIII do kraja XVII veka i njihove veze sa Dubrovnikom, ZJIM, Beograd 1971, 82, 94
[86] Битолски сицил бр. 4, рист 21
[87] Битолски сицил бр. 3, лист 63, 71
[88] Битолски сицил бр. 17, лист 51
[89] Битолски сицил бр. 60, лист 59
[90] Битолски сицил бр. 8, лист 37 и 46
[91] Битолски сицил бр. 8, лист 46
[92] Битолски сицил бр. 6, лист 60
[93] С. Димитров, Еврия Челеби..... 203
[94] For the general development of the textile industry see: Emmanuel, Histoire de l'industrie des tissus des Israelites de Salonique, Paris 1935
[95] А. Матковски и П. Ангелакова, Два француски патописци од XIX век, ГИНИ, год. XVI, бр. 3, Скопје, 255
[96] Битолски сицил бр. 8, лист 37 и 46

[97] Битолски сицил бр. 8, лист 41

[98] Битолски сицил бр. 3, лист 4: бр. 11, лист 16; бр. 17, лист 71 и бр. 33 лист 46

[99] For the development of Jewish industry in Macedonia see: А. Матковски и П. Ангелакова, Извештаи на белгиските конзули испраќани од Солун (од 13. IV. 1859 до 5. VIII 1871 година), ГИНИ, год. XV, бр. 3, Скопје 1971. Ibidem: Извештаи на француските конзули од Солун, ГИНИ, год. XVI, бр. 1, 2и 3, Скопје 1972 и Извештаи на Италијанските конзули, ГИНИ, год. XVII, бр. 3, Скопје 1973 и год. XVIII, бр. 2 из Скопје 1974

[100] А. Матковски и П. Ангелакова, Македонија според англискиот патописец Edward Lear од 1848 година, ГИНИ, год XVII, бр .1 Скопје 1973, 259

[101] Vakalopoulos, A History of Thessaloniki... 108

[102] Калдерон, Историја јеврејског народа II,8

[103] Dubnov op. cit. 159.

[104] Мезанъ op. cit. I, 93—94

[105] Мезанъ op. cit. II, 60. Branko, Esai sur l'histoire... 52—53

[106] Еврейски извори I, 463

[107] Ibid 291

[108] Ibid 9

[109] Мезанъ op. cit. II, 58. Roth, *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* 80, 1644—5. Franco op. cit. 77—78

[110] Franco op. cit. 75. Мезанъ op. cit. II, 59

[111] Мезанъ op. cit. II, 60—61

[112] Еврейски извори, I, 361

[113] Ibid: 479

[114] Ibid: 535

[115] Ст. Новаковић, Хаџи Калфа или Ћатиб Челебрија, турски географ XVII века о Балканском Полуострову, ССКА, Београд 1892, 36

[116] Еврейски извори II, 151

[117] Ibid: 176. E. J. 7, 1512, Мезанъ ц. д. II, 62—63

[118] Мезанъ op. cit. 63

[119] Еврейски извори, II, 197

[120] Ibid: 213

[121] Ibid: 223

[122] Ibid: 271

[123] Ibid: 301

[124] Franco op. cit. 91

[125] Еврейски извори II, 143

[126] Ibid: 159

[127] Ibid: 409

[128] Ibid: 185

[129] Ibid: 465

[130] Ibid: 305

[131] Franco op. cit. 91

[132] Еврейски извори II, 451

[133] Ешкенази, Евреите на Балканския Полуостров през XVIII век — живот, икономика, бит и култура ГОКПОЕНРБ, год. VIII София 1973, 83

[134] Ibid: 83

[135] Ibid: 84

[136] Ibid: 85

[137] Ibid: 85

[138] Мезанъ, op. cit. II, 76. Mihael Molho, In memoriam hommage aux victimes Juives des nazis en Grèce. Thessaloniqui 1973, 19

[139] Ј.П. год. XXIV, бр. 1—2, 1973, 30

[140] Ј.П. год. XXI, бр. 1—2, 1970, 65

[141] The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia ... 908—9

[142] All the songs are from the collection of Macedonian folk songs compiled by Filip Kavaev, called *Bitola Babam Bitola*, Bitola, 1969 : 16—23 70

[143] Тодор Симовски, За учеството на Малцинствата во Илинденското востание. „Илинденски зборник" 1903—1953, Скопје 1953, 29—30

[144] А. Матовски, *Трагедијата на Евреите* ... (1962), 23—24

[145] М. Пандевски, Националното прашање во македонското ослободително движење (1893—1903), Скопје 1974, 230—235, Асса ц. д. 70—72

[146] Т. Симовски, За учеството на народностите во Илинденското востание „Книга за Илинден", Скопје, 212—213

[147] Пандевски, Националното прашање ... 230—231. Пандевски, Политичките партии и организации во Макеоднија, Скопје 1965, 302—322

[148] Кантарциев, Мазов и Мандичевски, Одбрани статии за работничкото и социјалистичкото движење во Македонија (1895—1914) Скопје 1962, 195—196

[149] Георг Хаупт, Увод во историјата на солунскиот социјалистички работнички сојуз. „Работничкото движење во Македонија до 1929". Скопје 1971, 102. J. Kordatos, Istorija tu eliniki ergatiku knimatos, Atine 1956, 240—242. Velikov, Sur le mouvement ouvrier et socialiste en Turqui. Etudes Balkaniques, I, Sofia 1964, 38

[150] Хаупт op. cit. 104

[151] Т. Симовски, Акивноста на „Federation" и нејзините врски со балканските и другите социјалдемократски партии (1909—1918), ГИНИ, год. IX, бр. 1, Скопје 1965, 11

[152] Симовски, Активноста 16

[153] Ibid: 17. Димитар Влахов, Мемоари, Скопје 1970, 147

[154] Симоновски, Активноста ... 18, Влахов op. cit. 115—171

[155] Симовски, Активноста ..... 20—21

[156] Ibid: 21—22

[157] Ibid: 27 Kordatos op cit. 303—320. Rizospastis from 6.XI.1918.

IV.

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

[1] А. Матковски, *Трагедијата на Евреите* (1962), 24

[2] „Од Скопје", *Радничке новине,* organ of the Serbian social-democratic party and of the main worker's union, in nos. 94—97

[3] Ј. П. год. XXIII, бр. 3—4 1972, 110—111

[4] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 17

[5] Ibid: 17—18

[6] Ibid: 18

[7] Ibid: 18

[8] Ј. П. год. XII, бр. 11—12, 61 Матковски op. cit. (1962), 24

[9] E. B. Gajić, Jugoslavija i „Jevrejski problem" Beograd 1938, 6—7.

[10] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 24—25

[11] According to Document #3420, 2 July 1939, housed in the Archives of the SJVOJ

[12] According to Document #4472, 27 July 1939, housed in the Archives of the SJVOJ

[13] According to the report of the audience before SJVOJ, compiled by the above mentioned delegation, housed in the Archives of the SJVOJ.

[14] Левентал Зденко, Злочин фашистичких окупатора и њихових помагача против Јевреја у Југославији. Београд 1952, стр. XIII

[15] Ј. П. год. XXV/1974, бр. 11—12, 22—23

[16] Albert Vajs, Jevreji u novoj Jugoslaviji, JA, Beograd 1954,

[17] Јаша Томић, *Јеврејско питање,* друго издање. Београд, Маја 1940 године, 3

[18] Левентал, op. cit. p. XIV

[19] According to DK Document #16.490, housed in VIIB

[20] According to DK Document #16.378 and FKM Document #10.393 housed in VIIB

[21] According to DK Document #16.378, housed in VIIB. The Archives of VIIB contain several thousand documents relating to the tragedy of the Jews of Yugoslavia. All those documents pertaining to the Jews of Macedonia are kept in two large files, #16.378 and #16.490. Each of these files, to which we will refer by number, contains several hundred documents which were compiled by DK and FKM.

[22] Molho op. cit. 21

[23] Христо Андоновски, Ликвидирањето на Евреите од Егејска Македонија од германскиот окупатор, ГИНИ, год. V, бр. 2 Скопје 1961, 72

[24] Large Greek Encyclopedia, „Pirsos", XII, 608—609

[25] Grigoriu Dafni, i Elas metaksi dio polemon (1923—1940) I, 1955, 112

[26] Miriam Novitch, Le passage des barbares, Nice 25

[27] Ibid: 34

[28] Marko Perić (Velimir Drechsler), Pozorišni život sefarda Bosne i Srbije, JA 1968—70, Beograd 184—5

[29] E. J. 14, 703 и 707
[30] J.П. XXIV/1973, бр. 3—4, 78
[31] Майер, Спасението . . . 24
[32] Kosier, Statistika Jevreja u Jugoslaviji i Bugarskoj. Beograd 1930, 12
[33] Ibid: 33

V.

NAZISM AND WORLD WAR II

[1] Калдерон, op. ci t.II, 111
[2] Ibid: 11
[3] Luis Golding, *Jevrejski problem,* Zagreb 1939, 63
[4] Dubnov op. cit. 230—231
[5] Golding op. cit. 92—93
[6] Dubnov op. cit. 231
[7] Ibid: 232—3
[8] Gajić, Jugoslavija i „Jevrejski Problem", Beograd 1938 36—38
[9] Dubnov op. cit. 237
[10] Golding op. cit. 105, 108, 109
[11] J. П. год. XIX, бр. 9—10, 1968, 34—35
[12] Dubnov op. cit. 237, 256
[13] А. Матковски op. cit. (1962), 31
[14] Ibid: 32—33
[15] Ibid: 34
[16] Ibid: 35—36
[17] Майер, Спасението . . . 33

VI.

PARTICIPATION OF JEWS IN THE NATIONAL WAR OF LIBERATION

[1] А. Матковски op. cit. (1962), 36—38
[2] J. П. год. XXII/1971, br. 9—10, 14—15 n br. 11—12, 28—29
[3] J. П. год. XXV/1974, бр. 7—8, 62
[4] David-Dale Levi, Bitoljski Jevreji u narodno oslobodilačkoj borbi, JA, Beograd 1957—58, 114
[5] Ibid: 113
[6] Боро Кралевски, Беа, загинаа, останаа, Скопје 1969, 122. 11 март 1943—1958. Битола на 3013 Битолски Евреи жртви на фашизмот, Битола 1958, 5
[7] David Levi op. cit. 112
[8] 11 март 2
[9] Матковски op. cit. (1962) 26,
[10] Ibid: 26—27
[11] Ibid: 27—30

[12] 11 март ... 2—5. David Levi op. cit. 111—113

[13] 11 март ... 2 David Levi op. cit. 113, Ј. П. год. XII/1961, бр. 11—12,

[14] Филип Каваев, Смилево славно в оган гори. Македонски народни револуционерни песни за Битола и Битолско. Битола 1972, 152

[15] Кралевски op. cit. 164

[16] Ј. П. год. XIX/1968, бр. 9—10, 21—23. Ј.П. год. XXI/1970, бр. 3—4 17—19

[17] Ј. П. год. X/1959, бр. 11—12, 58

[18] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 32

[19] All the data pertaining to the participation of the Jews in the Greek resistance were found in Molho, op. cit. 130—135 and Miriam Novitch op. cit. 35—37 и 79

VII.

DEPORTATION AND LIQUIDATION OF THE JEWS

[1] Мајер, Спасението ... 25

[2] Матковски, *Трагедијата на Евреите од Македонија*, ГИНИ, год. II, бр. 1, Скопје 1958, 10

[3] Copy of a directive housed in JIMB, #2550, k. 22—3—1/13

[4] Copy of a telegram housed in JIMB, #2198, file 21—2—3/1, 31 June 1941

[5] ЈИМБ бр. 2759, к. 23—7—1/4 од 26 XI. 1941 година

[6] ЈИМБ бр. 2761, к. 23—7—1/6 од 30. XII. 1941 година

[7] ЈИМБ бр. 2772, к. 23—7—1/16 од 9.V.1941 година

[8] ЈИМБ бр. 2762, к. 23—7—1/7

[9] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 38

[10] Ibid: 38—39

[11] ЈИМБ бр. 2763, к. 23—7—1/ и бр. 2764, к. 23—7—1/9

[12] ЈИМБ бр. 2767, к. 23—7—1/12

[13] ЈИМБ бр. 2766, к. 23—7—1/11

[14] ЈИМБ бр. 2768, к. 23—7—1/13

[15] Натан Гринберг, Документи Со,ия 1945, 7

[16] ЈИМБ бр. 2146, к. 21—1—10/4

[17] ВИИБ бр. 16.378. док. од ФКМ

[18] ЈИМБ бр. 2199 к. 21—2—2/11

[19] ЈИМБ бр. 2473, к. 23—6—1/1

[20] ЈИМБ бр. 2474, к. 23—6—1/2

[21] ЈИМБ бр. 2772, к. 23—7—1/17

[22] ЈИМБ бр. 2469, к. 23—5—1/8

[23] According to a document personally signed by Zakhariev upon his arrival in Skopje. The original is housed in AMS.

[24] ЈИМБ бр. 2774, к. 23—7—1/19

[25] Мајер op. cit. 34

[26] Гринберг op. cit. 8—9

[27] Ibid: 12

[28] ЈИМБ бр. 2475, к. 23—6—1/3

[29] ЈИМБ бр. 2782, к. 23—7—2/7

[30] ЈИМБ бр. 2797, к. 23—8—1/7

[31] ЈИМБ бр. 2750, к. 23—7—2/15

[32] ЈИМБ бр. 2800, к. 23—8—1/10

[33] ЈИМБ бр. 2801, к. 23—8—2/11

[34] ЈИМБ бр. 2816, к. 23—8—2/2

[35] ЈИМБ бр. 2820, к. 23—8—2/6

[36] ЈИМБ бр. 2819, к. 23—8—2/5

[37] ЈИМБ бр. 2823, к. 23—8—2/9

[38] ЈИМБ бр. 2825, к. 23—8—2/11

[39] ЈИМБ бр. 2833, к. 23—8—2/17

[40] ЈИМБ бр. 2838, к. 23—8—2/22

[41] ЈИМБ бр. 2831, к. 23—8—2/15

[42] All these restrictions are contained in the „Law for the Protection of the Nation", 21 January 1941, which was published by the Bulgarian *Dŭržaven Vesnik*, #16, 23 January 1941 . They are also found in DK Document #16.378. The former is housed in VJOS and the latter in VIIB.

[43] See the original of such a declaration, housed in AMS. The Jews were compelled to make such declarations on several occasions. KEP issued the order for making this declaration on 7 November 1942, at which time KEP sent 4100 copies of the declaration to VJOS.

[44] Майер, Спасението ... 26

[45] Ibid:

[46] Матковски, op. cit. (1958), 17

[47] Матковски, op. cit. (1962), 49—5

[48] Държавенъ вѣсникъ бр. 208 од 17 IX 1942 година.

[49] According to KEP Directive #1/14 January 1943, signed by KEP Commissar Aleksandar Belev. The original is in AMS.

[50] According to the order of the KEP, #77, 12 February 1943. The original is in AMS.

[51] Copy of a resolution of the Ministerial Council. In AMS.

[52] According to FKM Document #10,393. The original is in VIIB. And according to „Държавенъ вѣсникъ" бр. 124/10 VI 1942. The original is in AMS.

[53] According to the original order of the KEP, #32, 23 September 1942. The original is in AMS. And according to DK document #16.378. Левентал, op. cit. 190.

[54] According to a circular from 28 September 1942. The original is in AMS.

[55] According to the original KEP leger #7.800, 10 December 1942. The original is in AMS.

[56] According to the original instructions #104, 26 December 1942. The original is in AMS.

[57] According to letter #544, 28 December 1942, in which KEPS informed KEP that the emblems have been sold out and that the money has been remitted by check.

[58] Copy of a protest, kept in AMS.

[59] According to the original directive #1, 15 January 1943, signed by Zakhariev and kept in AMS.

[60] According to the original order, #2, 15 January 1943, signed by Zakhariev .The original is in AMS.

[61] Гринберг op. cit. 30--31

[62] Ibid: 43

[63] According to the original DK document #16.378, kept in VIIB, and according to FKM document #10.451

[64] Some documents claim they were shot in Banjica, while some refer to their execution in Jajinci. The majority of documents refer to the latter location.

[65] According to the original documents of FKM #10.451

[65] Според оргиналните документи на ФКМ бр. 10. 451

[66] Гриберг op .cit. 8—9

[67] Ibid: 10—11

[68] Ibid: 12

[69] Ibid: 14—15

[70] According to DK Document #16.378.

[71] Гринберг op. cit. 20

[72] Ibid: 17—18

[73] Ibid: 41

[74] Ibid: 30

[75] Ibid: 52

[76] Ibid: 53

[77] Ibid: 151

[78] According to the original report of FKM, document #10.450, housed in VIIB.

[79] According to Pijade's report in *Nova Makedonija* on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary Commemoration for the Jews.

[80] Гринберг op. cit. 152—3

[81] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 65—66

[28] Ibid: 66

[83] Матковски op. cit. (1958), 29

[84] ЈИМБ бр. 2414, к 22—3—1/8

[85] Гринберг op. cit. 153—5 and according to the original documents of the FKM #11.764, housed in VIIB.

[86] According documents of FKM, #11.764

[87] Ibid:

[88] Гринберг op. cit. 155—9

[89] According to the list compiled in Štip on 11 March 1943, the original of which is kept in AMS.

[90] Гринберг op .cit. 151

[91] Ibid: 55

[92] Гринберг op. cit. 59

[93] According to Elene's account, #11.764 in the FKM inventory and housed in VIIB.

[94] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 75—6

[95] Ibid: 76—7

[96] Ibid: 77—8

[97] Матковски op. cit. (1958), 34. According to the testimony of Leon, FKM document #10.448; the original is housed in VIIB.

[98] Ibid: 34

[99] Ibid: 35. According to the testimony of Hovsep, FKM document #10.394; the original is housed in VIIB.

[100] Гринберг op. cit. 160—2

[101] According to the original, hand-written notes compiled by Peyo Draganov are kept in VIIB.

[102] Ibid:

[103] According to hand-written notes probably compiled by Draganov, or another person in the camp administration. From the handwriting, I infer that the author was Draganov. The originals are in AMS and in VIIB, #10.448.

[104] According to a manuscript in AMS. Draganov compiled such statistical lists for all the buildings and signed them.

[105] According to DK documents nos. 16.378 and 16.490, both in VIIB.

[106] Ibid:

[107] According to FKM document #10.445, The original is in VIIB.

[108] Acca op. cit. 95

[109] Ibid: 96

[110] Original account by Leon Ishakh of Bitola before the FKM. Kept in VIIB under #11.764.

[111] According to the original document signed by Draganov, which is kept in AMS. These are notes compiled by Drganov himself, but the statistics are not entirely accurate. The most precise data come from German reports concerning the transports.

[112] Левентал op. cit. 194

[113] Report of Leon Isakh before the FKM, document #11.764. The original is in VIIB.

[114] Гринберг op. cit. 164—5

[15] Original account by the doctor Hosvet Boyadzhin before the FKM, #10.394, kept in VIIB

[116] The original is in AMS; No number.

[117] Ibid:

[118] Левентал op. cit. 194

[119] ЈИМБ бр. 2807, к 23—8—1/17

[120] The original account of Leon Ishakh of Bitola, who was released from camp one day earlier, on 28 March. It is kept in VIIB under FKM #11.764.

[121] Гринберг op. cit. 163

[122] The original is in VIIB; no number.

[123] Левентал op. cit. 195

[124] FKM #613/3 VIII 1945. The original is in VIIB.

[125] Гринберг op. cit. 35—6 и Левентал op. cit. 195

[16] Матковски op. cit. (1962), 96—7

[127] AMS, Directive #865, 3 March 1943.

[128] The originals are in AMS and JIMB #2776, K. 22-3-1a/1 and 2551; K. 22-3-1/14 and 2411; K. 22-3-1/5 and 2418; K. 22-3-1/12.

[129] Ibid:

[130] Document of the Criminology Department #2015, 29 July 1943. The original is in AMS.

[131] Document of the Criminology Department #2014, 29 June 1943. The original is in AMS.

[132] Document of the Criminology. Department #2407, 29 July 1943. The original is in AMS.

[133] Гринберг op. cit. 166—7

[134] All the documents are housed in AMS.

[135] Гринберг op. cit. 166

[136] Ibid: 20

[137] Ibid: 47—8

[138] Ibid: 49—57

[139] Ibid 44—5

[140] Ibid: 70

[141] Ibid: 71—2

[142] Ibid: 73

[143] Ibid: 73—4

[144] Novitch op. cit. 80—1

[145] Гринберг op. cit. 63

[146] Гринберг op. cit. 65—7

[147] Андоновски op. cit. 93

[148] Гринберг op. cit. 69

[149] Novitch op cit. 81—2

[150] Гринберг op. cit. 123

[151] Ibid: 89—90

[152] Ibid: 92—4

[153] Ibid: 96—II и 96—III

[154] Novitch op. cit. 75—6

[155] Ibid: 78—9

[156] Molho op. cit. 142—4

[157] Гринберг op. cit. 88

[158] Ibid: 88—9

[159] Ibid: 60

160 Ibid: 96—8
161 Ibid: 98—9
162 Ibid: 107
163 Ibid: 108—110
164 Ibid: 115
165 Ibid: 116
166 Ibid: 119
167 Ibid: 120
168 Ibid: 121
169 Ibid: 122
170 ЈИМБ №. 2479, к. 23—6—1/7
171 ЈИМБ №.2834, к. 23—8—2/18
172 Гринберг op. cit. 55, 67, 68, 72, 95, и 96
173 Ibid: 96—II, 124
174 Ibid: 125
175 Ibid: 117—8
176 Майер, Спасението... 36
177 ЈИМБ №. 277, к. 23—7—2/3
178 Гринберг op. cit. 8
179 ЈИМБ №. 2779, к. 23—7—2/4
180 ЈИМБ №. 2783, к. 23—7—2/8
181 Гринберг op. cit. 25
182 Д. Зографски, Македонија 1941—1943 год. според некои германски документи, ГИНИ, XV, 3, Скопје 1971, 64. Майер, Спасението... 37
183 Майер Спасението... 37
184 ЈИМБ, №. 2824, к. 23—8—2/10
185 ЈИМБ, №. 2478, к. 23—6—1/6
186 ЈИМБ, №.2835, к. 23—8—1—/19
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