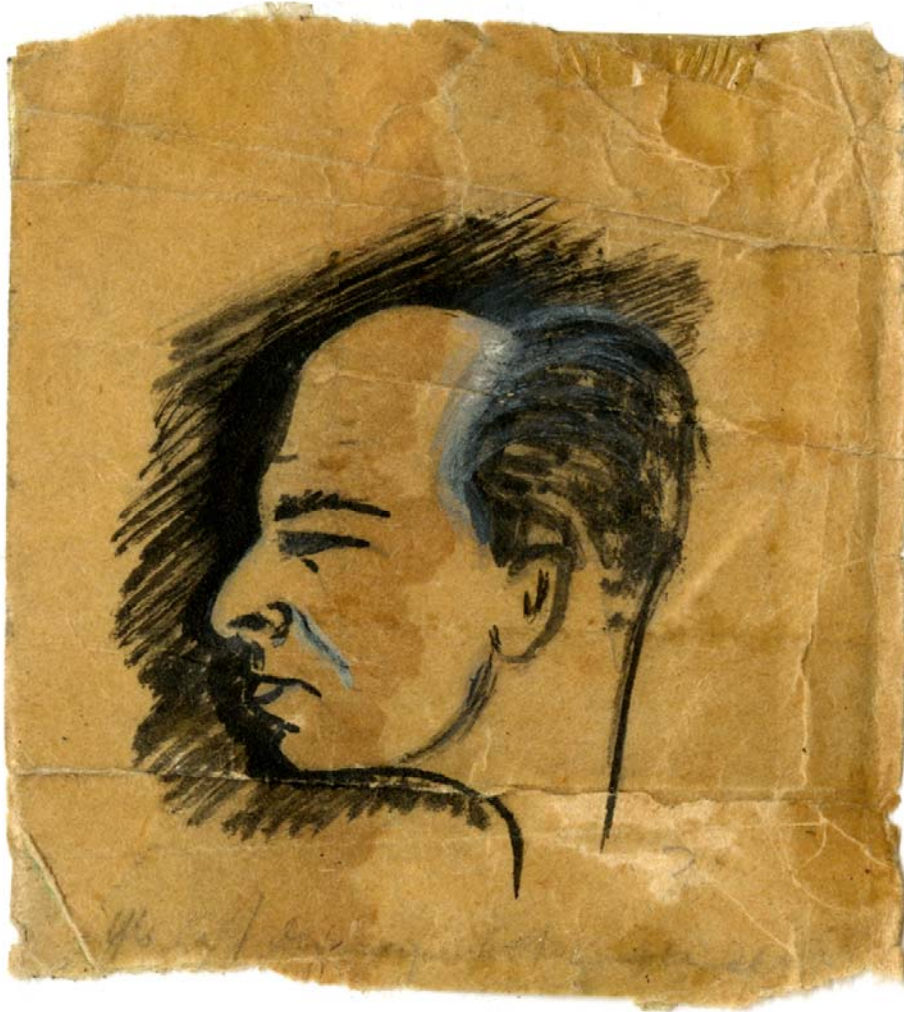


ERICH LICHTBLAU

*THERESIENSTADT: PICTORIAL GHETTO
DIARY
1942 -1945*



A CATALOG

*LOS ANGELES MUSEUM OF THE HOLOCAUST
COLLECTION*

Ghetto Period

Prague is Free of Jews

Prag ist Judenfrei—there is no Jews in Prague. Erich Lichtblau comments: *The Czech Jews were good patriots. Many of them repeated like a leitmotif “Our Zion is Prague.” The Czech Jews loved their president Tomáš Masaryk and their Republic.*



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragment, 6 x 13 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943. There are no slogans, captions, or signs on the fragment. Museum number 84-3A.



A detached fragment of a train on the Charles Bridge, initially part of ‘Prague is Free of Jews’. Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment, 5 x 12 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943. Museum number 84-3B.

Ghetto Period

My First Night in the Ghetto: Overcrowded or You Lack Certain Vitamin P (Protection)

Erich Lichtblau and his wife Elsa were deported to Theresienstadt in November 1942. Erich Lichtblau later recalls, *On the picture you can see myself lying on the floor. I was sick with high fever. All the wooden bunks were occupied. I found no place to sleep. In the morning somebody told me: "To obtain beds you need the vitamin 'P', a privilege. The old man in the white coat was a physician on duty.*



Watercolor with traces of pen and black ink on paper. A page from the Sketchbook, 29 x 40 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Caption: *Inhen fehlt bestimmt das Vitamin "P". (Protektion!!)*. You lack certain vitamin "P" (Protection).

Museum number 84-4A.

Ghetto Period

My First Night in the Ghetto: Overcrowded or You Lack Certain Vitamin P (Protection) Fragments



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragments, 21.4 x 22 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943. No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-4B.

Ghetto Period

Night Quietness in Beth Halutzoth (Hannover Barracks)

Noční Klid. This caption in Czech translates as night silence. *We Halutzim*, recalls Erich Lichtblau, lived together in the room. On the picture you can see the room No. 73A in the Hannover Barracks (*kassernen*). In the center, there is a table and a bench. Herr Doktor Grünbaum from Moravia played chess here. It is a nighttime and somebody could say: *Noční Klid: silence, it is a nighttime.*



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 20.3 x 28.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Museum number 84-7A

Ghetto Period

Transport Worries

There was rarely enough time for packing in one-hour time before departure to the East..., recalls Erich Lichtblau

Title variant: **Ordered to the *Ostentransport* (transport to the East).**



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 22.5 x 29.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Title in Czech *Transportni Starosti*. Transport Worries.

Museum number 84-8A

Ghetto Period

Thou Shall not Build in Golles (Diaspora)

An inmate who is being ordered to the East, tells a kumbal builder: *Do not build in the Diaspora, there is no hope for the future.* Kumbal is a small private compartment curved out from attics, closets, and corners.



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 21 x 21.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
No captions or slogans on the picture.

Museum number 84-9A

Ghetto Period

Exclusion from the Transport

Sometimes a scarlet fever came at the right time, instead of being deported one would be put in a hospital.



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 28 x 40 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Title-caption: *ja manchmal kam Scharlach zur richtigen Stunde.* And scarlet fever sometimes came at the right time.

Suitcase and other luggage marked with the deportees' names, the Löwy family: Paula Löwy, Ernst Löwy, and Eva Löwy (a child). Their luggage marked with the deportation to Theresienstadt numbers: Cx 1044, Cx 1045, Cx 1046.

Museum number 84-10A.

Ghetto Period

Risky Apple-Stealing or *Schleussing* [Organizing Apples]

Penalty was deportation to the East.



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragment. 9.5 x 14.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-11A.

Ghetto Period

Obligatory Greeting and Forbidden Cigarettes

Obliged to greet the SS-men by tipping his hat a Jewish inmate uncovers the contraband cigarettes hidden under it. Erich Lichtblau attributes a ghetto-story to this picture: *This ghetto guardsman had some cigarettes given to him by a Jewish prisoner deported to the East. The poor man was too frightened to take these cigarettes on his last journey. He gave the cigarettes in the last moment to the ghetto guard who placed them under his cap. On the way back from the railway station he met an SS-man. In the effect of obligatory greeting the cigarettes fell out. For this 'crime' he was beaten up and punished by deportation with the next transport to the East.*



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment of the page from the Sketchbook, 14.6 x 16 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Museum number 84-12A.

Ghetto Period

A Farewell: Until we Meet in the Mass Grave

An elderly an ailing inmate bids a farewell to a German Jew ordered to the East transport. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Nobody at this time took such words seriously. It was a grim humor.*



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragment, 20.5 x 21 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943. No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-13A.

Ghetto Period

Grandma's "Hand"-luggage for the Journey to the East

A young man is a transport aid (*Transport Hilfe*). Erich Lichtblau recalls, *There was a group of young people, they helped carrying luggage. By and large, the old took too much luggage to the train. Once a train departed, a lot of their luggage remained behind.*



Watercolor and ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 20.7 x 28.9 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Armband: *Transport Hilfe*. Transport aid.

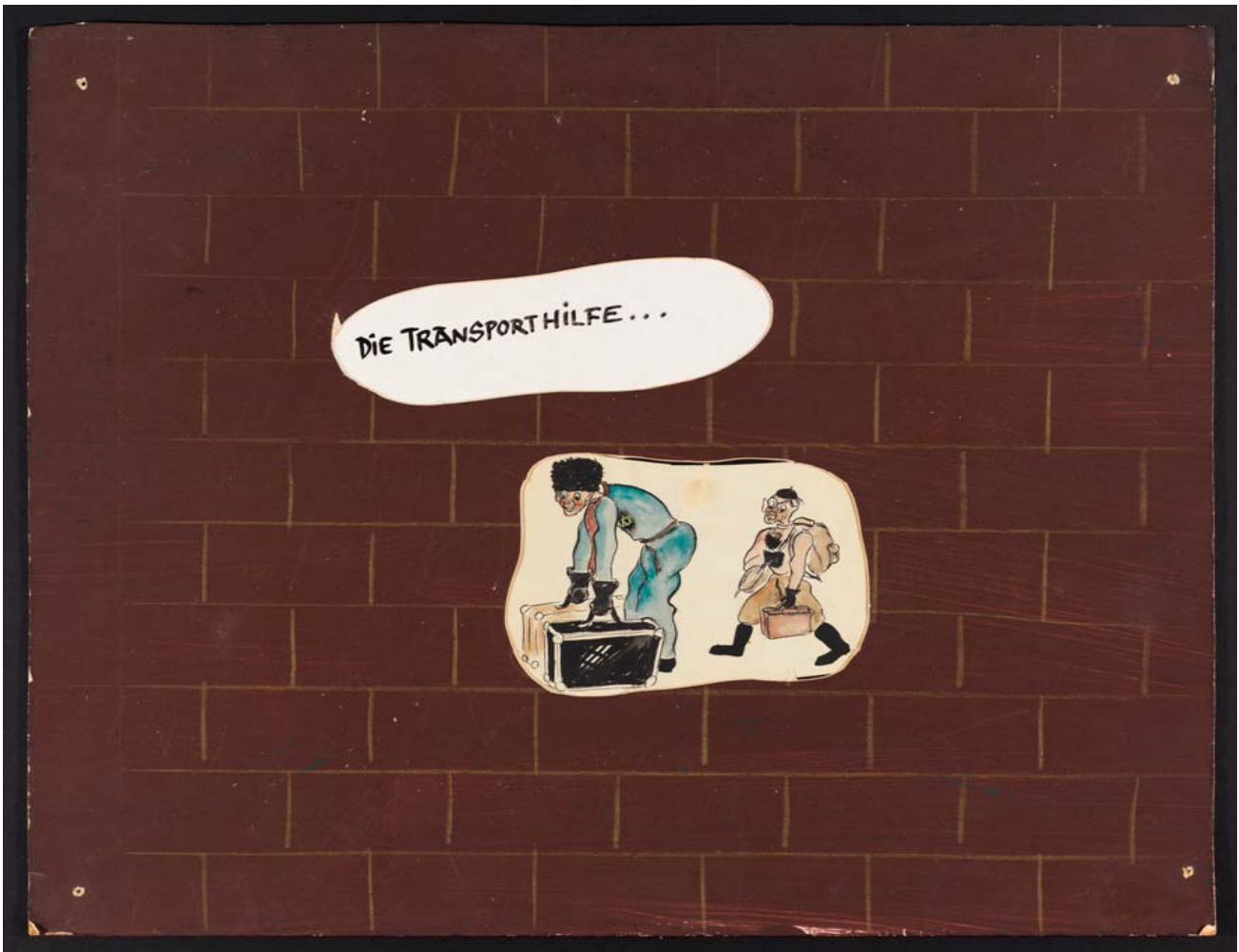
Museum number 84-14A.

Czechoslovakian Postwar Period

Transport Aide

An institute of Transport Aides was among the recurring themes in the Pictorial Ghetto Diary. Erich Lichtblau depicts the men assigned to help old and ill people with luggage, see also *Arrival of the Jews from Denmark* (84-19A), or as in *Exclusion from Transport* (84-10) carrying terminally ill from the assembly point to a hospital.

Notwithstanding, Erich Lichtblau identifies them with a specific group, the transport aides are regarded as part of the Orientation Service later renamed Auxiliary Service of the Ghetto Watch.¹



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. 34.8 x 40.5 cm. It corresponds to the Czechoslovakian Postwar period, and putatively regarded as an application of the ghetto-period fragment to a wall-like background.

¹ "Editors' Introduction," in Philipp Manes, *As if it Were Life. A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, eds. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist. Trans. Janet Foster, Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5

Title: *Die Transporthilfe...* The Transport Aide.

Museum number 84-72.5

Philipp Manes, himself a functionary of the Orientation Service, emphasizes its essentiality for the normalcy or at least illusion of normalcy in the ghetto. In his ghetto-diary (kept until his deportation to Auschwitz with the last transport on 28 October 1944), Philipp Manes quotes a congratulating address presented to the Head of the Service, Kurt Frey on 18 May 1943:

For over a year the Orientation Service founded by you has worked happily and joyfully under your leadership. You have made it easy for us, mostly rather old men, to bear this difficult year that brought such unfamiliar burdens. You gave us complete freedom in our work, never controlled us, and demanded no military rigidity, only that we carried out our assumed responsibilities. In this freedom, every men and women of the Orientation Service accomplished more than was required of them by the unvarying schedule of duties. Wherever you placed us during this long year [1942-1943, V.M.], we did not ask whether it was easy or difficult; we did it. On a social level, you cared for us, we may well say, in a paternal way. To thank you with our whole hearts, expressed in this present form, is the purpose of these pages. May the content of this folder remind you of the year in Theresienstadt and your forever-grateful, beholden men and women. We also ask of you to remember us with kindness, if one day fate separates us from you.

Auxiliary Service of the Ghetto Watch. Formerly the Orientation Service. ¹

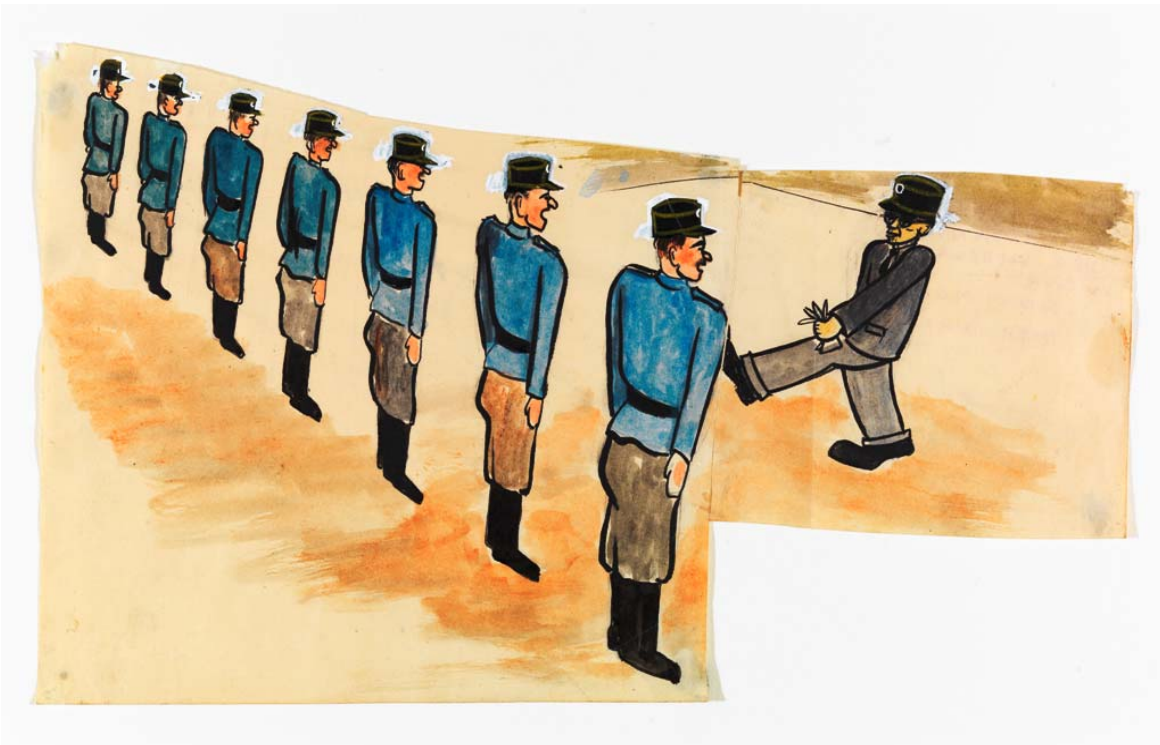
¹ Philipp Manes, *As if it Were Life. A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, eds. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist. Trans. Janet Foster, Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 104.

Ghetto Period

Good Morning *Herr Doktor*

Dr. Karl Löwenstein¹ from Prussia, ostensibly half-Jewish, was appointed by the Nazis a commander of the *Ghettowache*, (Ghetto Guard or Ghetto Watch). Identifiable by their black caps with yellow ribbons, the guardsmen also wore a distinct uniform. In the morning they saluted: Good Morning Herr Doktor. Erich

Lichtblau recalls, *He arrived in the ghetto together with other so-called prominent persons, like the Jewish officers of the First World War who had earned the Distinguished Service Cross and so on. Dr. Löwenstein was appointed by the Germans the Commander of the Ghetto Guard. The guardsmen had only to keep order inside the ghetto. They had yellow-ribbon black caps marked with GW sign. For a short time, they also wore blue shirts. Dr. Löwenstein carried and supervised military training for the guardsmen on the bastions.*



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment, 17 x 28.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Museum number 84-15A.

¹ Karl Löwenstein was a high-ranking German officer in the First World War and aid-de-camp to a German crown prince. Appointed the head of the Ghetto Guards he created a sort of "Praetorian Guards" from this group. Calling himself the chief of police, he introduced a Prussian style military drills for the guardsmen: to stand in attention, saluting, marching, to fall out in formation, and to parade in goose step. He was eventually replaced when the Germans learned about the extent of Jewish military training., see Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*, edited by Joel Shatzky (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 66, 168: note 3

Israeli Period

Good Morning *Herr Doktor*



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period, ca 1970. Replica, resigned as Terezin, 1943.

Title: "... guten Morgen Herr Doktor!" Good Morning, Mr. Doctor!

Caption: *auf der Bastei: Der Morgengruß der Ghetto wache (für Dr. Löwenstein)*. On the bastions in the morning: Ghetto Watch salutes to Dr. Löwenstein.

Museum number 84-15.

Erich Lichtblau as an ordinary ghetto inmate may not have learned about other intricate details related to Dr. Karl Löwenstein's demotion and his former place in the ghetto

hierarchy. In the reality the affairs of the Jewish administration were interrelated and often driven by competitive relations and confrontation between the Jewish-Czech, Jewish-German, and Jewish-Austrian groups within the ghetto administration. Inter-Jewish confrontation was not only tolerated but factually promoted by the German administration. The ghetto historical and memoir literature renders different views on the role and activity of the ghetto police chief, Dr. Karl Löwenstein. Historian Philip Friedman, avoiding extreme judgments, follows a survivor's account.

He came to Theresienstadt from Minsk, where he had been deported from Germany. He had direct access to the German headquarters, and this gave him a position rather independent of the Ältestenrat. Löwenstein's frequent clashes with the ghetto administration, and his growing influence eventually led to his downfall. German authorities in Berlin were not pleased to learn that a paramilitary formation had been organized in the ghetto. The Ältestenrat also discovered some minor offenses in the conduct of the police commander. Löwenstein was put in prison, and his special guard was disbanded in September 1943.¹

Philip Friedman refers to the primary account of H.G. Adler, the survivor and historian of Theresienstadt ghetto, the author of *Theresienstadt 1941-1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft. Geschichte, Soziologie, Psychologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1955). In the letter to Philip Friedman, Dr. Adler wrote:

Dr. Löwenstein, and old German naval officer of half-Jewish origin, was installed as chief of the security department. Löwenstein's influence with

¹ Philip Friedman, *Road to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, Ada June Friedman, editor (New York and Philadelphia: the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), 115.

the SS was relatively large, but the three internal camp leaders disliked his struggle against corruption and were frightened by his strong and stubborn personality, which unfortunately was not understood by them. In this originated a fight of all these four men (Epstein, Edelstein, Murrelstein, and Löwenstein) and I must say that the role of three leaders (Epstein, Edelstein, Murrelstein) was at least imprudent and irresponsible. Löwenstein was eliminated late in summer 1943 by means which had a tremendously bad effect on the future of the camp.¹

Survivors' accounts are often indicatively different. In historical terms the demise of Dr. Löwenstein is explained by inter-Jewish and German factors. Erich Lichtblau's comments reflect a rather grass-roots perspective, whilst E.G. Adler introduces a discourse of the ghetto hierarchy as a salient factor in Löwenstein's demise. However, attributing the confrontation between the Council of Elders and the new chief of the ghetto police solely to the inter-Jewish level of personal relations should be construed with reservation. Jakob Edelstein, Paul Epstein, and Benjamin Murrelstein, three consecutive top Jewish officials were far from being a consolidated group neither personally nor in terms of national or political affiliation. Only one of the seven members of the Council of Elders, Benjamin Murrelstein survived the war. The Germans found Dr. Murrelstein most suitable for the job, while the ghetto population often than not did not distinguish him from his masters.

¹ Cited in Philip Friedman, *Road to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, Ada June Friedman, editor (New York and Philadelphia: the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), 127, note 59.

Ghetto Period

***Polenschutz* or Protection from Deportation to Poland is not a Gift**

It is a quotation of what Dr. Löwenstein, the head of the Ghetto Watch, often repeated. Erich Lichtblau recalls, ***Polenschutz ist kein Geschenk***, or *security from deportation to Poland is not a gift*, as Dr. Löwenstein used to say. He demanded outstanding service and the utmost fulfillment of duties. Notwithstanding, the ghetto watchmen could also be deported to the East as a punishment. The Ghetto Watch was in trouble, once the SS learned about their contacts with the Czech gendarmes. I heard Dr. Löwenstein survived. I do not know about his fate after liberation.



Watercolor, pen, and black ink on paper. Fragment, 12.2 x 29.4 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-16A.

Czechoslovakian Postwar Period

Polenschutz or Protection from Deportation to Poland is not a Gift



Watercolor pen and black ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 28 x 40 cm.
Czechoslovakian period, ca 1945 -1948. Resigned as Terezin, 1943.

Title: *Dr. Löwenstein: Polenschutz ist kein Geschenk!* Dr. Löwenstein: Polish protection is not a gift.

Museum number 84-16B.

Ghetto Period

Boards [Šlojs in Czech] for Kumbal, a private closet or compartment

Regular ghetto barracks had concrete floors and often three levels of bunks. In search for privacy everyone tried to get some boards for building a Kumbal good for one or two persons. Erich Lichtblau describes, *He 'organizes' boards for his Kumbal. A Czech gendarme deliberately turns away from the scene. A short Jewish ghetto guard observes and notates but takes no action. Kumbal is a Czech word. It is a small room. Here in the ghetto it means a small private bedroom for one or two persons. There were so-called Kumbalists in the ghetto, happy to live alone behind a board divider.*



Watercolor over the traces of pencil and black ink on paper. Fragments. 12.5 x 20.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

The left part with the Czech gendarme and the stuck of boards is missing. No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-17A.

Ghetto Period

A Good Czech Gendarme: *Ein braver Četnik*

Often a Czech gendarme (*Četnik*) would throw away large cigarette butts. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *They knew the Jews would pick them up. Some gendarmes were kind people and treated the Jews decently.*



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments. 18 x 28.9 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-18A.

Erich Lichtblau's art discourse is well corroborated by other Theresienstadt narratives. Thus, Norbert Troller writes with regard to forbidden smoking: "Smoking was strictly forbidden, but everyone smoked. Anyone who smoked shared his cigarette by individual puffs among his family and friends."¹

Ghetto Period

Arrival of the Jews from Denmark in (Terezín Spa)

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Well-dressed Danish Jews, deceived by the Nazis, arrived under impression as they were to enter a resort. The brave Danish King was not afraid of sending gift parcels to his Jews in Theresienstadt. In March or April 1945, Swedish buses arrived in the ghetto. The Danish King had sent them to take back his Jews and they had arrived in Denmark before the ghetto was liberated.*

Perhaps a grass-roots perception in Theresienstadt towards the new deportees from Denmark was somewhat distorted. Their arrival and treatment was often perceived as preferential. By and large, on mundane level they were treated somewhat better than average ghetto inmates. "Only the members of the Council of Elders, prominente [sic!], and the Danes had separate rooms for themselves and their wives."² The German authorities, being aware of Danish concern in the fate of their less fortunate Jewish citizens, anticipated a certain degree of foreign involvement. It is phenomenal how the fate of 476 people produced visitations of International Red Cross including the Danish delegation in June 1944. Therefore, it is regarded that Jewish-Danish inmates were not subjects to the deportations to the East. Notwithstanding, it would have been a trivialization deeming the Danish Jews naïve, ad hoc, not having realized that their arrest in Denmark and subsequent deportation to Theresienstadt is anything but the part of the Final Solution.

On the part of the ghetto population, it was one of those stereotypes typical for any incarceration place: when the new inmates are being met with a daring if not a ridiculing approach. A number of the Danish Jews deported to Theresienstadt perished in the ghetto out of malnutrition and disease. Oppositely, to German, Dutch, Czech, or Austrian Jews, the group of 423 Jews from Denmark was safely evacuated from the ghetto to Denmark in April 1945. Swedish diplomat Count Folke Bernadotte negotiated their release and rescue.³

¹ Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*, edited by Joel Shatzky (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 38.

² Norbert Troller, 87.

³ Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 796

Ghetto Period

Arrival of the Jews from Denmark (Terezín Spa)



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 17 x 21 cm. Ghetto period, Terezín, 1943.

A group of well-dressed middle-class Europeans who happened to be the Jews from Denmark arrived in Theresienstadt. They are met by a Jewish transport aid from *Hilfsdienst*¹ (Aid Service).

Contrasting to the group an East European female inmate exhibits a surprisingly curious look.

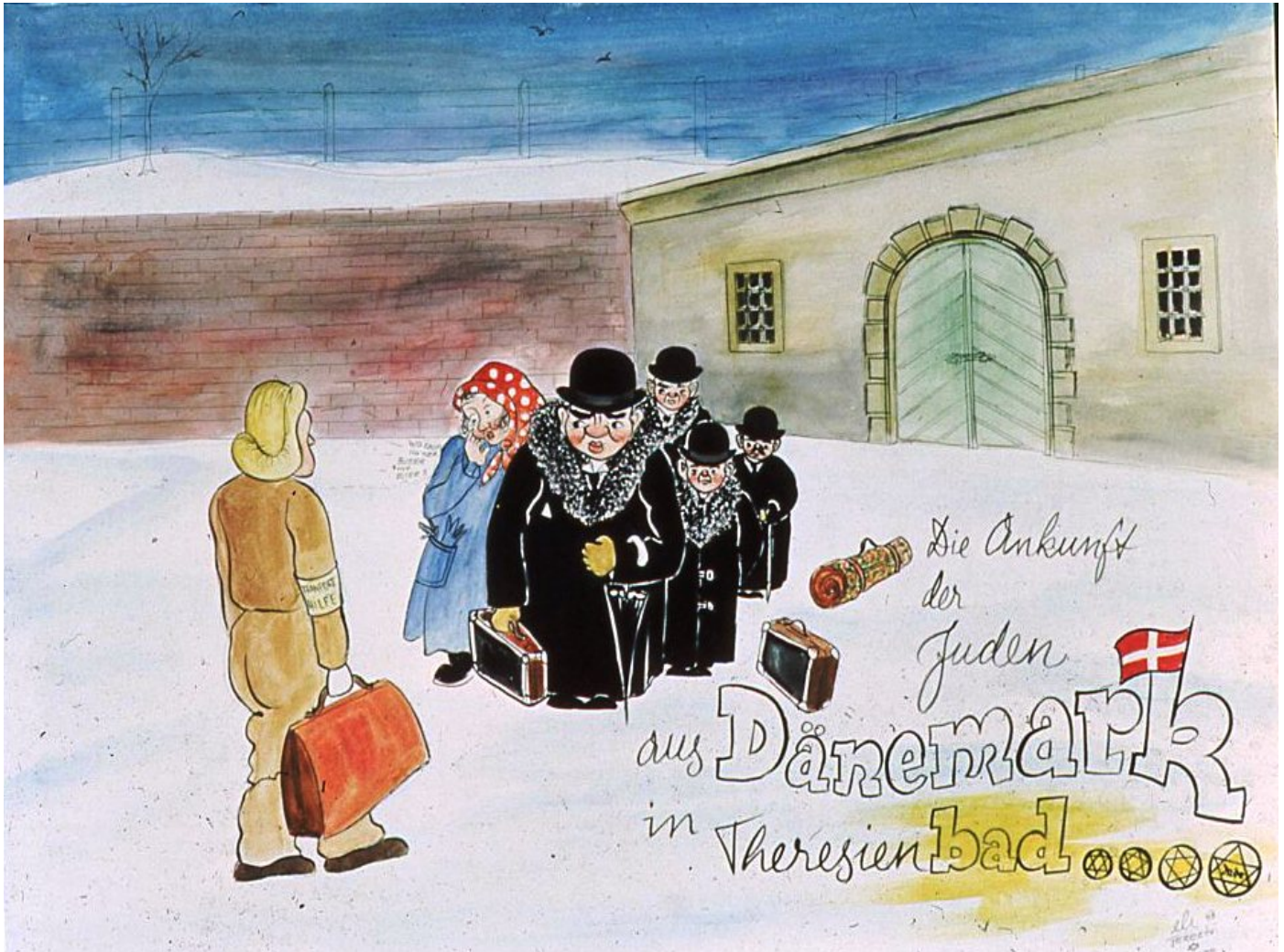
No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-19A.

¹ H.G. Adler, *Theresienstadt. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2005, 68.

Israeli Period

Arrival of the Jews from Denmark



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period, ca 1970. Replica, resigned Terezin, 1943.

Caption: *Die Ankunft der Juden aus Dänemark in TheresienBad.* Arrival of the Jews from Denmark to Terezín Spa

Museum number 84-19.

The persecution of the Danish Jews began in October 1943. While the majority under the auspices of the Danish Resistance succeeded in fleeing to Sweden, several hundred were interned in Denmark and then deported to the Nazi incarceration centers. With exception of several tens unfortunates, the majority of the Danish-Jewish internees ended up in Theresienstadt. From the time of interment in Theresienstadt and until their safe passage

in April 1945 to Denmark, the Danish government voiced concern to the Nazi authorities, de facto protecting them from the deportation to the East. In Theresienstadt, the Danish group was regarded as a privileged one, receiving a special treatment. Erich Lichtblau is not alone depicting them better off comparing to the grassroots. For example, Zdenek Lederer also reflects on their relatively elevated status granted by the Nazis. If Erich Lichtblau depicts the scene of arrival, Zdenek Lederer narrates a story of reception given to the Danish Jews by new ghetto commandant Anton Burger:

On its arrival the first Danish transport was taken to the Usti barracks. Laid tables awaited them in the courtyard, and they were served with dishes that had been specially prepared for their benefit. But the Danish Jews were well provisioned with a variety of tinned foods, chocolate, and other delicacies given to them by their gentile friends.

Anton Burger readily replied to all questions of the newcomers; he seemed to turn a blind eye to the fact that they wore no yellow stars, nor did he object or reprimand them when they lit cigarettes. Other SS men, too, were present at this farce behaved like born gentlemen. After this ceremonial lunch post cards were distributed to the Danes, and they were politely asked to inform their friends in Denmark that they had safely arrived and had been well received. After that the Danes were taken to the first floor of the barracks; there they were searched and robbed by orderlies well experienced in this job.¹

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 99, 100.

Ghetto Period

Competitors for Potatoes

Sign on the wall: Only Ashes. Erich Lichtblau entitles this picture *Konkurrenten* (Competitors). He recalls, *Old people were looking for potatoes in the rubbish. So were birds and rats as well.*



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 28.5 x 40 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Title: *Konkurenti*. Competitors.

Sign on the wall: *Nur Asche*. Only Ashes.

Museum number 84-20A.

Ghetto Period

Terezinka – a Ghetto Disease

Paratyphoid was a common disease in the ghetto. *After staying there for short time only, almost everybody suffered from it*, recalls Erich Lichtblau.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 30 x 42 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Title: *Terezinka*

Sign on the door: *Für Männer* (For Men)

Museum number 84-21A.

Czechoslovakian Postwar Period

Terezinka – a Ghetto Disease



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragment applied on Sketchbook cover paper, 16 x 26 cm. Czechoslovakian postwar period, signed as Terezin, 1943.

Title caption: "Terezinka"

Sign on the door: *Für Männer* (For Men)

Caption in Czech: *Silný průjem, kterému tisíce židů podlehl.* Thousands of Jews suffered from severe diarrhea.

Museum number 84-21B.

Ghetto Period

Death Rate: 150 Daily

About 150 inmates died in the ghetto daily. *Every day the Jews had to load many dead bodies on a cart, which they had to drag to the crematorium,* recalls Erich Lichtblau



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment. 16.2 x 19.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-22A.

Ghetto Period

Jewish Order Police from the Westerbork Camp Transport

A group of Jewish deportees is transferred to Theresienstadt from Westerbork Transit Camp. It is not clear if these Jewish deportees were the Dutch Jews or they were deported from other European countries through Westerbork transit camp. Two Jewish policemen are seen in the foreground. They wear goggles over their military caps. Apparently, these policemen came with the transport from Westerbork



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 14.7 x 24 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-23A.

Israeli Period

Jewish Order Police from Holland. The Transport from the Westerbork Camp



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period, ca 1970. Replica, resigned as 1943, Terezin

Title: *Der Ordnungsdienst vom Holländ. Transport aus Westerbork*. Jewish Order Police from Holland. The Transport from the Westerbork Camp

Two Jewish Ordnungsdienst men are on the foreground, distinguished by blue hats and armbands with the letters O.D. for *Ordnungsdienst*: Jewish Order Service

Museum number 84-23.

The transport of the Dutch Jews from Westerbork transit camp arrived at Theresienstadt on 21 January 1944. It is not regarded as the first transport of the Dutch Jews. This one was given a special reception on the part of German administration. As in October 1943, when the Danish Jews arrived to Theresienstadt, another spectacle was re-enacted, this time “welcoming” the Dutch Jews. Zdenek Lederer narrates the story of this farce:

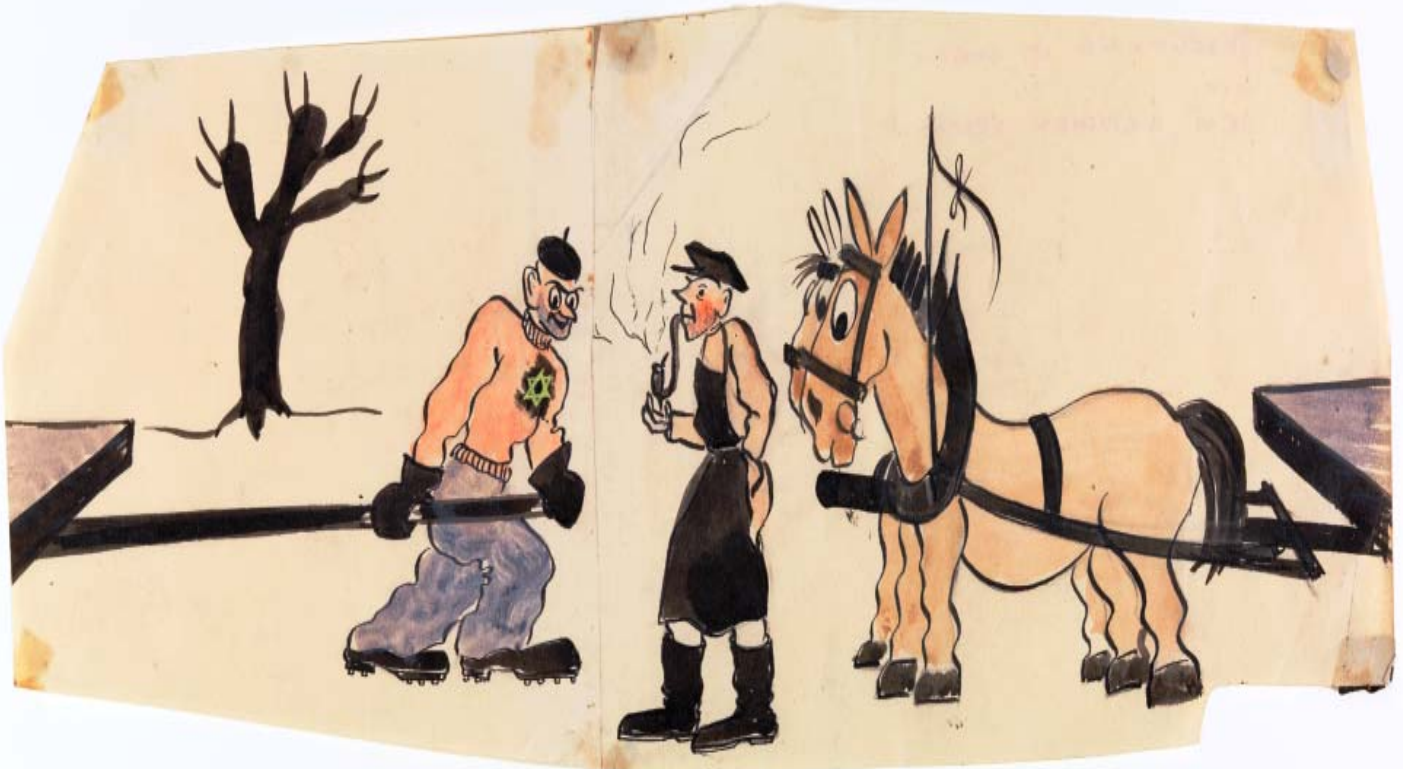
A new transport of Dutch Jews had arrived from Westerbork. The farce staged for the benefit of the Danish Jews was re-enacted with some additional trimmings. Dr. Paul Eppstein [der Älteste der Juden, the Jewish Elder – V.M.] welcomed the transport and the head of the Dutch Jews thanked him. A smiling Anton Burger [Hauptsturmführer and the ghetto Commandant – V.M.] helped the aged to get out of the train. The whole touching scene was filmed for a German-sponsored Czech newsreel by a cameraman who had come from Prague. Postcards were given to the deportees and collected by Burger. Afterwards they were taken to the first floor to be searched and robbed. By the next day the farce was over. The newcomers were registered, put to work and treated as badly as other prisoners.¹

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 107, 108.

Ghetto Period

Encounter of the Carts in the Ghetto

There are two carts: one a horse-driven, that is non-Jewish or Arian one, while the other, manually pulled by is a Jewish man, is, ad hoc, a Jewish cart.



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments. 11 x 28.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No caption or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-24A.

Ghetto Period

Three Kings in the Ghetto: Baker, Cook and Bun Baker

They never were hungry. *Food was the most valuable commodity*, recall Erich Lichtblau



Watercolor sketch, pen, pencil, and black ink on paper. Fragments. 30 x 42.5 cm. Ghetto period, 1943, Terezin.

No caption or slogans on the fragments.

We can see here four figures, while on the later version there are three main prototypes. The fourth figure, in the right corner, also is a sketch of a baker of unidentified specialization.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Ghetto Period

Back from Delousing. Only a *Cvok*, in Czech popular parlance a crazy, pays with *Ghettogeld* (ghetto money)

Ghetto banknotes featuring Moses and Ten Commandments were official ghetto exchange receipts (*Quittung*) printed in Theresienstadt. The money-substitute notes in circulation were signed by Jakob Edelstein – the Elder of the Jews (the Chairman of the Jewish Council). By appearance these receipts resembled banknotes. This so-called currency signed by Jakob Edelstein remained in circulation even after his deportation to Auschwitz in December 1943.

A new deportee, unfamiliar with the ghetto rules, tips an experienced ghetto inhabitant with “Moses Kronen” (ghetto money) for the clothes received after delousing. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *They issued ghetto money with Moses and Ten Commandments on one side and denomination, number, series, and signature on the other. The bills were signed by Jakob Edelstein, der Älteste der Juden, the head of the Judenrat.*

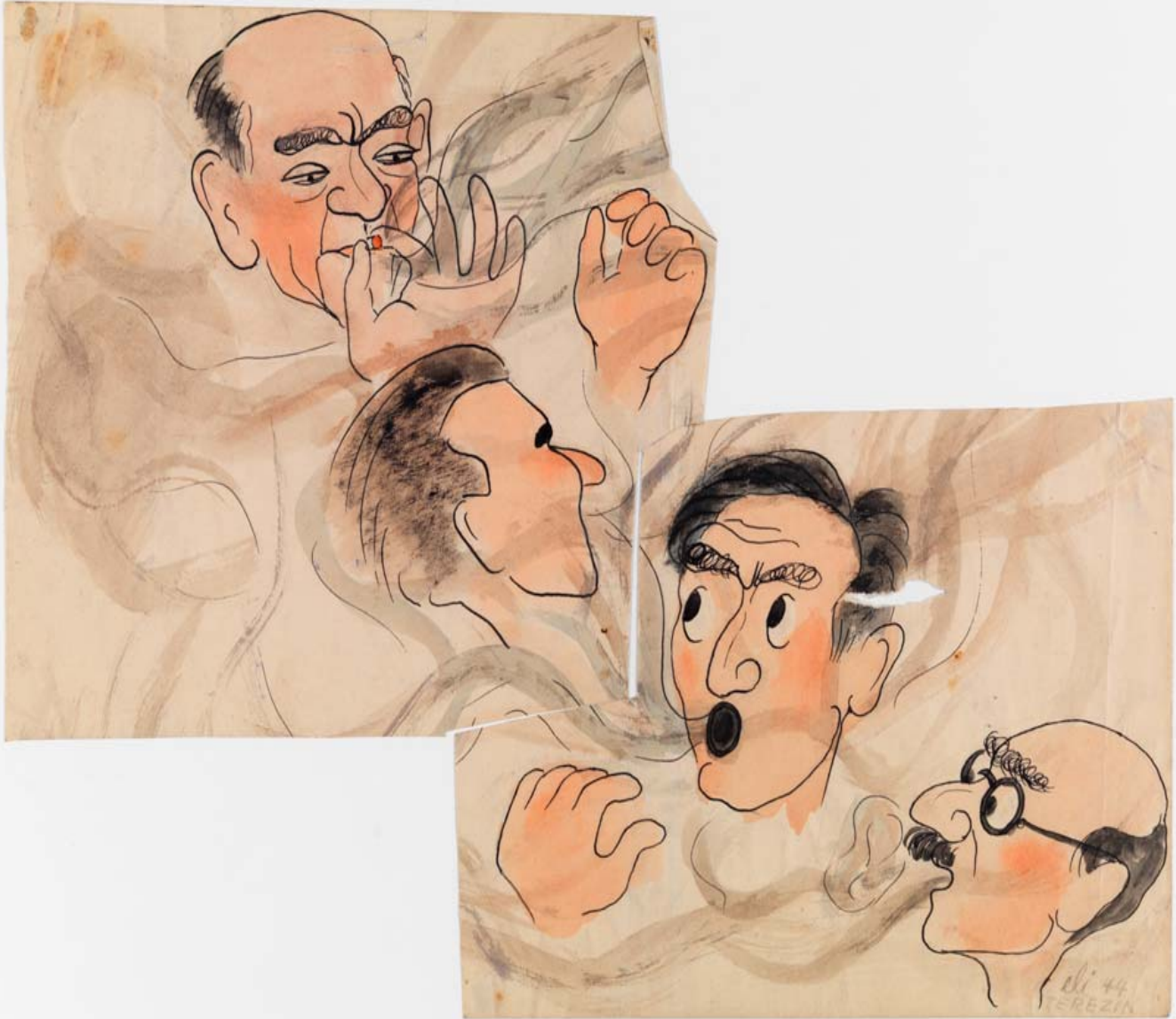


Watercolor sketch, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 18.5 x 20.7 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Ghetto Period

Let Me Smoke a Bit or Give me a Puff

If anyone obtained a cigarette, he was obliged to share it with many others. A single cigarette was being passed from mouth to mouth, puff after puff.



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 14 x 32.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.

Ghetto Period

The New Order Service (Jewish Order Service) or Please do not Push

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *At the time of ration allocation, a special ghetto guard from the Ordnungsdienst (Jewish Order Service) supervised food distribution. His duty was to avoid excessive pushing. He did this by decisively pushing back the people, nearly making them falling down, while kindly saying: 'Do not push, please.'*



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragment. 18.0 x 18.2 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.

No captions or slogans on the fragment, expect a replica 'Idiot' on the part of a ghetto inmate waiting for his food ration.

Museum number 84-34A.

Israeli Period

The New Order Service (Jewish Order Service) or Please do not push

As we will see later Erich Lichtblau introduces two content-wise resembling pictures. They both depict the food distribution lines and a Jewish ghetto guard or the Order Service official directing the process of distribution. The Jewish ghetto guard attempts maintain order. He appeals to the people inline asking for not pushing or cutting the line. As we can see the first person in the line shows no respect to the guard and his service.



Ghetto Period

Head Count: Thou Shall be Counted

On November 11, 1943, the SS administration unexpectedly ordered a “census count” of the ghetto population. All 40000 ghetto inhabitants were forced to stay outside the ghetto, in a former army drill ground from the early morning to the late afternoon. Erich Lichtblau recalls that the Jewish Council attempted conducting the “head count” in a possible orderly manner allowing children and elderly people to pass the “census” first.



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 21 x 29 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or slogans on the fragments.
Museum number 84-35A.

Israeli Period

Head Count: Thou Shall be Counted



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period, ca 1970. Replica, resigned as Terezin, 1943.

Title: *Gezählt sollst du werden...* Thou shall be counted.

Explanatory narrative: *zurück von der Insassen-zählung ins Ghetto - (Kinder und Alte zuerst) November 1943.* Back from the inhabitants - counting the Ghetto - (Children and Elderly people first)

Museum number 84-35.

The ghetto census was like the news of an upcoming Transport. Ordinary, the SS communicated a transport order the Council of Elders in a three-day term, giving time to prepare the list of deportees. The Council of Elders was not even putatively aware of a planned census prior the order was given. It was Anton Burger's, ghetto commandant spontaneous order engendered by the discrepancies in the ghetto registry. Erich Lichtblau relates this "head-count" to the escape of several ghetto inhabitants from the Transport to the East. This assumption has its grounds, for on November 9, 1943, the head of the Council of Elders, Jakob Edelstein was accused of having falsified the daily reports on the number of Jews in the ghetto.¹ The Germans perceived that the inaccurate report purposely allowed the fifty-five Jews avoid deportation.²

Jakob Edelstein and his family together with those Jewish officials also accused on falsifying the reports were deported to Auschwitz in December 1943. He perished in the camp in August 1944.

Historian Martin Gilbert regards the Ghetto census as a planned event kept in store for Jews as a punishment commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of Germany's defeat in the First World War. On November 11, 1918, Germany signed the Armistice with the Entente nations. Describing the ghetto census Gilbert refers to an eyewitness account of Zdenek Lederer, also inmate of Theresienstadt:

Shortly after midday, three SS officers who had come from Prague began the census. Inevitably, with such large numbers on the square, their figures did not tally. They began again. Again, the numbers did not match: by then it was five o'clock and shivering multitude was becoming agitated and fearful of the approaching night. The old people sat on the damp ground, and children cried and it began to drizzle. Still the results did not tally. The weary ranks disintegrated. The SS men disappeared, nobody knew what would come next or what the Germans intended. All attempts of the officials of the Jewish administration to restore order among this desperate and miserable mass of humanity proved futile. No order came permitting the prisoners to leave the drill ground. It was an ironic situation – all these people pushing, pressing, longing to be allowed to return to the misery of the ghetto.

Finally, at ten o'clock, a few volunteers succeeded in organizing the return of the prisoners to the ghetto. Women, children, and elderly people were helped back and protected from the whirlpool of maddened humanity. But it took another two hours to empty the drill ground.³

As a result of the punitive 'census' between two and three hundred Ghetto inhabitants lost their lives.⁴

¹ Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 633.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 633, 634.

⁴ See, Martin Gilbert, op. cit., 634 and Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*, edited by Joel Shatzky (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), xxv.

Ghetto Period

Hambo, the Pop-Song Singer

Singer Hambo arrived with the Danish transport. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *He sang falsetto and was able to change his voice into a deep bass. I remember he sang a song, "I am dying, I am dying," but the refrain was cynical: tralala, tralala, tralala.*



Watercolor, pen and black ink on paper. Fragments, 20.8 x 28.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

The only visible caption is a first song-line: *Ich sterbe... I am dying.*

Unlike the Israeli-period replica, the ghetto-period watercolor features sketches of the heads, implying the audience.

Museum number 84-38A.

Ghetto Period

Impetigo in the Ghetto

Many people caught this infectious skin disease because of the bugs, lice, filth, and unsanitary conditions. A caricatural Terezin Coat of Arms is in the background. Ironically a heraldic crown is placed over the head of the ill and naked prisoner.



Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment, 15.2 x 21.2 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Museum number 84-40A.

Ghetto Period

Bonke or Rumors from the Warfare Theater



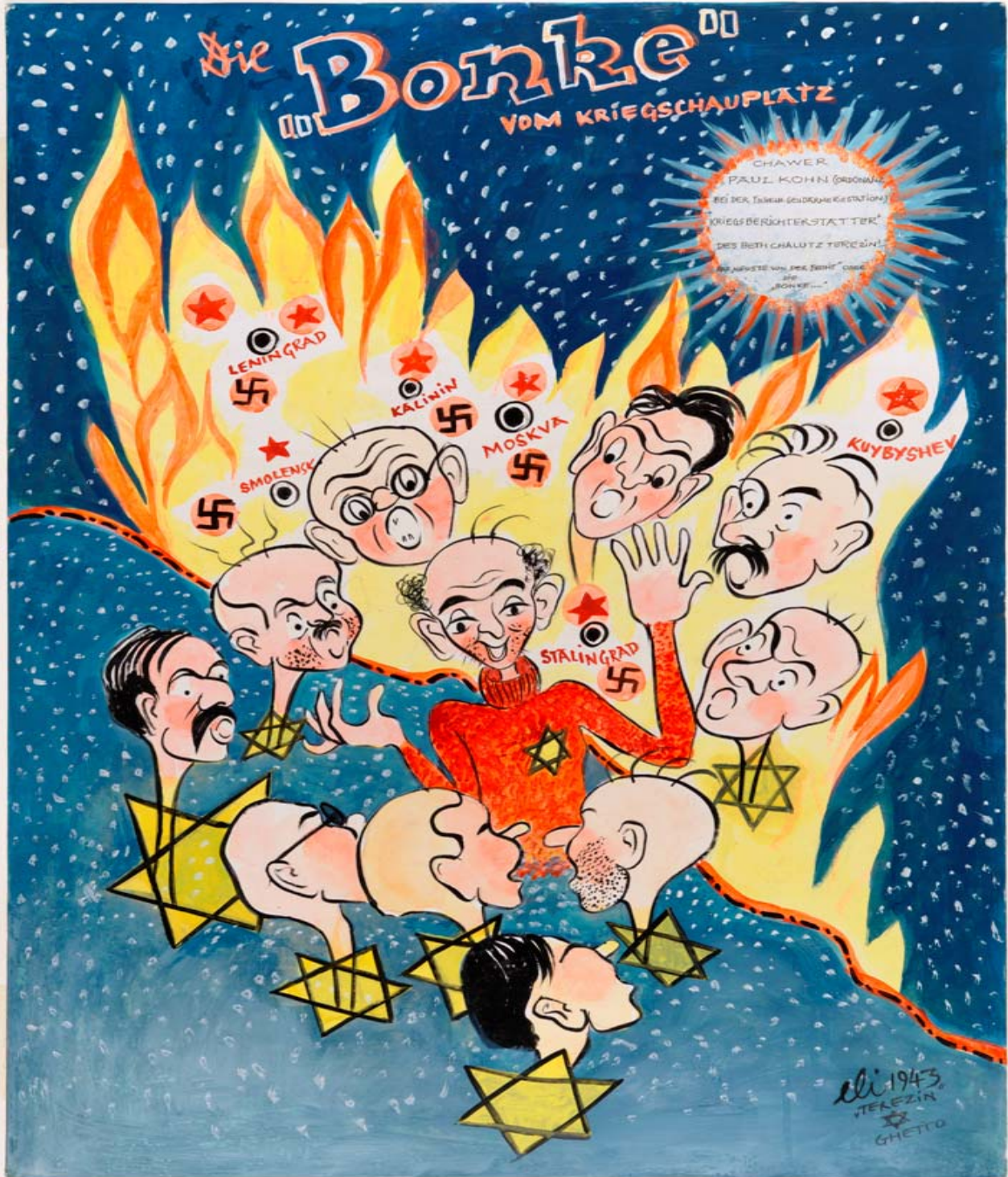
This fragment retains no title or captions. As we shall learn from its Israeli replica, *Chawer [Comrade] Paul Kohn, an Orderly with the Czech Gendarmerie Station is a 'War Correspondent' for the Beth Chalutz of Terezin. He tells us the latest news or bonkes (rumors) from the front.*

Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragment, 19 x 20.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

Museum number 84-41A.

Israeli Period

Bonke or Rumors from the Warfare Theater



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as Terezin, 1943.

Title: *Die "Bonke" vom Kriegschauplatz*. Rumors from the war theater.

A short narrative written within the circle profiles the story-teller Paul Kohn:

Chaver Paul Kohn (Ordonnanz) bei der Tschech Gendarmerie Station "Kriegsberichterstatter" des Beth Chalutz Terezin. Das "neuste von der Front" oder die "Bonke."

Chaver (Comrade) Paul Kohn (Orderly) with the Czech Gendarmerie Station is a "War Correspondent" for the Beth Halutz of Terezin. The latest from the Front or "Bonke" (rumors).

A flame-shaped background map depicts the European part of the Soviet Union, that is the Eastern Front.

Museum number 84-41.

Ghetto Period

***Schleusst und Stiehlt* is not the same (Directing through the right channels and stealing is not the same)**

When two individuals in the ghetto are allegedly doing something of the same nature, it is not necessarily the same: one is engaged in ***Schleusst* or organizing things** (on the ghetto jargon), that is stealing from the common property. While another individual steals from a colleague (***Stiehlt***). A twofold person is shown: 'organizing' and stealing. According to the unofficial ghetto rules 'organizing' was a morally accepted survival tactic, while stealing from your fellow-prisoners was immoral.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragments, 15.5 x 27.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-45A.

Ghetto Period

Railroad Construction Site between Bohušovice and Theresienstadt

A group of laborers on the railroad construction site outside the Ghetto. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *There was a group of workers called Bahnbau (railway building). The SS decided to build a railway between Bohušovice and Theresienstadt enabling direct arrivals to the ghetto, as well as direct departures to the East.*



Watercolor and ink on paper. Restored fragments, 21.2 x 28.6 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-46A.

Ghetto Period

Smuggling Flowers into the Ghetto or *Verbotenes Grün*

A female laborer carrying field flowers under her coat into the ghetto. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *It was forbidden to keep flowers at home or cut them, but people did that. Vegetables were also a valuable commodity for business in the ghetto.*



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragment, 15.8 x 17.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
No captions or signs on the fragment.
Museum number 84-50A.

Ghetto Period

A Wool-Vest for a Half of Bread

This picture-story is known under the interchangeable titles: *Fair Trade*; *A Cardigan for a Half of Bread*. Erich Lichtblau called it, *A Hungry Old Woman Sells Clothing*. It was an official ghetto policy that young and work-able people received better rations than old and sick inmates did. Not surprisingly, a young girl on the picture is in a better shape than her fellow inmates of old age.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragments, 17.4 x 21.4 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
No captions or signs on the fragments.
Museum number 84-51A.

Ghetto Period

Father is “Organizing,” Child is “Organizing”

Children learned from their fathers to *schleusst* – how to take things from the common property. It was a survival tactic.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragments, 20 x 21 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, undated.
No captions or signs on the fragments.
Museum number 84-52A.

Ghetto Period

Often room-elders are thieves of the shared supplies

They pitched others' rations. *They were real thieves. Because stealing from somebody's ration was a despising act*, recall Erich Lichtblau.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragments, 20.5 x 30 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
No captions or signs on the fragments.
Museum number 84-53A.

Ghetto Period

One Can Look up into the Stomach. Brought in Food Reserves are Running Low

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *People still had a little food in their luggage. Although no cooking was officially allowed in the room, people smuggled in electric cookers. Inmates found a dark corner where they could use them*



Watercolor and pen on paper. Fragment, 16.5 x 23.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.
There is an original signature on the fragment: Eli, 44, Terezin.
No captions on the fragment.
Museum number 84 - 54A.

Ghetto Period

Prisoner Disease

The man loses weight because of malnutrition in the ghetto, the woman's face is bloated also because of the ghetto conditions; her glands do not function properly. *Physicians called it a ghetto disease*, recalls Erich Lichtblau.



Watercolor, ink, and pencil on paper. Fragment, 20 x 20.4 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, undated.
Museum number 84-55A.

Israeli Period

Prisoner Disease



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, undated.

Title and captions: *Er nimmt ab... weil er hungert – im Ghetto. Sie nimmt zu weil ihre drüsen erkrankt sind im ghetto.* He loses weight because he is hungry in the ghetto. She gains weight because in the ghetto her glands do not function properly.

Museum number 84-55.

International Red Cross Commission and Ghetto Embellishment. The Nazi Farce and its Aftermath

Erich Lichtblau created a separate picture-series about the ghetto embellishment in the preparation to International Red Cross Visitation. The International Red Cross Commission including the Danish Foreign Minister and the representatives of the Scandinavian Red Cross arrived in Theresienstadt on 23 June 1944. German administration headed by the new Commandant Karl Rahm had done everything possible to convert the ghetto into a “normal” city for Jews. The projects to this end, begun in May 1944, were completed by the date of the Commission’ arrival. Erich Lichtblau not only observed miraculous transformations taking place in the ghetto, he worked as other skilled workers on their implementations. He sketched the scenes depicting the preparatory activities and commented on them revealing the enormity of the German-staged spectacle. As usual Lichtblau’s pictorial narrative is well corroborated by the documented sources, notably by historical and memoir literature.

On the visitation day, 23 June 1944, all participants of the “Play” demonstrated high level of organization, discipline, and professionalism in performance: Germans and Jews alike. The motorcade included the members of the Commissions, the Jewish Elders, and the Germans. The latter, overall were dressed in civilian clothes. Zdenek Lederer renders an unparalleled description of the motorcade’s composition and its touring through the Ghetto:

Four cars had been put at the disposal of the guests. Paul Eppstein (the Jewish Elder), in a dark new suit, had travelled in the first car driven by an SS man, who opened the door whenever Eppstein left the car. The members of the Commission had been in the second car, followed by the two car loads of civilians, carrying Günther, Kühnel, Möhse. Bergel and Haindl sat in the last car looking like country bumpkins and evidently feeling uncomfortable out of uniform. Only Rahm wore uniform.¹

In German view, they have succeeded in demonstrating to visitors tenderness and care, especially toward the aged, infirm, and children. In a sense, Theresienstadt looked better than many bombed out German cities. The Allied aviation spared Theresienstadt from bombing for it was perceived as a better treatment ghetto and no military production centered around it. The Germans even emptied some barracks in Theresienstadt for the being decentralized governmental offices, evicting thousands of the former inhabitants by a short evacuation notice.

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 119.

Ghetto Period

A Clean Ghetto for the Gentlemen of the Red Cross

Erich Lichtblau depicts a typical scene of the embellishment, shortly before the International Red Cross Commission arrived to the ghetto.



Watercolor and ink on paper. Fragment: 21.2 x 29.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.
No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-58A.

Israeli Period

A Clean Ghetto for the Gentlemen of the Red Cross



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Ein sauberes Ghetto für die Herren des Rotten Kreuzes*. A clean ghetto for the gentlemen of the Red Cross.

Caption: *Es werden alle Gehsteige geschleuert*. All sidewalks will be scrubbed.

Announcement on the wall: *Grosses Sportfest auf der Bastei: 1. Fussball wett spiele. 2. Leightathethik. 3. Tänze – Spiele, u.s.w.* Big Sport Festival on the Bastions: 1. Soccer Match. 2. Light Athletics. 3. Dances, Games, etc.

Museum number 84-58.

Zdenek Lederer writes in the same terms about these last hour strikes of the embellishments: “Even the pavements of the streets which the commission was to traverse were scrubbed from four o’clock in the morning on the memorable June 23.”¹

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 119.

Ghetto Period

A Happy Ghetto

This mise en scène reflects another aspect of a German ghetto embellishment, notably a pretension on taking good care of old and ill people. On commission route, the ground floors were vacated and the elderly ghetto inmates were allocated there. Their rooms for a time being were furnished with decent beds, tables, wardrobes, and chairs. Erich Lichtblau called this German mystification *a house arrest for old and ill*.



Watercolor, ink, and pencil on paper. Fragment, 20.8 x 29.2 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.

No captions or signs on the fragment.

Museum number 84-59A.

Israeli Period

A Happy Ghetto



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Ein "Fröhliches Ghetto mit "jungen" menschen auf den strassen zeigt man den Herren vom Rotten Kreuz.* A happy ghetto with young people on the streets shown to the gentlemen of the Red Cross.

Caption: ... *Hausarrest Alte and Sieche....* House arrest for old and infirm.

Sign on the bucket: *Putzkolonnie.* Cleaning detail.

Museum number 84-59.

It is beautified and decorated

(ghetto period watercolor is not available)

Israeli Period

It is beautified and decorated

(Ghetto embellishment project for the Red Cross Visitation)

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Everything was decorated for the Red Cross visitation. The town square that before saw only military parades had been transformed into a garden with a musical stage and performances were scheduled. The ghetto was decorated with flowers. Cafés were opened, and soccer games organized.* Because the Nazis forbade children education, they put signs on the school-buildings: *Closed during holidays.* A dental office and a surprised old man passing by make this pictorial page.

Presentation of “Jewish normality” on many occasions reached the level of absurd. Germans orchestrated this presentation in a typical totalitarian style, manifesting happy masses, collective unity, and individual conformity.

Zdenek Lederer narrates several anecdotal occurrences in this regard:

For instance, when the guests visited the bank, the bank manager (Jewish – V.M.) on receiving them extinguished a fat cigar in an ashtray, reached for his cigarette case and offered them cigarettes. What he did not tell them was that some months before their visit he had been arrested for illicit smoking and spent three months in prison for this crime.

All along the route orderlies, well out of view, ran ahead of the commission and started off various embellishment devices as one starts off a jukebox by dropping a penny in its slot. Thus some handsome girls working in the fields outside Theresienstadt shouldered their rakes at the appropriate moment and marched singing along the road; bakers in white overalls and white gloves started loading loaves of bread; it was a mere coincidence that they did it just when the honored guests appeared.¹

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 118.



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Es wird verschönert imd dekoriert für die Herren des Rotten Kreuzes...* It is beautified and decorated for the gentlemen of the Red Cross.

Captions: Sign on the dental establishment: *Reparaturwerkstätte für Zahnprothesen*. Repairs for Dentures.

Advertisement in the window-vitrine: *Halte den Mund und Deine Zänne gesund...* Note on translation: this sign perhaps may convey a twofold message: Keep the mouth shut and your teeth healthy. Or keep your mouth and teeth healthy. Given the fact, the passer-by covers his mouth, showing surprisingly-confused look, it well may be the first underlying variant, perhaps denoted by Erich Lichtblau.

Hours of operation sign on the door: *Reparatur Annahme von 8.00 – 16.00* Repair acceptance: 8:00 – 16:00.

Slogan or replica by the passer-by: *Aber auch für die Ghetto Juden... (durch "die Blume"...)* . Direct translation apparently relates to the sign in the window and reads: But even for the ghetto Jews (with "a flower").

Museum number 84-60.

Ghetto Period

Dining Hall in the Barracks. The Gentlemen of the Red Cross came to see it

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Especially for the commission of the Red Cross, the SS ordered setting up a dining hall for old people. There were also waiters – all this was a performance. For the outside world, the SS made a film. I saw it some years ago at the kibbutz Givat Chaim.*



Watercolor, pen and pencil on paper. Fragments, 17.2 x 25.2 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-62A.

Israeli Period

Dining Hall in the Barracks. The Gentlemen of the Red Cross came to see it



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Die "Speisehalle" in der Baracke...* The Dining Halls in the Barracks.

Caption: *man zeigt den Herren des Rotten Kreuzes*. Indirect translation: It is shown to the gentlemen of the Red Cross.

Ending caption: *das Ghetto wird "verschönert" ... !* The Ghetto is being beautified.

Title and captions here are inseparable and shall be translated as such: It is shown to the gentlemen of the Red Cross: the Dining Halls in the Barracks... the Ghetto is being beautified.

Museum number 84-62.

The organization of a mess hall for the ghetto inhabitants was also part of the embellishment program, vigorously implemented by the German administration. To the common surprise a large dining structure was built near the Magdeburg Barracks. Zdenek Lederer's narration well reflects Erich Lichblau's depiction:

This was to be the mess hall where the "guests" were served by waitresses in spotless white aprons. Everything in this hall, the plates, the cutlery, the tables, the benches and the white caps and aprons of the waitresses, was brand new.

The prisoners' opinion of the embellishment was summed up in the words: "It may be crazy, but it is a blessing while it lasts."¹

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 115, 116.

Ghetto Period

Motto of the Economic Department

Erich Lichtblau ironically remarks on the official motto, *We are serving everyone*. The Economic department was notoriously known for the corruption, especially because food supplies distribution was under its supervision.



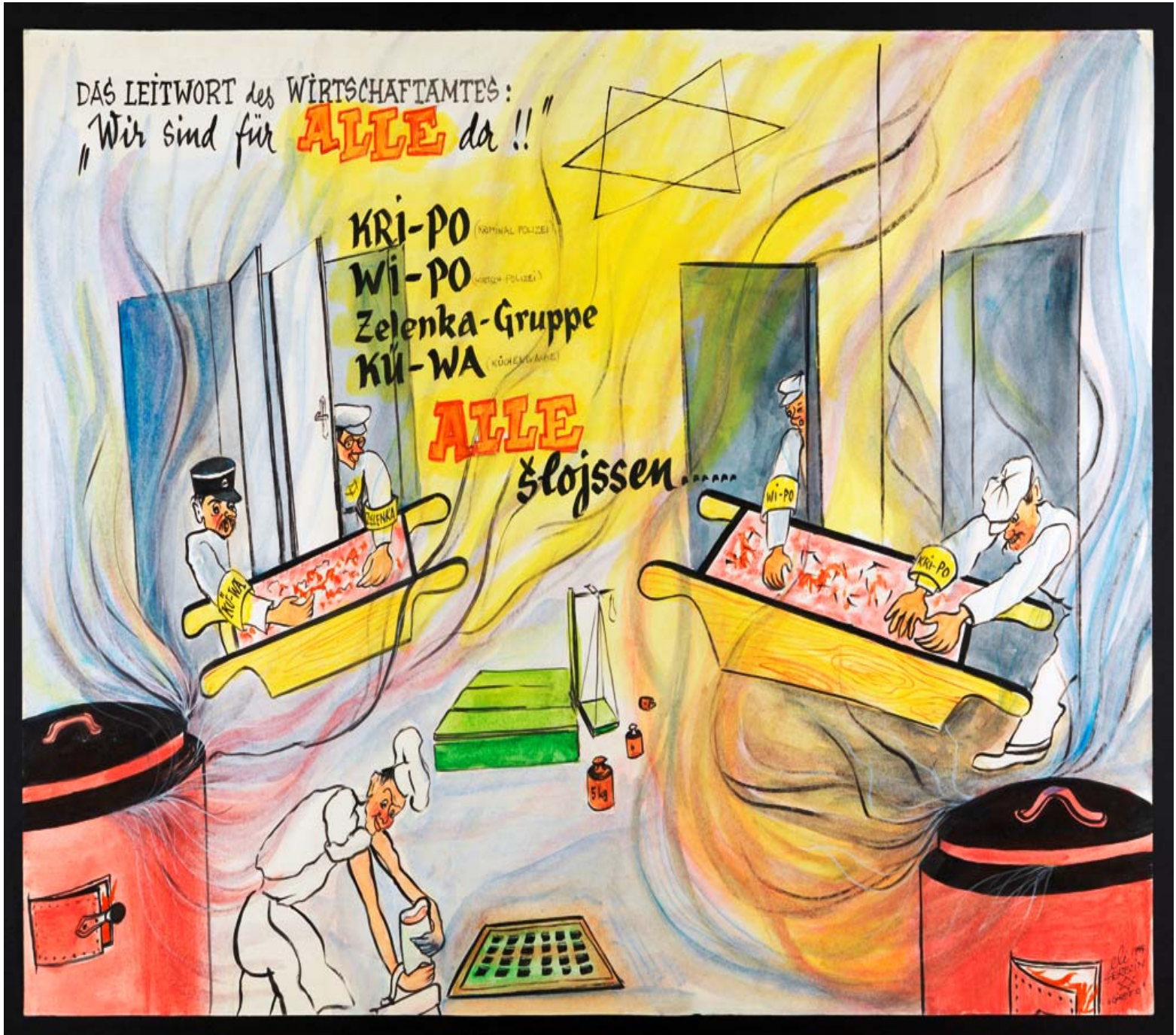
Watercolor and black ink on paper. Fragments, 20.2 x 28.8 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.

No captions or signs on the fragments.

Museum number 84-61A.

Israeli Period

The Motto of the Economic Department



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Das Leitwort des Wirtschaftsamtes: "Wir sind für ALLE da!!"* The motto of the Economic Department: "We are serving everyone."

Caption: *KRI-PO (Kriminal Polizei), WI-PO (Wirtsch Polizei), Zelenka Gruppe, KÜ-WA (Küchenwache)*. Translation: it is a listing of functionally different organization acted in the ghetto under the aegis of German and Jewish administration: Criminal Police, Economic Police, Kitchens Watch, and Zelenka groups.

Slogan: *Alle šlojssen....* It is in Yiddish-German and sounds like a conclusion: All steal.

Museum number 84-61.

Insomuch as the terminology sounds German-like, all were the names of the ghetto institutions, ad hoc, Jewish. Perhaps, striving for normalcy, the Jewish administration sought implementation of German officialdom, at least semantically.

Criminal Police, officially referred as a Criminal Investigation Department was an autonomous organization within the Economic Department. From August-September 1943 it was headed by Dr. Ernst Rosenthal.¹

Economic Police, headed by Robert Mandler², functioned also under the auspices of the Economic Department as so was the Kitchens Watch.

Zelenka groups functioned as a controlling agency of the Economic Department. While its affiliation with the Economic Department shall not be questioned, its very name engenders a certain controversy. The uncertainty in question lies with clarification, whether or not František Zelenka, theatrical producer and designer, was in charge of this group or groups, was he a part of it, or it is a mere case of the common Czech last name. Likewise were his co-workers in the profession somehow affiliated with a controlling agency of the Economic Department.

Comparison of the postwar narratives by H.G.Adler, Zdenek Lederer, Erich Lichtblau, and Philipp Manes only strengthens this ambiguity. None mentions František Zelenka in direct correlation with Zelenka group, Zelenka groups, or *Kontrollegruppe*. Oppositely, the narratives regard his personal activity as theatrical, architectural, and even cinematographic.

Proponents of non-administrative affiliation would argue: Zelenka groups were composed of Jews and they shall not be regarded as an administrative institution. It was a collective of over three hundred men worked under the direction of František Zelenka, the theatrical producer and designer. He produced Hans Krasa's opera for children, "Brundibar" in 1943 in Theresienstadt. František Zelenka was killed in Auschwitz in October 1944.

There is no definitive determination how the Zelenka groups were hierarchically structured within the Economic department. Indirectly, the groups could have been

¹ Philipp Manes, *As if it Were Life. A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, eds. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist. Trans. Janet Foster, Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 117.

² Ibid.

subordinated to one of the six sections of the Economic departments, namely to the section for production and specifically to its woodworking shops division.

According to Zdenek Lederer, the Economic Department comprised the six following sections:

The central food depot supervised all cookhouses, the slaughterhouse, the food depots in the barracks and the distribution of food.

The central administration of materials had its depots in all barracks. Those depots issued brushes, soap powder, and inferior household goods and ramshackle furniture to the prisoners.

The section for production was de facto a department with its own secretariat. It was in charge of the manufacture of commodities needed by the Ghetto and of commodities produced on German order for export. It controlled seven production and service facilities.

The section for shops and miscellaneous stores.

The section of agriculture.

The section of transport ¹

Czechoslovakian Postwar Period

The Halutz (Pioneer) in the Ghetto and his Three Points

These points were to learn Hebrew, to have Oneg Shabbat [celebrate Shabbat], and to help ill people with food. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Jews from many European countries lived in Theresienstadt; they spoke different languages. Zionists congregated together in the quarters called Beit Halutz for men and Beit Halutzot for women. My wife and I lived separately, respectively in Beit Halutz and Beit Halutzot. A model behavior for a Halutz in the ghetto was perhaps maintaining a balance according to the three-point Zionist doctrine.*

¹ Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London: Edward Goldston and Son Ltd, 1953), 63 – 65.



This postwar watercolor contains all original captions related to the three-points Zionist doctrine with the additional sign in Czech attached to the sketched portrait. The sign includes the name of the person on the portrait in Czech and Hebrew inscription in Latin letters.

Chaver Kurt "Kartáček" Ivriith Moreh im Ghetto Terezin. Comrade Kurt "Kartáček" a Hebrew teacher in the ghetto Terezin. "Kartáček" although written as a name here, translates from Czech as a *brush*.

Watercolor, black ink and pencil on paper. 25.2 x 34.5 cm. Czechoslovakian postwar period, resigned as Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Der Chaluz und seine 3 Punkte.* The Halutz (Pioneer) and his three points.

Sign in the left hand: *Lernen.* Study (Hebrew).

Sign in the right hand: *1 Ration Zucker und Margarine für kranke Chaverim.* One ration of sugar and margarine for the ill comrades.

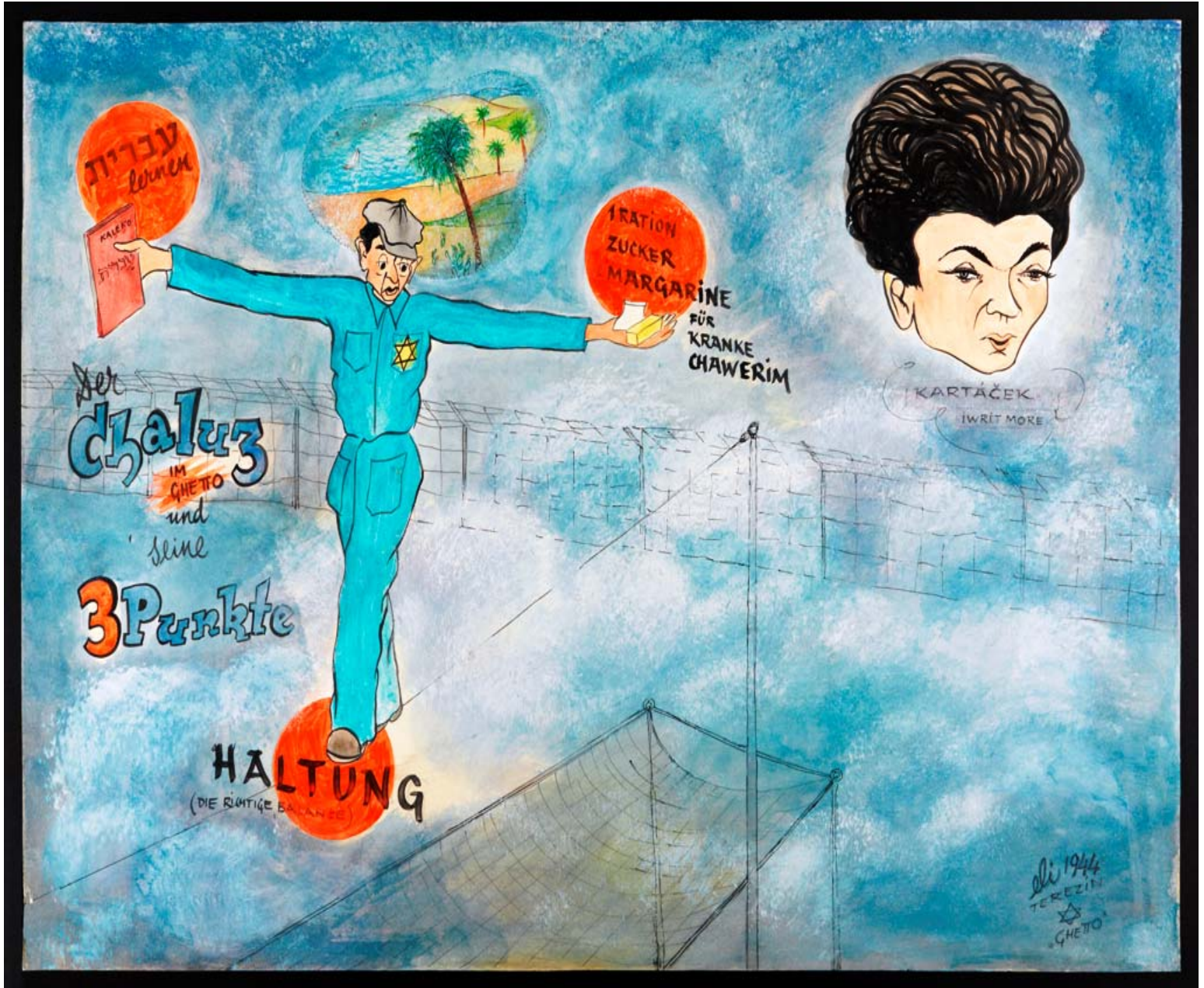
Sign under the feet: *Haltung.* Position (in the given context).

Sign attached to the sketched portrait: *Chaver Kurt "Kartáček" Ivriith Moreh im Ghetto Terezin.* Comrade Kurt "Kartáček" a Hebrew teacher in the ghetto Terezin.

Museum number 84-63A.

Israeli Period

The Halutz (Pioneer) in the Ghetto and his Three Points



Watercolor and ink on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Der Chalutz und seine 3 Punkte*. The Halutz (Pioneer) and his three points.

Sign in the left hand: *Lernen*. Study (Hebrew).

Czechoslovakian postwar period

A Theresienstadt Poor Man's Torte

Erich Lichtblau recalls, *Despite the miserable conditions in the ghetto, inmates celebrated holidays and improvised with cooking and baking. Others fantasized about cooking or collected recipes.*



Watercolor, ink and pen on paper. 20.8 x 29.2 cm. Czechoslovakian postwar period, resigned as Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Eine Theresienstädter "Dalles" Torte*. A Theresienstadt poor man's torte.

Recipe: *Man nehme: 2 Buchten 1 Schale Kaffee ½ Löffel Zucker 2kg Margarine*. It takes 2 measures of pie, 1 cup of coffee, ½ spoon of sugar, 200 grams of margarine.

Sign on the torte: Lola.

Museum number 84-65A.

Israeli Period

A Theresienstadt Poor Man's Torte



Watercolor ink and pen on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Eine Theresienstädter "Dalles" Torte. A Theresienstadt poor man's torte.*

Recipe: *Man nehme: 2 Buchten 1 Schale Kaffee 1/2 Löffel Zucker 2dkg Margarine.* It takes 2 measures of pie, 1 cup of coffee, 1/2 spoon of sugar, 200 grams of margarine.

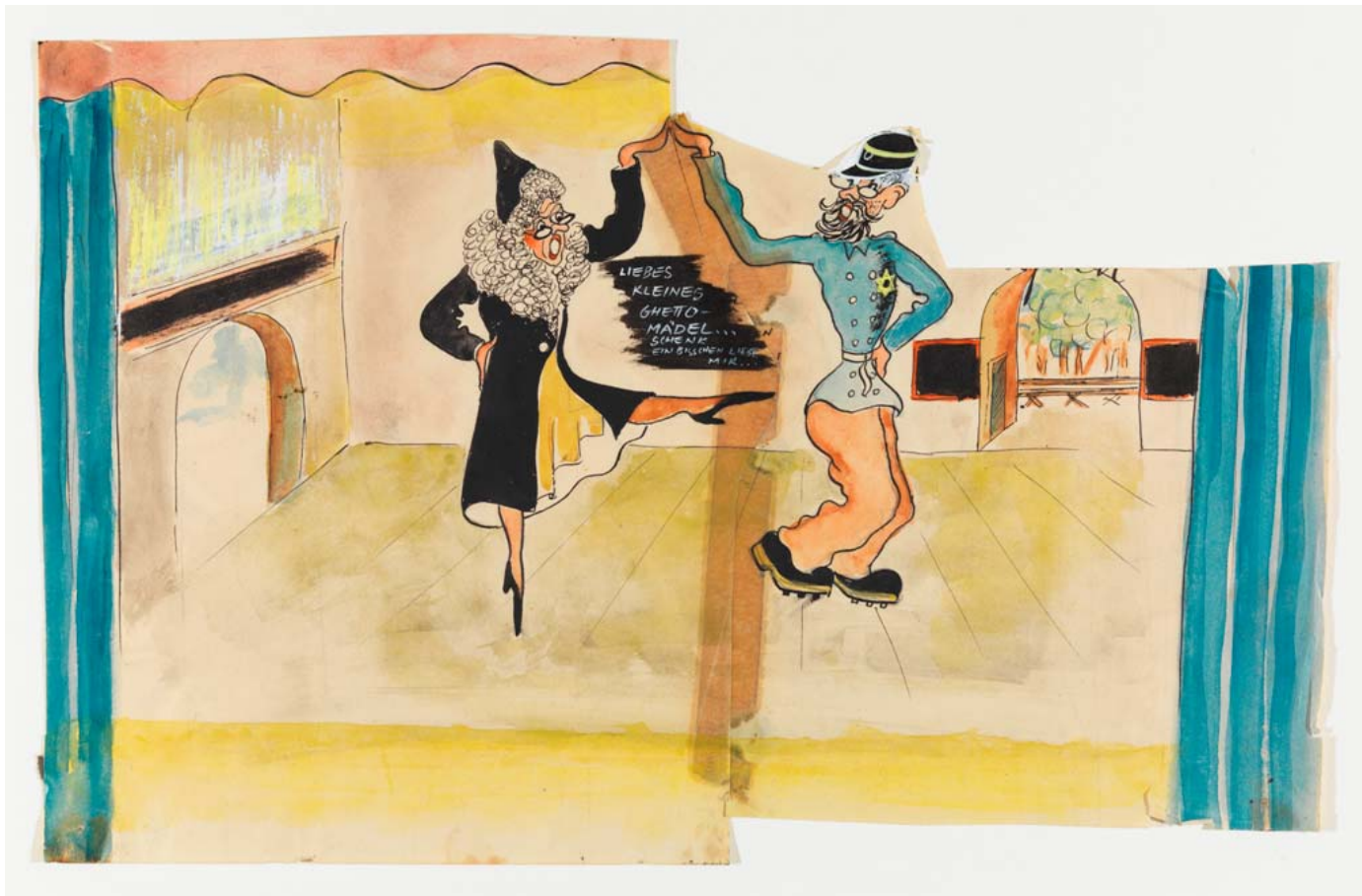
Sign on the torte: Lola.

Museum number 84-65.

Ghetto Period

Operetta in Three Acts or “the Ghetto-Girl”

Cultural activities in the ghetto helped to sustain hope and humanity. Erich Lichtblau recalls, *After the disband of the Jewish Ghetto Guard most of the guardsmen were deported to Poland. One of the inmates, a composer, wrote a musical **The Ghetto Girl**. It was about a young ghetto guard who fell in love with a ghetto girl. The story had a happy ending.*



Watercolor, pen and ink on paper. Fragment: 18 x 28.5 cm. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1944.
Couplet sung by the Jewish guardsman: *Libes Kleines Ghettomädel – schenk ein wenig liebe mir....* Dear little Ghetto-girl give me a bit of love....

Museum number 84-66A.

Israeli Period

Operetta in Three Acts or “the Ghetto-Girl”



Watercolor ink and pen on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Die Perrete in 3 Akten* “*Das Ghettomädel*” Operetta in three acts “The Ghetto-Girl.”

Announcement over the stage: *Heute (Parodie-) Vorstellung. Für die Älteren Ghetto Insassen! (2 Besetzung)*. Today. (Parody-) Performance for the elder ghetto inmates! Second Cast.

Couplet sung by the Jewish guardsman: *Libes Kleines Ghettomädel – schenk ein wenig liebe mir....* Dear little Ghetto-girl give me a bit of love....

Sign over the arc in the left corner: *Krankenhaus "Hohenelbe"*. Hospital "Hohenelbe."

Museum number 84-66.

Erich Lichtblau refers to what had already become the history of the ghetto, namely demise of Dr. Löwenstein's and dissolution of his paramilitary Ghetto Guard in September 1943. Löwenstein was sentenced to three months in prison, albeit the fate of his subordinates was gruesome, most of once privileged handsome young men wearing distinctive uniform, were ordered on the transport to the East.

The operetta was deliberately produced as a parody reifying a banal love story. Analyzing an announcement one can notice undisguised irony. The latter is pervasive: while the title is glamorous, the subtitle denies the glamour, ad hoc, the parody, for the elder inmates, and performed by the Second Cast. We do not know of what age were the actors playing the girl and the guard, but the picture depicts them of the same elder age as the audience the play was recommended for. The sign near the stage, *Krankenhaus* (hospital) completes absurdness of the scene.

The Ghetto Girl is also mentioned in the ghetto diaries of Philipp Mannes:

A band was even set up that accompanied the formations with spirited marching songs. The spectators in the huge courtyard of the Dresdner barracks clapped and applauded enthusiastically when it played the popular march from the beloved operetta *The Ghetto Girl*, which was obviously premiered here! ¹

A Child Dream

***Mischlinge* (children of mixed marriages) dream about St. Nicholas and the Easter Bunny (holiday symbols for non Jewish kids)**

(ghetto period watercolor is not available)

¹ Philipp Manes, *As if it Were Life. A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, eds. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist. Trans. Janet Foster, Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 104.

Israeli Period

A Child Dream

Mischlinge (children of mixed marriages) dream about St. Nicholas and the Easter Bunny (holiday symbols for non Jewish kids)



Watercolor ink and pen on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Terezin, 1944.

Title: *Mischlinge träumen vom Nikolo und vom Osterhasen*. Mischlinge (children of mixed marriages) dream of St. Nicholas and the Easter Bunny.

Dialog between St. Nicholas and Eastern Bunny:

St Nicholas: *Aber Herr Osterhase nach Theresienstadt?* But Mr. Easter Bunny to Theresienstadt?

Ester Bunny: *Nur mit dem Stern...* Only with the star...

It is meant (written between lines): Dear Mr. Easter Bunny please do not forget the Yellow Star when you will visit the children in Terezin.

Museum number 84-68.

The Law for the protection of German Blood and Honor (known as the Nuremberg Laws) determined children born from mixed Jewish-gentile marriages as Jewish.

On 15 September 1935, Nazi Germany passed restrictive anti-Jewish legislation defining who was a Jew. These laws denied citizenship to Jews and forbade intermarriages. The Laws were expanded to Nazi-occupied countries and territories and their implementation was a matter of life and death to individuals.

By this dialog Erich Lichtblau time and again emphasizes simple truth: children are children. They all expect holiday gifts, especially if they were used to them before the war, no matter what denomination their parents belonged to.

Camp Zossen Period

Camp Zossen Construction Site near Berlin

From August 26, 1944, to February 7, 1945, Erich Lichtblau worked on a secret construction site in Wulkow near Berlin. The Germans named this project Zossen or a camp Zossen. His work detail was known as *Arbeitskommando Zossen*. They built an escape base for the German central authorities. Suffering from heavy allies' air-raids, the Germans began decentralizing commanding institutions and organizing residential headquarters in rural and forested areas.

The work detail at Wulkow was composed of the prisoners from several Nazi concentration camps, including Theresienstadt Ghetto.

Three watercolors and three pencil sketches represent this period in our Collection.

An SS Joke

Prisoner Breuer in the Parrot Cage

(wartime watercolor is not available)

An SS Joke

Prisoner Breuer in the Parrot Cage

Israeli Period

Erich Lichtblau recalls his experience at Zossen-Wulkow secret construction site, *the SS commander liked to humiliate our friend Breuer by forcing him in the big parrot-cage. It was a punishment. We knew the SS-men kept their parrots in this cage before.*

Below is a replica of the Camp Zossen-period watercolor.



Watercolor ink and pen on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Wulkow, 1944.

Title: *Ein SS Witz: Häftling Breuer im parageien Käfig*. An SS joke: prisoner Breuer in the parrot cage.

Site locator: *Barackenbau Wulkow*. Barrack construction site, Wulkow.

Museum number 84-70.

Camp Zossen Period

Camp Zossen Construction Site near Berlin

(August 1944 –February 1945)

Czechoslovakian Postwar Period

Six Friends from Commando Zossen

Erich Lichtblau recalls: *There were six friends of mine in the building-detail: Hugo Fischer from Prague, barber Schade from Breslau, Fuss from Berlin, Fest from Moravia, Reiger from Vienna, and barber Paperle from Moravska Ostrava. After the war, I met only Paperle in Israel. I never saw again the other friends.*



Watercolor and ink on paper. Page from the Sketchbook, 17.4 x 22.4 cm. Czechoslovak Postwar period, resigned as Wulkow period, Germany, 1945.

Every prisoner-companion sits on a bunk-bed. All are watching toward a side. The name-signs attached to everyone's bunk-bed.

Nor title or captions, except the name-signs are on the watercolor.

Museum number 84-71A.

Israeli Period

Six Friends from Commando Zossen

(August 1944 –February 1945)



Watercolor ink and pen on paper. 49.5 x 69.5 cm. Israeli period ca 1970. Replica, resigned as in Wulkow, 1944.

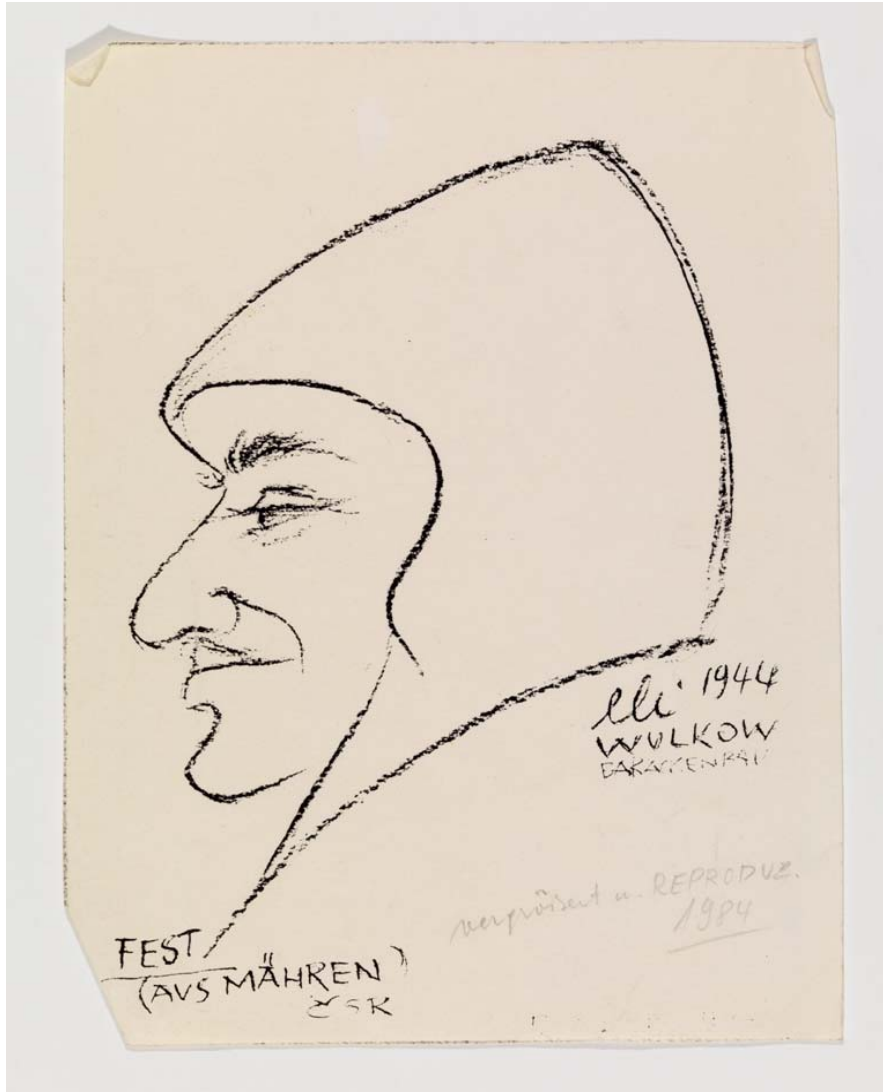
Names of the six comrades: Hugo Fischer from Prague, barber Schade from Breslau, Fuss from Berlin, Fest from Moravia, Reiger from Vienna, and barber Paperle from Moravska Ostrava.

Signature caption: *6 Freunde vom "Barackenbau" Zossen in Wulkow - bei Fstenwalde/Berlin (26/8. 1944 - 7/2. 1945), 1944. Six friends from "barracks-building" in Zossen, Wulkow - at Fstenwalde / Berlin (26 August 1944 - 7 February 1945), 1944. Museum number 71.*

Six Friends from Commando Zossen

Individual Sketches

Fest from Moravia, Czechoslovakia



Sketch, pencil on paper, 12 x 15 cm. Camp Zossen period, 1944.

Fest aus Mähren, ČSK. Fest from Moravia, Czechoslovakia.

Museum number 84-71C.

Six Friends from Commando Zossen

Individual Sketches

Riegler from Vienna



Sketch, pencil on paper, 12 x 15 cm. Camp Zossen period, 1944.
Riegler aus Wien. Riegler from Vienna.

Museum number 84-71D.

Individual Sketch of the Camp Zosen Period

Not included into Six Friends from Commando Zossen

Frankenheim from Berlin



Sketch, pencil on paper. 9.2 x 10.2 cm. Wulkow period, 1944.

Frankenheim (Berlin).
Museum number 84-71E.

Ghetto Typology

Ghetto Period

Several sketches are not part of the Pictorial Diary's entries. They are not specifically identifiable, unless collectively named Ghetto Figures or Ghetto Types. Undoubtedly belonging to the ghetto period, they are not dated or signed for they evidently served as preparatory materials.

Erich Lichtblau rarely depicted Germans, except perhaps for *Obligatory Salute and Forbidden Cigarettes* (84-12). Notwithstanding, one sketch among other figures features a uniformed German under umbrella.



Three sketches, pencil and ink on paper.

From left to right and from top to bottom:

1. Two men with black umbrellas. Fragment, 10.5 x 11.5 cm.
2. A young man in a scout-like uniform under the umbrella marked *Jude*. Fragment, 8.2 x 12.8 cm.
3. Several figures under umbrellas. The Girl and the Ghetto-guard, both under umbrellas marked *Jude*. The German officer under unmarked umbrella. Two figures in the background under unmarked umbrellas. Fragment, 14 x 15.6 cm.

Museum number 84-85A, 84-85B, 84-85C.

Ghetto Typology

Ghetto Period

Erich Lichtblau, Elsa Lichtblau

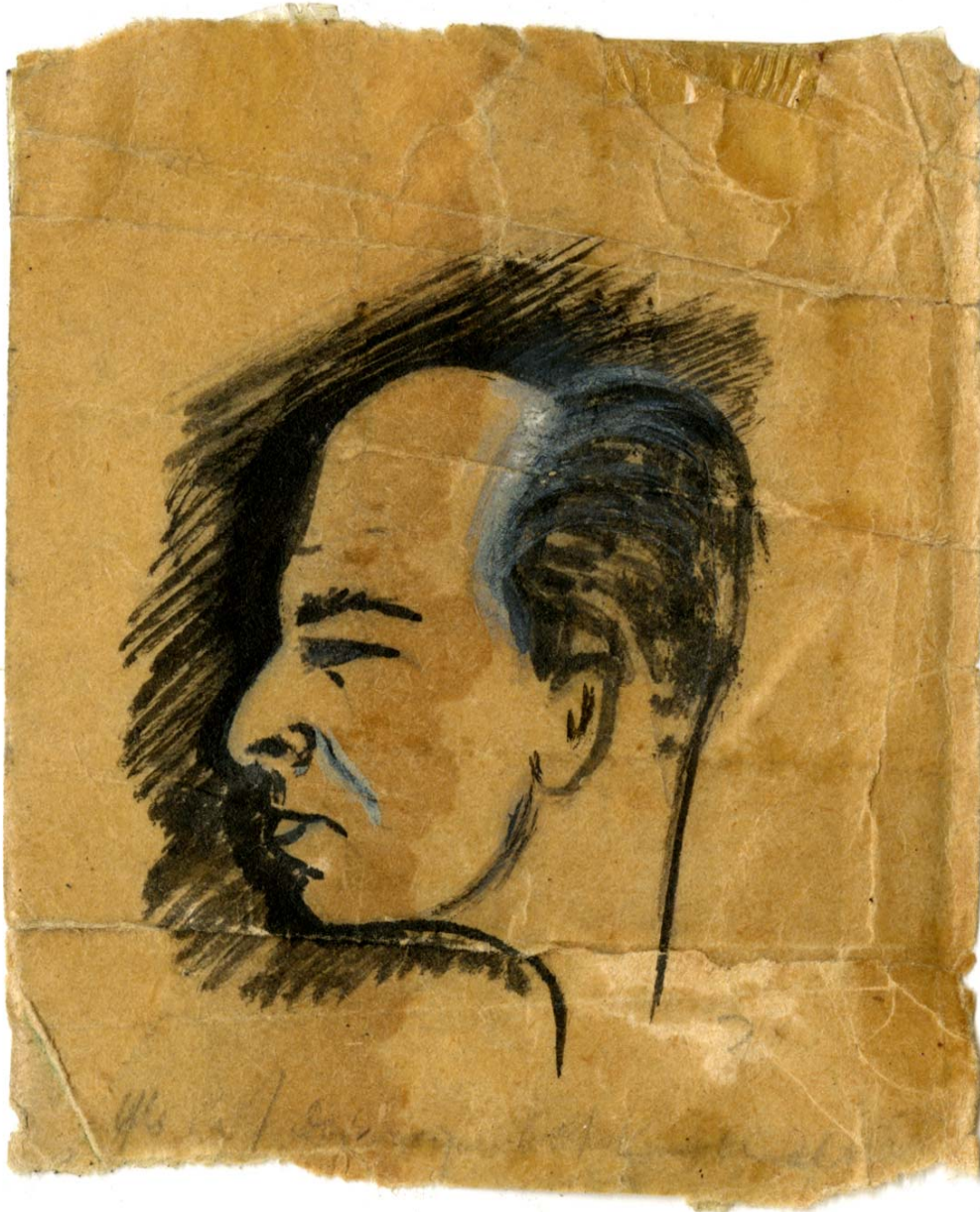


Sketch, black ink, pen, and pencil on paper. Ghetto period, Terezin, 1943.
Self-portrait and a sketched portrait of Elsa Lichtblau.

Museum number 84-84.

Ghetto Period

Erich Lichtblau Self-Portrait



Undoubtedly, the Author of the Pictorial Diary of Theresienstadt would place his self-portrait at the end of the Catalog.

Pen and black ink on paper. 6.8 x 7.2 cm. Terezin, ca. 1943.

Museum number 84-87.