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## **ARCHIVAL RECORDS AS A SOURCE FOR STUDYING THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION - NUMERUS CLAUSUS 1940 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

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### **Abstract:**

*The aim of the article is to point out the importance of archival records kept in protection institutions as well as those in private hands. The author would also like to point out a lesser-known phenomenon, Numerus Clausus, which started anti-Semitism in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as well as the official positions of educational policy immediately before and during the first year of the Second World War.*

### **Key words:**

*Numerus Clausus, Jews, World War II, education*

### **Izvleček:**

**Arhivsko gradivo kot vir za raziskavo zgodovine izobraževanja – numerus clausus leta 1940 in njegove posledice**

*Cilj prispevka je poudariti pomembnost arhivskega gradiva, ki ga hranijo tako institucije kot zasebniki. Avtorica želi tudi predstaviti manj znan fenomen numerusa claususa, ki je sprožil antisemitizem v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, ter uradna stališča izobraževalne politike pred drugo svetovno vojno in v prvem letu vojne.*

### **Ključne besede:**

*numerus clausus, Judi, druga svetovna vojna, izobraževanje*

## 1. School life of Jews in Belgrade until the Second World War

The primary source for the study of the past are archival records available to researchers from all fields of social and natural sciences. The research into the continuity of education in Serbia and among Serbs is not possible without a detailed analysis of archival records which are the basis of a realistic picture of the ups and downs that Serbian education has gone through. Comparing the obtained data and solving problems related to pedagogy provides a concrete picture of the past, but it also provides a basis for making future decisions within the framework of education policy.

The Jewish community in Serbia, in the school sense, has been present since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the first primary school for Jewish children began to operate. In time, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, girls also got their own school, and in the 1880's, Jewish schooling was reorganized based on Serbian school laws. They maintained their language, religion and customs in private schools, and Jewish children attended Serbian primary and secondary schools, as well as the High School. In the interwar period, the Jewish population, as far as formal education was concerned, completely relied on the then prevailing educational policy.

*The Decree on the Limitation of the Number of Jewish Children Who Could Enroll in High Schools and Universities* in October 1940 was the first official document against Jews in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Archival records for the study of this phenomenon are kept by the Archives of Yugoslavia in the Fonds of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in the Archives of Serbia in the Fonds of the Ministry of Education and Religion 1941-1944 as well as in the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade.

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In the Jewish community, there has always been a tendency for its members to be literate to be able to interpret the holy books, therefore some boys went to schools with private teachers or attended Serbian primary schools. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jewish literature and religious studies were studied in Spanish as the language of instruction in the Jewish boys' primary school, which began to work in 1818 and operated under the protection of the Jewish community. The beginners were taught by assistant priests, and the older ones by rabbis.

The first women's primary school for Jewish children was opened in Jalija in 1864, in a private house (Rakic, 1992, p. 333). Religious education was taught by Jewish teachers, while other subjects, as in Serbian primary schools, were taught by Serbs in the Serbian language.

To modernize the school, on February 17, 1864, the Jewish community sent a letter to the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs in which it was stated that the municipality owned a school building, but because of poor teaching organization their students were unable to continue their education in Serbian high schools and in trade school. To improve teaching, they expected that Minister reorganized their school, modeled on Serbian primary schools, and they took on the support of teachers through the School Fund. In the following text, it was stated that it is necessary to hold religious classes in the school. Shortly afterwards, on March 13, 1864, the Minister of Education decided to establish, for Jewish children, a male and female primary school, which will work based on the guidelines set out in the *Primary Schools Act* of 1863, in which classes would be in Serbian language. It was agreed that classes would be held by Serbian teachers, i.e., teachers who were partially paid by the Belgrade municipality. In August

1864, classes for boys began in the *Mildar school building*, while the girls were housed in a private rented house (Rakic, 1992, p. 333).

With the entry into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jewish primary schools began to slowly decline. An increasing number of students attended Serbian primary schools, and after regular classes, they studied religious studies and Hebrew. For that purpose, after the First World War, religious classes were organized in the building of the primary school in Jališa.<sup>1</sup>

In the interwar period, religious education was a compulsory subject in primary, secondary and vocational schools. In *The Law on Public Schools*, from 1908, stated that the religious instruction is a compulsory subject for all recognized religions. Classes were held by teachers or priests and the curriculum was prescribed by the Ministry of Education by recommendation of the Ministry of Justice. The students of the Moses faith in primary schools had organized religious education classes, whose teachers, for a time, were paid by the Church-School Jewish Community, while the rabbi visited the school once a week. *The Textbook of the Hebrew language*, as an auxiliary textbook which contained texts in Serbian and Hebrew, was printed in 1938.

Jewish Women's Association in Belgrade in 1874 was also important for the education of Jewish children. The initiative for the founding of the Society was given by richer and educated women who knew how to gather people around them. Among them were Estira Pinto, Toni Azrijel and Sara Alakalaj. In the beginning, the Association was engaged in social and humanitarian work, helping poor mothers and patients, as well as giving gifts to poor girls before marriage. The premises of the Society were in Solunska Street, and the new members were newly married women.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, within the Jewish Women's Association, there was an initiative to open a Women's Workers' School, but due to political unrest and wars, this was not realized. Immediately after the end of the Great War, on October 1, 1919, the Women's Craft School, called the Workers' School of the Jewish Women's Association, began its work.<sup>2</sup> The initiative for the opening was given by Jelena Demajo, Regina Albala took care of the formation of the School Fund.

At the end of the first school year, in June 1920, only the first class with 16 students worked in the school, which were mostly students of the Moses faith, but there were also those who belonged to the Orthodox or Catholic Church.<sup>3</sup> Desanka Maloparac, a teacher appointed by the Ministry of Education, gave practical classes, i.e., tailoring, sewing and embroidery, as well as work theory. The other subjects, Serbian language, religious studies, and arithmetic were taught by members of the Association - Hermina, Jelena and Ruza (Rakic, 1992, p. 334). The first annual exam, which was held on July 29, 1920, was attended by representatives of the Association and the Church-School Jewish Community (Rakic, 1992, p. 351).

In September 1920, the school received a second grade with 14 students, and in 1921 a third grade with 8 students was opened. The classes were led by two professional teachers, Ljubica Popovic and Mileva Mirkovic, and the members of the Association taught Serbian language, arithmetic, history, and geography. The singing was held by

<sup>1</sup> One part of Belgrade.

<sup>2</sup> The Women's Workers' School of the Belgrade Women's Association was founded on December 25, 1879.

<sup>3</sup> In 1929, the school was attended by students - Orthodox faith 13, Moses' faith 17, Catholic faith 4. Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ), fund MPKJ, 65-1767-2736: Report of the Jewish Women's Society, March 11, 1929.

Marie Levy, gymnastics Vojka Demajo, and religious education Shabbat Jain.<sup>4</sup> The following year, 1921/22, the third grade was opened.

In the school 1922/23 there were three classes and one extension year in the school - 15 students were enrolled in the first grade, 12 students in the second, 7 in the third, and 4 students attended the extension year. At the end of the school year, all the students showed great success, which was seen in their works that were exhibited at the annual exhibition.<sup>5</sup> The following school year, 1923/24, the second extension class was opened, so the total number of students increased to 51. The teacher in the Lower Craft School was Ljubica Popovic, and in the extension school Anka Ivetic.

School 1926/27 a total of 22 students were enrolled. In the Report of the Ministry of Trade and Industry for the school year 1927/28 it was stated that 33 students attend the Women's Craft School, and Ljubica Popovic taught practical work and work theory, and Branka Miletic and Milica Lilic taught general education subjects. In the last school year, 1928/29, 33 students attended the school.

The last year of work was in 1929, when the Women's Workers' School of the Jewish Women's Association, for financial reasons, passed into the hands of the Ministry of Trade and Industry and continued its work called the Second Lower and Extended Women's Craft School in Belgrade.

Tuition fees were not paid in this craft school, and the Jewish Women's Association advocated that girl under the age of 12 not be admitted working workshops, and that all have completed a lower craft school.

The Ferial Department was established within the Association, which organized the stay and accommodation of children on the Adriatic coast, so in 1926, the Ferial Colony for the Improvement of Children's Health was founded, and the *Carmel Children's Resort* was opened in Prcanj.<sup>6</sup>

In 1938, with the great efforts of Jelena Demajo, a Home for children and a counseling center for mothers of the Jewish Women's Society were built. The building was located on the corner of Visoki Stevan and Marshal Pilsudski and was designed by Isak Azriel and Misa Manojlovic. The land was obtained from the Jewish community, and the cornerstone was laid on September 7, 1937, and on November 27, 1938, Rabbi Isaac Azriel consecrated the home. Inside the building there were a kindergarten, a dining room for school children, a dispensary for mother and child and a shelter. The dispensary was equipped by the Bene Birit Serbia Lodge in Belgrade and was named *Dr. Solomon Alakalaj*.

From all the above we can conclude that they are children of Jewish origin, in the period before the Second World War, were mostly educated in Serbian schools, while the language, religion and customs were nurtured within the Jewish community. While attending primary and secondary schools, they were obliged to attend religious education classes held by rabbis.

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<sup>4</sup> AJ, MPKJ, 65-1767-2736: *Report of the Jewish Community, Belgrade, 1921.*

<sup>5</sup> AJ, MPKJ, 65-1767-2736: *Report of the Jewish Community, Belgrade, March 24, 1922.*

<sup>6</sup> *The small town on the sea in Montenegro.*

## 2. Limiting the number of Jewish school children

The persecution of Jews in Serbia began even before the Second World War. Namely, Government Cvetkovic - Macek, on October 5, 1940, passed, based on the *Decree on Amendments to the Existing regulations and the adoption of new ones on September 16, 1939*, two anti-Jewish statutes: a ban on food trade and a restriction on the number of Jewish children who could enroll in high schools and colleges.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of, the Council of Ministers, by the act of M. S. no. 1323 of October 5, 1940, brought, for the school year 1940/41, the *Decree on the admission of persons of Jewish origin* (Zec, 2019, p. 172).

At the beginning of September of that year, the Minister of Education, Anton Korosec, sent an order, to all high school principals, banning the enrollment of Jewish children in the first grade, as well as attending classes in high schools.<sup>8</sup> On the same day, the Minister sent to the Prime Minister a *Draft decree on the enrollment of persons of Jewish origin for university students and high school students*, which was passed on the basis of a government act of March 18, 1940 (Zec, 2019, p. 174). These legal acts provoked the indignation of Jewish families, so the representatives of the Jewish community talked to the official representatives of the authorities on several occasions. Everyone hoped that these were only temporary measures. Adoption restrictive measures, however, were a consequence of the strengthening of German political and economic influence on the then Yugoslav politics. The signatories of both decrees were: the President of the Council of Ministers and the Deputy Minister of the Interior Dragisa J. Cvetkovic, Vice President of the Council of Ministers Dr. Vladko Macek and Ministers: Justice Dr. Lazar Markovic, Education Dr. Anton Korosec, who was considered the initiator of the decrees, Minister without Portfolio Danilo Vulovic, Forest and Mine Dzafer Kulenovic, Army and Navy General Milan Nedic, Traffic Nikola Beslic, Foreign Affairs Dr. Aleksandar Cincar Markovic, Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Josip Torbar, Finance Dr. Juraj Sutelj, without Portfolio Dr. Barisha Smoljan, Trade and Industry Dr. Ivan Andres, Physical Education Jevrem Tomic, without Portfolio Dr. Mihailo Konstantinovic, Social Policy and Public Health Dr. Srđan Budisavljevic, Agriculture Dr. Branko Cubrilovic and Minister without Portfolio Dr. Fran Kulovec (Zec, 2019, p. 174).

The Jewish community tried in all possible ways to oppose it but failed. On October 21, 1940, the Secretary of the Municipality, Shalom, sent a letter to the students' parents with the following content: *In agreement with the teachers' council and in agreement with the fraternal Ashkenazi community, took the necessary steps to regulate the situation of excluded students. The municipality will create an opportunity for our children to continue their secondary education outside public schools, and preparatory works are underway to implement this issue. On that occasion, a meeting of all student parents will be held in the coming days, about which the parents will be informed by a special invitation. Informing the students about that, the municipal administration begs them to be patient for a very short time, and not to make any special decisions on this issue that will be resolved in the way that will best benefit our children in the current circumstances* (Lazic, 2015, 225).

<sup>7</sup> The official titles of the decrees were: the *Decree on Measures Relating to Jews in the Conduct of Working with Human Foods* and the *Decree on the Enrollment of Persons of Jewish Descent for University Students, Universities, Colleges, Secondary, Teachers' and Other Vocational Schools*.

<sup>8</sup> Anton Korosec (Biserjane, 1872 - Belgrade, 1940) was a minister in the government of Milan Stojadinovic, in the government of Petar Zivkovic, and the minister of education was in the government of Cvetkovic-Macek during 1940. He advocated conservative policies and was a pronounced anti-Semitic.

*The decree on the enrollment of persons of Jewish origin for students at universities, colleges in the rank of universities, colleges, high schools, teachers, and other vocational schools* implied that only a certain number of students of Jewish origin could be enrolled in the mentioned schools. This number was determined based on reports and official statistical records. That is, it was determined according to the number of other students at these schools to the extent that the number of citizens of Jewish origin was compared to the number of other citizens. The Supreme School Authority, i.e., the Minister of Education and other members, oversaw issuing the necessary instructions and explanations for the application of this Regulation.

Already on September 7, 1940, the Ministry of Education sent a letter to all schools stating that schools were obliged to submit a list of students by religion and citizenship. Based on that, starting from the school year 1940/41, the representatives of the school authorities determined the number of enrolled students of Jewish origin in the first year or in the first grade. At that time, this provision of the Decree did not apply to already enrolled students, which meant that they could continue their education without hindrance. It should be noted that, based on this Decree, students of Jewish origin whose parents were responsible for the homeland were exempted, which meant that they, regardless of a certain number, could enroll in the desired schools. Since classes began on September 1, there was a problem with already enrolled students whose parents were told that those children were too many and had to leave school.

Although this Decree conflicted with the Constitution of the state in the *Education Herald (Prosvetni glasnik)*, from November 1, 1940, the position of the Ministry of Education was printed, which referred to the number and manner of enrolled students, as well as the criteria for election by school authorities. The following was published in the above-mentioned *Education Herald: Enrollment of students of Jewish origin in the first grade of high school and high school outside the territory of the Banovina of Croatia. Mr. Minister of Education, under number 14907 of October 15 this year, and based on Article 1 para. 2 and Art. 4 of the Decree on the enrollment of persons of Jewish origin for students at universities, colleges in the rank of universities, colleges, secondary and other vocational schools, based on official data of the Ministry of Interior - General State Statistics - Pov. st. no. 82 of October 10, 1940, and considering that according to the census of March 31, 1931, there were 0.545 Jews citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia per 100 citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia outside the territory of the Banovina of Croatia, he decided: to go to all real and classical grammar schools and high schools located on the territory of the City of Belgrade and in Banovine Vardarska, Vrbaska, Drava, Drina, Danube, Zeta and Moravia can enroll in the first grade of the school year 1940/1941 only 108 Jews citizens of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.*

Based on this Decision, the distribution of Jewish students by schools was made:

- Eleven (11) will enroll in the First men's real high school in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the III Men's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the VI Men's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.
- Three (3) will enroll in the IX Men's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.
- Three (3) will enroll in Realka in Belgrade.
- One (3) will enroll in the First women's real grammar school in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the II Women's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the III Women's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.
- Four (4) will enroll in the IV Women's Real Gymnasium in Belgrade.

- One (1) will enroll in the V Women's Real High School in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the Incomplete Women's Real High School in Belgrade.
- One (1) will enroll in the Men's Real Gymnasium in Zemun.
- One (1) will enroll in the Mixed Real High School in Belgrade.
- Two (2) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Pancevo.
- Four (4) will enroll in the *Queen Maria* Real Women's Gymnasium in Skopje.
- Five (5) will enroll in the II Men's Real High School in Skopje.
- Six (6) will enroll in the Mixed Real High School in Bitola.
- Four (4) will enroll in the Women's Real Gymnasium in Bitola.
- Three (3) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Stip.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Prishtina.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Murska Sobota.
- Four (4) will enroll in the first men's real grammar school in Sarajevo.
- Five (5) will enroll in the II Men's Real Gymnasium in Sarajevo.
- Three (3) will enroll in the First Real Women's Gymnasium in Sarajevo.
- Four (4) will enroll in the II Women's Real Gymnasium in Sarajevo.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Tuzla.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Bijeljina.
- Five (5) will enroll in the Male Real High School of *King Alexander I* in Novi Sad.
- One (1) will enroll in the II Men's Real High School in Novi Sad.
- Four (4) will enroll in the Women's Real High School in Novi Sad.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Ruma.
- Three (3) will enroll in the Men's Real Gymnasium in Subotica.
- Four (4) will enroll in the Women's Real Gymnasium in Subotica
- Two (2) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Sombor.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Velika Kikinda.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Novi Vrbas.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Bački Petrovac.
- Five (5) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Petrovgrad.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Kosovska Mitrovica.
- One (1) will enroll in the First Men's Real Gymnasium in Nis.
- One (1) will enroll in the Women's Real High School in Nis.
- One (1) will enroll in the Real Gymnasium in Pirot. (*Education Herald*, 1940, p. 1151)

Excellent students, good behavior and poor financial situation had an advantage when enrolling.

Statistical data referring to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, without the Banovina of Croatia, indicate that out of 377 Jewish students enrolled in secondary schools, 108 were admitted, out of 115 registered in civic schools, 47 were admitted, while in teacher training schools and the Higher Pedagogical School none was admitted. (Lazic, 2015, 202)



Another consequence of the Decree was that Jewish children converted to another religion, so the Belgrade City Administration, in November 1940, decided on who belonged to the Jewish community:

Administration of the City of Belgrade, in terms of Art. 1 of the Decree on Measures Relating to Jews of October 5, 1940. year, MS No. 1322, every person considers a Jew:

- a) whose father and mother were born in the Jewish religion, even if they have changed their faith or are without faith.
- b) whose father was born in the Jewish religion and whose mother is of a foreign nationality.
- c) who was born in a mixed marriage and professes the Jewish religion or is without faith.

A person will not be treated as a Jew:

1. who was born to a Jewish father and a non-Jewish Yugoslav mother.
2. who was a war volunteer, a warrior and in the wars of liberation.
3. whose parents are responsible for the homeland (Lazic, 2015, 204).

It seems that persons of Jewish origin were considered persons of the Moses faith without further elaboration, but there were also privileged persons, especially those who fought for the fatherland.

The issue of educating Jewish students was also present in other cities where many Jews lived. This was the case in Sarajevo and Bitola, and in Skopje, students were expelled from the Second Men's Gymnasium, the First Women's Gymnasium, and the State Trade Academy. In this city, the Jewish community organized a private daily course, in which too overabundant children continued their education. (Lazic, 2015, 208)

As far as higher education is concerned, there has been a decrease in the number of students. The University Senate adopted the interpretation of the Standing Law Committee and decided that the following number of candidates of Jewish descent could enroll in the faculties:

*a / According to Clause 1. Regulations:*

*at the Faculty of Philosophy (out of 530 enrolled students) two persons of Jewish origin.*

*at the Faculty of Law (out of 1,249 enrolled students) six persons of Jewish origin.*

*at the Faculty of Medicine (out of 850 enrolled students) four persons of Jewish origin.*

*at the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry (out of 219 enrolled students) one person of Jewish descent.*

*at the Technical Faculty (out of 714 enrolled students) three persons of Jewish origin.*

*at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine (out of 169 enrolled students) one person of Jewish origin.*

*b / According to Clause 2. Regulations:*

*at the Faculty of Philosophy: Solomon Alkalaj*

*at the Faculty of Law: Josif Almuzlino*

*at the Faculty of Medicine: Aleksandar Ruzic, Maksim Stern, Vera Vig, Misa*

*Simonovic, Ivan Singer, Pavle Bandic, Nikola Volf, Tibor Kis, Petar Majer, Sara*

*Atijas, Hajim Mandilovic and Mirko Gersak. Subsequently received: Eugen Gergelj and Alexander Brandeis.*

*at the Technical Faculty: Aleksandar Label, Ivan Pinto, Avram Anaf, Oscar M. Munk, Esther Mevorah, Cevi Josifovic, Paja Cinger, Mirko Stanic, Ivan Kronstein, Josef Hajon and Hajim Levi. (Lazic, 2015, 207)*

In the school year 1940/41 according to the Rectorate Report of July 1, 1941, 185 Jewish students were enrolled at six faculties at the University of Belgrade, while a year earlier there were 250. The then government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as well as representatives of the German authorities, could be satisfied.

Numerus came into force *clalusa*, (closed number) that is, the Decree on the Restriction of the Rights of Jews in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in September 1940, as already mentioned, not all Jewish students could enroll in Belgrade high schools.

When the *Numerus clalus* (closed number) came into force, the *Decree on the Restriction of the Rights of Jews in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, in September 1940, as already mentioned, not all Jewish students could enroll in Belgrade high schools. Because of that, in October 1940, the Jewish high school in Belgrade started working (Calderon, 1954, p. 150). This was realized based on Article 16 of the then valid Constitution, which stated that in addition to state, private educational institutions can also operate under state supervision: *In addition to state public schools, there may be private ones within the law. Primary schooling is compulsory. It is free in state primary schools. All schools must provide moral education and develop the civic world in the spirit of national unity and religious tolerance. All educational institutions are under state supervision.*<sup>9</sup>

This private Jewish high school, under the auspices of the Jewish community, was located in the premises of the Jewish school where additional Jewish classes, i.e. learning of the Hebrew language and Jewish history, used to take place. This school, which was attended by both Jews and Serbia, was partially recognized by the state authorities, and the professors who taught were state officials. The director was Ivan Kon, the director of the Trade Academy, and among the professors were Juda Levi, a professor at the Second Women's Gymnasium, Solomon Calderon, a professor at the Teachers' School in Belgrade, and the Serbian language teacher was Trifun Dukic (Calderon, 1954, p. 150). In fact, the classes were taught by three Jewish and five Serbian professors, thus expressing disagreement with the professors of the non-Jewish faith. In addition to other textbooks, textbooks on Jewish history which approved by the Ministry of Education were used. The school was supported by the Jewish community and the parents paid the tuition according to their financial situation.

During the religious holidays, in the great hall of the Jewish House, the students read their awarded topics and participated in appropriate plays. On January 27, 1941, they also celebrated Saint Sava. The school was attended by about 70 students, half of whom were in the first, and the other half in the second and third grade. Unfortunately, the high school stopped working in April 1941, and on June 9, 1941, like all other

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<sup>9</sup> *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Official Gazette No. 200, September 3, 1931.*

students, the students at this high school received their testimonies (Calderon, 1954, p. 150).

For the new school year 1941/42. it was announced that in Belgrade, according to established custom, the lectures began on September 1. However, not a single Jewish child was admitted, and the Jewish high school no longer worked because all the teachers were already detained in the Cannon Forests. Two months later, all the Jewish children and their mothers were taken to the Jewish camp at Sajmiste, where they soon died in a truck called *dusegupka*.

### **3. The beginning of the Second World War and the end of the Jewish question**

At the beginning of the Second World War, the military authorities issued several legal acts restricting Jews' contact with the non-Jewish population. In the first place, after the registration of all Jews on April 16, 1941, was the *Order relating to Jews and Gypsies* of May 30, 1941, which was printed in the *List of Ordinances of the Military Commander in Serbia*. Under the Order, Jews whose ancestors were Jews three generations back, Jewish crossbreeds who had one Jewish ancestor or were married to a Jew, as well as members of the Jewish faith, had to report to Serbian police authorities and wear a yellow ribbon (Bozovic, 2004, p. 284).

Jews were forbidden to visit cultural institutions, parties, and bars, except for those who received permission to do so. They were forbidden to move between 8 pm and 6 am, they had to report their property as well as private companies to the competent District Command. Jews of both sexes from 14 to 60, i.e., women 40 years of age, were immediately sent to forced labor, to repair the damage caused by the war. Likewise, Jews could not own or be employed in educational or entertainment facilities (Bozovic, 2004, p. 285). Namely, based on the Order, their removal from the civil service was organized. Commissioner R. In May 1941, Jojic ordered that no duties be assigned to teachers of Jewish origin, and on June 19 of the same year, the *Decree on Unreliable Elements was passed*, after which dismissal began.

According to the then collaborationist government, Jews and Gypsies posed a threat to public order and security. Even before the war, Dimitrije Ljotic stated that there was nothing against Jews, but that one should be careful with Jews and that there was no trust in them. The Minister of Education, Velibor Jonic, attributed all the unsolved problems in education to the Jews, emphasizing that the youth was hooked on Jewish and communist writers and that in that way they distanced themselves from the patriarchal culture.<sup>10</sup> Milan Nedic was also against Jews because he believed that communists were of Jewish origin.

Another type of student indoctrination was the obligatory visit to the Anti-Masonic Exhibition, which was organized in Belgrade in October 1941 in the premises of the Masonic Lodge Yugoslavia in Garasaninova No. 8. Teachers were obliged to lead students to visit this exhibition, which was organized. in cooperation with the German and Serbian collaborationist authorities. This was one of the largest actions directed against Jews that was organized during the occupation. The exhibition was visited by more than 80,000 visitors. Most of the visitors, including almost all Belgrade high school students, visited the exhibition under force, although there were also those who came

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<sup>10</sup> In May 1943, the Ministry of Education sent a letter to all secondary schools stating as well as followers and worshipers of the antichrist, i.e., the activity of Judo communist agitators.

voluntarily. Namely, the rooms were heated, and the jubilee visitors received gifts - fat, sugar, blankets, or a meter of firewood.

In July 1941, after the uprising, mass arrests of Jewish men began, and a month later most of them were detained in a camp called Cannon Shed (Topovske supe). In December of the same year, Jewish women and children were taken to the Fairgrounds concentration camp (Sajmiste). They were housed in two large exhibition pavilions, the first and third, in which there was no heating. There was a famine in the camp, and there was not enough milk or bread for the small children. Poor living conditions caused illness and death in the youngest. Death also came from the drivers of the gas truck, from Mayer and Goetz, who entered the camp, gave them candies, and after half an hour killed them with carbon monoxide. The camp commander sent to the Belgrade municipality, on February 6, 1942, out of 5,654 prisoners at the Fairgrounds, 76 were infants, 1,136 children under the age of 16 and 4,442 over the age of 16. But, on April 27, 1942, there were only 387 children (Koljanin, 1992, p. 62).

Jews also died in the camp on Banjica, where there were children and youth, as well as four teachers and one teacher of Jewish nationality.

**Table 1: Number of Jewish children and youth in the camp Banjica**

Year of age	Men	Women	in total
Up to 6 years	11	8	19
7-13	4	7	11
14-16	11	7	18
17-20	24	15	39
In total	50	37	87

The head of the department for Jews in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Fritz Rademacher, stated that the Jewish question was no longer relevant in Serbia, and the head of the security forces in Serbia, Emanuel Schaefer, said that Belgrade was the only European city to get rid of Jews (Bozovic, 2004, p. 300).

#### 4. Conclusion

Anti-Semitic measures in education began in 1940, when the Yugoslav government passed a decree introducing *Numerus Clausus for Jewish pupils and students*, i.e., when the number of Jews who could enroll in high schools and faculties was limited. One of the motives for the adoption of the *Decree on the enrollment of persons of Jewish origin for students at universities, colleges in the rank of universities, colleges, secondary schools, teachers, and other vocational schools* was also a tendency of the then Yugoslav government to get closer to the Axis powers.

The consequences of the adoption of this Regulation were far-reaching. Many high school students were left without the possibility of continuing their education, and the students at the University of Belgrade were left without scientific training. The Jewish community tried to solve this problem by founding, in October 1940, a private high school where Serbian and Jewish professors worked. However, the gymnasium stopped working in April 1941, the professors were sent to a camp called Cannon Sheds, and the students were forced to work. At the end of the same year, almost all women and children were taken to the camp at Sajmiste. In the middle of the following year, the Jewish issue in Belgrade and Serbia was resolved - they were shot or died in gas chambers.

Even the youngest were part of the Nazi physical destruction of Jews. They were killed for ethnic cleansing and ideological reasons, and it is estimated that 1.5 million children were killed during the Holocaust. Younger children, up to 14 years of age, who were not able to work, in camps such as Sajmiste, were the first to die, and the older ones died from hard work, hunger, disease and coldness.

When talking about the negative consequences of *Numerus Clausus*, the discontinuity in the education of the Jewish population should be emphasized in the first place. The prohibition of attending high schools, which lasted for eight years at that time, caused great resentment among parents because, in addition to education, boys and girls were left without school upbringing. On the other hand, by accepting this Decree, University of Belgrade lost his independence and showed to the public his dependence on the governing policy. Having in mind the historical circumstances, the negative attitude of the Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia towards the Jews even before the beginning of the Second World War can be seen. A positive consequence of the adoption of the Decree was the establishment of the Jewish Private Gymnasium, which showed that even in the most difficult moments, there are brave and courageous Jews and Serbia who managed to oppose the humiliation of the Jewish people.

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## POVZETEK

### ARHIVSKO GRADIVO KOT VIR ZA RAZISKAVO ZGODOVINE IZOBRAŽEVANJA – NUMERUS CLAUSUS LETA 1940 IN NJEGOVE POSLEDICE

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Primarni vir za raziskovanje preteklosti so arhivski dokumenti, ki so dostopni raziskovalcem z mnogih znanstvenih področij. Raziskovanje kontinuitete izobraževanja v Srbiji in med Srbi ni mogoče brez podrobne analize arhivskega gradiva, ki predstavlja temelj za oblikovanje realne slike vzponov in padcev srbskega izobraževalnega sistema. Eden izmed tem, povezanih z zgodovino izobraževanja, je tudi razglasitev t. i. numerusa claususa. Sprejetje odločbe o omejitvi števila judovskih otrok, ki se lahko vpišejo v srednje šole in univerze, to je bilo oktobra 1940, je povzročilo nemir med člani judovske skupnosti. Kot reakcija na novo situacijo je nastala judovska zasebna srednja šola, na kateri so učili tako srbski kot judovski profesorji.

Arhivsko gradivo za raziskovanje takratnega dogajanja hranijo v Arhivu Jugoslavije (v fondu Ministrstva za izobraževanje Kraljevine Jugoslavije), Arhivu Srbije (v fondu Ministrstva za izobraževanje in vero), ter Judovskem zgodovinskem muzeju v Beogradu.

Cilj prispevka je poudariti pomembnost arhivskega gradiva, ki ga hranijo tako institucije kot zasebniki. Avtorica želi tudi predstaviti manj znan fenomen numerusa claususa, ki je sprožil antisemitizem v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, ter uradna stališča izobraževalne politike pred drugo svetovno vojno in v prvem letu vojne.