

# JEWS IN KOTOR

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**following the archival records  
XV-XX C.**

This project was done by the architectural design studio Enforma doo, from Kotor, for the needs of the pilot project of the Municipality of Kotor,

“Rediscover, expose and exploit the conceived Jewish heritage of the Danube region”.

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**Rediscover**

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## Settlement of Jews in the Balkans and in Kotor

Shedding the light on the history of a people who were driven to the margins of survival by the whirlwinds of time is not an easy task to do. Plenty of tangible evidence of Jewish culture in the Balkans, South Adriatic and Kotor were destroyed in fires, wars and natural disasters and among other things are cemeteries as the longest lasting traces of tangible cultural heritage. In 1667, when a disastrous earthquake devastated Dubrovnik and Kotor, the Jewish cemetery in Herceg Novi sank into the sea. A famous Jewish-Portuguese poet, a professor of literature and classical languages, Diogo Pires (Dydacus Pyrrhus), also known as Jacobus Flavius Eborensis, was buried at that cemetery. It is extremely difficult to pinpoint the time of arrival of the first Jews to Montenegro and the town of Kotor. The oldest written traces of the existence of Jewish settlements in the Balkans are related to Thessaloniki, Athens and Corinth, and can be found in the epistles of Paul the Apostle. The Jewish historian Rosanes claims that Jews settled in the Balkans in the 6th century BCE, during the conquests of Darius, and this claim was accepted also by Bulgarian scientists (Katsarov et al.).

However, it is more likely that Jews settled in the Balkans and in what is today the Montenegrin coastal area in the 6th century BCE as slaves of Phoenician merchants.

In the territory of Montenegro, there is a Jewish tomb discovered at the ancient Doclea necropolis near Podgorica in 1963 that is worth mentioning. It was covered by a layer of alluvial sediment, made from blocks of hewn stone bound with mortar, forming a rectangular closed space with the following dimensions: 2.07 x 0.84 x 0.86 metres.

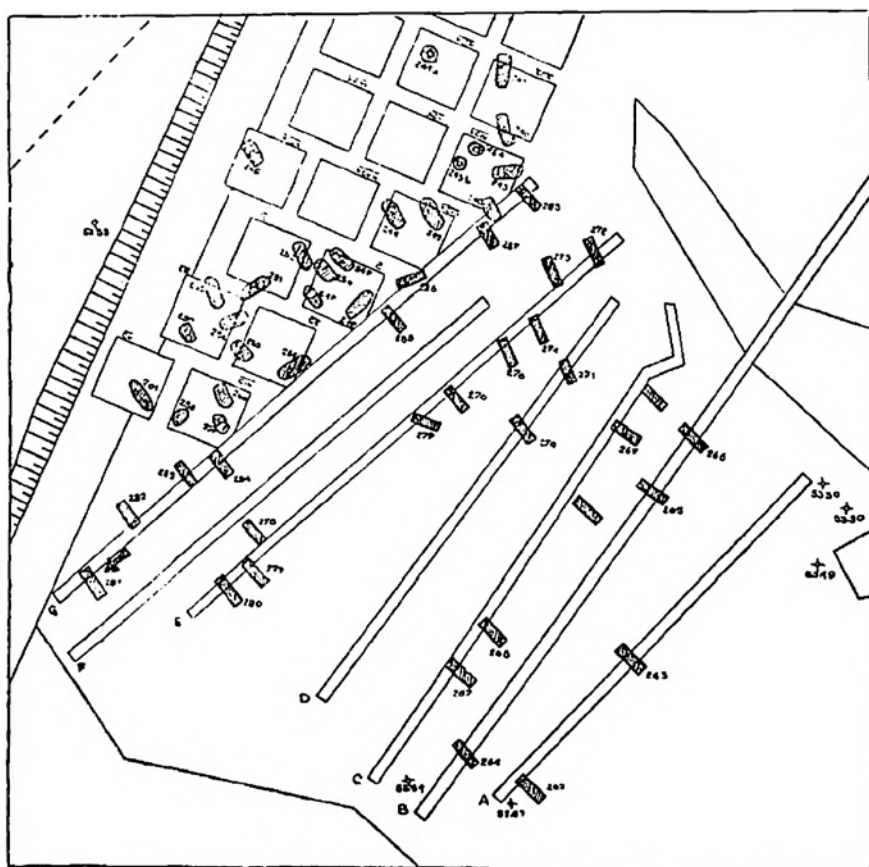


Illustration of the former Jewish tomb in Doclea from the Collection;  
doc. Dr Aleksandrina Cermanović - Kuzmanović, dr Dragoslav Srejskić.  
"Jevrejska grobnica u Duklji." *Jevrejski almanah* 1963-64, Savez jevrejskih  
opština Jugoslavije. Beograd

Among the preserved artifacts, there is a remarkable spindle-shaped unguentarium, 47.5 cm long, made of green glass, which was the only object discovered in the tomb. This object enabled researchers to date the tomb to the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century CE. On all sides, save for the south side, the tomb was covered with a thick layer of mortar. The outlines of the derived motifs were made using a method of deep engraving on fresh mortar, whereas the interspaces were painted in red and dark blue using the al fresco technique. The central composition of a seven-branched menorah candelabrum, flanked with garlands and bird figures, is particularly significant. On the side, a vine or chain with heart-shaped leaves was painted. On the western part, there is an unclear composition and the outlines of a six-pointed star and a dish with several lemon fruits may only be hinted. The dust from previous infrastructural works covers the tomb, and it is partially to totally damaged.

There are no material traces from the first several centuries of the new millennium in Kotor and its surroundings that would definitely show that there used to be a significant Jewish population in this part of the Adriatic Sea

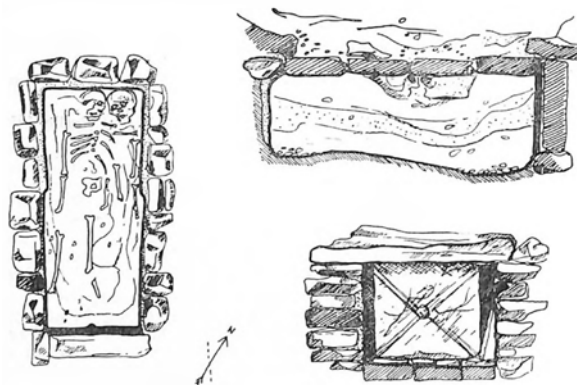
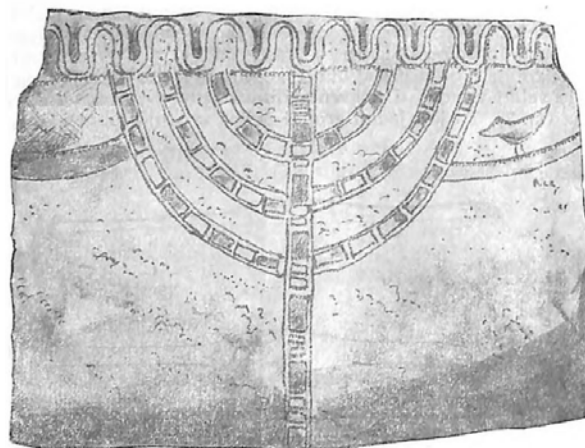


Illustration of the former Jewish tomb in Doclea from the Collection; doc. Dr Aleksandrina Cermanović - Kuzmanović, dr Dragoslav Srejski. "Jevrejska grobnica u Duklji." *Jevrejski almanah 1963-64*, Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije. Beograd



Photograph of former location of Jewish tomb in South-East necropolis Doclea



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Region. However, in other parts of the Balkans, significant remains of Jewish culture were identified, dating back to the first centuries BCE, such as tombstone near Senj, Croatia; tomb inscription mentioning Archisynagogos Josephis in Oescus, Ilpia Colony, modern-day Gigen, Bulgaria; synagogue in Stobi, North Macedonia; and it is believed that a Romaniote Jewish community existed in Edirne in the 4th century CE. This proves the claim that Jews formed autonomous communities in the first centuries CE, where they were able to fully enjoy the religious freedom. Their specific way of life and religious and secular rules made them unfit for certain functions in society. That is why Jews very rarely served in the military and were usually relieved of certain civic duties. However, regardless of the concessions, they did not enjoy fully all the rights available to ordinary citizens at the time.

The most significant migrations of Jews in the Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages occurred also on the coast of Montenegro. A very important link in these migrations were the people from Herzegovina whose horse caravans transported Sephardic Jews, exiles from Peloponnesus, usually from Dubrovnik to Thessaloniki. Therefore, it is obvious that after being exiled from Spain in 1492, Jews settled temporarily or permanently in towns that are today part of the Montenegrin littoral, such as Herceg Novi and Risan.

Before being exiled from Peloponnesus, Sephardic Jews worked together with the Arabs, and starting from the 10th century, at the time of forming the Caliphate of Cordoba, they had a very respectable social status. Many of them held the highest positions in the administration, and that lasted until the 13th century. However, in late 13th century, after long and exhausting struggles between Christians and Muslims, Christians took dominance over Spain. For a time, until 1391, Jews still held important and responsible offices, but this was soon to change. At that time, the fanatic priest Ferrand Martinez gave fiery anti-Semitic speeches in Seville, accusing Jews of the intention to occupy all churches in town. This resulted in a great massacre of Jews, and burning of their assets and houses. More than 4000 Jews were killed, whereas others were saved by conversion. Soon, the spark of hatred spread to Toledo, Valencia and Barcelona. Following the marriage between the Castellan Queen Isabella with Ferdinand of Aragon, the powerful Inquisition with a jurisdiction of the state court, started operating in Spain. One of its tasks was to look for Marranos, converts who continued to practice Jewish customs. Many of them were burned publicly, whereas others were subjected to torture and life imprisonment and had to wear “sanbenitos”.

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella adopted a decree in order to swiftly dispose of all Jews and Arabs in their Empire. Soon, the king of Portugal did the same. After a thousand years of existence in the Iberian Peninsula, the Sephardic Jews, exiles from the lands of their ancestors, had to leave to find a new home for themselves. Many of them died during these travels. The survivors settled in northern Africa and eastern Mediterranean, mostly in Italy, from where they arrived to Dalmatia, and then most of them, up to 100.000 according to some sources, travelled with caravans to Turkey. The caravans organised for this occasion consisted of up to 80 horses. So many horses were necessary because Jews carried a lot of personal belongings, as well as household items and goods intended for sale, particularly textile. That is why there were 170 horses in three known caravans from Dubrovnik to Thessaloniki in 1501-1502.

The Jews commonly started their caravan trips to the East from the South Adriatic, particularly from the Bay of Kotor hinterland. It is impossible to know how many of them settled in the Bay of Kotor, because no written documents were discovered. In the mid-16th century, Risan and Herceg Novi were still under Ottoman rule, and many Sephardic Jews were significantly involved in trade of salt in these towns. Starting from the seventies of the 16th century, the Jews living in Herceg Novi had participated in maritime trade, mostly with Ancona.

Having just settled in a new area, Jews were originally engaged in business other than real estate, and were mostly traders, craftsmen, procurators, business agents and partners. At that time, Kotor and its surroundings were a part of the Venetian Republic, which officially accepted Kotor under its patronage in 1420. Jews handled most of the trade in hide, different types of fabrics, candles and etheric oils between Ancona and Dubrovnik, the two most developed ports in middle-Adriatic, in the first half of the 16th century. Such dominance in trade upset Venice, since it represented a strong competition. The Venetian Republic asked Pope Pius V on several occasions to request Jews from Ancona to give up the primacy in trade in this part of the Adriatic. The Pope certainly had his own interest in the Jews of Ancona and their significant share in the economy of the Papal State, and tried everything to restrain Venice's requests to interfere with Jewish trade. In the coming period, Venetians treated Jews badly at sea, capturing their ships, retaining them in ports and sabotaging their trade in any way possible. In 1571, they won the Battle of Lepanto, after which Venetians exiled all Jews from the Republic and briefly interrupted trade relations with the Orient. Soon after, thanks to a Jewish trader, Daniel Rodriguez, backed by Venice's intention to re-establish trade connections with the East, Venetians encouraged the opening of a trading port in Split, which would rival Dubrovnik and Ancona. After the founding of the trading port in Split and redirecting Jewish trade from Dubrovnik to Split, it was obvious that even more radical steps were needed to slow down the trade between Dubrovnik and Ancona. The Venetians then continued to disrupt Dubrovnik trade in various ways, and when they failed, they used the provveditore (the superintendent) to request that Dubrovnik's Jews reorient their trade to Split, or the Republic would condemn them. When this too failed, the Venetian Senate ordered the provedditore on 31 August 1832 to confiscate Dubrovnik's trade ships travelling between Ancona and Dubrovnik, and to redirect their freight to Split. This shows how important the role of Balkan Jews was in the trade between the East and the West.

Before the great migration of Sephardic Jews, the Jewish communities in the Balkans were established mostly in major towns, where they could get the best of their business skills. Although Kotor at the time was a small town, it does not mean that it did not have a small Jewish community. By comparison, in the nearby Dubrovnik, Jews appear in the archival records as early as the 13th century, when they had the same rights as other citizens. Because of its importance for trade and maritime affairs and its connections with the East, the Bay of Kotor was certainly a territory favourable for Jewish settlement, mostly in the Risan Bay, which was occupied by the Ottomans until 1 September 1687, when the Venetians liberated it. Up until that point, it was clear that Jews were the main protagonists in maritime trade in the Bay of Kotor and played an important role in Dalmatia's trade with the ports of Albania. The Ottomans saw in Jews an opportunity to improve their economy and activate their trade, and gave them much more concessions than they got in Western countries. It is interesting that Joseph Nasi, a Sephardic Jew was among the closest advisors of Sultan Selim.



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## Jews during the period of Kotor's independence (1391-1420) and Venetian protectorate (1420-1797)

During the period of Kotor's independence (1391-1420), in 1414, there is mention of a physician Samuel Ebreus who was contracted to remove the cataract from both eyes of the little Marino, son of Franjo Buća from Kotor. The agreement is interesting since it states that the patient will regain eyesight in 10-15 days. The fee of 20 ducats was agreed for healing both eyes and 10 ducats in case only one eye was healed. It was also agreed that the physician would not receive any compensation if the operation failed or if it caused damage. Unfortunately, no documents from Kotor between 1401 and 1418 were preserved and the information about the said physician comes from Dubrovnik, meaning there is no way of knowing whether other Jewish physicians worked in Kotor at the time. Other physicians working in Kotor in the 15th century were all from Italy (nine of them) except for one who was from Lezhë.

Recognising the threat coming from the Crnojević and the Balšić dynasties, increasing conflicts with Dubrovnik and the danger from the Ottoman aspirations, Kotor asked for Venetian protection eight times between 1396 and 1420. Finally, on 15 March 1420, Kotor became a protectorate of the Venetian Republic, formally becoming a part of its territory on 25 May of the same year. In accordance with the agreement with Venice, the Bay of Kotor residents were given back their old possessions on Luštica peninsula with its salt mines, and also received back Pasiglav, Lješevići, Bogdašići, Miholjska Prevlaka with the islets. Moreover, they were awarded the Budva region, which they promised to protect, and a priority in wheat trade with Albanian ports. With all of these initial concessions, the commerce of the Bay of Kotor gradually became stronger with the support of the Republic of Venice, and Jews who, under Ottoman rule, were mostly situated in the border area, as early as the end of the 16th century actively participated in the trade of two neighbouring towns, Herceg Novi and Risan. Sporadic information on the Jews of the time, however, do not provide a clear and complete picture about the life of Jewish families from Kotor and its surroundings between the 15th and 17th centuries.

It is difficult to say what the position of Jews was like and how many of them lived on the territory of the new Venetian province of the Bay of Kotor. However, having in mind that Pietro de Bruti of Venice, who published his anti-Semitic work entitled *Victoria contra Judaeos* in Vicenza in 1489, was appointed the Bishop of Kotor in 1471, it could be assumed that he was impactful among the domestic priests in spreading an anti-Semitic campaign. Around 1400, two Jews, Moisé and Bonanno were allowed to start a bank, and later to sell groceries in the community, and it is therefore possible that similar concessions existed also in Kotor. Sporadic archival testimonies of Jews in the Bay of Kotor are related exclusively to the activities of Ragusan Jewish physicians and merchants.

The documents of the Kotor Archives testify that around 1522, unknown attackers murdered a Jewish merchant on the Luštica Peninsula. It is interesting to note that only a few months later, Margarita, widow of Radić Šćepanović, sold several houses. In that period, the sale of houses was not common, and happened only when it was necessary to pay a dowry or a debt. Therefore, the murderer was probably a close relative of the said Margarita. The Adriatic became very unfavourable for the Jews in the early 16th century. By comparison, in 1502, Jews were blamed for the death of an old lady in Dubrovnik. Later on, in 1514 and 1515, the Government of Dubrovnik decided to banish all the permanently residing Jews in the town, and

only Jews arriving to work were allowed a temporary stay. However, there is no information to confirm if these measures were in fact enforced, and in the 1630s, there was a more significant settlement of Jews in Dubrovnik. The Government of Dubrovnik solved this by founding a ghetto on 22 April 1538, for which a complex of houses was allocated. We have no information if anything similar was done in Kotor, or if Jews had the same rights as other residents of Kotor and the Kotor district at the time. The trade between the Bay of Kotor and the Adriatic towns was constantly growing and according to the documents on the cargo of Kotor sailing ships, a significant share was insured by Jews, mostly from Dubrovnik. Josip Luetić and Bogumil Hrabak say the following: (quote)

*...Salamon Oef insured for Moses Na(h)mias the money paid from Dubrovnik to the galleon of cap. Ivan Bello of Perast (he sailed from Dubrovnik to Durrhes and Shengjin). The same renowned landowner and reputable Jew from Ragusa (on behalf of Izak Pes) insured a load of skins that had been loaded in Valona onto the galleon of cap. Pavo Đurov from Perast. This cargo was unloaded in the port of Dubrovnik. Ago Pucić, Frano Tudizić, Ivo Pieric, Dominik Zlatarić, David Coen, Vice Grasso, Aron Coen also participated in this insurance. Salamon Oef as creditor of cap. Mato Moro of Perast, commander of the galleon, insured this Perast ship for a 6-month period. In addition to S. Oef, a co-owner of the galleon was also the Ragusan Rusko Ivanović. (Luetić)*

*Tripun Vicencov shipped to Venice the camlet of a Ragusan Jew, at the rate of 3.5% with nine insurances for the amount of 500 ducats. (Hrabak)*

*A Jew insured quality fish for Venice on the ship sailed by Nikola Đurđev Lukin, captain appointed to a ship from Viesto, who spent ten days loading in the town of Vieste, with the cargo for Dubrovnik; the freight was worth 60 ducats of the Neapolitan Kingdom. (1579) (Hrabak)*

*The Ragusan Jew Šelmo Ohev insured five rolls of raw silk for two Jews and three Christians on the galleon of Tripun Nikolin, at the rate of 2.5%; there were four insurances at 350 and five at 450 thalers. The same Jew insured a roll of 'grana' fabric on behalf of another Jew, and two more Jews insured two tables of camlet on the same galleon of Tripun Nikolin, at the 2.5%, and with 11 insurances for 1500 thalers. (Hrabak)*

*The galleon of Nikola Martinović transported the cordovan belonging to a Jew from Valona to Venice at the rate of 4% with one insurance, and six insurances upon return. (1605) (Hrabak)*  
*The aforementioned (Stijepo) Dubrohnić did business with several residents of Herceg Novi. One of them was Miho Karaoglanović. They received 1500 reals from a Ragusan Jew to procure together millet in Epirus and load it onto the galleon of Marko J. Dentili and upon delivery the goods would be worth seven and a half groschen for a cupello; the cautious Jew Šelomo Maestro asked a strong guarantee for this large sum of money, and the companions had to bring in 17 guarantors. (Hrabak)*

This proves that Jews gravitated a lot to the Kotor area. They acted as insurers of the loads of ships from the Bay, and commanded a large part of the trade in the East coast of the Adriatic. No business arrangements of the Jews from the Bay of Kotor from that period were discovered, which does not mean that they were inactive in the trade between the Bay of Kotor and other ports on the Adriatic, particularly in the modern-day Albania.

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The archival information on Jews in the Bay of Kotor in the 16th century is very limited, and the mentions of Jewish merchants and physicians are not the only discovered sources that give evidence of the life of Jews in the Bay of Kotor at the time. The baptism of John Baptist in St. Tryphon's Cathedral on 21 November 1547 is particularly interesting for understanding the life of Jews of Kotor at the time. The Jew, probably Jochanan, was originally from the Italian town of Osimo. It is also important to mention that Vicarius Natalis Drago, a deputy of the absent Bishop Luca Bisanti (1524-1565), issued to John Baptist a *salvus conductus*, in which he asks the local population to treat the new fellow believer with respect. Jewish baptism was common at that time in Europe, and the baptised Jews would be immediately expelled from the Jewish community. The reasons for baptism were never given, since it is considered a crime in Judaism. The aforementioned voluntary baptism was conducted before clergy, and the baptised was dressed in white and was sprayed with holy water. This baptism is very important because it confirms that the Catholic Church at the time had a strong impact, not only on the Jewish but also on other religious communities in Kotor and that is on the Muslim and particularly on the Orthodox religious community, whose adherents it wished to win over at any cost. The baptism of Jews in Kotor coincides with the time when the position of Jews in Europe was getting worse. In 1555, Pope Paul IV (Giovanni Pietro Caraffa) issued a papal bull forbidding the Jewish physicians to treat the Christians in the territory of the Papal State, and all Jews were forced to wear badges on their clothes. In 1566, Pope Pius V confirmed the bull of his predecessor and extended the territory to which it applied, even though the bulls were not enforced in St. Mark's Republic. On the same year, the Jews of Ancona were prosecuted, twenty-three of whom were burned at the stake.

As for the conversion of Jews in Kotor, the conversion of Dacilo Roza from Venice was documented some time later. Maja Katušić says of that (quote):

*Furthermore, the entry of 12 January 1768 is also interesting. That is when twenty-eight-year-old, Dacilo Roza, Erbeo di Getto di Venezia retento della galera a beneplacito del Nobil Uomo Mattio Pizzamano sopracomito was baptised, who at the time of his baptism was in a hospital for the condemned (ospedale per li condanati) and received the name of John Baptist. (Katušić)*

All known Jewish physicians who came to Kotor for work, either were from Dubrovnik or worked there temporarily. A Jewish physician, who came once from Dubrovnik to Kotor and twice to Herceg Novi to treat the sick (1556-1558), was Amatus Lusitanus, one of the most important names in 16th century medicine. Amatus was born in Portugal, in Castelo Branco, and was baptised with the name Joao Rodrigues.



Amatus Lusitanus. Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2020. Accessed: 21. 12. 2020. <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=2138>

He graduated in medicine at the University of Salamanca, lived and worked in Antwerp, Ferrara, Ancona, Pesaro, Ragusa and Thessaloniki where he died. He was the physician of many prominent personalities such as his friend Didacus Pyrrhus, whereas in medical science he is renowned for discovering the function of the valves in the circulation of blood.

When it comes to town physicians who worked in Kotor in the 17th century, the Jew David Ribero (1616) is mentioned as well as Dr Mihael Angelo Salamoni from the island of Brač, (*dottor Michiel Angelo Salamoni, medico fisico*), whose surname indicates his Jewish origin. In the 17th century, there were 26 known town physicians in Kotor, three of which were from Dalmatia, one was from Corfu, while others were from Italy.

After the Kotor town physician, Ferdinando Kardoso from Venice, took a leave of absence in 1615, while in 1616 there is mention of physician David Ribero. One document stated that he gave the permission to Roko Palma to collect a debt from the three Perast residents, Andrija Ivanov Petrović, Ivan Đurov and Stevan Palavicini (LXXIX). It cannot be said with certainty if he was also Kotor's town physician. The physician David Ribera (*David Ribera, medicus phisicus*) was accepted to Ragusa's state service in 1613, even though he had to ask the Pope's permission to treat Christians. In 1615, he wrote directly to the Pope and received no reply, and then the Senate wrote to Rome on his behalf. In 1631, the Senate authorised the prince and the Small Council to ask the archbishop to allow Ribero to treat Christians. The outcome of this process is not known, but judging by the aid of 200 ducats he received in 1617, it is assumed that he was not officially employed by the Republic of Ragusa.

Dr Mihael Anđelo Salamoni from the island of Brač (*dottor Michiel Angelo Salamoni, medico fisico*) was chosen for the town physician of Kotor in 1647. He concluded a two-year contract, which contained detailed obligations, wages and benefits of a town physician. On 2 August 1648, the both councils stated that Salamoni had resigned a high-paying job on Brač in order to come to Kotor with his large family. Therefore, he was also appointed the town notary, to increase his income, but under the condition that he had to find his own assistant for the notary municipal office. When the contract expired, Dr Salamoni did not wish to renew it. At the meeting of both councils on 27 June 1649, it was recorded that Dr Salamoni left the service.



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## Kotor Jews during French administration, and the 1st and 2nd Austro-Hungarian administration of the Bay of Kotor

After the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, the Bay of Kotor became part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and stayed under its rule until 1806, from when it was under Russian administration for a full 18 months, until August 1807. During this research, no records were found of Jews of Kotor and no special provisions pertaining to Jews at the time of the so-called First Austro-Hungarian administration of the Bay of Kotor. However, the Dubrovnik ghetto opened its door after the fall of the Venetian Republic and this period certainly became more favourable for Jews in this part of the Adriatic. There is a strong possibility that Austria-Hungary, during its very short first administration of the Bay of Kotor, could not significantly change the status of Jews living along the east Adriatic coast. Even then, in entire Dalmatia there was a strong intolerance toward Jews in the society. The best confirmation of this intolerance is an incident that occurred in Split in 1800, when a Split nobleman, Alberti, slapped and threw out the Jew Danijel Jesurun from a tavern. The nobleman Alberti went unpunished as he referred to the common law prohibiting Jews to enjoy the same freedom as other faithful ordinary people and noblemen.

After the arrival of French troops to the Bay of Kotor in 1807, this region experienced its most difficult period. The existing trade connections established during the Venetian protectorate were abandoned. The transition to steam-powered ships affected the traditional shipping, which meant that the Bay of Kotor fleet started losing its dominance over the seas. The remaining Kotor sailing ships were destroyed in the wars, and thus the best-developed branch of economy in the Bay of Kotor was crushed. The Jews of the Bay of Kotor and the entire east Adriatic lost much of their profit from trade. However, the salt trade between Kotor and the Italian ports was still going on. For 1808, Vinko Ivančević mentions Abram Pardo Josipov who asked the French authorities for permission to collect the salt from Barletta to Kotor on the brigantine La Provvidenza. In this period, the Jews still had a share in ship insurances, which could be confirmed by the proceedings in the ship hijacking by the Russians (quote):

*“In 1808, Izak Vita Ambonetti sued Captain Vinko Guljermović for continuing his journey on the brigantine that was later captured by the Russians and taken to the Bay of Kotor in spite of the warning from the Ragusan consul in Messina.” (Ivančević, Vinko)*

*“In 1808, Izrael Valenzin and Lujo Blasi sued an insurance company asking for a reimbursement in the amount of 1900 ducats because Russians confiscated a trabaccolo captained by Antun Balović, and took it to the Bay of Kotor in 1807.” (Ivančević, Vinko)*

In 1808, the French administration of Dubrovnik cancelled all limitations against Jews established by the Venetian Republic. The limitations of the Jewish rights were enacted by decree adopted by the Venetian Republic in 1777. The decree provisions were applied on its entire territory, and concerned the mandatory living in the ghetto, the prohibition on having female house servants, allowing male house servants but only during the day, the prohibition on enjoying the Venetian citizenship, prohibition on owning real estate, the prohibition on crafting items and prohibition on participating in other agricultural activities, with a permission to purchase and sell final goods. Although the neighbouring Ragusa abolished such limitations, it should not be understood that the position of the small Jewish community in Kotor, which in 1811, according to the report of the French general administrator consisted of only six Jews,

was any better, even though that was a period of the severe economic crisis. The frequent wars and the clash between British-Montenegrin and the Bay of Kotor troops led by Petar I Petrović against the French ended in the liberation of the Bay of Kotor from the French occupation in January 1814. Following the defeat of the French and the establishment of the United Provinces of Montenegro and Bay of Kotor under the rule of Petar I, the decision was made in Vienna on 27 September 1814 that the Bay of Kotor shall become part of Austria, and it stayed under its administration until 1918.

The overview of rights and freedoms enjoyed by the citizens of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, allows the partial reconstruction of the position of the few Jews in Kotor. For comparison, we can look at the following proclamation issued in Ragusa on 24 March 1814: *“Jews are considered equal to other citizens in all countries of his majesty. They must enjoy the same rights in the province of Dubrovnik. Citizens are hereby warned against bothering Jews, particularly on the days of the holy week.”*

On 22 December 1814, in the entire territory of Austria-Hungary, the old decree came into force again prohibiting Jews from trading the grain. In 1821, a decree was made in line with the Emperor's Decree of 26 November 1725, prohibiting Jews from having servants, with the interpretation that this pertains only to the servants permanently residing in the employer's home. Soon after, the emperor's decree of 8 January 1826 stipulated that Jewish teachers were allowed to teach only Jewish children, but only in private, in the homes of the said children. In 1848, the Austro-Hungarian Government began gradually withdrawing limitations that affected the life of Jews. The Imperial Patent of 24 May 1848, and particularly its provisions 25, 27, and 31, and the Imperial Patent of 4 March 1849, proclaimed the equating of rights of Christians and Jews in public and private legal matters. The prohibition from owning real estate by Jews was cancelled on 18 February 1860.

The fact that this provision was indeed respected is evidenced by the purchase of the real estate in Kotor by the Jewish family Finzi, sixteen years later. The land ownership documents in the Kotor Archives show that the Finzi family from Trieste concluded a purchase agreement for the house in the Kotor Old Town, under the number of 314 on 27 December 1876.

The Imperial Decree of 21 December 1867, particularly the articles 2, 3, 6, 14, 15 and 16, annulled all limitations imposed on the Jews in their public and private legal statuses across the whole territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Systemic laws implemented by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy which concerned the Jews, had not resolved the issue of keeping registers (register of births, marriages, and deaths) until 10 July 1868, when the new law was promulgated. It stipulated that state and not religious authorities would appoint the administrators of such records, stating that a Rabbi could be appointed the administrator. Immediately after, an order was issued defining only two Jewish communities in charge of keeping registers for Dalmatia: Jewish community in Split for all Jews living in the districts of Metković, Split, Šibenik and Zadar, and the Jewish community in Dubrovnik for all those living in the districts of Dubrovnik, Korčula and Kotor. With all these acts, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy gradually established the equal position of the Jewish community in its territory, which was a significant improvement compared to the times under the Venetian Republic.

The Law of 21 March 1890 guaranteed freedom of religion and freedom of religious associations as well as the equal rights of all religious communities within the territory of the empire. On 7 December 1892, a special regulation was adopted regarding the keeping of registers. It stipulated that in Dalmatia there would be two locations to keep Jewish registers: in Split for

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their Jewish community and for all cases of births, marriages, and deaths of Jews in the districts of Benkovac, Imotski, Knin, Hvar, Makarska and Sinj; whereas in Dubrovnik records would be kept for the Dubrovnik Jewish community, which included Kotor.

During the second Austro-Hungarian administration in Kotor, for the first time there were continuous records of settlement of Jews in the town. The sporadic mentions of Jews during the Venetian rule of Kotor does not give a clear idea about the Jewish population or their civic and legal status. During Austrian domination, the Jewish merchants still gravitated to the Kotor port, and an inscription about a Ragusan Jew Samuel Ascola, who exported 60 starium of broad bean to Kotor in April 1811, and the remaining 50 in May, confirms their participation in trade. The oldest discovered population census during the second Austro-Hungarian rule of Kotor in which Jewish citizens are mentioned is from 1829, when the town and its surroundings were home to only three Jews, with only two remaining a year later. This should not be taken to mean that the number of Jews in Kotor was not recorded in previous population censuses in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but such data was not discovered during this research. The 19th century was extremely economically unfavourable for the residents of Kotor. Cholera epidemics, which struck Kotor in 1855 and again in 1867, significantly slowed down the economic growth of the town. At that time, there were fourteen Jews in Kotor, according to the census from 1854, and again in 1871. However, Kotor never had its own synagogue because it was part of the Jewish community of Ragusa, even though Jewish religious ceremonies took place in an improvised synagogue in the Kotor Old Town, located on the site of today's Prison Square.

Among the Jews who settled in Kotor before 1835, there was also the Finzi family of Trieste. Meyer Finzi, recognised as a co-founder of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, owned a house in the Kotor Old Town at cadastral lot no. 314 until 1912 (see section Finzi). The Jewish family Mandel later bought that same house and owned it until 1926. Maurizio Moshe Mandel, a very talented merchant, moved to Kotor from Czechia before 1853. He had ten children and was the co-founder of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari (see section Mandel). Another Jewish family from Split that was tied to Kotor by destiny was the Jesurun family. Raffael Josef Jesurun, son of Daniel Jesurun from Split, was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Kotor. It is not known how long he lived in the town (see section Jesurun). The Janni family moved to Kotor also from Dubrovnik. Rahela Janni, daughter of Josef Izak Vita Tolentino, was born in Kotor in 1824 (see section Janni). Of the remaining Jewish families in 19th century Kotor, there is a mention of the following: Andauer, Tedeschi, Tolentino, Herzer, Linenberger, Löwenschuss, Steiner, Valenzin, Winkler, Pardo, and Popper.

The following table gives an overview of statistical data about the Jewish community during the French and the first and the second Austro-Hungarian administrations of Kotor. The information was collected from several relevant sources. The data gives us plenty of information on demographical movements of Jews in Montenegro, their population, and the places they inhabited. It is important to mention that the presented statistical data was taken from many diverse sources in which the territorial sample for the Kotor district is very diverse. In some statistics for the Kotor district, the following settlements were also included: Škaljari, Špiljari, Kavač, Mrčevac, Bogdašići and Lepetane, with a population of around 3,500. The Austro-Hungarian census for Kotor from 1856 counted 27 villages (villaggi) and 1901 houses in the Kotor district, and the number of district residents in this document was 9928. Other statistical data for the Kotor district include the entire Bay of Kotor with Budva, Pobori, Maine, Braići and Paštrovići, and the population amounts to 35,090.

Such diverse territorial samples should not pose a challenge in understanding the demographic movements of the Jewish population. The analysis of statistical tables clearly shows that Jews in the Bay of Kotor tended to settle in the Old town of Kotor.

As for the other parts of what is today the Municipality of Kotor, there were Jews only in

Dobrota in 1921 and in Perast in 1910. In other settlements of the Bay of Kotor, no Jews were identified except for Herceg Novi in 1880, 1910 and 1921. In the Kotor Old Town, the number of Jews during Austro-Hungarian administration ranged between two in 1829 and 1830, up to seventy-two in 1910. The average number of Jews during Austro-Hungarian rule of Kotor was eight, not counting the year 1910. A sudden demographic leap that occurred in this year was a consequence of great migrations of Jews in the Adriatic, mostly from north Dalmatia to the south, from major Jewish communities such as Dubrovnik and Split to smaller towns and settlements such as Kotor. The largest migrations of Jews occurred in the early 20th century from Bosnia and Herzegovina, where 11868 Jews lived in 1910, towards the Adriatic coast. The strong connections between Dalmatian towns are evidenced by the ferryboat timetable from 1843. The ferry travelled twice a month from Trieste to Dubrovnik and Kotor, except between November and February when it travelled only once a month. Such mobility was crucial for the migration of Jewish population of this part of the Adriatic. Throughout the 19th century, Jews from Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina settled in Kotor. However, judging by the migrations of their family members, Jews were not strongly connected to Kotor for generations and they used to return to the towns of their origin, mostly because they wanted to start their own families.

STATISTICAL DATA ABOUT THE NUMBER OF JEWS IN THE TERRITORY OF MODERN-DAY MONTENEGRO IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES, WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE KOTOR DISTRICT AND THE TOWN OF KOTOR												
/ - no available data, (drastic variations of the number of residents of the Kotor district is a consequence of a varying territorial sample)												
year	TOWN OF KOTOR		PERAST	KOTOR DISTRICT			H.NOVI	BUDVA	CETINJE	NIKŠIĆ	KOLAŠIN	PODGORICA
	Population	Jews	Population	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews
1811 <sup>1</sup>	/	6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1829 <sup>2</sup>	2118	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1829 <sup>3</sup>	2135	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1830 <sup>4</sup>	2103	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1831 <sup>5</sup>	2081	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1832 <sup>6</sup>	2107	0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1833 <sup>7</sup>	2003	6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1834 <sup>8</sup>	2010	6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1835 <sup>9</sup>	1969	6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1836 <sup>10</sup>	1981	4	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

1 Franchi, Bruno. *Gli Ebrei in Dalmazia*. Zara. Tip. "San Marco" di G. Marini 1939. XVII. p. 62.

2 State Archives of Montenegro, Historical Archives of Kotor. DACG, IAK, OK III-407 (census of Austro-Hungary from May 31, 1829)

3 DACG, IAK, OK III-407 (census of Austro-Hungary from 31. December 1829)

4 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from 30. November 1830)

5 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from 31. December 1831)

6 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from 31. December 1832)

7 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from 31. December 1833)

8 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from 31. December 1834)

9 Idem. (census of Austro-Hungary from December 1835)

10 DACG, IAK, OK III-407



year	TOWN OF KOTOR		PERAST	KOTOR DISTRICT		H.NOVI	BUDVA	CETINJE	NIKŠIĆ	KOLAŠIN	PODGORICA
	Population	Jews	Population	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews	Jews
1843 <sup>11</sup>	/	/	/	3542 <sup>12</sup>	11	/	/	/	/	/	/
1843 <sup>13</sup>	1945	12	/	3519 <sup>12</sup>	12	/	/	/	/	/	/
1844 <sup>14</sup>	/	9	0	3550 <sup>12</sup>	9	0	0	/	/	/	/
1849 <sup>15</sup>	/	/	/	35090 <sup>12</sup>	13	/	/	/	/	/	/
1854 <sup>16</sup>	2068	14	/	3672 <sup>12</sup>	14	/	/	/	/	/	/
1856 <sup>17</sup>	/	/	/	9928 <sup>18</sup>	14	/	/	/	/	/	/
1857 <sup>19</sup>	1763	12	0	3399 <sup>12</sup>	12	0	0	/	/	/	/
1871 <sup>20</sup>	2017	14	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1880 <sup>21</sup>	/	17	/	/	/	4	3	/	/	/	/
1910 <sup>22</sup>	/	72	12	/	84	20	20	/	/	/	/
1921 <sup>23</sup>	/	2	0	/	11 <sup>24</sup>	4	/	/	/	/	/
1921 <sup>25</sup>	/	/	/	/	13 <sup>26</sup>	/	/	/	/	/	/
1931 <sup>27</sup>	/	/	/	/	35	/	/	13	3	1	1
1941 <sup>28</sup>	/	6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
1945 <sup>29</sup>	/	0	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

11 DACG, IAK, OK X-3 (census of Kotor district from January 1843)

12 The following settlements are included in the statistics of the Kotor district (Kotor, Škaljari, Špiljari, Kavač, Mrčevac, Bogdašići, Lepetane)

13 DACG, IAK, OK X-98

14 Dottor Carrara, Francesco. *Dalmazia descritta*. Zara: Fratelli Battara Tipografi Editoriali. 1846-1848. p. 113

15 Lampato, Francesco. *Annali universali di statistica, economia pubblica, storia, viaggi e commercio*. Milano: 1851. Presso la Societa degli Editori degli Anali Iniversali delle Scienze e dell'Industria, vol. 107, p. 332. (statistika od 31. decembra 1849)

16 DACG, IAK OK XV-113 (census from December 1854)

17 DACG, IAK OK XV-237

18 The summary statistics of the Kotor district (Prospeto della popolazione del Circondario comune di Cattaro e comuni abinati del principio del anno 1856) includes 27 villages (villaggi) and 1901 houses.

19 Serragli, Luigi. *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia*. Zara, Edita dalla Giunta Provinciale, Tipografia Battara, 1862. p. 30. (census from 31. October 1857)

20 Cronaca Cattolica Romana. "Le Bocche di Cattaro." Il Divin Salvatore, vol. anno VIII, no. 32, 1872. p.182. (census from 11. November 1871)

21 Stulli, Bernard. *Židovi u Dubrovniku*. Jevrejska općina Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Zagreb i Kulturno društvo "Miroslav Salom Freiburger", Zagreb, 1989, p. 69.

22 *Idem*.

23 *Idem*, str. 78. (census originally from the state census of the Kingdom of SHS 31.01.1921)

24 In the Kotor district according to the SHS census on January 31, 1921. there were 11 Jews (2 in Kotor, 4 in Herceg Novi and 5 in Dobrota)

25 Stulli, Bernard. *Židovi u Dubrovniku*. Jevrejska općina Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Zagreb i Kulturno društvo "Miroslav Salom Freiburger". Zagreb, 1989, p. 79.

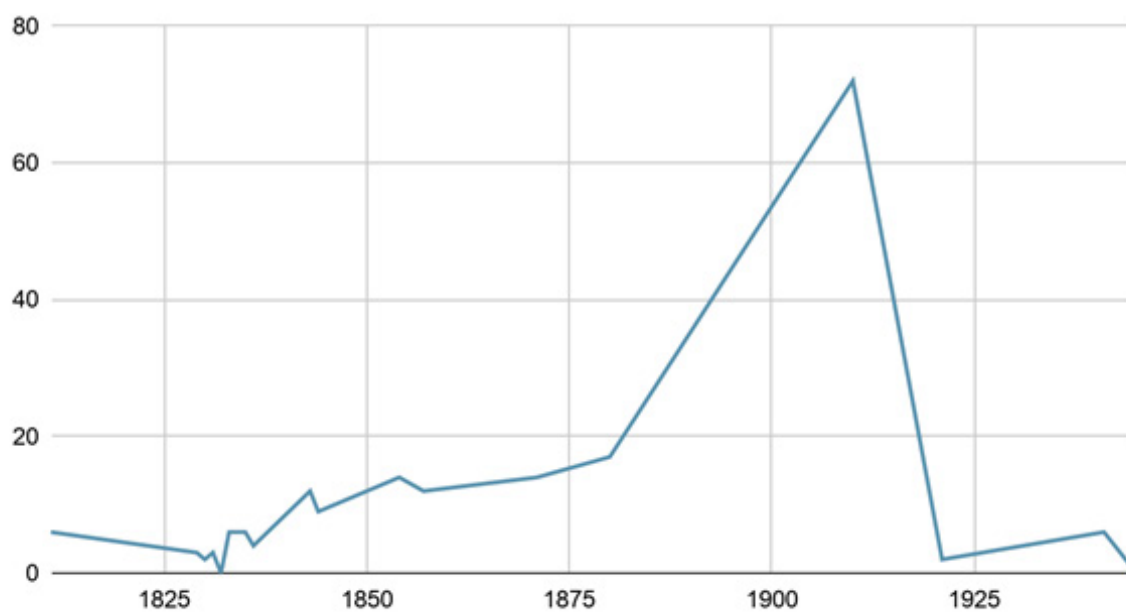
26 In the statistics in the book *Jews in Dubrovnik*, 13 Jews in the Kotor district are mentioned (original source of census: Lj. St. Kosier. *Statistika Jevreja u Jugoslaviji i Bugarskoj*. Zagreb 1930. p. 32)

27 Stulli, Bernard. *Židovi u Dubrovniku*. Jevrejska općina Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, Zagreb i Kulturno društvo "Miroslav Salom Freiburger". Zagreb, 1989, p.79. - State census from 31.03.1931.

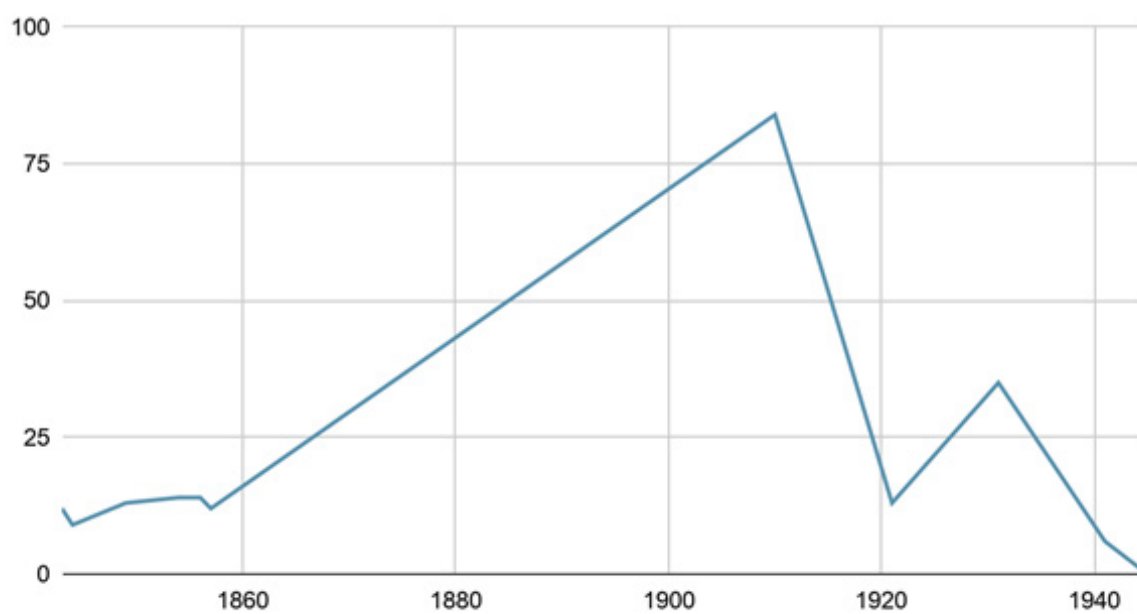
28 DACG, Archival department in Kotor, Gnok, fasc. I, no. 18.

29 *Idem*.

Number of Jews in Kotor in the 19th and early 20th centuries



Number of Jews in Kotor district in the 19th and early 20th centuries



# Jewish families in Kotor during the 2nd Austro-Hungarian administration in the Bay of Kotor

## Pardo

*(translation of newspaper)*

*During the serious accident, which befell us with the sudden and premature death of our beloved father-in-law and grandfather*

Dr. Leon Pardo

*We felt unspeakable consolation in those many pitiful expressions of love and reverence that during the short illness of our dear deceased and on the occasion of his funeral were matches expressed, by all the citizens of Kotor, regardless of attitude, faith and party.*

*Touched in heart and soul for so much haste of sincere kindness, to our unrepentant deceased, which during the seven months of his stay in Kotor; with his extraordinary work, selfless and sacrificial life, after acquired universal reverence, aroused universal pity, we perform the most sacred duty, and with our touched heart to everything and everyone and at the same time to the separately.*

*In a special way we thank the glorious C and K Military Command for their benevolent consent to have our angry wound transferred and admitted to the military hospital, and in the same way we thank to all doctors who made great efforts, to save the dear deceased, and Visković, who, until the last moment, took care of the patient, suffering with every care and attention. We special thanks to: Bonić, Giunio, Dr Kvekić, Lovay, Luković, Mandel, Radinović, Ramadanović, Rossi-Sabattini, Skrivanić, Vesel, and Visković, because of them, the dead remains of our deceased were transferred to the city and laid in a special room covered with weeds and turned into a lighted church.*

*We thank the same committee for the University colleagues of the deceased, city doctors and pharmacists, the Martecchini and Katić families and the "Lega Nazionale" society for the wreaths with which they decorated the coffin. We thank the glorious civil, military and ecclesiastical authorities for adorning the mourning procession with their approach. To the commanders of all the ships who, as a sign of pity, hung up the flags on their spears and cataracts that were in a half. With whole our hearts, special thanks to lovely boy Niko Rossi Sabattini, our deceased rescued him from a serious danger a short time ago, he was the first to step at the head of the funeral, wearing a wreath.*

*With no less feeling of a touched heart, we thank notary Giunio, who that morning when was the funeral of the remains of his University colleagues, which, for peace of mind, served him Mass at the church of that cemetery, greeted him with that last greeting.*

*We thank once again everyone for everything with the greatest lifelong gratitude. Dubrovnik, March 15, 1899*

*Ana Buselić Pardo - daughter in-law*

*Diego Pardo - cousin*

**JAVNA ZAHVALA.**

Prilikom teške nesreće, koja nas je zadesila nenadnom i preranom smrću našeg ljubljenog svekra i djeda

**D.<sup>r</sup> LEONA PARDO,**

osjetili smo neizrečivu utjehu u onim mnogobrojnim sažalnim iskazima ljubavi i štovanja što su za vrijeme kratke bolesti milog pokojnika i zgodom njegova sprovoda, bili utakmice iskazani od cijeloga plemenitog kotorskog gragjanstva, bez razlike stališa, vjere i stranke.

Ganuti u srcu i u duši radi tolikog pohita iskrene ljubeznosti prana našem neprežaljenom pokojniku — koji je kroz samih sedam mjeseca svoga boravka u Kotoru svojim vanrednim radom, nesebičnim i požrtvornim životom, nakon stečenog sveopćeg štovanja, uzbudio i sveopće sažaljenje — vršimo najsvetiju dužnost, zahvaljujući bolnim i ganutim srcem na sve i svakomu i ujedno i na pose.

Na osobiti način zahvaljujemo slavnom c. i k. vojničkomu zapovjedništvu za blagostivu privolu, da se naša ljuta rana prenese i primi u vojničku bolnicu, i na isti način zahvaljujemo onim v. lim. ljecnicima iste bolnice, koji su sve uložili, da bi nam milog pokojnika spasili. Zahvaljujemo uljudnim obiteljima Rossi-Sabattini, Lövy i Visković, što su se do posljednog trenutka svakom pomnjom i njegovom starali, da uminu bolesnikove patnje. Zahvaljujemo gg: Boniću, Giunio, Dr. Kvekiću, Lövy, Luković, Mandel, Radinović, Ramadanović, Rossi-Sabattini, Skrivanić, Vesel i Visković, koji, sastaviv plemenitom namisli zasebni odbor, brižljivo su nastojali za što sjajniju i ganutiviju posljednju počast pokojniku, čiji su mrtvi ostanci bili preneseni u grad i položeni u posebnoj sobi, korotom prekrivenoj i u rasvjetljenu crkvicu pretvorenoj. Zahvaljujemo istomu odboru, gospodi sveučilišnim sudrugovima pokojnikovim, gradskim liječnicima i ljekarnicima, obiteljima Martecchini i Katić i društvu „Lega Nazionale," za vijence, kojima su mrtvački lijes nakitili. Zahvaljujemo zborovima gragjanske i srpske muzike, koje su svojevrijedno na izraz sućuti cijelog gragjanstva glasovima civilne svirke sprovod pratili. Zahvaljujemo slavnim Vlastima gragjanskim, vojničkim i crkvnim, što su svojim pristupom znamenito kitili žalobnu povorku. Zahvaljujemo cijelom gragjanstvu, što je dugim i punim nizom žalostivo milog pokojnika pratilo, i crne sagove prostiralo niz prozore, mimo koje je sprovod kretao. Zahvaljujemo Slavjanskom Domu, društvu kotorske plovidbe i zapovjednicima svih brodova, koji su u znak sažaljenja zastave po kopljacima i katarkama do polovice vjesili.

Svim srcem pak zahvaljujemo milome dječaku Niku Rossi-Sabattini, koji iz sažalnosti, što ga pokojnik malo vrijeme prije izbavi iz teške pogibli, prvi je stupao na čelu spovoda, noseći kitni vijenac.

I ne manjim osjećajem ganutog svog srca zahvaljujemo jašter bilježniku Giunio, koji u jutro pogreba mrtvih ostataka svog sveučilišnog sudruga, odrediv mu za pokoj duše služenje mise u crkvi onog groblja, posdravi ga tim p. sljednim posdravom.

Zahvaljujemo još jednom svakom na sve sa najvećom doživotnom zahvalnošću.

U Dubrovniku, 15 ožujka 1899.

Ana Buselić-Pardo, sestra  
Diego Pardo, nećak.

Javna zahvala Dr. Leona Pardo. "Crvena Hrvatska [Dubrovnik], VIII / 12, 19. 03. 1898. Source: Dubrovačke knjižnice Accessed: 21. 12. 2020. <https://zdr.dkd>



The last farewell to Dr Leon Pardo, a Jew from Kotor in 1898, is an example of the noblest and deepest expression of divine love, cosmopolitan spirit, ecumenism in its original sense, as well as multi-ethnic and multinational harmony.

The citizens, touched by the sudden illness of their beloved professor Pardo, organised treatment for him and transferred him to the military hospital. The families Rossi-Sabatini, Lövay and Viskovic cared for him until the very end. This was the image of Kotor and its people, who appreciated true human values in these old and difficult times. In late 1898, the whole town of Kotor was in mourning. The citizens, carrying wreaths of flower, waited in long lines to pay their final respects to Dr Leon Pardo. People hung black rugs from their windows. Niko Rossi - Sabatini, a boy who owed his life to Dr Pardo, was leading the procession. A choir of the civic and Serbian music accompanied the funeral procession performing sorrowfully. The church where the body of Dr Pardo was laying, all lit-up and draped in black, took in the sorrowful people who wanted to pay their last respects to their beloved professor. At the funeral, a holy mass was held, whereas the flags on ships in the port and at sea were flying at half-mast. This was just a fragment of the atmosphere which was difficult to describe, as reported in the acknowledgement written by Dr Pardo's daughter in law and a nephew, published in Red Croatia, on 15 December 1898.

Dr Leon Pardo was a university professor from Kotor who spent his last seven months giving private lessons. Judging by the acknowledgement published in Red Croatia, he died in Kotor, in late November or in early December 1898. He was born in Dubrovnik in 1810 to father Abram and mother Viktoria, née Terni.

He was one of the best students of the famous master Netanel. Leon had six brothers born in Dubrovnik (Salamona, born in January 1806, Giaccoba, born in December 1807, Daniel, born on 28 January 1812, Giuseppa, born in February 1814, Izak, born on 23 September 1819, and David, born on 3 February 1821), as well as four sisters born in Dubrovnik (Stella, born in April 1802, Lauretta, born in April 1804, whose husband was Sabato Izrael, son of Maestro Natanel, Rachella, born on 8 January 1816 and Colombo, born on 25 February 1818).

Another noteworthy and very valuable detail is Dr Pardo's gift to the monastery of St. Clara in Kotor. It was a painting of Ecce Homo, which Grgo Gamulin credited to the Spanish mannerist Luis de Morales (1509-1586). Based on the gift certificate, signed by Mehmed Hidayet effendi Pardo, and validated by the notary Giovanni Giunio, in the presence of Francesco Luković and Carlo Warles, the painting was gifted to the Franciscan monastery of St. Clara in Kotor on 28 June 1898. This is the most valuable artwork brought from the Iberian Peninsula to Kotor and to Dalmatia.



Luis de Morales, Ecce Homo. Source: Vinicije B. Lupis. *Samostan Sv. Klare u Kotoru*, Dubrovnik, 2012. p.20.

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Luis Morales, born in the town of Badajoz in Spain in 1509 is considered the greatest Spanish mannerist painter. He spent almost all of his life in Badajoz, and his themes are exclusively religious, such as Ecce Homo, Pietà and Virgin with Child. His work was impacted by the Flemish tradition and by the manners of Lombardian artists.

His most important work is Life of Jesus, painted for the Church of Arroyo del Puerco (1563-68). His Ecce Homo, which is now in Kotor, shows Christ with his head bowed, cloaked in a grey-blue cape with a knot on his right shoulder, while holding a reed cane in his left hand, with drops of blood running down his pale forehead from the wounds caused by the crown of thorns. The first mentions of Dr Pardo's family branch are from 1656 where the census of Dubrovnik's population lists Abram Pardo, married Sara, who came to Dalmatia from Sarajevo. Abram's son Jacob "Pazija" had seven children. His family used to live in Gruž, on the estate of the nobleman Mato Gradi. He was also the founder of the sardine fishing association. Jacob had five sons (Abram, Solomon Rafael, Joseph, Isaak and David) and two daughters (Alegra and Rahela). His son Solomon Rafael was a coral worker. A skilful craftsman, he sold coral prayer beads (tespih) to the Ragusan authorities, who gave them as presents to Ottoman dignitaries. His wife's name was Stelaf, the daughter of Leon Constantini from Zakynthos. They had four sons (Jakob Izrael, Juda, Leon and Abram) and two daughters (Rahela and Roza). His son, Abram Pardo, born in 1772 in Dubrovnik was a merchant. He owned shares in the insurance company "*Compagnia d'assicurazione per la navigazione a commercia nazionale*". In 1808 Abram purchased a house in the Jewish ghetto in Dubrovnik, above the street Prijeko, and he had another house near Karmen. Later, in 1812, Abram and Daniel Moshe Terni, together bought the house from Antun Sorgo, on today's Marin Držić field. Abram was respected as a polite, kind and educated man, who would not do anything to offend anyone. In his youth, Abram was involved in money lending. That is why he was once questioned in the District Government, at the request of Kotor authorities. In the letter from Kotor it was claimed that Abram was in possession of several valuable church items from the Monastery of Praskvica. During the procedure, Abram confirmed that in 1811 he loaned 56 Venetian ducats to the archimandrite, and that the pawned items from the monastery were still in his possession in a sealed box.

## Tolentino

The Tolentino family moved from Split to Kotor in 1855. They were originally from the Italian town of Tolentino in the province of Macerata. Family Tolentino was the largest Jewish family in Dubrovnik, and lived in Split in the early 19th century before moving to Kotor. Jacob Vita Tolentino (\*1828, Dubrovnik), son of Isaak Sabat, settled in Split in 1849 and married Julia (Judita), daughter of Abram Elia Piazza in 1852. He moved with his family to Dubrovnik in the 1870s, where he was the vice-rabbi. He had four sons (Isaak Sabat, Abram Elia, Joseph Gabriel and David) and a daughter Ester (Stela). All of his children except for Isaak Sabat were born in Kotor. His son Joseph Gabriel was a lawyer and died in Trieste in 1896. He was very affluent, and left his inheritance to his brother Abram Elia, born on 1 July 1857. Abram worked in Kotor as a customs agent, where he died in 1935. His brother Isaak Sabato, born in Dubrovnik in 1845, (*Isacco Tolentino, segretario di consiglio presso I.I.R. Tribunale di Cattaro*), was a secretary in the Court of Kotor. In the land ownership documents of the Kotor Archives, we came across the registration of a mortgage in his name, for the exercise of the right to a loan of 2500 florins on 9 October 1896.

According to the documents from the Kotor Archives, Giacomo Tolentino wrote to the imperial authorities in Kotor (*Cesarea Reggia Podestaria di Cattaro*) on 17 January 1822, and in reference to his obligations towards Ivan Goyan. He politely requested to be given an excerpt concerning the loan recognized by the Municipality of Kotor to the French administration, which included the loan of Ivan Gojan (*Ita. Giovanni Goyan*) from Dubrovnik. The outcome of this request is not known, and neither is the amount of money included in the loan. Giacomo Tolentino was the co-founder of the Jewish cemetery established in Kotor in 1858.

Rahela Janni was the daughter of Joseph Isaak Vita Tolentino and the wife of Rafael Vita Janni. Rahela was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Kotor. Her father lived in Dubrovnik where he was appreciated as highly successful entrepreneur (see section *Janni*).

Tolentino Vita, a merchant from Dubrovnik, is mentioned also as a pledgee in a series of documents from the Kotor Archives dated to 1932.

## Herzer

Among the Jews who moved to Kotor from the area of Zagreb, there was also the married couple of Ugo Herzer and Julija Ferber. Both were born in the small town of Ludbreg, 90 km away from Zagreb. They were married in Kotor in 1906 and continued to live here. On 15 July of the same year, their son Moshe Rudolf was born in Kotor. On 23 May 1937, Moshe married Fani Wolach in Sarajevo, and they remained there. They got a son Đorđe in Sarajevo on 15 April 1938.

## Linenberger

Among the Ashkenazi Jews born in Kotor there were also Abram Linenberger, born on 27 July 1897 and Rahela Hlunka Linenberger, born on 26 March 1899. It is not known if they were related. Abram's father, Joseph, son of Leopold Juda Linenberger was born around 1865 in Stadtschlaining (Városszalónak) in Austria and died on 13 February 1904 in Herceg Novi. He married Sofia Polzer in Czechia on 31 October 1893. Apart from Abram, he had a son Jacob, born in Herceg Novi on 21 August 1904 and a daughter Grethen (Gustel) born in Mostar on 30 December 1898.

The father of Rahele Hlunke, Simon Linenberger, was born in Hungary and was married in Zagreb to Leni Glück.

## Löwenschuss

Another Jewish Ashkenazi family that moved to Kotor was the Löwenschuss family. Erminio (Herman) Löwenschuss was born in Kotor on 7 March 1893, where he died on 22 July 1894. His sister Josephina was also born and died in Kotor (1890 – 21 May 1894). Their father was a customs sub-sergeant, Abram Leon, son of Hersch Löwenschuss, born on 8 March 1861 in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz) in Ukraine. He married Katarina, daughter of Lazar Kolin in Dubrovnik on 25 April 1889. Katarina was originally from Hungary, and was born in Gyömk, on 1 March 1863. Hersch Löwenschuss resided in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), Ukraine.

Steiner

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Two brothers, Solomon Siegfried Steiner, born on 20 December 1895 and Rajmond Izak Steiner, born on \*31 July 1897, are connected to Kotor by destiny. Solomon was born in Kotor, and his brother was born in Crkvice. Their father, Aleksandar Steiner, was an Austro-Hungarian sergeant, married to Tereza Wolf.

## Valenzin

In the second half of the 19th century, Abram Valenzin, merchant from Dubrovnik, moved to Kotor. Abram Isaak, son of Samuel Vito Valenzin was born in Dubrovnik on 5 July 1819. With his wife, Sara Venturra, he had two daughters born in Kotor (Virginia, born on 30 May 1856 and Adelaide (Adela) born on 6 May 1858), and a son, Joseph Gabriel, born on 11 February 1859, also in Kotor. Abram's father, Samuel Vita Valenzin was born in Dubrovnik in 1770. He was an artisan and owned a retail shop, where his wife Sara Maestro assisted him. However, in the early 19th century he bankrupted and had to support his family by working for daily wages. Jakob Russi, Abram Pardo and Jozef L. Mandolfo testified that he lived in extreme poverty and subsequently the Austro-Hungarian Government issued him a poverty certificate, based on which his son Leon was issued a passport and sent to Livorno. Samuel had four sons (Abram Isaak, Leon, Daniel, Mihael) and three daughters (Rebeca, Benvenuta and Regina), and all of them were born in Dubrovnik.

## Tedeschi

Israel Mihael Tedeschi, a Jew from Split, married Karolina, daughter of Meyer Finzi in Kotor on 2 March 1881. He was a merchant. His father Samuel Tedeschi was married to Aneta (Hana) Piazza from Split.

## Winkler

The only known person from the Winkler family of Kotor is Jenka Winkler, born around 1890 in Subotica. She worked as a chambermaid and died in Kotor on 7 January 1908.

## Andauer-Hirsch

Jonas Eugenio Andauer, married to Vilma Hirsch was a military physician in Kotor. His son, Stefano, was born in Kotor on 11 October 1896.



## Jewish families buried in the Jewish cemetery in Kotor

### Finzi

The Finzi family is originally from Trieste, and they settled in Kotor before 1835.

In Trieste, the family lived on Via S. Giacomo, which no longer exists under that name. Leon Vita Finzi and his wife Benvenuta Pisa had two children: Elia Meyer Lustro (born on 27 November 1811) and Giuseppe (born on 7 November 1809), and both were born in Trieste. Elia Meyer Lustro's godparents at his circumcision were Iacob Russo and Anselmo Finzi. His birth record in Trieste also contains the name Meyer which was crossed out for an unknown reason, whereas he reappears as Elia Meyer Finzi in Kotor, and the death records in Ragusa list him as Meir Finzi.

His father Leon Finzi died on 9 February 1824 in Trieste. The census of Jewish population in Trieste (*Conscrizione Generale degli individui della comunità Israelitica di Trieste*, 1823) in 1835 has no record of Elia (Meyer) Lustra Finzi, and it can be concluded that he had already left Trieste. Elia Meyer Finzi, a retail merchant, married Amata (Mandina, Amandina), née Morpurgo in Split and they had seven children born in Dubrovnik and Kotor: Leon Vita, Benvenuto, Izak, Giuseppe, David (Adolf), Carolina and Nina. Carolina married Isaak Mihael Tedeschi in Kotor on 2 February 1881.



Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, Kotor - photographed 2020



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Meyer Finzi is important for the founding of the Jewish cemetery in Kotor. Namely, on 10 June 1858, Meyer Finzi, Maurizio Mandel and Giacomo Tolentino agreed with the office of the Catholic Church in Kotor to provide them a right to use a parcel of the cemetery in Škaljari to bury their deceased. In 1861, the said Jews paid the first instalment of 60 florins, out of the total of 121.10 florins, for the purchase of a section of the aforementioned cemetery in Škaljari. On 21 February 1884, the record was signed by Giuseppe, son of Meyer Finzi for the transfer of rights for the lot 485/2 from the Kotor Municipality to the Jewish community in Kotor. The official right to the section of the graveyard 485/2 from the Kotor Municipality to the Jewish community in Kotor was recorded on 21 June 1884.

On 13 May 1872, Elia Meyer Finzi died from a stroke at the age 61 and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari outside of Kotor. A set of archival documents and land registry documents from the Historical Archives of Kotor, dated after Meyer's death give us information on the property status of the Finzi family. On 15 December 1882, Nina, a daughter of late Meyer Finzi, with residence in Trieste, authorised her brother Giuseppe, a son of late Meyer Finzi, to sign on her behalf all documents from the land registers in Kotor concerning the part of the house in Kotor (number not recorded), so as to guarantee her ownership right and to act in accordance with all necessary procedures towards third persons, if their interests were against the interests of the providers of power of attorney.

That same year, the registration record of 28 December 1882 signed in Kotor (Protocollo assunto in Cattaro il 28 Dicembre 1882) informs that Nina Finzi obtained the ownership of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of house no. 314, through purchase, while her brother Adolfo and sister Carolina got the ownership of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the house. This record confirms the ownership right of sister Nina over of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the house and that right was revoked by purchase agreement concluded with Giacommo Nadali, son of late Marko in Kotor on 27 on September 1876. With regard to the property rights for real estate no. 314, Giuseppe Finzi is also present in the contract of 17 September 1881, concluded with brother Adolf and contract of 24 February 1881, concluded with sister Carolina Finzi. In the land registry entry no. 2056 of 22 June 1884, we can follow the inscriptions of real estate, house no. 314 to Giuseppe, son of late Meyer Finzi for  $\frac{3}{4}$  (three-quarters) and Nina, daughter of late Mayer Finzi for  $\frac{1}{4}$  (one quarter).

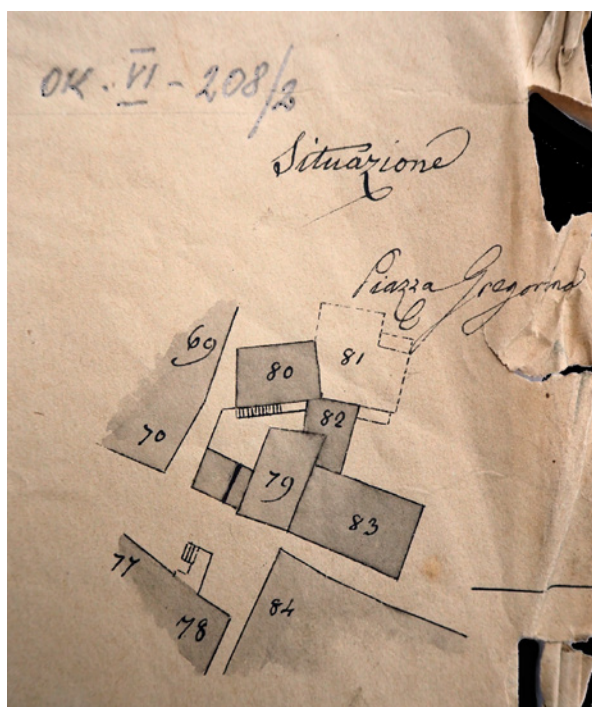
The house bought by the Finzi family in 1876 is located in the Old town of Kotor, on Museum Square, to the right from the Grgurin palace. The house has two floors and two free facades. The protruding window frames, archly domed openings on the ground floor with rectangular arch blocks at the top, corner overlapping bricks and cordon wreaths made of stone, and the façade which used to be mortared, point to the fact that this is a 19th century house. The comparative analysis of Venetian and Austro-Hungarian maps show that it had not existed before the 19th century. In a drawing from the Kotor Archives from 1836, this house was drawn with dotted lines, which shows that it was partially or completely in a dilapidated state, and that it covered a significant part of the square.



Building plot no. 392 in Kotor Old Town - photographed 2020

Giuseppe Finzi was married to Maria, née Anicini, and died from a contagious disease on 29 March 1888 at the age of 38. He was survived by his wife, brother and sister, and buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari.

The land registry record no. 352 of 11 June 1890 allows us to track the change of ownership over the part of house no. 314. Giuseppe owned three-quarters (3/4) of the house were, Adolf Finzi from Trieste owned 3/8 and Nina Finzi from Trieste also 3/8. On the basis of the decree no. 37089 of 3 October 1894, issued by the Municipal district court in Trieste (Pretura Urbana Civile in Trieste), and following the court decree (giudiziale decreto) of 26 November 1884, the land register record n. 816 of 3 November 1894 confirmed that the right of ownership of 5/8 previously registered to Nina Finzi was awarded to Adolf, son of late Mezer Finzi. Based on the purchase agreement no. 43281 concluded on 6 March 1912 in Trieste, the house became a property of Ema Mandel, née Menac.

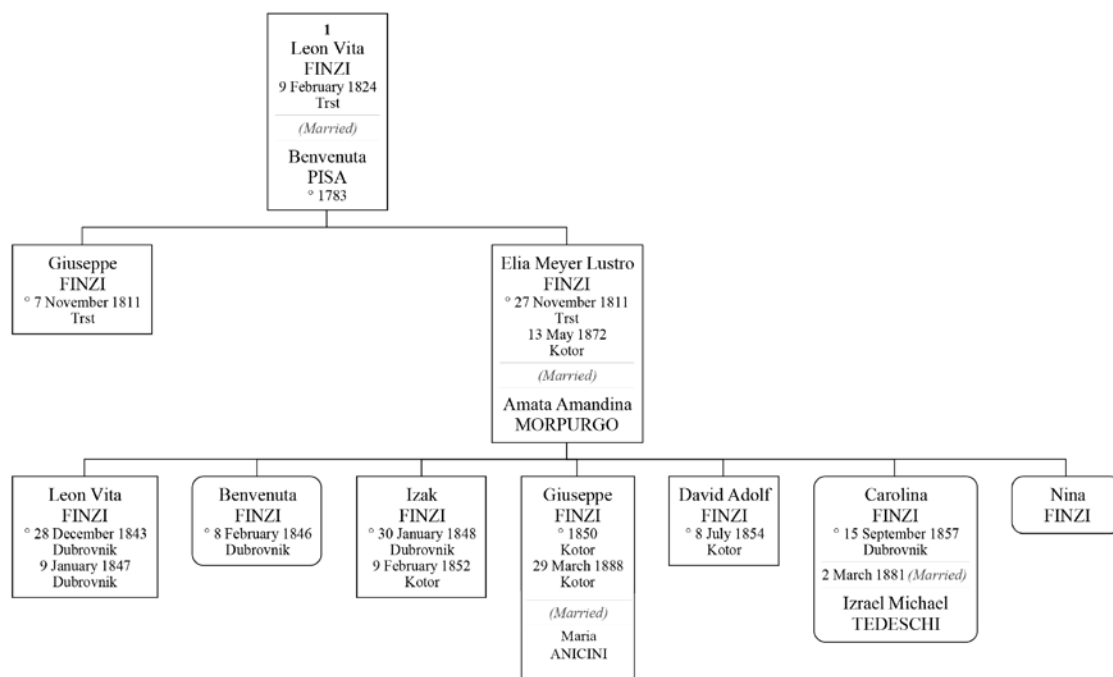


Archival map of building plot 314, with old anagraphic number 81 and new one 392.  
Source: DACG, IAK, OK VI-208/2



Archival map of building plot 314. Source:  
DACG, IAK, KUK, KO Kotor, map (photo 004)  
enlarged map of Kotor /extract

The Finzi family that moved to Kotor in early 19th century was originally from Trieste. Leon Vita Finzi lived with his wife Beneventa Pisa in Trieste, on Via S. Giacomo, which no longer exists under that name. Their son Meyer settled in Kotor before 1835, and married his wife Amata Morpurgo in Split. Meyer Finzi is credited for the founding of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, not far from the old town of Kotor in 1858. Many members of the Finzi family, such as Leon Vita, Benvenuta, Isaak, Giuseppe and Karolina were born in Dubrovnik, which in the regional conditions was the largest hub for Jewish people. However, Nina Finzi continued to live in Trieste after purchasing her share of the house no. 314 in Kotor Old Town, on Museum Square, ceding 5/8 of property ownership to her brother Adolf on 3 October 1894, when he became the sole owner of this property until 1912 when he sold it to Ema Mandel. Trieste at the time was home to the largest Jewish community in the Eastern Adriatic consisting of 5600 members in 1869, and certainly provided better living conditions than Kotor where, according to the census from 1880, there were only 17 Jews.



Family tree of Finzi family

Archivio di Stato di Trieste  
Rogito Notarile N. 43281

State Archive of Trieste  
n. 43281

*stemma*

## ATTO NOTARILE

Fatto nella città di Trieste l'anno millenovecentododici.

Mese di Marzo, giorno di Mercoledì sei.

Innanzi a me Dr. Gioachino Zencovich i.r. notajo qui residente.

Si presentano il signor Adolfo Finzi fù Mayer privato in Trieste Via Acquedotto N. 38 e la signora Emma Mendel nata Menac privata a Cattaro Piazza del Circolo N. 93, a me noti, capaci d'obbligare e d'obbligarsi e mi ricercano di assumere nei miei rogiti, il seguente

## CONTRATTO DI COMPRAVENDITA

bollo

### I

Il signor Adolfo Finzi del fù Mayer disponendo di cosa propria vende ed in assoluta proprietà trasferisce colla facoltà della tavolare trascrizione del diritto di proprietà alla signora Emma Mandel nata Menac che compera ed acquista le intere realtà part.edif. 314 costituente il corpo primo della partita tavolare 147/centoquarantasette/ del Comune censuario di Cattaro, casa d'abitazione N. 84 ora segnata col N. d'orientamento 93 di Piazza del Circolo in Cattaro con ogni obenza e pertinenza, usi, diritti e servitù, fondo e fabbricati, muri, ed ogni altro fisso ed infisso, il tutto come sta e giace, nello stato in cui attualmente si trova, come dal venditore fisicamente e tavolarmente posseduto e goduto, e come dalla compratrice visitato e trovato di suo pieno aggradimento.

### II

Il prezzo di questa compravendita che s'intende fatto a corpo e non a misura nè a stima, viene d'accordo delle parti fissato con reciproca rinuncia all'eccezione della lesione enorme, in Corone 24.000 diconsi Corone ventiquattromila, di cui la compratrice paga per cassa all'atto della firma di questo

## NOTARIAL DEED

Made on 6 March (Wednesday), in the year nineteen twelve (1912), in Trieste, in front of the notary Gioachino Zencovich residing in Trieste.

The following persons attended: Mr. Adolfo Finzi di Mayer, residing in Trieste at 38, Akvedoto Street and Mrs. Ema Mandel, née Menac, residing in Kotor, at 93, Pjaca od cirkula, whom I know personally and who are able to fulfil their contractual obligations, with the request that I include this in my notarial records

## PURCHASE AGREEMENT

### I

Mr. Adolfo Finzi di Mayer, in a full capacity to dispose of his property, conveys the full ownership to Mrs. Ema Mandel, née Menac, with the right to register an entry evidencing her right of ownership. The buyer, Mrs. Ema Mandel, buys and acquires the right to ownership over the immovable properties located in the building no. 314 at the land plot no. 147 /one hundred and forty-seven/ of the cadastral municipality of Kotor, and residential house no. 84, now labelled with number 93 on the Pjaca od cirkula in Kotor. It goes along with all responsibilities, rights, uses, obligations, with all land and buildings, all movables and immovable properties, all as it is and in the condition in which it is currently, and which the seller physically and legally possesses, and in condition seen and accepted by the buyer.

### II

The purchase price is determined generally, and not per unit of measure or by an estimate, and the agreement of the contracting parties stipulates



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contratto a mani del venditore che ne conferma il ricevimento, il parziale importo di Corone 2000/duemila/.

### III

Il saldo prezzo di Corone 22.000 unitamente all'interesse del 6% -sei per cento- all'anno da calcolarsi sul debito ancora insoluto, ogni semestre anticipatamente a datare dal 1 / primo/ Luglio di questo anno, la compratrice signora Emma Mandel si obbliga per sè ed eredi di pagare al venditore al suo domicilio in Trieste in tante rate semestrali continue da Corone 1150/millecentocinquanta/ l'una, rispettivamente di Corone 995.75/100/ novecentocinquantacinque 75/100 l'ultima, scaditili il primo Luglio e primo Gennaio di ogni anno.

La prima delle dette rate semestrali di Cor. 1150 ( *napomena*: tri reda teksta nije moguce procitati) forza a pagamenti maggiori di quelli come sopra convenuti.

Ogni rata semestrale di Corone 1150 andrà anzitutto a pagamento dell'interesse semestrale anticipato del 6% sul debito ancora insoluto alla scadenza di ogni singola rata, e la rimanenza andrà in diffalco del capitale e ciò fino all'esaurimento dell'intero debito.

Starà però in facoltà della compratrice di pagare ad ogni semestrale scadenza importi maggiori ad ogni singola rata di Corone 1150 però la [1 r.n.t.] non si intenderà pagata nè in acconto, nè in anticipazione della prossima o delle prossime rate semestrali di Corone 1150; per cui coi pagamenti maggiori la compratrice non sarà sollevata dall'obbligo all'integrale pagamento delle successive rate nell'indiminuito importo di Corone 1150, ma tali pagamenti maggiori saranno soltanto ad abbreviare il termine di pagamento del debito.

### IV

Assieme ad ogni rata semestrale la compratrice sarà obbligata di pagare inoltre al venditore al suo domicilio l'imposta rendita sull'importo corrispondendo agl'interessi colle rispettive addizionali provinciali e comunali vigenti al domicilio del creditore per disposizione di leggi presenti o future.

that they waive their right of termination of the contract due to discontentment with the price. It was determined that the purchase price was 24,000 crowns (twenty-four thousand) and the buyer paid the amount of 2,000 crowns (two thousand) to the seller upon signing the contract, which he personally confirmed.

### III

The purchase price is 22,000 crowns, with interest rate of 6 % per year, which will be charged on the remaining debt. The buyer, Mrs. Ema Mandel and her successors undertake to pay the seller at his place of residence in Trieste, every six months and starting from 1 July this year, several semi-annual payments in the amount of 1,150 crowns (one thousand one hundred and fifty) each and the last instalment in the amount of 995.75 / 100 crowns. The instalments should be paid on July 1 and January 1 each year.

Each semi-annual instalment in the amount of 1,150 crowns will first be used to settle the interest of 6% on the remaining debt upon the expiration of each individual instalment, and the rest will be used to reduce the amount of debt until the final settlement. When making a payment of the semi-annual installment, the buyer will have the possibility to pay the amount that may exceed the amount of 1150 crowns. However, the excess will not imply the advance payment or payment on account of the next semi-annual installments of 1150 crowns. Therefore, by paying larger amounts than the installment itself, the buyer will not be relieved of the obligation to pay the full amount of the next installments of 1150 crowns, but will only be able to accelerate debt payoff with these larger payments.

### IV

In addition to each semi-annual instalment, the buyer will be obliged to pay the seller in his place of residence the income tax as well as all additional regional and municipal taxes,



V

Qualora la compratrice mancasse per fini di 30 /trenta/ giorni – dalla rispettiva semestrale scadenza al pagamento integrale o foss'anche di una sola rata semestrale di Corone 1150 colle rispettive imposte ed addizionali, starà in facoltà del venditore di esigere l'immediata affrancazione dell'intero debito ancora insoluto cogli interessi di mora del 6% su ogni singola rata arretrata senza bisogno di previa diffida, e senza riguardo al beneficio del pagamento solesse sopraccordato dal quale la compratrice sarà tosto decaduta nè potrà dessa rinviare a giustificazione della mora di pagamento, versamenti da lei fatti in più dell'importo obbligatorio di Corone 1150 alle scadenze di anteriori rate.

VI

In sicurezza del saldoprezzo di Corone 22.000 dei relativi interessi del 6% all'anno anticipati, liberi e franchi per il creditore da qualsiasi trattenuta, tassa ed imposta presente o futura degli interessi di mora del 6%, dalle eventuali spese di riscossione e della cauzione di Corone 800 /ottocento/ a garanzia di quegli obblighi accessori contemplati da questo contratto i quali per legge non godano parità di rango ipotecario col capitale specialmente per gl'interessi arretrati oltre tre anni per gli interessi di mora o per tutte le spese e tasse dicche più sotto all'articolo VIII il tutto pagabile nei sensi di questo contratto col ed eseguibile a mente del , 3 del vigente regolamento notarile, la signora Emma Mendel nata Menac costituisce un'ipoteca colla facoltà dell'intavolazione a favore del signor Adolfo Finzi fù Mayer l'ente oggi compravenduto partita tavolare 147 del Comune censuario di Cattaro con ciò che l'intavolazione della così costituita ipoteca debba seguire contemporaneamente all'intavolazione del diritto di proprietà a nome della compratrice, locchè le parti espressamente stabiliscono ed acconsentono.

VII

La compratrice s'obbliga di tenere assicurati contro danni del fuoco, per tutta la durata

valid at the creditor's residence in accordance with current and future laws.

V

If the buyer is unable to pay the full amount or even just one semi-annual instalment of 1,150 crowns with all related taxes and allowances thirty days after the deadline, the seller will have the option to demand immediate cancellation of the total outstanding debt and interest rate of 6% on all arrears. This can be done without the reprimand previously issued by the court, regardless of the benefit that the seller has from the previously agreed payment in instalments. The buyer right to pay by instalments will be immediately revoked along with the right to eliminate the consequences due to overdue obligations, even if she manages to catch up the payment with successive payments. The buyer will not have the opportunity to justify the delay with the subsequent payments it made in order to remunerate the mandatory instalment of 1,150 crowns after the expiry of the deadlines for the previous unpaid instalments.

VI

The guarantee is needed for a sale price of 22,000 crowns and for an annual interest rate of 6 % , for which the seller is spared, as for any other deduction, fee or tax, now or in the future, as well as of the default interest of 6 % for any costs in connection with the recovery cost and the deposit of 800 (eight hundred) crowns, serving as a guarantee for settlement of the additional obligations contained in this contract. By law, it cannot be a mortgage for money because it cannot cover the costs of the annual interest, default interest or all other costs the payment of which is explained in Article VIII of this contract and which are enforceable in accordance with paragraph 3 of the Rules of Procedure of Notaries. Therefore, Ms. Ema Mandel mortgages the land plot no. 147 of the cadastral municipality of Kotor, with

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del debito i fabbricoli esistenti sulla realtà compravenduta per una somma non minore di Corone 20.000 /ventimila/ presso una società d'assicurazione di soddisfazione del venditore e di consegnare ad esso un duplicato della relativa polizza di sicurezza munita del saldopremi e con la clausola che in caso d'incendio la somma assiemata dovrà essere pagata al venditore fino all'ammontare del suo avere, in difetto di che resta esso venditore autorizzato a toccare da sé la sicurezza a tutto rischio e spese della signora compratrice. Resta convenuto che in caso d'incendio la somma assiemata spetterà fino all'ammontare del suo avere già dal momento del sinistro al venditore al quale scopo gli viene assegnata.

#### VIII

Nel caso che le realtà compravendute venissero vendute all'asta esecutiva gli interessi del 6% sul debito e gli interessi sugli interessi nella misura del 6% dovranno venir pagati dalla compratrice rispettivamente dai suoi successori, fino al giorno dell'extradizione del prezzo di delibere dai giudiziali depositi o rispettivamente fino al pagamento del capitale in altri modi, a mani del signor venditore, al quale dovranno venir pure rifuse tutte le spese e tasse di deposito e di extradizione nonché tutte le spese che il venditore avesse ad incontrare in corso della esecuzione, se anche avviata da terzi ed in sede di riparto.

#### IX

La compratrice dovrà comprovare ad ogni richiesta del venditore che le imposte sulle realtà compravendute tutte le eventuali tasse di trasferimento ed altre imposizioni pubbliche privilegiate che si riferissero alla detta realtà, sono pagate regolarmente.

Sarà obbligo della compratrice rispettivamente dei suoi successori nella proprietà della realtà di notificare immediatamente al venditore ogni trapasso di proprietà della realtà compravenduta, sia per titolo oneroso o per donazione o per successione ereditaria.

Sarà anzi obbligo della compratrice, rispettivamente dei suoi successori, in caso di vendita, per [1 r.n.t.] o donazione dell'ente

the right of registration in favour of Mr. Adolf Finci di Mayer, provided that the mortgage is registered at the same time as the registration of property rights in the name of the buyer, which the contracting parties agreed upon.

#### VII

The buyer undertakes to insure the property against damage that may be caused by fire for the entire duration of paying the debt for the building that exists on the purchased property for the amount of not less than 20,000 (twenty thousand) crowns. The insurance should be provided by one of the insurance companies in favour of the seller and a copy of the insurance policy should be delivered to the seller, containing the insurance price and a clause that, in case of fire, the sum insured will be paid to the seller, in the amount of the value of his property, in the absence of which the seller will remain authorized to personally ascertain safety, at the risk and expense of the buyer.

It remains agreed that in the event of a fire, the sum insured in the amount of the value of the property will belong to the seller from the moment of the accident.

#### VIII

In case the real estate is sold at the court auction, the buyer or her inheritors will have to pay the interest rate of 6 % on the debt and the compound interest rate of 6 %, that will be calculated until the day the deliberated price is extradited from court deposits. The payment will be by cash in hand of the seller, who will also have to be compensated for all costs and fees for extradition and deposit, as well as all costs that the seller will have during the execution of the auction, even if it is initiated by third parties.

#### IX

At every request of the seller, the buyer will have to prove that the taxes on the real estate for sale, as well as all possible transfer fees

compravenduto di assumere tosto stipulato il relativo contratto, mediante deposito in contenti, presso una banca o notaio, tutte le tasse erariali provinciali e comunali relative all'alienazione.

#### X

La compratrice non potrà intraprendere senza il permesso scritto del venditore alcun lavoro di parziale o totale demolizione o di rifabrica della realtà compravenduta a scanso d'immediata interdizione da parte del venditore della continuazione di ogni lavoro intrapreso senza il suo consenso.

Sarà obbligo della compratrice di mantenere gli edifici esistenti sulla realtà compravenduta in istato di continua conservazione e rendibilità, provvedendo tosto a tutte le necessarie opere di manutenzione che saranno del caso.

#### XI

Qualora la compratrice mancasse al puntuale adempimento foss'anche di uno solo degli obblighi assunti col presente contratto, il venditore avrà il diritto di ripetere l'immediata affrancazione del capitale senza bisogno di previa diffida e senza riguardo al beneficio del pagamento rateale sopraaccordato.

#### XII

La signora Emma Mandel acconsente espressamente colla facoltà della relativa annullazione tavolare che questo atto possa avere in suo confronto riguardo al pagamento del capitale di Corone 22.000 e dei relativi interessi e di ogni altro accessorio, forza d'immediata esecuzione a sensi del , 3 del vigente regolamento notarile assoggettandosi per ogni petizione ed atto esecutivo diretto all'esazione del medesimo al foro giudiziale di Trieste competente in materia.

#### XIII

La compratrice passa bensì fin da oggi quale proprietaria dell'ente compravenduto ed assume anche da oggi il rischio e pericolo della cosa acquistata, ma le relative perdite e le relative imposte ed oneri pubblici passeranno

or other public duties related to the mentioned real estate, have been paid regularly.

The buyer will be obliged, just like the heirs who inherit the ownership of the real estate, to notify immediately the seller of any transfer of ownership of the real estate, whether it is a transfer with payment or donation or inheritance right.

It will also be the obligation of the buyer or heir to provide payment of all state, regional and municipal taxes related to the alienation immediately after the conclusion of the contract, either with payment or with a donation, immediately after the conclusion of the contract, either in a bank or with a notary.

#### X

The buyer cannot start any partial or complete works on the demolition or renovation of the real estate without the written consent of the seller, which in that case would be immediately prohibited by the seller because he did not approve them beforehand.

The buyer undertakes to maintain all buildings that exist on the real estate in good and preserved condition, and to take immediately all necessary maintenance actions in case of need.

#### XI

If the buyer fails to perform any of her obligations under this contract on time, the seller will have the right to request immediate cancellation of the debt without prior court notice, waiving the previously agreed payment in instalments.

#### XII

Regarding the payment of the debt of 22,000 crowns, all interest and other additional obligations, Ms. Ema Mandel explicitly agrees, with the possibility of annulment, that this act may immediately enter into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of the current regulations of notaries, and accepts all possible

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a suo favore e rispettivamente a suo carico appena col giorno primo Luglio di quest'anno.

#### XIV

Il venditore garantisce pena evizione che la realtà compravenduta è di sua proprietà, libera da ipoteche e da altri aggravii intavolati non assume però nessuna responsabilità per lo stato di conservazione nè per la rendibilità della realtà stessa.

#### XV

Tutte le spese relative a questa compravendita, cioè bolli competenze notarili, eventuale provvigione di mediazione, tassa di trasferimento ed addizionali e quant'altro, nonchè le spese per bollo e competenze della quietanza sul pagamento di ogni singola rata del saldoprezzo ed interessi e accessori e per la cancellazione dell'ipoteca, stanno e staranno a carico esclusivo della compratrice, a totale sollievo del venditore.

#### XVI

Di quest'atto sarà rilasciata la prima spedizione autentica alla signora Emma Mandel nata Menac e la seconda al signor Adolfo Finzi fù Mayer, libero alle parti di chiederne altre in seguito. Intorno a ciò fù assunto il presente rogito indi preletto ai comparenti che lo approvano e firmarono in unione a me notaio.  
Adolfo Finzi  
Emma Mandel  
Gioachino Zencovich, notaio

Onor. C. 17  
Scritt. C. 3.60  
Bollo C. 3  
Corone 23.60

Oggi ho rilasciato la prima spedizione autentica alla signora Emma Mandel nata Menac e la seconda al signor Adolfo Finzi fù Mayer. Trieste li 6 Marzo 1912.  
Gioachino Zencovich, notaio

lawsuits or even the erasure at the court in Trieste, which has jurisdiction over this issue.

#### XIII

As of today, the buyer becomes the owner of the real estate and takes over the risk and responsibility for the purchased item, while he will become obliged to pay all corresponding instalments, taxes and public debt from July 1 this year.

#### XIV

The seller guarantees that he is the owner of the real estate, and that there are no registered mortgages or other encumbrances, but he does not take responsibility for the preservation and profitability of the property.

#### XV

All costs related to this sale, i.e. all court stamps and notary fees, any brokerage fees, transfer taxes and all additional payments, as well as the cost of receipts for each instalment paid, interest and all additional obligations, shall be borne by the buyer while the seller will be exempt from the payment.

#### XVI

The first authenticated copy of this act will be issued to Ms. Ema Mandel, née Menac, and the second to Mr. Adolf Finci di Mayer, with the proviso that the contracting parties may later request additional copies. This document was read in the presence of the contracting parties who gave their consent and after that, it was signed together with me, a notary.  
signatures:  
Ema Mandel  
Adolfo Finci  
Gioachino Zencovich, notary

Total crowns 23.60  
Today, I have issued the first authenticated copy to Mrs. Ema Mandel, née Menac, and the second to Mr. Adolf Finci di Mayer.  
Trieste, 6 March 1912  
signature:  
Gioachino Zencovich, notary

## Mandel

The branch of the Mandel family that settled in Kotor in the mid-19th century was originally from Czechia. Mauricio Moshe Mandel was married in Trieste to Matilda Vindspach born on 31 August 1831 (Windspach) in the town of Ellischau (Nalžovské Hory, Czechia). They had ten children born in Kotor, six sons (Sigismund, David, Mordechai Maximillian, Izrael Izidor, Erminio, Haim Victor) and four daughters (Ester Tereza, Roza, Amalia and Berta). The family was well-to-do since Moshe was a very successful merchant and banker at the time of revival of border traffic and trade in the town of Kotor. We have no information about the time they settled permanently, but they were in Kotor as early as 1858, when Maurizio Mandel was mentioned as the co-founder of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari (see section *Finzi*).

Maurizio's philanthropy is confirmed by two documents discovered in the Kotor Archives. One of them, dated 13 May 1853, states that Maurizio Mandel gave a voluntary contribution of four florins for the erection of the monument to Emperor Franz Joseph I in Vienna. The other document is not dated and mentions him as a donor to a poor girl to ensure her dowry. He also provided the four florins contribution for the celebration of the arrival of colonel baron marshal Mamula. Mandel's first-born son Sigismondo died on 26 February 1855 before the age of 2, and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari.

David Mandel married Colomba (21 December 1859 – 17 December 1920), daughter of Solomon Janni, Haim Victor Mandel with Ana Maria Giovinetti (Giovanetti) on 2 February 1888, and Erminio Mandel with Ema, née Menac. Ms. Matilda Mandel, wife of Maurizio, died with her last, stillborn son. She was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari. David, son of Maurizio Mandel was buried in the same cemetery on 12 September 1904. Erminio Mandel and Ema had a son, Ivan, born on 2 May 1900. David Mandel and his wife Colomba had a daughter Matilda born in Kotor in 1895, deceased in Dubrovnik in 1922. She was named after her grandmother, according to a common Jewish custom. Maurizio's son Haim Victor and his wife Ana had four sons (Maurizio, Maximilian, Henrik and Guglielmo) and all of them were born in Kotor except for Guglielmo who was born in Rome. Henrik (Enrico) died on 28 August 1890 at four months old, and was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari.

Maurizio's wife Ema, née Menac gave birth to their son Ivan on 2 May 1900. Based on the purchase agreement from Trieste no. 43281 of 6 March 1912, registered with notary Dr G. Zenkovich, Ema Mandel, née Menac, was awarded the right of ownership of a house in Kotor Old town no. 314, which used to belong to the Finzi family. However, Ema died in Kotor on 26 September 1918 at the age of 38. Her death certificate states that she was a housewife, Austrian Catholic, and that she left a real estate, reg. number ZU 147 r.o. in Kotor. The entire listing of her heritage is given below (copy).



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(translation)

District Court in Kotor

28 November 1919

Earth Advisor Orebić

District Lawyer Bućin

Erminio Mandel, son of late Maurizio and Ivan Mandel, son of Erminio, were invited in accordance with the law for: Testament reading. Based on the law and unconditional testament reading, Erminio Mandel, son of late Maurizio shall inherit  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the endowment, and Ivan Mandel, son of Erminio, shall inherit  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the endowment, and this is so decided. The court received the testament interpretation in accordance with the proven right to inherit in line with a death certificate, and the decision is made to accept the testament reading:

There is also the following: Testament reading:

*I Active state*

*Real estate*

a) cash money – none

b) Valuables:

3 golden rings, total value ----- K 300

2 golden bracelets, total value ----- K 300

Several silver jewel items, total value ----- K 150

2 pairs of golden rings ----- K 100

a) Securities – none

b) Crafted items – none

c) Household items

2 bed linen, 1 closet, 6 chairs, 2 tables, 2 couches, 1 cupboard, total ----- K 1200

d) Clothes and underwear:

2 suits, 12 shirts, 6 pairs of underwear, 6 white sheets, 3 blouses, total ----- K 1000

e) Kitchenware

Various kitchenware in the total value of ----- K 300

Real estate

Building 314, self-standing house, reg. no. ZU 147

P.o. Kotor

The house made from the inheritance is dilapidated and its value is ----- K 1800

Total active K 21,350

*II Passive state*

Expenses for diseases, funerals and burials according to law attached to our property -----

----- K 4881.49

*III Recapitulation*

Active state ----- K 21350

Passive state ----- K 4881.7

Total net assets amounts to ----- K 16528.2

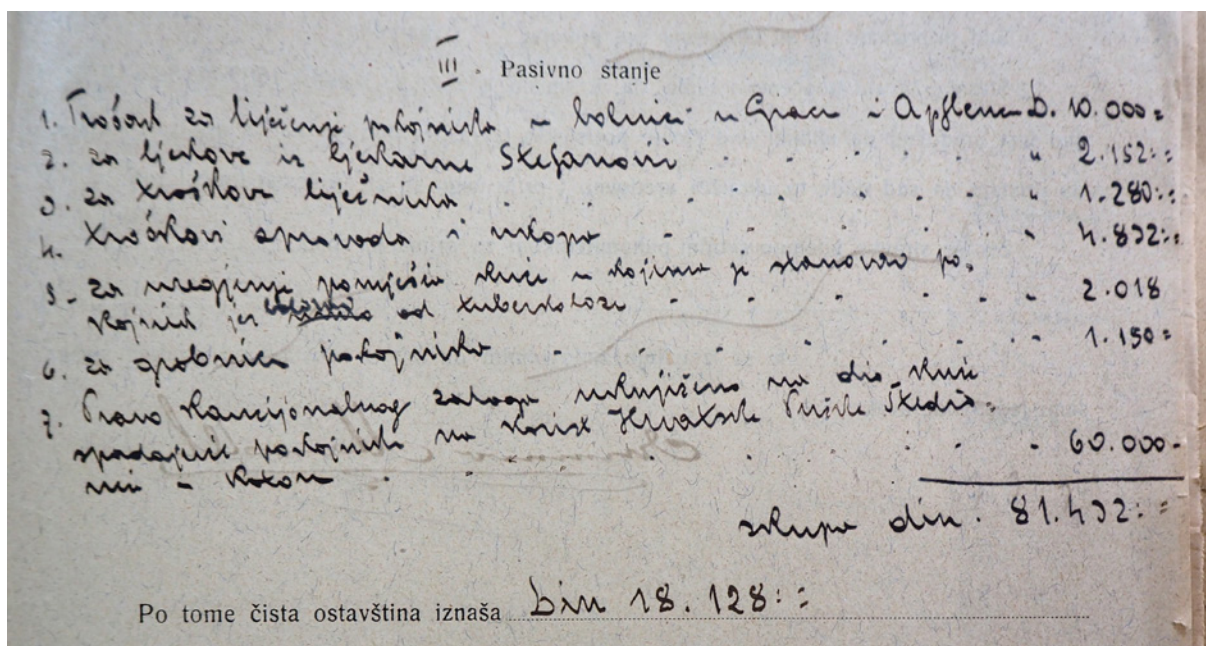
Signed by: Erminio Mandel and Ivan Mandel

The district court in Kotor in the decision no. (244/18)/3 of 5 March 1921 awarded the inheritance of Ema, wife of Erminio Mandel, as a transfer of property rights for the entire building ZU 147 Kotor, single-floor, to: a) Mandel Erminio, son of late Maurizio in the share of  $\frac{1}{4}$  and b) Mandel Ivan, son of Erminio in the share of  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

The list of real estate debt for house no. 314 lists the mortgage (right of order to the highest amount of 80,000 din on behalf of Mandel Ivan, son of Erminio) at the real estate reg no. ZU 147 r.o. Kotor,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of building no. 314 self-standing single-floor house, on behalf of "Hrvatska Pučka Štedionica – n.z. sa o.j." Company in Kotor. The precondition for this loan is the loan that Ivan Mandel took out for his treatment which unfortunately ended in a fatal outcome. Ivan's discussion of legacy in the section passive state under no. 118/24 lists the following:

(translation)

<i>Costs of the treatment of the deceased in the Graz hospital and [unintelligible]</i>	<i>10000</i>
<i>Costs of medications and Stefanović pharmacy-----</i>	<i>2152</i>
<i>Physician's expenses-----</i>	<i>1280</i>
<i>Costs of funeral and burial-----</i>	<i>4832</i>
<i>Expenses for the renting of the house where the deceased lived and suffered from tuberculosis-----</i>	<i>2018</i>
<i>Costs for the deceased's tomb-----</i>	<i>1150</i>
<i>Right of pledge credited for the part of house of the deceased for "Hrvatska Pučka Štedionica" in Kotor-----</i>	<i>60000</i>
<i>Total din</i>	
<b>81.432</b>	



III. Pasivno stanje	
1. Troškovi za liječenje pokojnika u bolnici u Grazu i Apfelm. d.	10.000 =
2. za liječenje u bolnici Stefanović	2.152 =
3. za troškove liječenja	1.280 =
4. troškovi pogreba i pokopa	4.832 =
5. za medicinske poslove koje je obavio i stanovao po	2.018 =
6. pokop u groblju od tuberkuloze	1.150 =
7. za općinu pokojnika	60.000 =
8. Novo hramovinsko založno posuđivanje na dio kuće	18.128 =
ukupno din. 81.432 =	
Po tome čista ostavština iznaša	

Ivan's discussion of legacy. Source: DACG, IAK, SK 118/24/3

Ivan Mandel died of tuberculosis in Kotor on 15 May 1924, at the age of 24. The death certificate no. (118/24)/2 of 12 September 1924 states that he was a Catholic merchant, who owned  $\frac{3}{4}$  of house no. ZU 147 in Kotor. The minutes on the discussion no. (118/24)/3 on Ivan's bequest, the house, i.e. its part was estimated at 100 000 dinars. The adjudication for the bequest of Ivan Mandel, son of Erminio no. (118/24)/3 registers his immovable property consisting of  $\frac{3}{4}$  of house reg. no. ZU 147 r.o. Kotor, part of house 314, as ownership of his father Erminio Mandel on 17 December 1924. On 13 December 1924, Erminio Mandel submitted to the district court in Kotor the adjudication requesting the registration of the said real estate from the list of objects listed under ordinal no. 118/24. The copy of the minutes is given below:

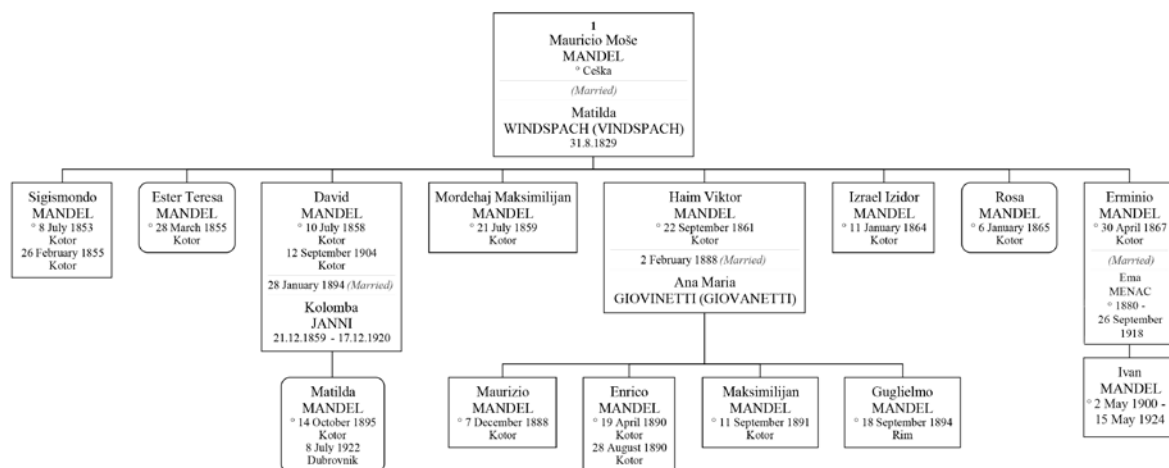
“On 13 September 1924, no. (118/24)/4 of the District Court in Kotor, the right to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the real estate belonging to Ivan Mandel, son of Erminio is registered in the favour of Mandel Erminio, son of late Maurizio from Kotor.”



Prčanj. (Perzagno). Publisher - Erminio Mandel. Source: Musić, Dario i Ulčar, Miroslav. *Slikom kroz prošlost, Boka Kotorska i crnogorsko primorje na starim razglednicama 1890-1940*. Hrvatsko građansko društvo Crne Gore i Nacionalna zajednica Crnogoraca Hrvatske. Kotor 2011.

The letter of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, sent by Tolentino Emilio on 30 January 1974 from Dubrovnik tells that the Dubrovnik community sent 150 dinars per month to Erminio Mandel for cleaning of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, and for painting of the former wooden door. The archival findings include many artistic photographs signed by Erminio Mandel. The composition of photographs and the quality of workmanship tells a lot about Mandel's artistic spirit and the excellence of his photographic opus. Erminio Mandel converted to Catholicism, believing that he would thus be saved from fascism, and was therefore not buried in the Jewish cemetery. He died in 1942.





Rodoslov porodice Mandel

A branch of the Mendel family moved to Kotor from Czechia before 1858. Maurizio Moshe Mandel and his wife Matilda Vindspach were married in Trieste in 1831. Jewish families in Kotor in the mid-19th century were large, as was certainly the family of Maurizio Mandel, who had ten children. Maurizio was a very successful merchant in Kotor. He was also a philanthropist and a benefactor of culture. His greatest merit was the founding of the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, outside the old town of Kotor, together with Giacomo Tolentino and Meyer Finzi in 1861. Maurizio's wife Matilda died with their 11th child, a stillborn son, and she was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari. In 1912, Maurizio's son Erminio became the owner of the house under old number 314 in Kotor, which was acquired through purchase from the Finzi family. The premature death of his wife who died at the age of 38 in Kotor in 1918, and the premature death of his son Ivan who died of tuberculosis at the age of 26 in 1924, certainly hit Erminio hard. The right of ownership of the said house in the Old Town of Kotor belonged to Erminio until 25 March 1926. Erminio was also a remarkable artistic photographer and his photos keep the memories of the Bay of Kotor at the time alive. Just like most other Jewish families of Kotor, many members of the Mandel family were getting married and continued to live in Dubrovnik and Split.



Old town of Kotor. Publisher - Erminio Mandel. Source: DACG\_IAC\_FOT\_IV\_1.56

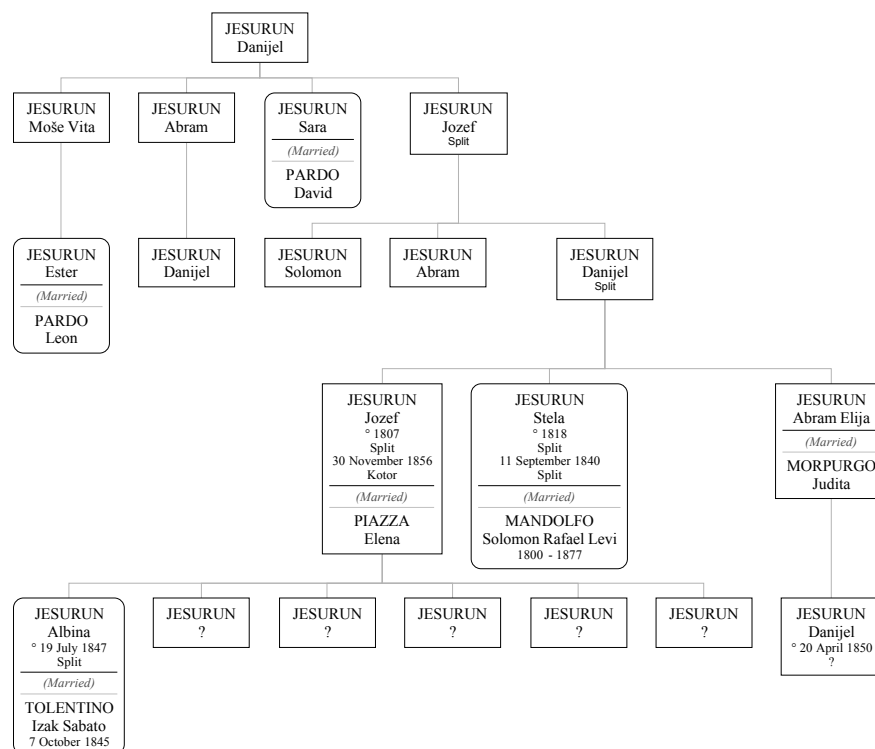
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# Jesurun

The ancestors of Josef Raffael Jesurum, buried in the cemetery in Škaljari, came to Split from Dalmatia, but it is not known from what place. Josef's great grandfather, Daniel Jesurun had three sons (Abram, Moshe Vita and Josef) and three daughters (Sara, Judita and Regina).

Josef Jesurun, son of Daniel, lived in Split and had three sons (Daniel, Abram and Solomon) and a daughter, Ester, married to Ismael Rafael, son of Daniel Vita Valenzino. Daniel Jesurun, son of Joseph, had two sons, Josef and Abram Elia, and a daughter, Stela, married to Solomon Rafael Levi, son of Jozef Leon Levi Mandolfo.

During the first Austro-Hungarian rule of Dalmatia, an unpleasant incident occurred in Split in October 1800, when a nobleman from Split, Alberti, slapped Daniel Jesurun and threw him out from a tavern (bottega di caffè). This incident immediately resulted in a court proceeding, whereas at the same time Alberti started a petition stating that Jews had always been exempt from public life, and that he acted in accordance with the customs. However, the Court issued a detention for nobleman Alberti for three days. Alberti left Split and did not serve his sentence. Jesurun, seeing that the nobleman avoided his sentence, appealed to the Court for the sentence to be enforced, whereas Alberti again appealed referring to common law according to which Jews had always been prevented from attending public places together with believers and nobility. The nobleman's superiority resulted in the retraction of the detention sentence, and after the second procedure initiated by Jesurun, the court ruled in Alberti's favour. This confirms that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the first years of its rule of Dalmatia did not support Jewish rights in the society, and that the rules were still unfavourable for the Jews.



Family tree of Jesurun family



Moshe Jesurun and Elia Gentilomo bought conventional money (*monete convenzionali*) in Split in 1802, in spite of the prohibition proclaimed by the Government's edict. They were pardoned and the chests with forged money were seized after the two apologized and stated that they had not been aware of the law.

Jozef Jesurun was married to Elena Piazza in Split. His daughter Albina was born on 19 April 1947 and was married to Izsak Sabato, son of Josef Gabriel Tolentino. They were married on 2 October 1876 in Dubrovnik. Keckement mentions Josef Jesurun, born in 1807, in his book *Jews in Split's History*. The information on Josef's birth corresponds to the dates on the tombstone in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, so it can be concluded that this is in fact the same person.

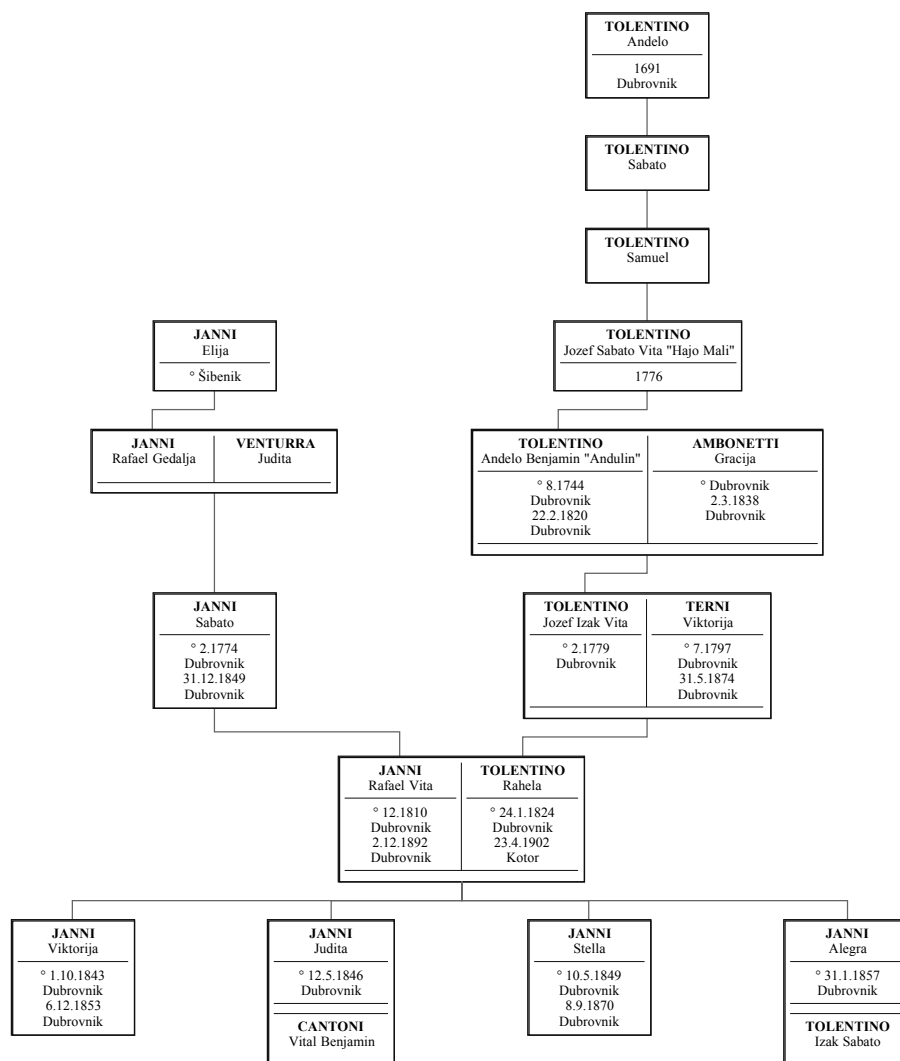
As written on the headstone in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, Raffael Josef Jesurun, son of Daniel Jesurun, was born in 1807 and died on 30 November 1856 in Kotor, leaving behind a wife with six little children.

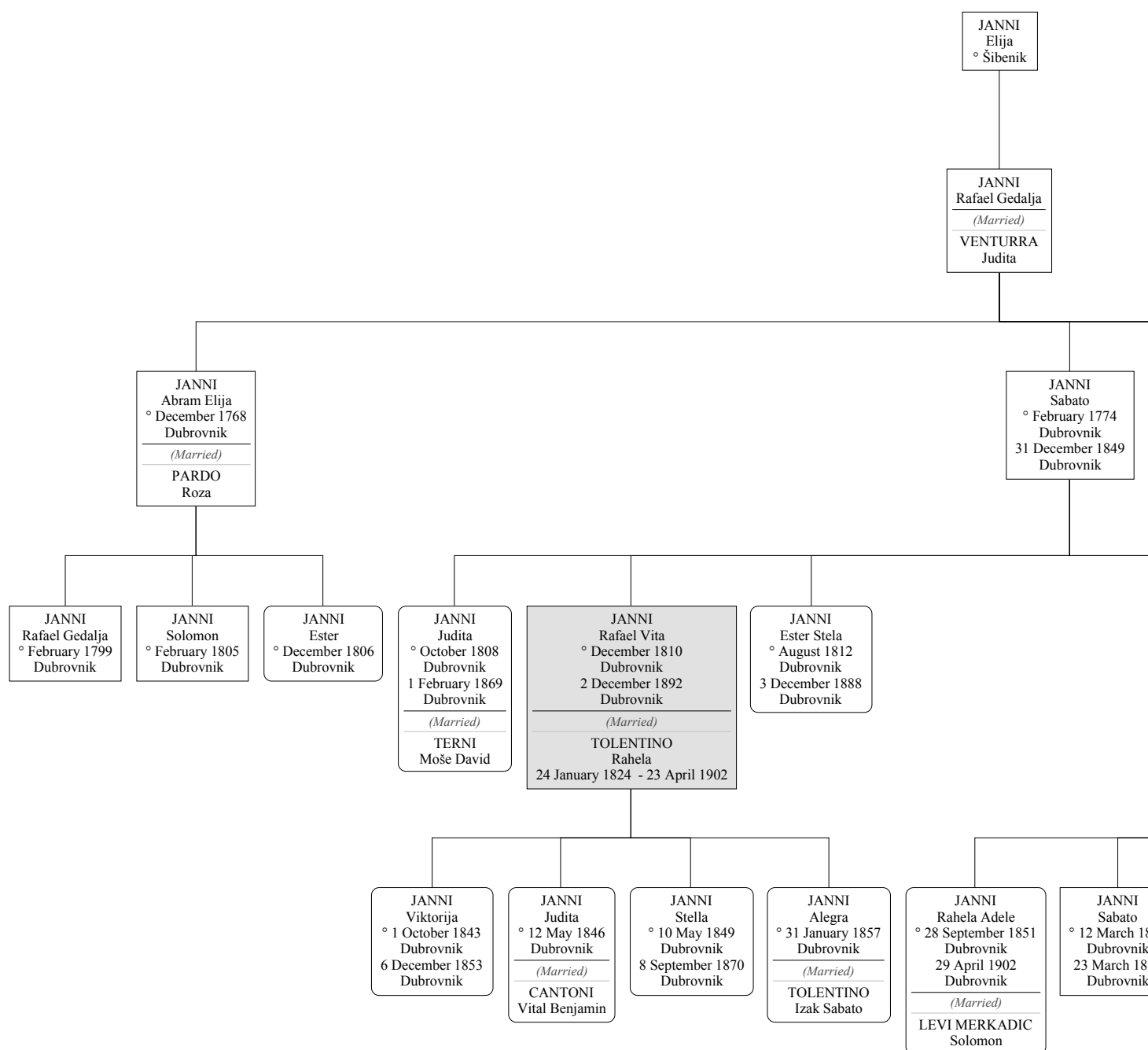
## Janni

Like many Jewish families tied by destiny to Kotor, the Janni family also hails from Dubrovnik. The first mention of the Janni family was in 1739, and it referred to Elia Janni, a reseller probably from Šibenik. He arrived with his family of five members to Dubrovnik. It is just known that he had one son, Raphael Gedalja, who together with his father owned a shop on Placi Street in Dubrovnik. In 1781/2, Raphael Gedalja was the *gastald* of the Jewish community in Dubrovnik. He lived with his wife, two daughters and two sons, in modern-day Žudiotska Street in Dubrovnik. It is known that in 1798 he bought a house in the Ghetto above Prijeko Street, which he sold in 1799. He was also a representative of merchants from Bijelo Polje, and invested in ship shares.

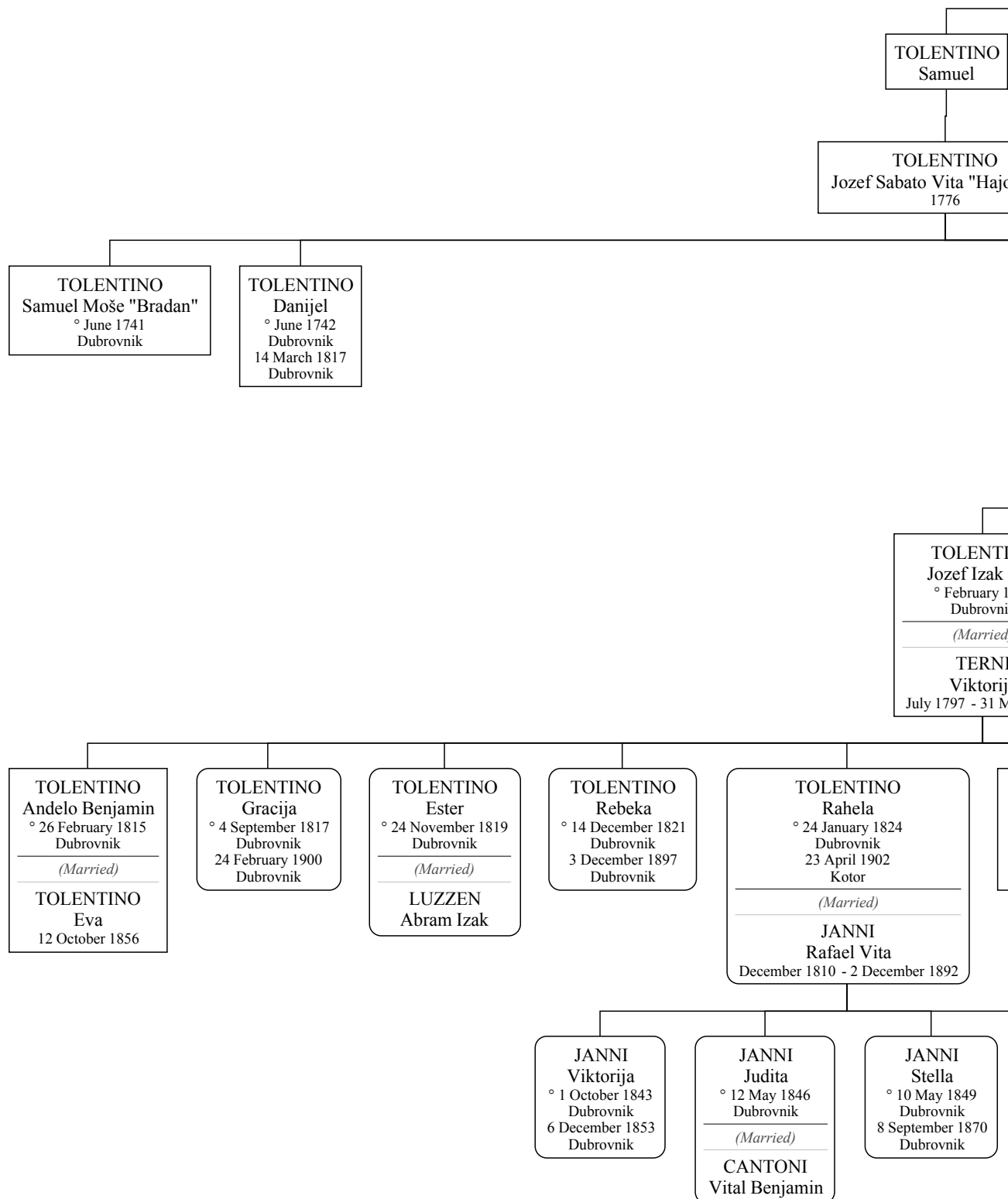
Sabato Janni, craftsman, son of Raphael Gedalja, was born in Dubrovnik in February 1774. With his wife Rahela, née Terni, he had five children born in Dubrovnik: two sons (Rafael Vita and Solomon) and three daughters (Judita, Ester – Stela and Alegra). His wife is mentioned as the first seamstress. She trained her son Rafael Vita as a tailor and he was mentioned as a master tailor in 1842. Rafael Vita and Solomon attended the lower Jewish elementary school in Dubrovnik. The wife of Rafael Vita was also called Rahela, and was born on 24 January 1824. She was the daughter of Josef Izsak Vita Tolentino. Rafael and Rahela had four daughters: Victoria, Judita, Stela and Allegra, all born in Dubrovnik.

The Janni family is mentioned in Kotor in mid-19th century. Rahela Janni, daughter of Josef Izsak Vita Tolentino died in Kotor on 23 April 1902, and was buried on the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari. Rahela's father Josef Izsak Vita Tolentino was a successful entrepreneur in Dubrovnik. He had twelve children with his wife Victoria Terni. He owned a shop on Placi Street between Vetranićeva and Zemanjina Streets, and during the French occupation he ran the joint stock company *Josef Vita Tolentino et comp.*



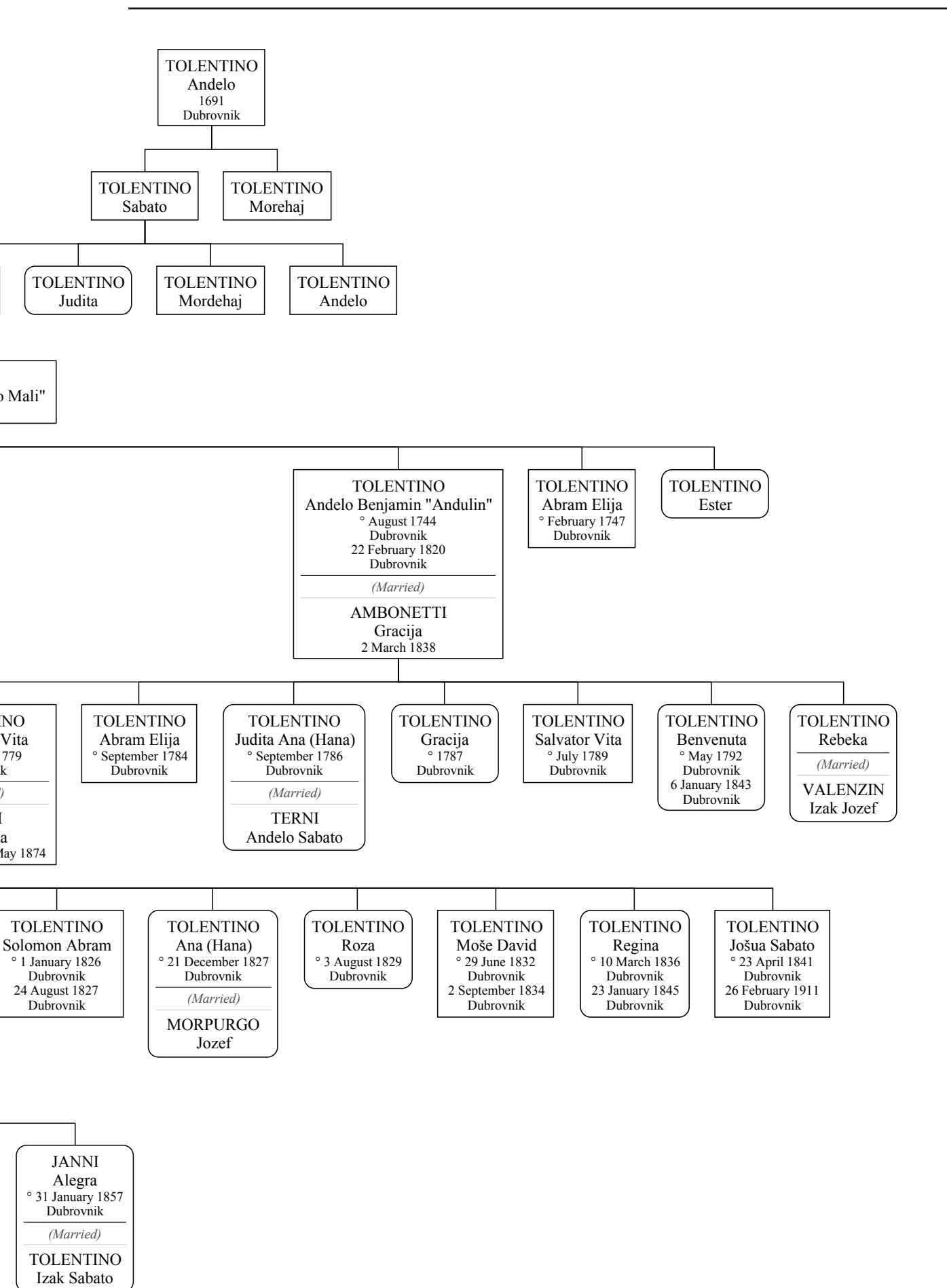






Family tree of Tolentino family



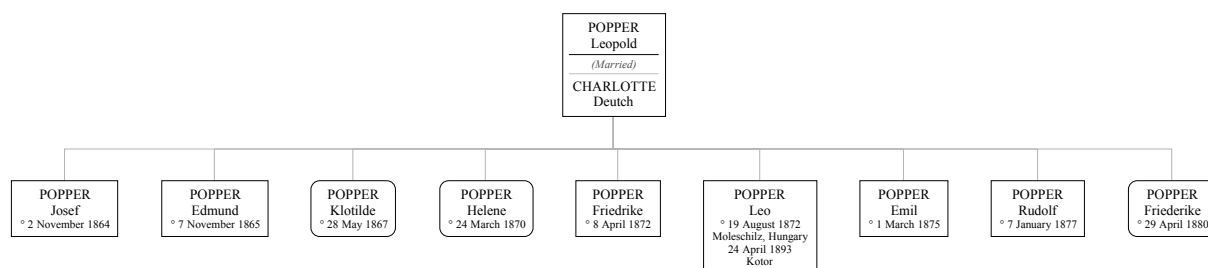


## Werner

Around 1870, military physician Dr Salomon Werner resided in Kotor, where he served in the regiment of archduke Ferdinand. His wife was Virginia Vitali from Gradiška and he had three children whose godfather was Maurizio Mandel. His sons were born in Kotor, Oskar Haim on 9 February 1873 and Moshe Emilio on 4 October 1874. His daughter Gitili was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari, after passing away at the age of six, on 14 May 1876. Her monument is the only one in the cemetery with the inscription only in Hebrew.

## Popper

Leo Popper, son of Leopold and Deutch Charlotte, was an Austro-Hungarian sergeant in the infantry regiment no. 72. He was born in Moleschilz, in Hungary, on 19 August 1872 and died after a short illness in Kotor on 24 April 1893. He was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Škaljari. Leopold's family was quite large, and in addition to Leo they had eight more children: Josef (2 November 1864), Edmund (7 November 1865), Klotilde (28 May 1867), Helene (24 March 1870), Friedrike (8 April 1872), Emil (1 March 1875), Rudolf (7 January 1877), Friedrike (29 April 1880). Leo's monument is the only one in the Jewish cemetery in Kotor which is written in cursive in German.



Family tree of Popper family

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# Jews of Kotor in the 20th century until the end of World War II

## Introduction

So far, very few archival data have been found on the territory of Kotor and its surroundings, which testify to the life of the Jewish families in Kotor in the first half of the 20th century. We have already mentioned some families and their members who lived in Kotor in the first decades of the 20th century in the section on Jewish families. The tendency of decline in Jewish population in Kotor was continuous from 1910, when eighty-four Jews lived in and around Kotor, until 1941, when only six of them remained. The reasons for such emigration were multiple, both material and existential ones, and the emigration tendency towards larger towns in Dalmatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was still present.

## Jewish summer house “Karmel” in Prčanj



Vila Karmel in Prčanj - photographed 2015

In 1929, the Society of Jewish Women from Belgrade opened the first summer house in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, called “Karmel”, in Prčanj, a small coastal settlement in the Bay of Kotor, and it was intended for the treatment of weak children. Prčanj was very well known as a climatic health resort in that period, thanks to the beneficial effect of air aerations on lung diseases and allergies, and in the later period, numerous summer houses and climatic health resorts were established in that place.

The house with the adjoining storehouse was bought by the Jewish Women’s Society in 1925 from the famous Marassi family from Prčanj, who built it. In front of the “Karmel house” on the seacoast, a small shallow pool for children was built. During World War II, numerous Jewish families from Serbia fled over to the “Karmel” summer house, unaware of the danger, and were arrested there by the Italians. The reputable Jews, Oskar Davičo and Jasha Almuli were among them. After World War II, the “Karmel” house was nationalized and used as a hotel. The “Karmel” villa is located by the sea next to a narrow coastal road. It has a ground floor, two floors and a high attic as well as four window shafts on the facade facing the sea. Next to the house, there is a small storehouse. The house had a spacious yard at the back. The “Karmel” villa is now a private property. It has undergone a complete reconstruction and its original spatial concept has been significantly changed.

## Jewish families in Kotor before World War II

From the official letter sent to the Municipal People's Committee in Kotor on 26 October 1945, we learn about two Jewish families, the Samuel family and the Laufer family, who lived in Kotor until World War II. There were six of them and nobody returned to Kotor after the war.

During World War II, Purek Samuel, his wife Joženko and son Marin, were taken from Kotor to a camp in Germany. Samuel was killed and his sons returned to Zagreb after the war where they continued to live, while his daughter Ela, Stevo Jurković's widow, remained in Cetinje.

The Italians took Dr. Laufer from Kotor to a camp on Prevlaka. After the surrender of Italy, he was released but soon the Germans interned him again to a camp in Germany. After the war, Dr. Laufer continued to live in Zagreb.

Although not many Jewish families lived in Kotor immediately before World War II, the events that happened in the Bay of Kotor during the war are very important for understanding the occupiers' treatment of the Jewish population and refugees in Kotor. According to the guidelines prescribed by Hitler, the territory of the so-called Zone I belonged, among others, to the fascist Italy, which included the territories of the Rijeka province, the islands of the Croatian coast without Pag, the territory from Split to Novigrad with the coastal islands, Notranjsko and Dolenjsko with Ljubljana, as well as the Bay of Kotor. Immediately before World War II, a small number of Jews lived in these territories. However, after the capitulation of Yugoslavia, a large number of Jews fled over to these territories from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia and Serbia. During World War II, many Jews joined the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. A prominent among these was Moša Pijade, a well-known Serbian painter and publicist who was active in Montenegro during the war, helping the party organization in the preparation for the uprising.

## Internment of about 190 Jewish refugees from Kotor to Albania

How the occupying forces treated the Jewish refugees who took shelter in Kotor and their fate will be extensively described in the next chapter. After the capitulation of Yugoslavia, German forces conducted an air attack on Belgrade on 6 April 1941. At that time, several thousand Jews went into exile from Serbia. Considering it would be safest for them to go to the Bay of Kotor, in the hope that Allies would arrive there with the English fleet, about 300 Jewish refugees came to Boka. On 20 July 1941, Skaselati, the prefect of Kotor, sent an official letter to the governor of Dalmatia. The letter considered, among other things, a plan of "cleansing of all Jews and their families" who came to the Bay of Kotor in 1941, mostly from Serbia. The official letter tells that the refugees will be sent to Durres by boat, as soon as the Albanian authorities send the confirmation. The next official letter of 23 July 1941, confirms the plan to expel the Jewish refugees from the Bay of Kotor. About 160 of them were planned to be sent to Albania the following day. The official letter also states that all their monetary assets in excess of 500 lire will be confiscated. In that action, which was carried out in Herceg Novi, a total of 1,750,828 lire, 379 napoleons, and 120,000 foreign coins were confiscated from the Jewish refugees. On 23 July 1941, the Italians transported the Jewish refugees from Herceg-Novi to Kotor by trucks.

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There they boarded the ship “Alexander” and then the ship “Kumanovo” on which there were many Montenegrin communists and the young people from Herceg Novi. The official letter of 26 July 1941 states that a group of 192 Serbian Jews sailed for Durres, with a stay in Tivat to repair the ship engine. On 27 July 1941, the refugees arrived in Durres and were taken to a camp in Kavaje. The extremely bad conditions in the camp, which was actually an abandoned barn without water and electricity, were unbearable, although the Italians treated the refugees well and did not abuse them either physically or mentally and even helped them to improve the living conditions in the camp. On 8 October 1941, the refugees were transferred and taken to the Feramonti camp in Italy. On 20 December 1942, some refugees left Feramonti and went to smaller settlements, such as Pesaro and Pergola, where they were hidden by the locals, as well as the Catholic priests. Then some Jews, such as Samuilo Alkalaj from Smederevo, managed to save themselves and to reach Rome.

## Biographies of famous Jews interned from Kotor to Albania

The influential Jewish figures, such as brothers Mirko and Oskar Davičo, Jasha Almuli, Vera Kon and Fisher Bele Ernest were among the interned Jewish refugees in Kotor. The next chapter talks about them.

**Mirko Davičo**, born in 1915, was a very eloquent and intelligent lawyer and a member of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ). He belonged to the Marxist-oriented youth who advocated the exodus of Jews to Palestine. Immediately after the beginning of World War II, he found refuge in Prčanj, from where the Italians interned him to the Kavaje camp in Albania, and then to the Feramonti camp in Italy. Unfortunately, probably due to the “unfortunate exchange of identity” with his brother Oskar, who acted as a communist, he was taken from the camp, and it is believed that he was killed in Jasenovac. The Almuli family did everything possible in the Feramonti camp to save 27-year-old Mirko. However, neither the “Delasem” intervention in Rome, nor the intervention of Jewish Italian lawyers, nor the connections established with the Catholics, nor the gold coins given to the warden of the camp helped.

**Oskar Davičo** was the most prolific Jewish writer in Serbia. He was born on 18 January 1909 in Šabac. He finished elementary school in his hometown and grammar school in Belgrade. Between 1926 and 1928, he studied Romance Philology at the Sorbonne. He obtained a degree in French language and literature in Belgrade in 1930. A year later, in Bihać, he became a member of the Communist Party, and at the end of the same year, he held the position of the secretary of the Local Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During World War II, Oskar Davičo found refuge with his family in Prčanj in the Bay of Kotor, but the Italians then deported him to the Feramonti camp in Italy. He lived in Northern Italy with his wife Ruth Lederer and son Nikola Kolja, in the so-called “open confinement”, in the period when his brother was extradited to the Independent State of Croatia in 1942. After the capitulation of Italy, he managed to cross the frontline and join the soldiers of the First Proletarian Brigade. Oskar Davičo became a writer in 1947 and made his reputation as a Serbian surrealist poet. He died on 30 September 1989, and was buried in the Alley of Distinguished Citizens in the Belgrade New Cemetery.



**Jasha Almuli** was a well-known Serbian journalist and publicist. He was born to father Isaac Jacques and mother Sofia Cohen on 25 August 1918 in Bucharest. Jasha completed elementary school and the Second Men's Grammar School in Belgrade, and studied technology at the University of Belgrade. He became a member of SKOJ in 1934 and a member of CPY in 1938. In the face of fascist terror, he fled from Belgrade with his male cousins on 6 April 1941, and set out for the summer house "Karmel" in Prčanj, where his mother was already staying. Jasha soon connected with the party instructor Veljko Mićunović, and he managed to organize a small partisan detachment from newcomers and the local youth. However, he was arrested with Jewish refugees in the Bay of Kotor on 5 July 1941. All of them were transferred to the Kavaje camp in Albania, and then to the Feramonti camp in Italy. When the Italian authorities allowed life in "open confinement", Jasha settled with his family in Mirandola, a small town near Modena. Fearing that he would face the same destiny as Mirko Davičo, his family secured him a visa for Paraguay at the beginning of 1943. He soon arrived in Rome with his family and then left for Madrid. With his sister Shek and mother Sofia, Jasha joined a detachment of 7,000 Jewish refugees who set out for Palestine with the help of the British fleet. After 3 months, he moved from Palestine to Egypt, and then via Italy to Serbia. From 1944 to 1946, he was a journalist in the Department for Foreign Missions and in Tanjug. From 1946, he was a rapporteur for the special Paris Peace Conference, and a correspondent for Latin America from Rio de Janeiro. Between 1963 and 1970, he was Tanjug's correspondent from Washington. He taught journalism at the Institute of Journalism. He wrote five books on the Holocaust. From 1989 to 1997, he recorded audio and video stories of more than a hundred Yugoslav Jews who survived the Holocaust, with the support of the Fortunoff Archive at the Yale University Library. He died in London on 26 September 2013.

**Vera Kon Alkalaj** was a diplomat after the war at the Yugoslav Consulate-General in New York. She was born on 8 July 1921 in Zagreb to father Leopold Kon and mother Sarina, née Isaković. She attended the grammar school in Belgrade, where she enrolled in law studies in 1939. During the bombing of Belgrade in 1941, fleeing from the horrors of war, she came to Orahovac in the Bay of Kotor. However, as the nationwide uprising against the occupiers in Montenegro broke out on 13 July 1941, Vera and her family were immediately arrested by the Italians and interned from Kotor to the camp Kavaje in Albania, by the ship "King Alexander" and then to the Feramonti camp in Southern Italy. In unbearable living conditions, without water and lighting, their only hope was Padre Calioistro, who tried to help them, as he helped Mirko Davičo. Then they were allowed to go to the village of Mezzano Inferiore, near Parma. They stayed with the peasants who had never heard of the Jews or had any idea why they had been brought there and who took care of them as though they were their dearest relatives. In the meantime, they received the Vatican with permission to travel to their parents in Priboj. Just before arriving in Priboj, the Germans occupied the neighbouring territories and forced them to head south again. In Podgorica, they were arrested by the Gestapo and put into a jail on the Morača river. In the spring, they were transferred to Priština, then to Belgrade to the Sajmište camp and then to the Bergen-Belsen camp in Germany. In the camp, Vera worked in the kitchen from the first to the last day. The Russians organized their return home to Belgrade, where they arrived in August 1945. Disrupted by the war and her stay in the camps for a total of 4 years and 4 months, she graduated only in 1949. From the autumn of 1945, she worked in several institutions and organizations: the Belgrade Office of the United Nations Agency for Reconstruction and Development, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Central Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia and from 1961 in the Yugoslav Consulate-General in New York, and finally from 1965 to 1970 at the Institute for Scientific and Technical Documentation in Belgrade. After marrying Josef Alkalaj in 1953, she bore two sons: Predrag and Leon. She died in Los Angeles on 4 February 2008.

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**Fisher Bele Ernest**, a banker from Zagreb, was born in 1903 in Osijek. After the Ustaše came to power, he fled to Dubrovnik, where he immediately joined the National Liberation Movement (NOP), and then operated in Kotor and Grahovo (Montenegro). Italian fascists discovered his work and interned him to a camp in Italy. After his release from the camp, he joined the National Liberation Army (NOV) in September 1943. He was a soldier in the “Garibaldi” brigade, and then he worked at the base of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia in Bari. He was awarded the Partisan Testimonial 1941 (J. Romano).

## Famous and influential Jews of Kotor

- Didacus Pyrrhus (1517 – 1599) famous Portuguese poet, buried in the sunk Jewish cemetery in Herceg Novi, where he lived and created for a time
- Samuel Ebreus, eye doctor, was contracted for the treatment of Marina Bući's cataract
- Amatus Lusitanus, was invited to Kotor once and twice to Herceg Novi to treat the ill (1556-1558)
- David Ribero (*David Ribera, medicus phisicus*), deputy town physician in Kotor in 1616
- Dr Mihael Angelo Salamoni from Brač (*dottor Michiel Angelo Salamoni, medico fisico*) was the town physician and notary in Kotor in 1647-1649
- Dr Leon Pardo, university professor in Kotor, where he died in 1898
- Izak Tolentino, son of Jakob Vita Tolentino (11 April 1856 Dubrovnik – 5 February 1905 Kotor) Secretary of Kotor court
- Elia Meyer Finzi, (27 November 1811 – 13 May 1872), co-founder of Jewish cemetery in Kotor
- Maurizio Moshe Mandel, (n/a), co-founder of Jewish cemetery in Kotor
- Giuseppe Tolentino, (n/a), co-founder of Jewish cemetery in Kotor
- Erminio Mandel, (30 April 1867, Kotor – 1942), photographer
- Dr Salomon Werner, (n/a), military physician in Kotor around 1870
- Jonas Eugenio Andauer, military physician in Kotor around 1890



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## ARCHIVAL ATTACHMENTS:

**1. Population census of Kotor from 1828-1836**

Source: *DACG IAK OK III-407*

**2. Notarial deed no. 43281**

Source: *State archive of Trieste*

**3. death certificate of Ema Mandel**

Source: *DACG, IAK, SK 118-24*



1.

Pros

Sommario della Popolazione ed altri oggi  
nel Distretto Co

Numero d'Ordine	Località	Numero delle Famiglie	Numero delle Case	Numero della Popolazione											
				Individui maschi								Religiosi		Femmine	
				Cattolici				Greci				Cattolici	Greci	Cattoliche	Grecche
				Dal 1. anno a' 18.	Dal 19. a' 40.	Dal 41. a' 60.	Dal 61. in poi.	Dal 1. anno a' 18.	Dal 19. a' 40.	Dal 41. a' 60.	Dal 61. in poi.				
1828	Cattaro	426	266	149	128	153	97	147	140	170	57	22	2	530	
1829	Cattaro	439	268	207	162	91	37	212	169	86	37	26	2	594	4
31. Magg.															
31. Dic.															
1830		491	268	198	172	89	43	202	188	86	41	25	2	597	1
31. Dic.															
1831		474	268	209	164	95	39	171	187	88	50	23	2	582	4
31. Dic.															
1832		476	268	194	183	92	36	160	198	87	40	25	1	565	
31. Dic.															
1833		481	268	203	181	94	38	162	187	87	43	22	2	570	
31. Dic.															
1834		534	266	180	167	87	29	193	188	88	42	22	2	530	
31. Dic.															
1835		526	267	184	170	87	30	192	186	92	41	20	2	533	
31. Dic.															
1836		328	267	184	167	86	30	174	184	89	40	19	2	522	
31. Dic.															
1837		517	268	187	170	83	28	175	187	88	39	19	2	521	
31. Dic.															



netto

O.K. III 407

etti, che alla fine di Dicembre 1828. esistono  
comunale di Cattaro

Eredità	Totale per Comune	Bestiame							mezzi di Trasporto		Osservazioni
		Cavalli	Asini	Muli	Bovini	Capre	Porci	Leoni	Barbieri		
510	2101	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	li 16. Dicembre 1828	
490	2118	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	In questa somma totale vi sono compresi 3. Braccianti a non figurano nelle somme pagate	
488	2135	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	oltre la somma presa dalle rubriche del num. 1 della Regola vi sono stati aggiunti nella somma totale 2. Braccianti e il 2. Protestante	
490	2103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2		
519	2081	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	La somma totale vi sono compresi tre Braccianti	
516	2107	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3		
472	2003	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	nella somma totale vi sono compresi 6. Braccianti	
474	2010	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3		
469	1969	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3		
478	1789	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	Il primo comma della Rubrica nella somma generale	

Sumarni izvještaj o stanovništvu i ostalim stvarima koje do kraja  
decembra 1828. [godine - prim. prev.] postoje u opštinskom okrugu Kotora

DACG IAK OK III-407 2X A4

Redni broj	Područje	Broj porodica	Broj kuća	Broj stanovnika													Ukupno po Opštini	Stoka						Prevozna sredstva		Napomene
				Broj muškaraca					sveštenici			žene														
				katolici					pravoslavni					katolici		pravoslavke										
				od 1-18 god.	od 19-40 [god.]	od 41-60 [god.]	od 61 [god.]	od 1-18 god.	od 19-40 [god.]	od 41-60 [god.]	od 61 [god.]	od 1-18 god.	od 19-40 [god.]	od 41-60 [god.]	od 61 [god.]	magarci		maže	goveđa	ovce	koze	svinje	koia	barke		
1828	Kotor	nećitko	266	149	128	153	97	147	140	170	57	22	2	550	510	2101	2	/	/	/	/	/	2	16. decembar 1828. god.		
1829. 31. maj	Kotor	489	268	207	162	91	37	212	169	86	37	26	2	594	490	2118	2	/	/	/	/	/	2	U ovaj ukupan broj su uračunata 3 izraelca i 2 protestanta koji se ne pojavljuju u sumarnom poravnanju.		
1829 31. dec.	Kotor	491	268	198	172	89	43	202	188	86	41	25	2	597	488	2135	2	/	/	/	/	/	2	Osim zbira preuzetog iz rubrike Broj stanovnika, dodati su u ukupni broj i 2 izraelca i 2 protestanta.		
1830. 30. nov.	Kotor	474	268	209	164	95	39	171	187	88	50	23	2	582	490	2103	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	Isto		
1831 31. dec.	Kotor	476	268	194	168	92	36	160	188	87	40	25	/	565	519	2081	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	U sumarni broj su uračunata i 3 Jevrejina.		
1832. 31. dec.	Kotor	481	268	203	181	44	38	174	187	87	49	22	2	570	316	1107	/	/	/	/	/	/	3			
1833 31. dec.	Kotor	534	266	180	167	87	29	193	188	88	42	22	2	530	472	2003	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	U ukupan broj su uračunata i 6-ica izraelaca.		
1834. 31. dec.	Kotor	526	267	181	170	51	30	190	186	99	41	20	2	533	474	2010	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	Isto		
1835. dec.	Kotor	528	267	184	167	86	30	171	184	59	40	19	2	522	469	1969	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	Isto		
1836	Kotor	517	268	187	170	83	28	175	187	58	34	19	2	521	478	1981	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	U ukupni broj su uračunata i 4-ica izraelaca.		

**Prospetto sommario della popolazione ed altri oggetti,  
che alla fine di Dicembre 1828.  
esistono nel Distretto Comunale di Cattaro**

Numero di ordine	Località	Numero delle famiglie	Numero delle case	Numero della popolazione												Bestiame								Osservazioni			
				Individui maschi						Religiosi		Femmine															
				Cattolici			Greci			Cattolici	Greci	Cattoliche	Greche	Cavalli	Asini	Muli	Bovì	Pecore	Capre	Porci	Mezzi di trasporto						
				da 1 anno a 18	dai 19 a 40 [anni]	dai 41 a 60 [anni]	dai 61 [anni] in poi	da 1 anno a 18	dai 19 a 40 [anni]	dai 41 a 60 [anni]	da 61 [anni] in poi																
1828	Cattaro			266	149	128	153	97	147	140	170	57	22	2	550	510	2	/	/	/	/	2	Li 16. Dicembre 1828. [commento dell'interprete - anno]				
1829. 31. Maggio	Cattaro	489	268	207	162	91	37	212	169	86	37	26	2	594	490	2118	2	/	/	/	/	2	In questa somma totale si sono compresi 3 Israeliti e 2 Protestanti che non figurano nelle somme paregiate.				
1829 31. Dicembre	Cattaro	491	268	198	172	89	43	202	188	86	41	25	2	597	488	2135	2	/	/	/	/	2	Oltre la somma presa dalle rubriche del numero della popolazione, si sono stati aggiunti nella somma totale: 2 Israeliti e 2 Protestanti.				
1830. 30. Novembre	Cattaro	474	268	209	164	95	39	171	187	88	50	23	2	582	490	2103	/	/	/	/	/	2	idem				
1831 31. Dicembre	Cattaro	476	268	194	168	92	36	160	188	87	40	25	/	565	519	2081	/	/	/	/	/	3	Nella somma totale si sono compresi tre Ebrei.				
1832. 31. Dicembre	Cattaro	481	268	203	181	44	38	174	187	87	49	22	2	570	316	1107	/	/	/	/	/	3					
1833 31. Dicembre	Cattaro	534	266	180	167	87	29	193	188	88	42	22	2	530	472	2003	/	/	/	/	/	3	Nella somma totale si sono compresi 6 Israeliti.				
1834. 31. Dicembre	Cattaro	526	267	181	170	51	30	190	186	99	41	20	2	533	474	2010	/	/	/	/	/	3	idem				
1835. Dicembre	Cattaro	528	267	184	167	86	30	171	184	59	40	19	2	522	469	1969	/	/	/	/	/	3	idem				
1836	Cattaro	517	268	187	170	83	28	175	187	58	34	19	2	521	478	1981	/	/	/	/	/	/	3	Vi sono compresi 4 Israeliti nella somma generale.			

# 2.





# ATTO NOTARILE

Fatto nella Città di Trieste l'anno Mille novecento dodici  
Mese di Marzo giorno di Mercoledì sei  
Innanzi a me Dr. Gioachino Kenconich i. r. notaio qui residente.

Si presentano: Il signor Adolfo Finzi fr. Mayer pro-  
vato in Trieste via Aquedotto N. 88 e la signora Emma  
Mandel nota Menace privata a battere legge del  
circolo N. 93, a me nota, capari d'obbligo e d'ob-  
bligo e mi riconoscono d'assenso me. miei  
figli. Il seguente:

Espresso di compravendita



Il signor Adolfo Finzi del fr. Mayer disponente  
di cosa propria vende ed in assoluto proprio be-  
neficio della parte della porzione bisognosa del  
diritto di proprietà alla signora Emma Mandel nota  
Menace che confero ed acquisto le intere esatte  
part. edif. 314 costituente il corpo primo della frazione  
terreno 147/centoquarantasette del comune  
censuario di battere, per d'obbligo N. 84 ore se-  
gnate nel N. d'ordinamento 93 di legge del circolo



in tutto con ogni cosa e pertinenza, usi, di-  
ritti e serviti fondi e fabbricati, mini ed ogni  
altro fisco ed infisso, il tutto come sta e giace,  
nulla debba in un altro modo, p. terra, come dal  
venditore fisicamente e legalmente posseduto  
e goduto e come dalle comprazioni ricate e terra.  
La di sua piena aggradimento.

II  
Il prezzo di questa compravendita che si intende  
fatto a corpo e non a misura né a misura, come  
d'acordo delle parti fissate con compra minima  
cioè all'eccezione della somma, e non, in la  
somma 24.000. di cui buona ventiquattromila  
di cui la compratore paga per cassa all'atto  
della firma di questo contratto a mano del ven-  
ditore che ne conferma il ricevimento, il quale  
le imposte di buona 2000. / duemila /

III  
Il solo prezzo di buona 22.000. permanentemente alla  
tassa del 6% - sei per cento - all'anno, da calco-  
larsi sul debito annuo insoluto ogni semestre ante  
sempremente a debito del 1° primo / luglio di questo  
anno, la compratore sopra buona 22.000. si  
obbliga per sé ed eredi di pagare al venditore al  
suo domicilio in Trieste in tante rate semestrali  
costante di buona 1150 / millecento cinquan-  
ta / l'anno, rispettivamente di buona 995, 75 / 100 /  
novantanove e novantacinque a 75 / 100 / l'ultima  
pagabile il primo luglio e primo gennaio  
di ogni anno.  
La prima delle dette rate semestrali di bo. 1150



Wert Valore		Gewicht Peso		Nachnahme Ritorno		Gebühr Tassa	
K	h	kg	g	K	h	K	h



sempre il conto non fosse stato chiuso in forza  
a pagamenti maggior di quelli come sopra  
convenuti.

Ogni rata semestrale di lire 1150 andrà  
anzitutto a pagamento dell'interesse semestrale  
anticipato del 6% sul debito ancora insoluto ed  
la scadenza di ogni singola rata, e la rimanen-  
enza andrà in capitale del capitale e ciò fino  
all'estinzione dell'intero debito.

Se però in forza della compraventa si paga-  
re ad ogni semestrale scadenza importo maggio-  
re di lire 1150, però la  
scadenza non s'intenderà pagata né in  
arrendo, né in anticipazione della prossima  
o delle prossime rate semestrali di lire 1150;  
però in pagamento maggior la compraventa  
non sarà sollevata dall'obbligo all'intero paga-  
mento delle successive rate nell'indiviso  
importo di lire 1150, ma tali pagamenti  
maggiori saranno voluti ad abbreviare l'as-  
sunto di pagamento del debito.

## II

Ossiano ad ogni rata semestrale la compraventa  
se sarà obbligata di pagare inoltre al creditore al  
suo domicilio l'importo rendita sull'importo  
corrispondente all'interesse sulle rispettive ad-  
dizioni provinciali e comunali vigenti al do-  
micilio del creditore per disposizione di legge.



presente o futuro.

V

Spett.le la sottoscritta incaricato per fini di  
30/venti/giorni - della rispettiva semestrale  
scadenza al pagamento integrale e fosse anche di  
una sola rata semestrale di lire 1150 colla  
rispettiva imposta ed addizionali, stesi in piena  
del creditore di esigere l'immediata effusione  
tutta dell'intero debito ancora insoluti cogli  
interessi di mora del 6% su ogni singola rata  
arretrata senza bisogno di previa diffida, e senza  
ritardare al tempo del pagamento, quale sopra  
accordato dal quale la sottoscritta sarà tenuta  
esente in fatto di mora e conseguenze della  
in mora mora quando anche non successi pa-  
gamenti si fosse messo in corrente ex fuga.  
avanti in fatto stesso invece a giustificazio-  
ne della mora di pagamento, occorrendo da  
le fatte in fine dell'importo obbligatorio di lire  
1150 alle scadenze di anteriori rate.

VI

In sicurezza del suddetto di lire 22.000 dei  
relativi interessi del 6% all'anno, anticipati  
lire o franchi per il creditore da qualsiasi  
momento, senza ad imposta presente o futura  
degli interessi di mora del 6% delle eventuali  
spese di riscossione e della consegna di lire  
100/otto centesimi a garanzia di ogni obbligo ac-  
cessori contemplati da questo contratto, quali  
Somma attende

Adolfo Fierri  
Michele Lucca  
r. m. m.



per legge non godono facoltà di rango  
ipotecario ed esentato specialmente  
per gli interessi arretrati oltre tre anni  
interessi di mora e per tutte le spese e tasse in-  
dicate finis nella all'articolo VIII il bollo pagabile  
nei sensi di questo contratto ed esentabile a mun-  
do del 3 del vigente regolamento vigente, la signor  
Giovanni Mandel nota Messer e si viene in  
ipoteca sulla facoltà dell'interdizione a favore  
del signor Adolfo Tuzzi fu Mayer l'ente oggi  
comprendente partita bollore 187 del bollore  
in censuari di bollore con cui che l'interdizione  
circa della con istituzione ipoteca debba seguire  
contemporaneamente all'interdizione del di-  
ritto di proprietà a mano della compratore, bollore  
de spaci espressamente stabiliscono ed accensu-  
bani.



Le compratore si obbliga di tenere assicurati  
contro i danni del fuoco, per tutte le somme  
del debito e fabbricati esistenti nella realtà con-  
ferendole per una somma non minore  
di bollore 20.000. / venditore si obbliga di  
fornire d'assicurazione di soddisfazione del vendi-  
te e di consegnare ed essi un duplicato della  
relativa polizza di vendita munita del bollore  
con e con la clausola che in caso d'incendio  
la somma assicurata deve essere pagata al vendi-  
tore finis all'ammontare del suo avere, in duplo  
di che resta esso venditore autorizzato a tenere  
da sé la vendita a tutte ritenere e spese della s.



quero compratore.

Questo avvenimento che in caso d'incidenti lo com.  
una assennato spellerà fino all'ammontare del  
per avere già del ammontare del sinistro Acquirente  
al quale sempre gli viene assegnato.

III

Nel caso che la vendita compravenduto venisse  
venduto all'asta esecutiva gli interessi del 6% sul  
debito e gli interessi sugli interessi sulla misura  
del 6% dovranno venir pagati dalla compratore  
rispettivamente dai suoi successori, fino al quo.  
no dell'estradizione del prezzo di debito dai  
giudiciali depositi o rispettivamente fino al pe.  
gamento del capitale in altro modo, e in caso  
del signor venditore, al quale dovranno venir pa.  
ri rifuso tutte le spese e tasse di deposito e di  
estradizione, nonché tutte le spese che il ven.  
ditore avesse ad incontrare in corso dello esen.  
zione, o anche scritto da legi ed in rete di  
riparati.

IV

La compratore dovrà compromettere ad ogni ritti.  
sta del venditore che lo imposto sulla realtà  
compravenduto tutte le eventuali tassa di tra.  
sferimento ed altre imposizioni pubbliche prior.  
legitte che si riferissero alla detta realtà, sono  
pagati regolarmente.

Sarà obbligo della compratore rispettivamente  
dei suoi successori nella proprietà della realtà  
di notificare immediatamente al venditore ogni  
trascorso di proprietà della realtà compravenduto,



per per titolo oneroso o per donazione o per successione ereditaria.

Sarà anzi obbligo della compratrice, ripetutamente da suoi successori, in caso di vendita, permuta o donazione dell'ente compravenduto di osservare tutto stipulato il relativo contratto, innanzi depositato in pubblico, presso una banca o notaro, tutte le leggi speciali provinciali e comunali relative all'alienazione.

### I

La compratrice non potrà intraprendere senza il permesso scritto del venditore alcun lavoro di parziale o totale demolizione o di rifabbrico della realtà compravenduta, o essere d'immediata interdizione da parte del venditore della continuazione di ogni lavoro intrapreso senza il suo consenso.

Sarà obbligo della compratrice di mantenere gli edifici esistenti sulla realtà compravenduta in stato di continua manutenzione e rendibilità, provvedendo tutto o tutte le necessarie opere di manutenzione che saranno del caso.

### II

Quando la compratrice incassasse al puntuale adempimento fosse anche di uno solo degli obblighi assunti col presente contratto, il venditore avrà il diritto di ripetere l'immediata affrancazione del capitale senza bisogno di previa diffida e senza riguardo al beneficio del pagamento rateale soprammentovato.

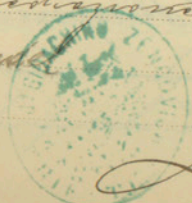
### III



La signora Emma Mendel acconsente espressamente alla scelta della relativa amministrazione che questo atto possa avere in suo confronto riguardo al pagamento del capitale di lire 22.000 e di relativi interessi e di ogni altro accessorio, fono d'immediata esecuzione a n. 3 del 3 e del agente regolarmente intente assig. gettandosi per ogni poliziana ed alla esecuzione diretta all'esecuzione del medesimo al per ogni sigillo di Trieste competente in materia.

La compraventa passa bene fin da oggi, questo proprietario dell'ente compravenduto ed esso, uno anche da oggi il rischio e pericoli dello cosa acquistata, una le relative pericoli e le relative imposte ed ogni pubblica passeranno a suo favore e rispettivamente a suo carico, appena nel giorno primo luglio di quest'anno.

Il venditore garantisce per ogni cosa che la realtà compravenduta è di sua proprietà, lib. ro da ipoteche e da altri appesi, intanto non con una però senza responsabilità per lo stato di con. servazione e per la redditività delle restit. che fa.

Tutte le spese relative a questa compravenduta, cioè tutti compenso notari, eventuali prov. giro di investimento, tasse di trasferimento ed Emma Mendel  
  
 Delfo Fonti  
 Grich Kucina  
 r. m. t.



soddisfatti e quindi allo stesso lo  
quies per bolle e compimento della quiete.  
senza un pagamento di ogni singolo  
soldo prezzo ed interessi e accessori e per la com-  
plessione dell'ipoteca, storno e storno e con-  
clusione della compravendita, a tutto rilievo  
del venditore.



Di quest'atto però rilasciata la prima spedi-  
zione autentica allo signor Emma Mandel nota-  
re e la seconda al signor Adolfo Finzi p. atto.  
per libero alle parti si chiedono altre in seguito.  
Intanto a ciò fu assente il presente rogito in-  
viato ai signori parenti che lo approvano e fir-  
marono in unione a me notaio.

Adolfo Finzi

Emma Mandel

vec. b. 17

vec. b. 36

vec. b. 3

vec. b. 36



*[Large handwritten signature]*  
Finzi

Oggi ho rilasciato la prima spedizione autentica allo signor  
Emma Mandel notaio e la seconda al signor Adol-  
fo Finzi p. atto. Trieste li 6 Marzo 1912

*[Large handwritten signature]*  
Finzi

# 3.





K. Kotarski Sud u Kotoru

dan 28. 11. 1919

Prisutan.

Gen. Taj. Orebić  
Kam. prav. Buić

Formi pristupiti Erimio eludell polu  
chaurisio, i form eludell Erimioj, te  
pošto se bili pravići po kotaru, postojiti  
sljedeće: Našedeno očitovanje

Zapriješeno očitovanje

Na dan elji boleno i bezobjekta Erimio  
eludell polu chaurisioj nastupa 1/4 od  
ostavštine, a form eludell Erimioj nastupa  
3/4 dijela od ostavštine, te po  
toji do se tako eludeti.

Ind primio podeto našedeno očitovanje  
obzirom na elohorono pravo na našedeno  
stvo po smrtovima, te se štovanje eludeti  
u više volj mlađi of a prihrat naše  
eludeti očitovanje.

Zatim podjiti sljedeće:

Zapriješeno očitovanje:

I. Aktivna stonja

Pokretine

2/ Gator moron - eludeti

2/ Strojstvo:

3 eludeti prstava, eludeti i nijelati. 300! —  
2. 2004 - moron " " 300! —



a) Papir od riječnosti  
 Nihilika malita od nekog  
 u ukupnoj riječnosti. ————— Kr. 150:—  
 2. parva djetinje bujara ————— Kr. 100:—  
 c) Papir od riječnosti  
 Nihilika  
 d) Zimljenji: —————  
 Nihilika  
 e) Pokuc'stvo: —————  
 2. postelja, 1. armat, 6. stolica, 2.  
 stola, 2. komica, 1. kredenc, sve  
 u ukupnoj riječnosti. . . . . Kr. 1200:—  
 f) Oboje i rubje:  
 2. odjela, 12. komica, 6. parova  
 6. bijelih platica, 3 bluze, u ukup-  
 noj riječnosti od ————— Kr. 1000:—  
 g) Kulijah pomozi:  
 Rasna kulijah pomozi  
 u ukupnoj riječnosti. ————— Kr. 300:—

### Nekretnosti

Apsolucija čest. rpa 318 stopana  
 kuća, liče jedine d. br. broj. 148  
 p. o. Kotor.

Kuća koja je ušla od uopredniz  
 ko, malici u ni turomu stariji,  
 te isto riječi —————

Kr. 18.000:—

Ukupno Aktiva: Kr. 21.350:—

### II. Pasivna stanja

Troškovi belesu, spornosti i ukup-  
 no 1. prava pri lozima roče mizna. H. 881. 149.

Ukupno pasivna.



III. Rekapiitulu

Aktin isuri Kr. 21.350: 00  
Pasin — — — Kr. 4.881: 79.

Po tassa iita isurima isuri Kr. 528.21

G.P.P.

Ivan Mandel

Ivan Mandel

165  
250  
84  
400  
60  
70  
20-  
100  
10-  
978  
1565.49  
2019.-

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9. DACG, IAK, KUK, KO Risan-ZU 26, C-list Knjiga 7.

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  19. DACG, IAK, SK 118/24/3
  20. DACG, IAK, SK 118-24
  21. DACG, IAK, SK 244/18/3
  22. DACG, IAK, SK PROTOCOLLO N. 129.
  23. DACG, IAK, SK Protocollo N. 129.
  24. DACG, IAK, SK Protocollo N. 129. Mandata.
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**State Archives of Montenegro,  
Historical Archives of Kotor**

**State Archives of Montenegro,  
Kotor Archives Department**

**Jewish community of Montenegro**

**Episcopal archive in Kotor**

**Archives of the Orthodox Church of St.  
Nicholas in Kotor**

**Maritime Museum of Montenegro - Kotor**

**DOO Komunalno Kotor**

**Expedio -  
Center for sustainable spacial development**

**Jewish History Museum, Belgrade**

**HAZU - Croatian Academy of Sciences  
and Arts**

**State Archives in Dubrovnik**

**State Archives in Split**

**Trieste State Archives**

**National Archives of Czech Republic**

**Austrian State Archive, Kriegsarchiv**

**MoD Military History Institute and  
Museum, Military History Archives**

**Archives of the Jewish Community in  
Trieste**

**Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives  
in Budapest**

**Dubrovnik libraries**

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**dr. Tatjana Koprivica**, scientific associate  
**dr. Slavko Burzanović**, scientific associate  
**Don Robert Tonsati**, chancellor  
**dr sc. Vinicije B. Lupis**, historian  
**mr. Zorica Čubrovic**, senior conservator  
**Spec. App Maruška Nenezić**, archivist  
**Slavko Dabinović**, archivist  
**Nenad Peraš**, cemetery manager  
**Livio Vasieri**, archivist researcher  
**Anikó Udvarhelyi**, archivist  
**Ljiljana Vuković**, prof. of English language  
and literature  
**Sanja Klarin**, Lawyer - Master of Public  
Administration  
**Nađa Radulović**, Head of Office  
**Lena Pasinović**, Advisor

Conservation research and conservation  
measures at the Jewish cemetery in Kotor  
were carried out by:

**Jasminka Grgurević**, conservator-restorer as  
a works manager  
**Marina Knezević**, graphic artist - associate  
in the preparation of technical documentation  
**Slavica Lompar**, art technician  
**Slavenko Božović**, assistant associate

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**Klajn, Levi and Stanačev**



