

07/15/98

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ARNSTADT'S
JEWISH
CITIZENS

Translated from German by Peter Niederlöhner



PROLOGUE

On November 10, 1988, we commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the so-called "Reichskristallnacht", which became the symbolic date for the Holocaust during the time of National Socialism from 1933 to 1945. In anticipation of this anniversary, I have urged the erection of a memorial stone for the Arnstadt synagogue, and I have focused my attention on the history of our Jewish citizens of Arnstadt.

In doing so I was less interested in historical events and issues, even less in the question of who had become active during that time - for I was not mistaken in my assumption that still living participants would find it difficult to speak. I was mainly interested in the question of who these "Jews" actually were who had to endure that time in our town and what became of them.

These investigations proved to be very difficult. Under the tense circumstances at that time, I could more or less push ahead only in a very limited way. The result remains incomplete. There are two reasons, however, why I publish it anyway.

First, this uneasy chapter in our town's history must remain in our memory. Second, this report is meant to encourage the recording of additional remarks, eyewitness accounts and new information. I will gladly accept such additions.

The town of Arnstadt subsidized the printing of this publication substantially. Through this project, I would also like to show my gratitude for the distinction of being named an honorary citizen.

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May 8, 1995

FROM CHALDAEA TO THURINGIA

The history of the Jewish people, who called themselves Israel, begins, according to the testimony of the Holy Bible, with Abraham, the father of the religion. Since his time - around 1,700 B.C. - they are a migrant people who, time and again, had to find their way under new political and geographic realities. As a result of their faith, they had a distant relationship to any form of government. What remained crucial - until the time of National Socialism - was the preservation of their faith. In contrast to this, the external conditions of life always remained secondary.

Abraham lived in Ur in Chaldea on the Persian Gulf. From there, he migrated with his family and his herds to the land of Canaan, which the Romans named Palestine. At the time of Joseph, Abraham's great-grandson, the people migrated to Egypt due to famine. Moses led them back to Palestine in the Exodus through the desert, which lasted 40 years. According to Egyptian records, this dates back to approximately 1,200 B.C. 200 years later, the three Kings, Saul, David and Salomon, turned Israel into an impressive political system, and the capital of Jerusalem into a holy city.

Around 930 B.C., the state divided itself into Northern Israel and Southern Judah. Around 722 B.C., the deportation into the famous Babylonian Captivity began. In 538 B.C., the people were allowed to return home under the Persians. The Romans occupied the land in 63 B.C. 133 years later, in 70 A.D., they destroyed the Temple in Jerusalem, the vital nerve of the people of God. As a result, the people lost their existence as a state for many centuries up until the new establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. When, after the defeat of the Barkochba uprising in 135 A.D., the Jews were even forbidden to enter the city of Jerusalem, they no longer had a homeland. In the ensuing centuries, they lived all over the world dispersed in the Diaspora. The Jewish religion, however, retained its preferred status as a "religio licita", a permitted religion, in the Roman Empire. Under its protection, Christianity could also spread, although the synagogue, time and again, made use of its domestic right. After the decline of the Roman Empire, the Jews, in the process of the expansion of the Carolingian-Ottonian rule, found their way across the Rhine River. They had arrived in Germany.

In 1910, 615,000 Jews were counted in Germany among 65 million inhabitants; therefore, barely 1% of the population. In Berlin, they were especially well represented with 4%. In Thuringia, 4,149 Jews lived among 1.6 million people, in Arnstadt 104 (in 1905). The numbers for 1933 are quite similar; they remain under 1%. In 1988, the community in the state of Thuringia counted only 28 members in the districts of Erfurt and Suhl; 400 lived in the city of East Berlin, and 23,000 in West Germany. At the beginning of the Hitler Period, there were 34 Jewish communities in the state of Thuringia.

Today, throughout the world, there may be about 19 million Jews. In spite of the dispersion, continued animosities, persecution, and extermination, these people have preserved their identity. They have not been absorbed into other ethnic groups. This remains one of the great mysteries of history. In that regard, two reasons are worth mentioning: a religious-sociological and a theological.

For one thing, the Jewish faith is, to a large extent, a family religion. Service and temple play a much smaller role than the passing on, the practice and the preservation of the faith by the father of the family at the family table. The God of the fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, symbolizes homeland and kinship, in any place, and for all Jews.

When the Bible speaks of the gracious selection of the Jews as the chosen people, it speaks of a reality. It is confirmed by history. The Jews live because God lives. The living God stands by them throughout all darkness of their historical experience. Therefore, not even a Hitler can totally wipe out the people of God.

The Christian Church and Western Christian society always had a conflicting relationship with the Jews, mainly based on two considerations:

First: They accuse them of being Christ killers. In this context, one might think of the crusades or the presentation of the Jewish garb, which for example, the master of the Naumburg cathedral for one so strongly emphasizes, in his famous Easter Cycle on the western rood altar. The Lateran Council of 1215 had virtually compelled them to wear this distinctive garb.

Second: Jews are associated with usury, long before the Fugger Family made dealing with money and interest acceptable in the Christian world. These were also Luther's arguments. Like many of his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, he railed against the Jews, because they practiced "bargaining and profiteering". Also, they did not embrace the belief in Christ. Luther hoped to convert them, which is outlined in his paper "That Jesus was born a Jew", in 1523.

We present-day people perceive such accusations as unjust. According to the testimony of the New Testament, the crucifixion of Christ is a necessary stage in God's actions of salvation. However, Christian society itself compelled the Jews to a life of "bargaining and profiteering". Since they were not granted the right to own property or given municipal citizenship, nor the right to join trade guilds, Jews were forced to search for alternatives to make a living. In addition to trade, science, medicine, and law were fields in which Jews excelled. This is also what made them attractive for the economic and social life in Arnstadt. So how did they fare here?

IN ARNSTADT FROM 1264 TO 1933

It is not intended, not even possible to offer a history of our fellow-citizens in Arnstadt here. Only those reports, which are also found in other contexts, could be compiled. In 1264, Jews were mentioned in Arnstadt for the first time. It is shameful that already this reference was in connection with a persecution, where five Jews perished. Among them was the scholar Sabatai ben Samuel. They were first mentioned in our town's records in 1273. At that time, the famous treaty between abbot Heinrich V of Hersfeld and counts Günther VII and Günther VIII of Käfernburg was entered into. In it, the separation of land ownership and revenue was established between both parties. The Jews were also clearly mentioned here.

But already in 1282, abbot Heinrich was forced to complain about violence against Jews. The fact that he did so publicly is certainly in his favor. In the records of the town of Arnstadt, Jews again appeared in 1322/1323. Reports in 1347 tell us that they maintained their own school. The much-cited "Jew battle" happened in 1349. In 1701, the priest Johann Christoph Olearius wrote in his "Historia Arnstadtensis" about it: "...there was dying in Arnstadt on a large scale until the third year. Therefore, the Jews, said to have caused such with bags of poison found in the wells, almost all were slain in 1349..." This accusation was as frequent as it was widespread. The Jewish "well poisoners" were charged with causing the plague. In 1348, the plague, after all, decimated about a quarter of the population in Thuringia.

The death of Jews, incidentally, removed the obligation of many debtors to their creditors. 1349 was also the year in which the Schwarzburg Land advanced into world politics. With count Günther XXI, they provided a German king as anti-king to the influential Karl IV for 115 days.

In 1422, 1432 and 1441, Jews reemerged in Arnstadt's records. It is reported that the town borrowed considerable sums of money from Jewish people in Erfurt, especially from a certain "Friedel". Recurring expulsions were certainly intended to ease one's financial burden. Nevertheless, most Jewish people soon returned. Good business deals were mutual. In 1429, 53 Jewish people are said to have lived in Arnstadt.

In 1431, Jewish families, who had resettled here, paid a poll tax of 53 Gulden as so-called "heretic money". The wars against the heretic Hussites needed to be financed with this money. Also, those who did not have full municipal citizenship contributed. Olearius reported that 10 years later Jews were expelled from the town again, by order of the count, this time with their wives and children. This tells us that sometimes only men were forced to leave town.

From 1451 to 1457, a new persecution ensued. This meant that Jews must have returned. Possibly, this persecution was unleashed through reform sermons held by Johannes von Capistrano in 1451 in the land of Thuringia, and also, on August 27, in Arnstadt. This rousing bare-footed preacher was wandering through all of Europe at the time. Today, a monument at the Kapisztrán tér at Castle Square in Budapest reminds us of him. Supposedly, he made a name for himself in his native Italy through fanatic persecutions of "Heretics and Jews".

In 1466, another expulsion of Jews from Arnstadt was ordered. This time the reason was their refusal to be baptized. During those decades, the Church had to fend off the emerging Heretic movement, which generated a wave of ideological integration efforts.

In 1481, count Heinrich XXVI designated "the free stonehouse at Zimmergasse, which was previously occupied by Jews", a residence for two Christian priests. Their job was to carry out the parish duties at the castle chapel. In its backyard, the house may have accommodated the synagogue, which Olearius first mentioned in 1521 in his "Bartholomaic Back Building" at Erfurter Strasse 17. The courtyards of both premises are next to each other.

The Jewish cemetery was outside the Erfurt Gate. Indeed in 1527, reference is made to a "Jewish churchyard" near Holzhausen. At any rate, Jews had to be buried. Yet, they had no right to be buried in the Christian cemetery. There was probably a mutual interest and not only for religious reasons. To date, Jewish graves are not reused. Each deceased person waits undisturbed for resurrection at the time of the Messiah's arrival.

With the introduction of the Reformation in 1532, a decree by the count against Jews, dating back to 1496, was renewed. Along with it, a long period of silence about the frequently abused citizens of our town began. Apparently, they felt more secure in Protestant society than initially expected. Despite all religious differences, the spiritually divided society pressed for more tolerance.

Apparently, the Protestant faith is more closely related to the Jewish faith than it is to the Catholic. At least now there were occasional accounts of Jews being baptized. Olearius reported that, on April 28, 1676, a 20 year-old Jewish man was baptized, for whom count Ludwig Günther served as godfather. The parish register for February 21, 1682, reads: "An unmarried couple, Ludwig Christian, a baptized Jew, and Sabina Dorothea Weberen, who early on had a physical relationship, were married by minister M. Hedeno, after having publicly repented in church."

The Schwarzburg dynasty adopted a decision made in 1699 by the Theological Faculty at Giessen, according to which Jews are to be permitted to remain in the country. Yet, Olearius does not conceal his opinion about the Jews when in 1701 - certainly exaggerated - he wrote: "Thank God it is them alone who perished whereas Christians survived". Count Günther used his influence against such conservative trends on behalf of the Jews in 1709. For that time period of the 18th century, files of the Arnstadt District Archives repeatedly give accounts of complaints about Jewish sales people. They arrived from out of town and created unwelcome competition to the merchants of Arnstadt with their street tradings and door-to-door business deals. Count Anton Günther II, as well as Prince Christian Wilhelm, banned these business practices on several occasions. Only special "protected Jews" were given permission for such dealings. In return, they had to pay fees, which, in all likelihood, were quite high. Meyer von Harzgerode (who was called Hartz David), Alexander Salomo, and Jonas Meyer were such privileged "court or protected Jews". The institution of the "protected Jew" was introduced in Prussia in 1671 and since then also took root elsewhere.

It was the time period of the Enlightenment and Rationalism, in which for example the Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) had great influence. However, because of his liberal convictions, the Jewish community ostracized him.

Within the range of discussion about human rights, Jews also became more emancipated. An important voice in this pursuit was the book of the Prussian diplomat Christian Wilhelm Dohm "On the Improvement of the Jews as Citizens" in 1781. His thoughts attracted much attention. Judaism was no longer regarded as a nation, but as a religion among other Christian denominations. Along these lines, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing worded his 'Ring Parable' in "Nathan the Wise" in 1779.

In the same year, 1779, our Arnstadt parish-register tells us that, on January 22, a murderer was publicly beheaded in the Market Square. Together with an accomplice, he had brutally robbed and murdered a Jewish man by the name of David Simon the year before. The body of the murderer, whose accomplice had died in custody, was displayed at the Obertunk. During the Nazi Era, the two perpetrators certainly would have received medals.

In the parish-register for March 1, 1788, we find a somewhat less gruesome story: "The 'protected Jew' Simon Cappel of Lengsfeld, sells, at a low price, a powder manufactured by him against rats and mice, whose sale in local areas was graciously granted by the Princely Chamber, since credible certificates were supplied. Meanwhile, he was staying at the Hirsch Hotel at the Greater Rosengasse". Perhaps, the certificates for the rat poison were more credible than its effectiveness. However, the encouraging aspect of this report is that Jews increasingly gained recognition and equality.

The Prussian municipal statutes of 1809 recognized them as urban citizens. In 1812, they were recognized as citizens of Prussia. Jews reacted to this development by participating in the Wars of Liberation on a national level. Finally, the German basic rights of 1848 and the Reichs Law of July 3, 1869 granted the Jewish religion, with regards to their civic rights, equal status with the Christian confessions.

In the years before 1845, the small Jewish colony in Arnstadt received a considerable increase in population from the town of Plaue. Heinemann Lang, who was Jewish, had settled there in 1819. He came from Hochheim near Römhild. He was granted the right to live in Plaue, after paying 95 Reichstaler and pledging his fortune of 200 Reichstaler to the city council. Numerous other Jews followed him to the beautiful valley of the Gera River. Many of these new

arrivals came from Franconia. Next to city hall, they had a small synagogue, a prayer house. Beneath the castle, they established their cemetery, which still exists to this day.

The Jews from Plaue constantly clashed with each other. This probably contributed to their gradual moving to the larger town of Arnstadt. They were the families Dornberg, Gutman, Jonas, Mendel, and Wolf. The last of the Jews from Plaue was Louis Wolf. He died in Arnstadt and was buried in Plaue on November 22, 1914. Until 1921, all Jews from Arnstadt were buried in Plaue. The Jewish cemetery in Arnstadt was not opened until 1921. Meanwhile, a synagogue community for the principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen had been formed, which had its seat in Sondershausen. The relevant law is dated January 3, 1860. After Judaism had been recognized as a religion in Germany, as already outlined, the Protestant governments took on the task, which the Reformation had demanded of them. After all, the purpose of the so-called sovereign church regiment was to commit the government to guarantee freedom of religion and conscience. For Luther, it was the government's obligation to make this freedom possible for its citizens. The legal framework to safeguard religious tolerance was especially exemplary in Prussia. The Jewish faith was now also officially recognized in the Land of the Schwarzburg dynasty.

Around 1880, about 18 Jewish families with 65 relatives lived in Arnstadt. They questioned the constant need to travel to Sondershausen to attend religious services. Consequently, on March 1, 1883, 15 heads of families applied for the establishment of an independent community in our town. A particular concern, in this connection, was the religious instruction of the 20 or so school-age children. The state government responded without further delay. Under the law of July 1, 1884, a new community in Arnstadt was given supremacy over the community in Sondershausen. This status was renewed on January 15, 1908, and officially approved by the Princely Ministry, on February 8.

It bears the signatures of Max Ledermann, Salli Rosenberg, Meier Rosenbaum, Max Friedmann, Leo Katzenstein, and Julius Jonas. Since 1900, Max Ledermann was head of the community who, probably in 1942, committed suicide before being deported to the concentration camp at Buchenwald. In 1908, Abraham Heilbrunn succeeded Levi Bacharach as teacher. It was also his responsibility to carry out the weekly slaughter according to Jewish ritual. The Heilbrunn family was able to immigrate to Palestine in 1938.

In the statute of 1908, the establishment of the community is dated January 1, 1888. Along with the destruction of the synagogue during "Kristallnacht" of 1938, the community also lost its public influence. Thus, the community barely became 50 years old. In the same year, 1938, the synagogue built in 1913 was 25 years old. The community could have celebrated a double anniversary. Instead, it became a bitter anniversary year.

Initially, the community had established its synagogue in a room in the house of Julius Jonas at Rittergasse 7. This room gradually became too small. In 1905, 104 Jews lived in Arnstadt. As a result, the construction of a separate synagogue was considered. In 1904, Adolf Mendel had already acquired property for a new building for 7,000 Marks. He made it available to the community. It was situated at Krappengartenstrasse 47, across from the Himmelsfahrtskirche (Church of the Ascension). On September 27, 1913, the new construction was ready to be inaugurated. The design came from the Arnstadt architect, Martin Schwarz, who, at the same time, was in charge of renovating the Neue Kirche (Bachkirche). The construction costs were 23,000 Marks. 209 Marks spent per community member was quite a substantial amount of money, considering the fact that only about 110 Jewish people lived in Arnstadt. The

community spent a great deal of money for the new building. It relied on a good future in our town.

Aside from the reconstruction of the Neue Kirche (New Church), work was also done on the Liebfrauenkirche (St. Mary's Church) in 1913. Its two western towers were demolished and rebuilt. On September 7, twenty days before the synagogue, the Liebfrauenkirche was rededicated, and the Neue Kirche on November 30. Therefore, 1913 became a year of construction and dedication for religious buildings in our town. Unfortunately, this common occurrence did not translate into spiritual solidarity. At the time, the two communities barely took notice of each other.

The sermons conducted by consistory council Petri on the occasion of the rededication of both churches exist in print. He did not consider the simultaneous construction of the synagogue worth mentioning. At least, according to our standards, the text of the sermon on September 7, at the Liebfrauenkirche, would have suggested it: "At the same time, I want to rebuild the deteriorated House of David, and fill its cracks, and raise again what broke off, the way it once had been" (Amos 9,11).

During these festivities in the fall of 1913, no one imagined the outbreak of a world war one year hence. As a matter of course, 100,000 proud "German citizens of Jewish faith" participated in it, risking and sacrificing their lives. In all, about 12,000 Jews died for Germany.

From our town, I would like to mention the following people:

The businessman, Hermann Mendel, was missing in France since January 17, 1915. He was born on January 6, 1882, the son of the cattle-dealer Abraham Mendel, residing at Ried 7. Also, Max Katzenstein was raised at Ried 7. He was the son of Leopold Katzenstein. He graduated in 1909 and studied medicine. As an assistant field doctor in Brussels, he contracted a lung infection in 1916. He was hospitalized at Niederschreiberhau, died on December 25, 1916 at the Arnstadt Hospital, and was buried at Plaue. He was awarded the Princely Schwarzburg Honor Cross, fourth class with oakleaf. Herbert Frank, son of the businessman Samuel Frank, was killed as a telegrapher in France on March 29, 1918.

Among others, the horse dealer David Ambach, who lived at Ried 10, was a participant in the war. Walter Ledermann, who later became a lawyer, joined the artillery after graduating in 1917. Alfred Gottfeld, textile dealer in Spittel, was decorated with the Iron Cross second class, and the Purple Heart. Hans Czarnikow, class of 1880, was a major; Walter Hirschmann, who was a bank director, became a captain, and was awarded the Iron Cross first class. Siegmund Hirschmann was decorated with the Princely Schwarzburg Honor Cross and the Prussian Distinguished Service Cross for his efforts in the war.

In the first decades of this century, several citizens of Jewish faith converted to Protestantism. It began with the well-known financial council Siegmund Hirschmann and his wife Eugenie, whose maiden name was Ordenstein. They were baptized on April 30, 1903, at the age of 45 and 40, respectively. They already had their two children, Walter and Else, baptized on June 5, 1898, when they were 13 and 11 years old, and their parents were still Jewish. Also, in 1903, Numa Czarnikow, a bank manager, became Protestant at the age of 59. He had lived at Karolinenstrasse 9 since 1891. By court order of August 6, 1931, Abraham Wolpinsky, a construction engineer, who lived at Zimmerstrasse 16, was granted permission to use "Anton Christian" as first names. He came from a Jewish family of Russian-Orthodox faith from the Russian town of Konstantinograd. Before his marriage in Arnstadt, he was baptized here on September 27, 1907. He probably escaped persecution later because of his life story.

Then, on March 24, 1910, Dr. Fritz Nelken "...converted voluntarily from Mosaic to Protestantism after being instructed in the teachings..." Dr. Nicolaus Mayer, a Catholic doctor, lived at Rosenstrasse 1. He married Martha Rosenbaum, a Jewish widow. Her maiden name was Perlinski, and she came from Thorn. On June 30, 1915, she converted together with her two children from her first marriage who, at the time, were 14 and 12 years old. However, they did not embrace Dr. Mayer's Catholic faith, but instead became Protestant. In 1920, the farmer Hans Stavenhagen, moved to Arnstadt, Markt 4. The parish-register notes: "...converts on his own initiative, on September 19, 1920, from the Jewish faith to Protestantism, by being baptized a Christian, after preceding instruction through consistory council Köhler".

Thus, 11 inhabitants of Arnstadt converted from Jewish to Christian faith in these years. The motives that prompted them to do so are not clear. Did they also want to become spiritually integrated in the country that was their homeland? Some converted to avoid a mixed marriage. Why did they become Protestant and not also Catholic? One can still acquire a doctorate by answering this question. However, it is worth mentioning that none of these converts belonged to the old establishment of the local community. They all had moved here recently.

In this context, we have to keep in mind that, at the turn of the century, conservative forces became stronger in our liberal Thuringia. Occasionally, they included anti-Semitic tendencies. The German Social Party, which distinguished itself in this trend, even gained a seat in the Reichstag in 1907 in the district of Weimar/Apolda. Adolf Bartels (1862-1945), who had become influential as a professor of literature in Jena since 1905, was among the pioneers of anti-Semitism.

During World War I, economic conditions became increasingly difficult. Virtual years of hunger ensued. Finally, it became impossible for the Jews to bake the Matzoh for Passover according to tradition. Since ancient times, as described in the Bible, they live only on unleavened bread during this week of festivities. To be able to observe this ritual, a special ration of wheat flour was authorized. This request form of 1921 has survived. The following families appear on the document:

Ambach, David, horse trader, Ried 10
Appel, brothers, textile business, Erfurter Strasse 6
Arendt, Arnold, textile business, Unterm Markt 8
Bahr, Martens, Unterm Markt 5
Freudenberger, Maier, cattle dealer, Krappgartenstrasse 18
Friedmann, Max, cattle dealership, Ried 11
Gottfeld, Alfred, businessman, Franz-Schubert Strasse 1
Heilbrunn, Abraham, teacher of the synagogue community, Fleischgasse 1A
Heymann, Therese, widow, Lessingstrasse 3
Jonas, Julius, leather goods store, Ritterstrasse 7
Katz, Siegmund, cattle dealership, Karl-Marien-Strasse 11
Lichtenstein, Alfred, dry goods store, Erfurter Strasse 5
Lindemann, Ernst, businessman, Marktstrasse 3
Mendel, Adolf, cattle dealership, Ried 7
Muller, Albert, paint supplies, Am Bahnhof 6
Muller, Siegmund, paint supplies, Bahnhofstrasse 3
Rosenbaum, Adelheid and Sara, Fleischgasse 12
Rosenbaum, Salomon, clothing store, Rankestrasse 1

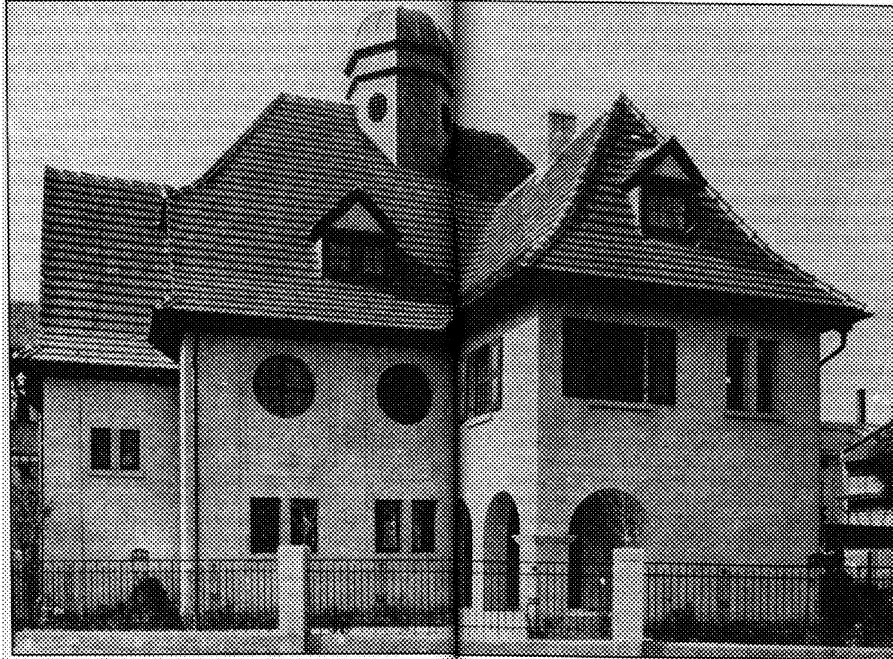
Rosenbaum, Meier, cattle dealer, Fleischgasse 1A
Rosenbaum, Hermann, businessman, Holzmarkt 10
Rosenberg, Salli, cattle dealership, Bahnhofstrasse 8
Samuel, Max, cattle dealer, Karl-Marien-Strasse 17
Schaul, Max, furrier, Herzog-Hedan-Strasse 16
Simon, Hermann, businessman, Bahnhofstrasse 34
Stern, Moritz, horse tradership, Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Strasse 3
Vorräuter, Hermann, cattle dealer, Ried 7
Wolfermann, Salli, trader, Karl-Marien-Strasse 26

These 27 families encompassed 122 relatives. In 1921, they represented the core of the Jewish community in our town. However, these are not all the Jewish townspeople. For example, in the list of 1921, the following families are not mentioned:

Ehrlich, Hermann, carpentry supplies, Thomas-Mann-Strasse 15
Katzenstein, Fanny, widow, Ried 7
Ledermann, Max, hardware dealership, Lessingstrasse 3
Lewin, Ilse, Ried 10
Pommer, brothers, household supplies, Erfurter Strasse 15
Simon, Georg, men's fashions, Rosenstrasse 10
Stern, Hermann, businessman, Marktstrasse 14

These are 7 additional families with 23 people who belonged to the Jewish citizens of our town.

Economically speaking, all of the some 145 Jews in Arnstadt, without exception, made their living as dealers, especially in the cattle and textile trades. They were indispensable for the farmers. As owners of department stores and smaller shops, they were important to ensure supply for the population. They seemed alien by their names, professions, shrewdness, and religion, and still did their utmost for their fatherland as decorated soldiers and officers. Some sacrificed their lives in the war. Some sought to become integrated in their homeland by converting to Protestantism. Most Jews, however, strove to preserve their traditional characteristics. Marriages, for example, almost exclusively happened between Jews. On a photograph showing the interior of the synagogue, we can see that they always had Israel's famous original testimony, written in Hebraic, before their eyes: "Hear, Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone (5. Moses 6,4)". No one could foresee how quickly the time would come, in which this testimony of the old Israel would assume existential meaning for them.



Die Synagoge von 1913

THE PAINFUL TIMES FROM 1933 TO 1945

In the elections for parliament of Thuringia in December of 1929, 1,782 citizens of Arnstadt voted for the NSDAP (Nazi Party), which represented 14% of all votes. The KPD (Communists) received 1,617 votes. In the elections for the Reichstag on September 14, 1930, the NSDAP, with 3,622 votes, could already muster 27% of the popular vote. In 1932, it reached even reached 50%.

These enthusiastic NSDAP voters in our town, apparently, did not take notice of the program of the party they voted for. After 1945, it also turned out to be a fatal mistake to ignore the program of today's prevailing ideology. In the NSDAP program of 1922, article 4 specifies: "No Jew can be a comrade of the people". Article 5 says: "He who is not a citizen, shall only be permitted to live in Germany as a guest". From the thick volume "The Myth of the 20th Century" by Alfred Rosenberg, just the following four words should have alarmed us: "Purity of the race is the supreme principal of law". From Hitler's book "My Struggle", which was widely published, two sentences are enough: "The Aryan... represents the archetype of what we understand by the term 'human being'... The Jew represents the most extreme contrast to the Aryan" (pp. 317 and 329). We know from our own experience, that such political events are difficult to judge or condemn after the fact. The Bible, which still understands human nature best, says: "They all run their races like stallions storming forward in battle" (Jeremiah 8,6). The battle against the Jews soon began. In our town, too, there were many such "stormers".

The Nazis themselves did not invent anti-Jewish racial doctrine. It goes back to Darwin (1809-1882) and his "Struggle for Survival". The Frenchman Gobineau (1816-1882) transferred the term "Aryan", which initially had taken root in comparing linguistics, to the field of racial doctrine. H. St. Chamberlain (1855-1927), finally, declared the Jews a separate race. Here, the term race, however, refers to ideology, and has nothing to do with biology. All this is a jumble of terms. Chamberlain, by the way, was a son-in-law of Richard Wagner whom Hitler held in high

esteem. With his book “The Fundamentals of the 19th Century”, Chamberlain was able to get many people

interested. It was published from 1899 to 1938 in 24 editions. The Nazis capitalized on these thoughts and used them politically.

We remember: Since the days of the Romans the Jews were considered a nation. After their integration into the European nations, the term “Jewish” was mostly interpreted in a religious sense in the 19th century. As a result, the Nazis made the Jews a race. Along these lines, also patriotic and baptized people of Jewish heritage were included.

The “Encyclopaedia Judaica”, which consists of 16 volumes, lists the following numbers for members of the Jewish community in Arnstadt:

59 for 1880
137 for 1910
87 for 1933
56 for 1939

The encyclopedia clearly lists only registered members of the synagogue community, probably only adults. Our attached list of names comprises 132 people. We counted everyone who was subject to the race laws. This includes 7 Protestant Christians as well as 4 Jews, who settled or were born here after 1933. Therefore, a total of 121 citizens of Jewish faith lived in Arnstadt in 1933, according to our calculations.

It is hardly possible to avoid the terminology of the Nazis. But this way, it may also remain in our memories. Just as much, though, I oppose the later emerging term “pogrom”. It seems rather pointless to me to apply this term of Stalin’s language and times to the Nazi dictatorship.

Although the age of part of the involved people of Arnstadt is only estimated, the age statistics on the day of the takeover, on January 30, 1933, is as follows:

	Total	(among these) estimated
71 years and older	1	-
70-61 years	24	14
60-51 years	31	18
50-41 years	13	5
40-31 years	13	7
30-21 years	39	8
20-11 years	7	1
10 years and younger	2	-
born after 1933	2	-
Total	132	53

When the persecution closed in on them, only about half of the affected people had reached the age of forty. Considering this fact, one has to bear in mind that also the top ranking Nazis belonged to the younger generation in the year of the takeover. The events in Arnstadt were determined to a large degree by the Nazi district leader Wilhelm Mütze. He was born in

1904. Only after the war, the older generation dominated politics, whereas, during the Hitler years, it was the younger generation.

Already 60 days after the takeover on January 30, 1933, a boycott of Jewish businesses, doctors, and lawyers in Germany was ordered on April 1. It was a bad omen for the future as well as the rapid realization of what Hitler had written in his book. By April 7, 1933, the “Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service” followed, which put approximately 2,000 Jewish scientists, doctors, and lawyers out of work, unless they had already held these positions before World War I. This restriction was added out of regard for the old President of the Reich Hindenburg.

On September 1935, the infamous “Nürnberg Laws” were enacted. They determined the development of the years to come. According to the “Reichs Citizen Law”, Jews were only considered nationals and not fully entitled, so-called “Reichs Citizens”. This way, they were excluded from public jobs and the right to vote, which, in our town for example, affected the bank director Walter Hirschmann. The “Law for the Purity of German Blood and German Honor” prohibited marriages and also extramarital affairs with Jews, as well as the raising of German flags by Jews. A decree issued on November 14, 1935 determined who was Jewish, namely, someone who was descended, as far as race or religion, from at least 3 fully Jewish grandparents. This way, the Holocaust was justified through race and religion at the same time. My quoting of the vocabulary used at the time is intentional to document the perverseness of the way people spoke and thought in those days.

A flood of ever-increasing new anti-Jewish steps was announced. They amount to about 250 at the beginning of the war. Lawyers and doctors, for example, had to call themselves “advisers or sick and dental treaters” from now on. They were only allowed to take on Jewish clients or patients. The number of humiliations and obstacles went on and on.

In 1938, the decrees followed in rapid succession, so that even the most well-meaning public servants, who had to enforce them in towns and communities, grew weary of the Jews:

- June: Jewish businesses required identifying
- July: Introduction of an identity card for Jews
- July: Removal of Jewish street names
- August: Obligation to add “Israel” or “Sara” as additional first names
- November: Ban to visit theaters, movie theaters, concerts, lectures, and exhibitions
- December: Ban to visit public reading rooms, museums, sports fields, and public pools

Time and again, Jews were slandered, isolated and pushed away from society.

After all this, it only took an initial spark for the “Reichskristallnacht” to happen, which was portrayed as “the spontaneous will of the German people”. The 17-year old Herschel Grünspar, who was a Jew of German-Polish origin, provided it with the assassination of the legation counselor vom Rath in Paris. Throughout the Reich, 267 synagogues were destroyed, 7,500 Jewish businesses were damaged, thousands of apartments were ransacked, 20,000 Jewish men were arrested, and 36 Jews were killed, during the night of November 9th to the 10th, 1938.

Now more than ever, many Jews sought to emigrate. However, this was not easy, because entry countries wanted to see many conditions met. On July 4, 1939, the “Reichs Union of Jews in Germany” was founded. All Jews had to join. In the beginning, it numbered 375,000 members. In 1933, 500,000 Jews still lived in Germany. Thus, 125,000 Jews had emigrated within six years.

Additionally, starting on September 1, 1941, Jews were forced to wear the Star of David in public. In March of 1942, also apartments had to be marked with the Star of David. Jewish families were consolidated in certain houses. On October 20, 1941, the first deportations from the territory of the Reich began. The Wannsee Conference of January 20, 1942 decreed the Final Solution. During that year, the deportations were carried out at full speed.

In May of 1943, Germany was declared “free of Jews”. This was certainly exaggerated. But the statistics of these few years are grim. 170,000 German Jews were killed, 6 million throughout the world, a figure that, after all, represented one third of all Jews. In Germany, about 200,000 Jews were able to avoid annihilation through emigration, escape or other miracles. Although they felt as Germans, although their families had lived in Germany for centuries, although they had risked their lives for their fatherland, they were still forced to begin a new life. They had to leave their property behind. They had to establish a new existence in a foreign country and continent, in a foreign language and culture, and often times with only their handbags left. We in Arnstadt are part of this dreadful story.

Also in Arnstadt, the anti-Jewish measures began with an initial boycott of Jewish businesses on April 1, 1933. What businesses were those? First, the following textile businesses were affected: Appel, at Erfurterstrasse 6, Arendt, at Unterm Markt 8, Gottfeld, at Erfurterstrasse 39, and Hermann Simon, at Bahnhofstrasse 34; then, there were the clothing stores of Salomon Rosenbaum, at Rankestrasse 1, Georg Simon, at Rosenstrasse 10, and Hermann Stern, at Marktstrasse 14. Furthermore, there was Ehrlich’s carpentry supplies at Thomas-Mann-Strasse 15, the paint supplies store of the Müller brothers, at Bahnhofstrasse 3/5, the hardware and molding store Ledermann, at Lessingstrasse 3, the household supplies store Pommer, at Erfurterstrasse 15, and Hermann Rosenbaum, at Kasselerstrasse 31.

The other Jewish families were mainly cattle dealers: Ambach, at Ried 10, Friedmann, at Ried 11, Mendel and Katzenstein, at Ried 7, Leo Rosenbaum, at Fleischgasse 1A, Wolf, at Ritterstrasse 2, and Jonas, at Ritterstrasse 7, the families Katz and Samuel at Karl-Marien-Strasse 11 and 17, respectively, and Salli Rosenberg, at Bahnhofstrasse 8. Finally, the work clothes factory Lindemann at Gehrenerstrasse 11A was Jewish-owned.

Siegmund and Eugenie Hirschmann celebrated their golden wedding anniversary exactly on that memorable day, April 1, 1933. However, pastor Gotthelf Kummer stood firm in arranging a religious ceremony for the occasion. In May of 1933, the Nazi party in the city council proposed that only Aryans should be employed in the hospital as medical staff, and that the city administration and its staff should not be permitted to buy from Jews.

After the Nürnberg Laws of 1935, Jewish citizens were only allowed to shop at certain stores, namely at the Strassburg bakery and the Vogt butcher’s shop, at Bahnhofstrasse 24, as well as the grocery store Stoss at Erfurter Strasse 11. In the same year, Deutsche Bank dismissed Walter Hirschmann, who had been the bank’s director since 1919. From now on, the 50-year old worked as a home-worker for Daimon. Later, others, who were persecuted, were also conscripted to work in this company.

On Wednesday, November 9, 1938, lively activities were going on unnoticed. The SA warned and instructed their members of the impending night operation. Police and Fire Department were ordered not to intervene. That’s how the synagogue across the Himmelsfahrtskirche could be burnt to the ground unhampered, on November 10, at 2 o’clock in the morning. Businesses, houses, and apartments of Jews were damaged. They were liable for their own damage. For the razing of the synagogue, they were presented with a bill of 2,507.17 Marks. How confusing the situation was is illustrated by an incident, where an Aryan from Erfurt

sued the SA for damages, since he had a mortgage on the Arnstadt synagogue. Of course, his lawsuit was rejected.

During the night, more than 30 Jewish men were rounded up in the courtyard and basement of city hall and held there for an entire day. An eyewitness still recalled how the 65-year-old Hermann Simon, who lived at Bahnhofstrasse 34, was chased through town, only scantily clothed. In 1942, he perished in Theresienstadt and so did his wife, only a short time later. The following day, a well-known Arnstadt doctor had to examine everyone at city hall who had been arrested. Fifty years later, he could not remember particular injuries.

Siegmund Hirschmann, however, returned home with a dislocated jaw. His granddaughter, Dr. Eva Schwarz, whose maiden name was Hirschmann, also remembered having seen the businessman Hermann Stern of Marktstr.14 with a battered face. He died on October 14, 1939. His son Arthur was killed in Prague. Mrs. Recha and her daughter Käthe were in Theresienstadt for 2 and half years and were able to immigrate to England from there. Kurt Lindemann told me that the men at city hall were beaten until they answered that they were crooks when asked: "What are you?"

After Kristallnacht, several of the men were taken to Buchenwald for a few weeks. Arnold and Manfred Arendt, Walter Hirschmann, Adolf Mendel, Kurt Lindemann, Hermann Simon, Herbert Leopold, and Hermann Stern told us so. Alfred Gottfeld was murdered there. After the suicide of the two Ledermann siblings, he was the first direct victim of the Holocaust in our town. His wife Regina and daughter Rita perished in Auschwitz. His son Werner was arrested and convicted as a communist in 1935. He died in a concentration camp in Poland in 1944. Only their oldest daughter Ilse was able to survive by immigrating to Uruguay. In 1945, Walter Hirschmann was taken from Auschwitz to Buchenwald a second time where he died.

Many Jews, of course, contemplated escape to safety by emigrating. Already in 1923, Hans Lindemann had immigrated to New York as a 19-year-old. In 1939, he managed to bring his sister Johanna, who was married in Berlin, and his brother Kurt, who had become a lawyer after graduating in 1927, to safety in the United States. His father, Ernst Lindemann, who had owned a work-clothing factory at Gehrenerstrasse 11A, died in 1932. Hedwig, the mother, moved in with her sister in Munich following her children's emigration. But she had to return to Arnstadt. From there, she was taken to the Riga concentration camp, where she died. Kurt Lindemann was very hurt that, during his two visits to Arnstadt after the war, he got a very chilly reception. For that reason, he was in town for only a few hours in October of 1994. Yet, he was very helpful by providing a lot of information.

During the Hitler Era, Erich Arendt, who had owned a dry goods store at Unterm Markt 8, was one of the first ones to leave by immigrating to Buenos Aires. In 1938, he was able to get an entry permit for his brother Manfred, who was released from Buchenwald because of his brother's efforts. In the same year, his brother Siegbert could get away to Uruguay, and his brother Helmuth to England. In 1949, Helmuth followed his brothers to Buenos Aires. In 1939, the Arendt children made it possible for their parents, Arnold and Fanny, to leave the country. Yet, the steamboat, on which they had left Hamburg in August of 1939, returned to Hamburg at the outbreak of the war. One can only imagine what the two refugees must have felt. After intense efforts for another chance to emigrate and the money for it, they found a Belgian steamer that took them to Argentina. Seven trunks of baggage, for which they had obtained an export license after great efforts, however had to remain in Hamburg. All they had left, when they reached their children, was a handbag.

Siegmund Müller operated a chemical business at Bahnhofstrasse 3. He died in 1932. His three children left before 1937; Margarethe went to England, Carola to Australia, and Martin to the United States. As in many families, the older generation left last. Their mother, Rosa, whose maiden name was Freudenberger, had to move two more times within Germany. In 1937, she moved in with the Lindemann family at Gehrrener Strasse, and in 1940, with the Ehrlich family at Kasseler Strasse, until she finally escaped to England. Consequently, her family became spread out over three continents.

Emigration was not easy at the time. It was not possible to just travel to another country and apply for political asylum. Entry into the host country required an affidavit, which was a notarized certificate stating that a citizen in the country of entry had a great enough fortune so that the refugee would not become a financial burden. It was everything but simple to find such a rich person. Those family members, who had left first, did not have the required amount of money at first to be able to obtain affidavits for other family members back home. Besides, the passage had to be paid for. The American Consulate in Leipzig put the applications through a lot of red tape and handled them in the order they were received. Annihilation caught up with the last ones, whose requests were no longer considered.

That was all for the worse, since, initially, the slogan in Germany was only “Jews out”. German Jews were able to emigrate until the fall of 1941. On the other hand, deportations began immediately in the territories occupied by Germany. Dr. Kurt Lindemann pointed out this important difference.

As in other totalitarian countries, there were occasional oddities. We are told that Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of the American President, bought 100 Jewish concentration camp prisoners. As a result, Recha Stern and her daughter Käthe were able to travel from Theresienstadt to England. Many Jews could have escaped the Holocaust, if host countries had been more liberal, or if the possibility of buying prisoners had been more frequently employed.

Of course, there were regulations imposed by the Germans for leaving the country. In the beginning, people could even take their furniture. But restrictions became tighter. In the end, only 10 dollars per person were permitted. Real estate had to be sold first. The proceeds that were not used up, as well as other savings, remained in a blocked account.

60 Jews in Arnstadt were able to leave. The first ones were Ilse Gottfeld, who went to Uruguay in 1934, and Irmgard Mendel, who went to the United States. From 1936 to 1938, 16 left the country. In 1939, the year after “Kristallnacht”, 21 moved away, the highest number for any one year. In 1940 and later, 9 more people were able to escape to safety. 12 others left their hometown; the year of their departure, however, is unknown.

The Jews of Arnstadt spread out over all continents:

Europe:	Netherlands	6
	Belgium	4
	France	1
	England	8
North America:	USA	16
South America:	Argentina	8
	Uruguay	2
	Chile	4

Africa:	South Africa	4
Asia:	Palestine	4
Australia:		2
Unknown:		1

All 60 who left must have been elated they made it. But only 51 of them made it to safety. The families Ambach and Friedmann in Holland, as well as the Leo Rosenbaum family in Belgium, fell victim to persecution, when Germany occupied those countries in 1940. David Ambach and his brother-in-law Max Friedmann, the cattle dealers who had lived at Ried, moved to Amsterdam with their families in 1939. When, on May 10, 1940, Max Friedmann learnt of the occupation, he was so startled that he had a heart attack and died. His wife and their two daughters, Reni and Rosa, and Rosa's husband, as well as the Ambach couple were deported to Auschwitz. Only Rosa Friedmann survived. In 1945, she returned to Amsterdam.

The only members of the Ambach family to survive were Ilse, the daughter, and her daughter Margot, since both of them had left for the United States in 1939. All four Rosenbaum families, who had lived at Fleischgasse, were deported from Belgium and killed. No one could foresee that the United States was safe, and that the Netherlands meant danger.

In the meantime, various Jews had lost their businesses. On November 28, 1938, the two brothers-in-law, David Ambach and Max Friedmann, were forced to sell their "Haus zum Grossen Christoph" at Ried 9 to the cooperative union in Erfurt. They had acquired the property at auction in 1923. In 1939, the two families immigrated to the Netherlands. Adolph Mendel, too, was urged to sell his property at Ried 7 to the same cooperative union, after he returned from Buchenwald. According to his daughter Gertrud, he never received money in return. As recently as February 18, 1932, the company was congratulated publicly in the papers, on the occasion of its 100th anniversary. Joseph Mendel had founded it in Plaue. "We wish this company celebrating its special anniversary, which enjoys a good reputation, all the best for the second century of its existence" – how quickly times had changed! In 1939, the couple immigrated to Chile with their two children, Gertrud and Julius. Their daughter Irmgard had already immigrated to the US in 1934; their oldest son Alfred had gone to Palestine in 1936. 25 years later, he joined his sister in New York.

Salomon Rosenbaum had managed a respectable clothing store at Rankestrasse 1. When he died in 1926, his wife and children carried on the business. In 1936, it had to be turned over. Subsequently, the children Alfred, Lilli, and Julius immigrated to England. The mother's fate is unknown.

Of course, the national reprisals –as initially described- always affected Arnstadt, too. Thus, our Jewish citizens were discernible in the Arnstadt address book of 1940 through their added first names, "Israel" and "Sara". Whereas, in the book of 1937, 46 households were still recognizable as Jewish, three years later, only 29 remained. The Jewish community became smaller and smaller.

On March 1, 1940, various families were concentrated in certain households through forced moves. Frieda Bremer and her daughter Käthe, as well as Rosa Müller, moved in with the

Rosenbaums at Kasseler Strasse 31. The Ehrlich family at Thomas-Mann-Strasse 15 had to accommodate Max and Rosa Samuel, in addition to Julia and Dora Schaul, and Isidor Guthmann.

Werner Gottfeld at Unterm Markt 8, who was arrested as a communist in 1935 and murdered in 1944, had to put up his mother Regina and his sister Rita. Both were later killed in Auschwitz. Sophie Jonas, Hermann and Fanny Simon, and Erna Pommer, had to move into the house of Siegmund Hirschmann, the bank director, at Karolinenstrasse 2. When his son Walter Hirschmann was deported in 1943, also his family moved into the house, since their own property at Mispelgütchen 3 had to be evacuated for the Kreisleiter (district leader) Mütze. In 1945, the Americans returned it to them. Yet, still at the end of the seventies, there were old people in Arnstadt, who referred to the house at Karolinenstrasse 2 as “Jew villa”.

In 1939/1940, various Jews leave their hometowns and move in with relatives. In 1940, however, all of them are forced to return. I already mentioned that fact with regards to Hedwig Lindemann. Getta Kunke of Erfurter Strasse 6 moved to Erfurt. Siegmund Heldmann came from Essen from October 15, 1939 until March, 6 1940, to live with sister Rosa Samuel, at Karl-Marien-Strasse 17. She had to leave her own house on March 1, when she was forced to live with the Ehrlich family at Thomas-Mann-Strasse 15. So far, I have not been able to ascertain, whether these moves represented a failed attempt to disappear somewhere, or whether they were efforts to escape loneliness. More and more, the life of the Jews became that of a hunted and shy beast. They hardly dared to walk the streets; friendships and acquaintances no longer existed. In the midst of a happy and vibrating citizenry, they were isolated with worry and fear. Minni Jonas told me a story: one day, she took the train to Erfurt. In her compartment, there was a former classmate, now dressed in the uniform of the medical corps. He looked right through her, as if she were made out of glass and as if he did not know her. She understood that he was not allowed to know her. Such pinpricks made everyday life unbearable for the Jews. The psychological trauma of this time caused people, who were affected by it in one way or another, to rarely talk about it. It haunts an entire generation to the grave.

Whom could these defenseless people turn to? In March of 1939, pastor Gotthelf Kummer was suspended from preaching and transferred, because of his criticism of church and state. As a result, about 400 Protestant Christians left the church out of loyalty to their faith and, ultimately, formed the Old Lutheran Church. After that, the Protestant town pastors were more or less “German-Christian” minded. Pastor Friedrich Behr had to restrain himself in order not to endanger his efforts for the patients of the Marienstift (institution), who were threatened by euthanasia. At least, he advised the Hirschmann family, who was especially close to the Marienstift. Karl Busch, a Catholic priest, took the liberty and the courage to look at least after those who were baptized. We note with respect that, with the priests Behr, Busch, and Kummer, as well as those 400 individuals who had left the church, there was a considerable group in Arnstadt, which courageously opposed the National Socialist alienation of state and church.

In the municipal card index of the church office we found the file of the farmer Hans Stavenhagen. He was born in Berlin in 1898 and had moved to Arnstadt, Markt 4, on July 12, 1920. The parish register records: “Converts voluntarily from Judaism to Christianity on September 19, 1920, by being baptized a Christian, after preceding instruction by the council of the consistory Köhler.” On his file card, the affiliation to Christianity is erased and replaced by the word “Jew”. How do we understand this?”

On December 28, 1941, the territorial church council of Thuringia in Eisenach passed the following law: “Persons to whom the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of the police regulation of September 1, 1941 about the characterization of Jews apply ...are to be excluded, along with

their descendants, from any church community. Signed: Sasse.” The above mentioned regulation concerned the introduction of the Star of David.

After the war, the territorial church council of Thuringia newly formed under the leadership of Moritz Mitzenheim after being liberated from the “German-Christian” alienation. In one of his first official acts, he repealed this sad law on May 17, 1945. We don’t know what became of Stavenhagen. His wife died in our town in 1954.

On December 8, 1941, the widow “Julia Sara Schaul, born Joseph, Jew”, received an order of punishment of 50 Reichsmark. The reason was: “The senior prosecutor accuses you of having engaged in passing news directly to the enemy since 1940, without permission of the High Command of the Wehrmacht. You mailed letters from Arnstadt to your son in Sydney, Australia, first, via Lisbon, Portugal, then, via your niece in New York, from where these letters were forwarded to your son in Australia.”

Theodor Schaul emigrated in April of 1938 after the death of his father, who was buried at the Jewish cemetery in 1937. He lived in Australia until 1981. Australia had been at war with Germany since September 3, 1939. During times of war, correspondence required official approval. Portugal remained neutral during the war, the US, as well, until December 11, 1941. For that reason, his mother was not allowed to write to him. His sister Paula managed to survive. In 1942, their mother was deported to the Belzec concentration camp, along with her daughter Dora, where they were gassed. Belzec, situated near Lublin, was operated as a pure extermination camp from March 1942 until March 1943. During this time, the mass extermination of Jews took place. They were transported there inside freight trains, also from occupied countries: for example, from France in March 1942, from Holland in July, from Belgium in August, and from Greece in November.

As a result of the Wannsee Conference, the great deportations from Arnstadt happened in May and in the fall of 1942. There are reports of yet another deportation in June of 1944. However, it is not clear to me who was left to be deported. I only know of the businessman Adolf Neuburger, who was taken to the labor camp at Leuna, and of Isidor Guthmann, who died in Auschwitz.

How great the emotional anxieties of the people were, becomes most evident when looking at the Ledermann family. Max Ledermann was the chairman of the synagogue community. He maintained a hardware store at Lessingstrasse 3. His three children had graduated from the Arnstadt secondary school. Walter had earned a doctorate in law and practiced at Jena. He committed suicide on May 13, 1938, his sister Hilda, a graduate chemist, on October 13 of the same year. Apparently, both suffered from the ban to work in their professions. Their parents, Max and Minna, killed themselves when told of their deportation to the concentration camp. They supposedly received the poison from Professor Pabst. Only their son, Professor Dr. Ernst Ledermann, an economist, was able to immigrate to the US and survived. In 1940, Friederike Ledermann, the sister of Max, still appeared in the town’s directory. Her fate is unknown.

Fate caught up last with baptized Jews and the ones who lived in mixed marriages. The Hirschmann family was among them. The 85-year-old bank director Siegmund Hirschmann came from a religious Jewish family in Fürth. In 1898, he had his two children baptized in Arnstadt. In 1903, he became Protestant himself, along with his wife. He was a decorated World War I officer and first deputy councilman in Arnstadt. On May 17, 1943, both he and his wife were taken to Buchenwald. After some time, they both died there. Their daughter-in-law was given permission to accompany them in an ambulance. She testified that both –contrary to other

reports- arrived there alive. Also, it is documented that they lived in the camp for several more weeks. It is unknown when they died there. The report, quoted in articles contributed to the local history (issue 10/1988) from the book of E. Kogon "The SS State - The System of German Concentration Camps", is, according to information from Hirschmann's granddaughter, Dr. Eva Schwarz, inaccurate. Hirschmann's son Walter, also a bank director and a retired captain, was imprisoned in Erfurt in April of 1943. Several weeks later, he was deported to Auschwitz. On February 10, 1945, he was transferred to Buchenwald from there. He must have been among the last victims in this concentration camp.

We know that even a totalitarian system has its loopholes. As frightful as the machinery of the Holocaust was, some were able to escape it. It also happened in Arnstadt. Among the large numbers of wandering people, a young woman appeared in Arnstadt in February of 1945. She was looking for a place to stay for herself and her child. She was taken in by the family of Max Schellhorn at Ritterstrasse. Supposedly, she came from the town of Ilsenburg. The secretary Berta Schmelz was actually Jewish. She had escaped or was even deported to Poland from Mainz, after the birth of her son Joseph in 1941. Somehow she managed to survive. Through her language skills she was able to help her hosts in Arnstadt, when, in July of 1945, the Russians arrived and plundered their wine store. In 1948, both survivors returned to the former western zone.

In all, 132 citizens of Arnstadt were affected by the National Socialist Race Laws. We remember them in the first appendaged list of names. What has become of them?

12 were fortunate to die in Arnstadt until 1940.

45 lost their lives: 39 of them in concentration camps, and 6 of heart attacks, suicides and murder
16 suffered a fate unknown. Many of them probably died.
59 survived.

Looked at from a different angle:

60 were able to emigrate. 10 of them were taken to concentration camps anyway; 9 of them were killed.

54 were in concentration or labor camps: 39 of them died, 3 are missing, 12 survived
(6 in Buchenwald; 2 were redeemed in 1938, 4 were liberated in 1945.).

After all the hardship of these years, the appearance of the earlier mentioned Berta Schmelz with her child seems to me like the realization of the prophesy in the Old Testament, that God's chosen people will never perish. Even in the greatest misery, a holy rest will remain, which guarantees a new beginning of Jewish life. Once a tree is cut, new sprouts will spring forth from its stump. This conviction, which, for example, can be found in the book of Isaiah, again proved to be a reality, even in 1945.

FROM 1945 TO 1988

When our hometown was occupied by the Americans after a six-day-gunfight on April 10, 1945, and thus liberated from the Hitler dictatorship, none of the Arnstadt Jews were living among us. Several, however, who were miraculously able to survive, soon returned. The

businessman Adolf Neuburger was Jewish, however, was considered a “Half Jew”, according to Fascist terminology. In 1944, he had been taken to a labor camp near Leuna. He lived in Arnstadt until his death in 1977. The cattle dealer Bernhard Wolf, who had lived at Ritterstrasse 2, managed to return from Theresienstadt. He must have died in the 1950s. His family had moved here from Barchfeld an der Werra in 1916.

In this context, we must remember the Schaul family. Julia Schaul, the widow of the furrier Max Schaul who had died in 1937 and lived at Hedanstrasse 16, was gassed at Bergen-Belsen with her daughter Dora. Her son Theodor left for Australia in 1938. In 1940, her daughter Paula, who was 18 years old at the time, was among the few lucky ones who was accepted at the Neuendorf reeducation camp near Fürstenwalde. Adolescents were prepared for emigration on an estate that belonged to American Jews. In 1942, she married the decorator Klaus Stern, who was from Breslau. Both were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau on April 20, 1943. After grim experiences, they were able to find each other again in August of 1945 at Zimmerstrasse 21. A short time later, they left for the US.

Along with them, the nurse Gerda Finkelscherer, the gardener Hermann Monat, and the clerk Margot Kuniansky found themselves at Zimmerstrasse. Paula Stern had known Hermann and Margot from Neuendorf. Hermann and Gerda had been in Auschwitz with her and had survived.

Six liberated concentration camp inmates arrived at Lohmühlenweg 2 in September of 1945. We don't know if there were Jews among them. In December, Fritz Zweig, a Jew from Breslau, moved to Lohmühlenweg 17, together with his Catholic wife and their daughter. Soon, they all left Arnstadt for good.

The last ones of the people, who suffered during this dreadful time, to leave our town, were the survivors of the Hirschmann family. Their daughter Eva taught archaic languages at our secondary school from 1945 to 1951. In 1952, she moved to Marburg. Their son Werner managed the “Blaudruck” (publication) from 1945 to 1951. Then he moved to Karlsruhe. Their mother Franziska Hirschmann moved to her birthplace Ingolstadt in 1962, where she died in 1974 at the age of 87.

What had been done to the Jews and their relatives in our town was suppressed and concealed for decades. In Erfurt, the Jewish community of Thuringia was founded. In 1988, it numbered 28 members, none of whom lived in Arnstadt. At the beginning of the 1950s, there was an “Anti-Zionist” campaign in the Eastern Bloc, which threatened many Jews. The climax was a show trial, which was staged in Prague in November 1952 against the Jewish communist Rudolf Slánský. This caused many Jews, also in East Germany, to retreat to the West. As a result, the communities became even smaller.

The care of the Jewish community in East Germany was part of the scope of duties of the departmental chief, who was in charge of church matters at the council for the district of Erfurt. This department, undoubtedly, made it possible that the small community was able to survive financially, that it could build a new synagogue in Erfurt, and that the Jewish cemetery in Arnstadt was always maintained in an exemplary manner.

Within the “Organization of the Victims of Nazi Persecution”, Jews were only considered for the sake of decency. A section of the memorial dedicated “To the Victims of Nazi Persecution” at the Arnstadt cemetery is named: “In the Fascist Concentration Camps were murdered”. Here are the memorial stones for the Communist Werner Gottfeld (1905-1944) and the Social Democrat Isidor Guthmann ((1881-1944). Both had belonged to the Jewish community in Arnstadt.

Kurt Lindemann also had communist ambitions. However, he was able to immigrate to New York in May of 1939. After the fall of Communism, Werner-Gottfeld-Strasse was renamed Dr.-Bäsel-Strasse. The Communists only acknowledged the Jews as victims of the Nazi Regime insofar as they were Communists. After Communism –as shown by the renaming of the street- Jews were only acknowledged as Jews, as long as they had not been Communists. Such observations make it clear, that our relationship with Jews is still troublesome, and certainly will be for a long time; the Bible tells us, with all its experience, that the sin of the father will have a lasting effect for four generations.

As we approached the fiftieth anniversary of the so-called “Kristallnacht”, it occurred to me, that there was no worthy monument for our former Jewish citizens or a synagogue in our town. I was able to interest our Protestant and also the Catholic Church community for this project.

On February 6, 1987, I informed the mayor and other relevant authorities of our plan to erect a monument at Krappgartenstrasse in November of 1988. This idea was positively received by all sides. On June 18, a visit to the site took place. It was determined that a monument should be erected inside the park next to the Himmelfahrtskirche (church). In the further course of events, the district council agreed with the matter and assumed responsibility for the erection and financing of the monument.

It was designed by Roland Ginskey in Erfurt. The work itself was done by the Arnstadt stone mason Wolfgang Hildebrand, who used a block of “Auer granite”. It is a square stone which measures 195 cm (6’5”) high, 90 cm (2’11”) wide, and 80 cm (2’7”) deep. Under a menorah, we read the following inscription: “Not far from this site stood the synagogue of the Jewish community of Arnstadt, which was dedicated on September 27, 1913. It was destroyed by the Fascists in the pogrom night of November 9, 1938.” Next to it, the outlines of the building are visible. On the left side of the monument, we locate the numbers 1938/1988, and on the right side, there is a Star of David. The monument is surrounded by a small park, which has the shape of an isosceles triangle turned upside down. At the time, it was the symbol of the “Organization of the Victims of Nazi Persecution”.

On Wednesday, October 26, 1988, at 2 P.M., the dedication took place in a small ceremony. A great many citizens, even young people, came together for the occasion. The chairman of the Jewish community of Thuringia, Mr. Raphael Schwarz-Katz of Erfurt, conducted the prayer for the dead. For the district council, the deputy chairman, Mr. Heinz Skorsetz remembered the Jewish citizens and their synagogue. The superintendent spoke for both churches. On November 9, the church communities commemorated the events of fifty years earlier in a service at the Himmelfahrtskirche. It concluded with the lighting of many candles and a prayer at the new memorial stone. The following evening, the history of the Jews in Arnstadt was portrayed in a community lecture.

Those Jews of Arnstadt, who still live abroad, followed the events in their hometown with interest. For us, the memorial stone became an impetus to consider and to remember the fate of our persecuted citizens again in public. It is especially important that also young people take part in it. During the decades of Socialism, it was wise that our church, on behalf of society, also remembered the part of German reality that deals with our fellow citizens of Jewish faith.

THE JEWISH CEMETERY

The Lord Mayor of Arnstadt, Julius Hülsemann, who died in 1888, does not only deserve credit for establishing the park grounds at the Alteburg, but also for his efforts for a new cemetery in our town. The old one around the Gottesackerkirche was filled to capacity, and was increasingly surrounded by town settlements. On August 16, 1884, our new cemetery was opened. Jews, however, continued to bury their dead in Plaue. Since the death of Louis Wolf meant the end of the Jewish colony there, the Arnstadt community strove to have its own local cemetery. It became more and more of an inconvenience to bury their dead elsewhere. In 1921, a section for Jews was established at the northwest corner of our main cemetery.

The fact that it is outside the walls is still noticeable. It encompasses about 10,000 square feet. The synagogue community acquired the area from the town for 5,000 marks. It was supposed to be returned to the town debt-free, as soon as it was no longer used as a cemetery. When signing this agreement, Jews, of course, envisioned something the town fathers did not take into consideration. For religious reasons, a Jewish cemetery can never be used again in any other way.

The first burial was that of Hulda Pommer. She died on May 16, 1921. The last one buried was the businessman Hermann Stern, who died on October 14, 1939. After that, the only other Jewish person, who died of natural causes in Arnstadt, was Laura Appel.

In 1942, the cemetery became part of the administration of the "Reichs Union of Jews" in Berlin-Charlottenburg. Today, it is maintained on behalf of the Jewish community of Thuringia in Erfurt. After the war, a simple memorial plaque was installed. It says: "To the memory of the Jewish citizens, who became victim of the Fascist dictatorship."

From west to east, there are 22 gravesites with 27 graves in 4 rows. Everyone buried here shall be remembered by name. When visiting a Jewish grave, one brings from home, from one's own earth, a small stone, which is placed on top of the gravestone.

REGISTRATION OF GRAVE PLOTS IN JEWISH CEMETARY of ARNSTADT

West Side

First Row

1. Hulda Pommer, geb. Seemann, Erfurter Strasse 15 geb. 07,04,1869 - gest. 15,05,1921
Louis Pommer geb. 13,04,1864 - gest. 06,10,1937 Household goods business
2. Herz Herzberg, geb. 27,05,1852 - gest. 05.03. 1924
3. Hedwig Stern, geb Liebenthal, geb. 30,01,1863 - gest. 07,03,1924 household goods
Moritz Stern, geb. 07,03,1851 - gest. 23,12,1930 Paula Holtz, geb. Stern
geb. 19,03,1889 gest. 22,03,1936, Porcelain Business
4. Loewenthal (inscription removed)
5. Max Stern, geb. 24,11,1859 Bibra - gest. 06.09.1926 Rudolstadt

Second Row

1. Salomon Rosenbaum, Ranke strasse 1, 1864-1926 Confections
2. Bertha Rosenbaum, Fleischgasse Lane, geb. 10.01.1860-gest. 15.03,1928
Maier Rosenbaum, Cattledealer, geb. 10,03,1850 - gest. 02,02,1922
3. Sara Rosenbaum, Fleischgasse Lane 12, geb. 23,06,1866 - gest. 14,05,1929
Adelheid Rosenbaum, geb. 04,04,1862 - gest. 12,11,1930
4. Hilde Stern, geb. Mayer geb. 18,03,1880 - gest. 04,05,1930
5. Rosalie Stern, Holzmarket 7, geb. 02,09,1834 - gest. 08.04.1931

Third Row

1. Sigmund Mueller, Bahnhof straÙe 3, 1876 1932 Merchant
2. Ernst Lindemann, Market straÙe 3, geb. 26,02,1877 - gest. 24,03,1932 Men's Garments
3. Therese Heymann, Lessingstrasse 3, geb. 17,07,1857 - gest. 09,06,1932 Seamstress
4. Rosa Vorraeuter, geb. Eckmann, Ried 7 geb. 2 1,05,1874 - gest. 17,02,1933 Cattle dealer
5. Helene Freudenberger, geb. Grunbaum geb. 08.10.1866. gest. 12.07.1933 Krappgartenstr.18

Fourth Row

1. Max Pommer, Erfurter straÙe 15, geb.05.03.1867 - gest.16.06.1934 Household goods
2. Hans Behrendt, Ried 11 geb. 03,07,1891 Jena – gest .04.08.1934
3. Hermann Ehrlich, Th. Mann - straÙe 15, geb. 21,08,1884 - gest. 14,11,1936 Carpentry supplies
4. Dr. Walter Ledermann, Lessingstrasse 3, geb. 20,04,1899 - gest. 13,05,1938 Attorney
Hilde Lederrmann, Lessingstrasse 3 geb. 15,08,1903 - gest. 13,10,1938 Diploma Chemist
5. Jullus Jonas, Ritter straÙe 7 geb. 14,08,1868 - gest. 26,09,1938 Leather goods store
6. Hermann Stern, market straÙe 14 geb. 12,08,1866 - gest. 14,10,1939 Gentlemen's clothing

JEWISH COMMUNITY 1933-1945

- 1.01 *Ambach*, David, Horse dealer, Ried 10, World War I Veteran 1914 - 1818, 1939 emigrated to Amsterdam. Deported to Auschwitz, murdered there in 1944
- 1.02 *Ambach*, Paula, geb. Punt, Ried 10 married David. 1939 emigrated to Amsterdam.
Deported to Auschwitz, murdered there in 1944
- 1.03 *Appel*, Mendel (Emanuel), Textile buyer, Erfurter Str.6, geb. 26.09.1868 in Mannsbach b. Hünfeld,
gest. 09.12.1939 in Amstadt.
- 1.04 *Appel*, Laura, geb. Jüngster, Erfurter Straße 6, married Mendel Appel in Tann 05,11,1899
geb. 18,04,1874 in Tann, gest. 1940 in Arnstadt
- 1.05 *Appel*, Sophie, Shorthand-typist, Erfurter Straße 6, Daughter of Mendel Appel. Deported and
murdered after 1940
- 1.06 *Appel*, Max, Kaufmann, Erfurter Straße 6, Son of Mendel Appel - geb. 09.07.1905 in Arnstadt
emigrated to Cincinnati, Ohio,USA, Died there in 1986.

- 1.07 *Appel*, Simon, Buyer, Erfurter Straße 6, Brother of Mendel Appel. Emigrated after 1940
- 1.08 *Arendt*, Arnold, Buyer, Unterm Markt 8, Taken to Buchenwald in 1938.
1939 Emigrated to Buenos Aires, Died there in 1945
- 1.09 *Arendt*, Fanny, geb. Adelsdorfer, Unterm Markt 8, Married Arnold Arendt, Sister of Rosa Rosenberg, 1939 Emigrated to Buenos Aires, Died there in 1958.
- 1.10 *Arendt*, Siegbert, Unterm Markt 8, Son of Arnold Arendt, Married Hertha, geb. Selbiger, geb 25.03.1903 in Arnstadt. 1938 Emigrated to Montevideo, Uruguay. Died there in 1977
- 1.11 *Arendt*, Manfred, Unterm Markt 8, Son of Arnold Arendt, geb. 10.04.1907 in Arnstadt. Taken to Buchenwald in 1938. Emigrated to Argentina in 1938, with entry permit obtained by his brother.Erich Arendt. Died in Buenos Aires in 1948.
- 1.12 *Arendt*, Erich, Unterm Markt 8, Son of Arnold Arendt, geb. 09.04.1912 in Arnstadt.
1936 Emigrated to Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- 1.13 *Arendt*, Helmuth, Unterm Markt 8, Son of Arnold Arendt, geb. 10.03.1915 in Arnstadt.
Emigrated to England, Emigrated Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1949.
- 1.14 *Behrendt*, Hans, Ried 11, geb. 03.07.1891 in Jena, gest. 04.08.1934 in Arnstadt (Jewish Cemetery of Arnstadt)
- 1.15 *Behrendt*, Reni, geb. Friedmann, Ried 11 Daughter of Max Friedmann, Married Hans Behrendt, Emigrated to Holland in 1937, deported and murdered from Holland.
- 1.16 *Bremer*, Frieda, geb Mendel, Ried 7, (1940 Kasseler Straße 31)geb. 19.04.1879 in Arnstadt, Daughter of Abraham Mendel, Sister of Adolph Mendel.1942 deported to Theresienstadt, Murdered there.
Bremer, Ehemann Max in Seesen/Harz, Parliament Delegate in Braunschweig,1933. Killed in Prison.
- 1.17 *Bremer*, Käthe, Kasseler Straße 31, geb. 31.03.1904 in Arnstadt.
Daughter of Frieda Bremer. 27.03.1940. Emigrated to Brooklyn NY, USA, died there in 1987 .
- 1.18 *Ehrlich*, Hermann, Kaufmann, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, geb. 21.08.1884, gest. 14.11.1936 in Arnstadt.
- 1.19 *Ehrlich*, Berta, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, Married to Hermann Ehrlich, deported to Theresienstadt, Murdered.
- 1.20 *Ehrlich*, Lydia, Schneiderin, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, Daughter of Hermann Ehrlich. Deported with Mother to Theresienstadt, Murdered
- 1.21 *Ehrlich*, Kurt, Tischlereibedarf, Thomas-Mann-Str. 15, nach 1937 emigriert nach den USA, dort gestorben.
- 1.022 *Ehrlich*, Irma, geb. Bacherach, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15. geb. 13.10.1904 in Kitzingen, verheiratet mit Kurt Ehrlich, nach 1937 emigriert nach den USA, 1992 in Gaethfield/Ms gestorben.
- 1.023 *Freudenberf*<e.; Maier, Viehtreiber, Krappgartenstr. 18 (1940 Marlittstraße 10 a) Schicksal

unbekannt.

- 1.024 *Freudenberie*, Helene, geb. Grünbaum, Krappgartenstr. 18, geb. 08.10.1866, gest. 12.07.1933 in Arnstadt.
- 1.025 *Friedmann*, Max, Pferde- und Viehhändler, Ried 11, nach 1938 emigriert nach Holland, dort gestorben am Herzschlag wegen deutscher Besetzung am 10.05.1940
- 1.026 *Friedmann*, Lina, geb. Ambach, Ried 11, Schwester von David Ambach, verheiratet mit Max Friedmann, nach 1938 nach Holland emigriert, von dort deportiert und ermordet.
- 1.027 *Friedmann*, Rosa, Ried 11, geb. 19.06.1907 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Max Friedmann, Schwester von Reni Behrendt. Nach 1938 emigriert nach Holland, von dort deportiert, hat überlebt, 1987 in Amsterdam gestorben. Ihr Mann ist im KZ umgekommen.
- 1.028 *Gottfrld*, Alfred, Kirchgasse 10, Textilgeschäft, Erfurter Straße 39 (Spittel). Kriegsteilnehmer 1914-1918, EK II und Verwundetenabzeichen. 1938 Buchenwald, dort November 1938 ermordet.
- 1.029 *Gottfeld*, Regina, Kirchgasse 10 (1940 Unterm Markt 8), verheiratet mit Alfred Gottfeld, deportiert nach Auschwitz, ermordet.
- 1.030 *Gottfrld*, Ilse, Kirchgasse 10, Tochter von Alfred Gottfeld, verheiratete Slencka, ca. 1934 emigriert nach Uruguay, dort gestorben.
- 1.031 *Gottfeld*, Werner, Kirchgasse 10, geb. 22.07.1905 in Friedrichroda, Sohn von Alfred Gottfeld, KPD-Mitglied, 1935 verhaftet und verurteilt, 1940 KZ in Polen, dort 1944 ermordet. Gedenkstein auf dem Friedhof.
- 1.032 *Goujdd*, Rita, Hausgehilfin, Kirchgasse 10, geb. 30.08.1909 in Friedrichroda, Tochter von Alfred Gottfeld, in Berlin tätig, seit 1940 bei der Mutter Unterm Markt 8, mit dieser deportiert nach Auschwitz, ermordet.
- 1.033 *Gu,hniunn*, Isidor, Händler, Obergasse 13 (1940 Kasseleer StralSe 15) geb. 1881, SPD-Mitglied, 1944 deportiert nach Auschwitz, ermordet, Gedenkstein auf dem Friedhof, Ehefrau evangelisch.
- 1.034 *Guumcinn*, Lucie, Geschäftsinhaberin, Th.-Mann-Str.15, 1940 nicht mehr in Arnstadt, Witwe von Bernhard Guttmann, gest. 1931 (Judenfriedhof), Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.035 *Heilbrunn*, Abraham, Lehrer der Synagogengemeinde, Fleischgasse 1 a, geb. 01.06. 1874 in Spangenberg, 1939 emigriert nach Palästina.
- 1.036 *Heilbrunn*, Lina, Fleischgasse 1 a, geb. 11.11. 1876 in Spangenberg, verheiratet mit Abraham Heilbrunn, 1939 emigriert nach Palästina.
- 1.037 *Heilh,unu*, Hilde, Fleischgasse 1 a, geb. ca. 1903, Tochter von Abraham Heilbrunn, emigriert nach Frankreich.
- 1.038 *Heil/wann*, Oskar, Fleischgasse 1 a, geb. 15.09.1907, Sohn von Abraham Heilbrunn, 1939 emigriert

nach Palästina.

- 1.039 *Heß*, Frieda, Lessingstraße 3, erst 1940 in Arnstadt, vorher nicht im Adreßbuch, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.040 *Hirsch*, Emma, Lessingstraße 3,
1940 novh in Arnstadt, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.041 *Hirschmann*, Siegmund, Bankdirektor, Finanzrat, Karolinenstraße 2, 1. Stellvertr. Stadtrat, Verwaltungsrat im Marienstift bis 1933, :~eb. 30.07.1857 in Fürth, getauft 30.04.1903, Christ, Kriegsteilnehmer 1914 - 1918, Schwarzb. Ehrenkreuz, 17.03.1943 deportiert nach Buchenwald, später dort ermordet.
- 1.042 *Hirschmann*, Eugenie, geb. Oidenstein, Kan>linenstraße 2, geb. 21.02.1863 in Nürnberg, heiratet dort 01.04.1883 Siegmund Hirschmann, getauft 30.04.1903 in Arnstadt, Christ, 17.03.1943 deportiert nach Buchenwald, später dort ermordet.
- 1.043 *Hirschmann*, Walter, Bankdirektor, Am Mispelgütchen 3, geb. 29.03.1885 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Siegmund Hirschmann, getauft 05.06. 1898 in Arnstadt, Christ, heiratet 1911 Franziska, geb. Maier, evangelisch (gest. 1974 in Karlsruhe), Kriegsteilnehmer 1914- 1918, Hauptmann, EKI, 1935 Berufsverbot. 1938 Buchenwald, April 1943 deportiert nach Auschwitz, Februar 1945 nach Buchenwald verlegt, dort ermordet,
- 1.044 *Hirschmann*, Eva, Studienrätin, Dr. theol., Am Mispelgütchen 3, geb. 16.02.1913 in Ilmenau als Tochter von Walter Hirschmann, getauft, Christ, als „Halbjude“ eingestuft, Berufsverbot, Eheverbot, 1945 - 1951 Lehrerin in Arnstadt, 1952 Übersiedlung in die BRD, 1955 verheiratete Schwarz.
- 1.045 *Hirschmann*, Werner, Am Mispelgütchen 3, geb. 15.05.1920 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Walter Hirschmann, getauft am 22.08.1922 in Arnstadt, Christ, als „Halbjude“ eingestuft. im Krieg Soldat, dann als Mischling 1‘ zur Organisation Todt versetzt, nach 1945 Geschäftsinhaber in Arnstadt, 1951 Umzug in die BRD, gest. 1984 in Karlsruhe.
- 1.046 *Hol:*, Paula, geb. Stern, Rosenstraße 34, geb. 19.03.1889, gest. 22.03.1936 in Arnstadt.
- 1.047 *inwx*. Julius, Viehhändler, Ritterstraße 7,
2eb. 14.08.1868, gest. 26.09.1938 in Arnstadt.
- 1.048 *Jo,ws*, Sophia, geb. Bloch, Ritterstraße 7, (1940 Karolinenstraße 2)
verheiratet mit Julius Jonas, deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.049 *Katz*, Siegmund, Viehhändler, Karl-Marien-Straße 11, nach 1940 deportiert und ermordet.1.050
Katz. Röschen, geb. Samuel, Karl-Marien-Straße II,
verheiratet mit Siegmund Katz,
nach 1940 deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.051 *Kot:*, Dagobert, Angestellter, Kart-Marien-Straße 11, geb. 24.06.1909 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Siegmund Katz, nach 1940 deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.052 *Katzenstein*, Fanny. geb. Mendel, Ried 7, (später Kasseler Straße‘3 1 >Tochter von Abraham Mendel, Witwe von Leopold Katzenstein, (vgl. 3.059, deportiert, ermordet.

- 1.053 *Kunke*. Getta, geb. Oppenheim, verw. Scheinfeld,
Erfurter Straße 6, geb. 06.11.1880 in Niederaich Kr Hersfeld, zieht uni 27.08. 194(> angeblich
nach Erfurt. Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.054 *Lc'dermann*, Max, Eisenwarengeschäft, Lessingstraße 3, Seit 1~00 Vorstand der
Synagogengemeinde, Selbstmord vor dem Abtransport ins KZ.
- 1.055. *Ledernzann*, Minna, geb. Bill, Lessingstraße 3, verheiratet mit Max Lcdermann,
Selbstmord vor dem Abtransport ins KZ.
- 1.056 *Ledermann*, Walter, Dr.jur. Rechtsanwalt, Lessingstr. 3, geb. 20.04.1899, Sohn von Max
Ledermann. Kriegsteilnehmer 1917 -1918, 13.05.1938 Selbstmord.
- 1.057 *Ledermann*, Ernst, Dr. rer. pol., Lessingstraße 3, Sohn von Max Ledermann, Emigriert nach New
York.
- 1.058 *Leder,nann*, Hilda. Dipl.-Chemikerin, Lessingstraße 3, geb. 15.08.1903 in Arnstadt,
Tochter von Max Ledermann, 13.10.1938 Selbstmord.
- 1.059 *Ledermann*, Friederike, Privatiere, Lessingstraße 3, Schwester von Max Lcdermann, Schicksal
unbekannt.
- 1.060 *Leopold*, Herbert, Kau Umann, Marktstraße 6,
1938 Buchenwald, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.061 *Leopold*. Betty, Marktstraße 6,
verheiratet mit Herbert Leopold, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.062 *Lewin*, Ilse, geb. Ambach, Ried 10,
geb. 25.03.1904 in Arnstadt, Tochter von David Ambach, 1939 emigriert nach den USA, San
Franzisco, mit Mann und Tochter, dort 1994 gestorben.
- 1.063 *Lewin*, Margot, Ried 10,
geb. ca. 1927 in Halle, Tochter von Ilse Lewin, -1939 emigriert nach San Franzisco.
- 1.064 *Lindemann*, Hedwig, geb. Reiter, Gehrener Straße 11 a, Witwe von Ernst Lindemann,
Berufsbekleidungsfabrik, Nachdem alle drei Kinder emigriert waren, zog sie Mai 1939 zu ihrer
Schwester nach München, vonwo sie zurückkehren mußte, deportiert nach „Riga~~“, ermordet.
- 1.065 *Lindemann*. Kurt, Dr. jur., Gehrener Straße 11 a, geb. 08.05.1909 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Ernst
Lindemann, KPD-Mitglied, 1938 Buchenwald, Mai 1939 emigriert nach New York.
- 1.066 *Mendel*, Adolph, Viehhändler, Ried 7,
geb. 19.03.1875 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Abraham Mendel,
1904 erwarb er das Grundstück für die neue Synagoge,
1938 Buchenwald, 1939 emigriert über Genua nach Chile,
gestorben 1950 in Santiago dc Chile.
- 1.067 *Mendel*, Berta, geb. Rosenthal, Ried 7, verheiratet mit Adolph Mendel, 1939 emigriert über Genua
nach Chile, gestorben 1943 in Santiago de Chile.
- 1 .06X *Mendel*, Alfred, Ried 7,
geb. 26.07.1907 in Atnstadt, Sohn von Adolph Mendel, 1936 emigriert nach Palästina, ca. 1960
nach den USA, gest. 1963 in New Vork.

- 1.069 *Mendel*, Irmgard, verehelichte Strauß, Rind 7, geb. 24.01.1909 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Adolph Mendel, 1934 emigriert nach New York..
- 1.070 *Mendel*, Gertrud, verehelichte Weinstein, Ried 7, geb. 05.12.1915 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Adolph Mendel, Januar 1939 emigriert über Hamburg nach Santiago de Chile.
- 1.071 *Mendel*, Julius, Ried 7, geb. 24.10.1919 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Adolph Mendel, 1939 emigriert von München nach Santiago de Chile, dort 1963 gestorben.
- 1.072 *Müller*, Albert, Farbengeschäft, Bahnhofstraße 5, Bruder von Siegmund Müller, 1937/1938 emigriert nach Argentinien, dort gestorben.
- 1.073 *Müller*, Martha, geb. Vollmann, Bahnhofstraße 5, verheiratet mit Albert Müller, 1937/1938 emigriert nach Argentinien, dort gestorben.
- 1.074 *Müller*, Margot, Bahnhofstraße 5, geb. 20.08.1908 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Albert Müller, 1936 emigriert nach Argentinien, besorgt für Eltern und Bruder das Affidavit, gestorben in Buenos Aires.
- 1.075 *Müller*, Hans, Jurist und Volkswirt, Bahnhofstraße 5, geb. 22.02.1911 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Albert Müller, 1937/1938 emigriert nach Argentinien, gestorben am 23.07.1987 in Buenos Aires.
- 1.076 *Müller*, Rosa, geb. Freudenberg, Bahnhofstraße 3, (1940 Kasseler Straße 31), Witwe von Siegmund Müller, vgl. 3.076, nach 1940 emigriert nach England, dort gestorben.
- 1.077 *Müller*, Margarethe, Bahnhofstraße 3, geb. 03.10.1905 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Siegmund Müller, vor 1937 nach England ausgewandert.
- 1.078 *Müller*, Carola, Bahnhofstraße 3, geb. 02.05.1908 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Siegmund Müller, vor 1937 emigriert nach Australien.
- 1.079 *Müller*, Martin, Bahnhofstraße 3, Sohn von Siegmund Müller, vor 1937 emigriert nach den USA, dort 1985 gestorben.
- 1.080 *Neuburger*, Adolf, Kaufmann, Oberbaurat-Acker- Str.7, geb. 10.01.1894, galt als „Halbjude“, 1944 in ein Arbeitslager bei Leuna geholt. 1945 zurückgekehrt, 1977 in Arnstadt gestorben.
- 1.081 *Pillwinzki*, Julius, Arbeiter, Lindenallee 2, 1940 noch in Arnstadt, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.082 *Pillwinzki*, Sohn von Julius, emigriert nach den USA,
- 1.083 *Pommer*, Louis, Haushaltwarengeschäft, Erfurter Str. 15, geb. 13.04.1864, gest. 06.10.1937 in Arnstadt, 1. Ehe mit Hulda, geb. Seemann, vgl. 3.081, 2. Ehe mit Erna, gesch. Lichtenstein.
- 1.084 *Pommer*, Erna, gesch. Lichtenstein, Erfurter Straße 15, geb. 03.07.1890 Bad Orb., 1940 verzoogen zu 5. Hirschmann, Karolinenstraße 2, deportiert und ermordet in Theresienstadt oder Auschwitz.

- 1.085 *Pommer*, Max, Brfurer Straße 15,
geb. 05.03.1867, Bruder von Lonis,
gest. 16.06.1934 in Arnstadt.
- 1.086 *Rosenbaum*, Hermann, Kaufmann, Kasseler Straße 31, Sohn von Meier Rosenbaum,
Metaliwarenhandlung, 23.11.1939 emigriert nach New York.
- 1.087 *Rosenbaum*, Paula, geb. Grünbaum, Kasseler Straße 31, geb. 04.06.1891 in Gemünden/Ufr.,
verheiratet mit Hermann Rosenbaum, 23.11.1939 emigriert nach New York.
- 1.088 *Rosenhauni*, Gertrud, Kasseler Straße 31, Tochter von Hermann Rosenbaum,
23.11.1939 emigriert nach New York, dort verheiratete Jonas.
- 1.089 *Roxenhauni*, Leo, Viehhändler, Fleischgasse 1 a, Sohn von Meier, Bruder von Hermann
Rosenbaum, emigriert nach Belgien, dort deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.090 *Rosenbaum*, Hermine, geb. Weiß, Fleischgasse 1 a, verheiratet mit Leo Rosenbaum,
emigriert nach Belgien, dort deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.091 *Rosenbaum*, Joachim, Fleischgasse 1 a, Sohn von Leo Rosenbaum, geb. 14.05.1911 in Arnstadt,
emigriert nach Belgien, dort deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.092 *Rosenbaum*, Siegfried, Fleischgasse 1 a, Viehhändler, geb. 29.07.1912 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Leo
Rosenbaum. emigriert nach Belgien, dort deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.093 *Rosenbaum*, Esther, geb. Herzberg, Konfektionsgeschäft. Rankestraße 1, Witwe von Salomon
Rosenbaum, vgl. 3.084, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.094 *Rosenbauni*, Alfred, Konfektionsgeschäft, Rankestraße 1, Sohn von Salomon Rosenbaum, emigriert
nach England, dort gestorben.
- 1.095 *Rosenbau*,n. Lilli, Rankestraße 1,
geb. 25.08.1901 ,Tochter von Salomon Rosenbaum, emigriert nach England.
- 1.096 *Rosenbaum*, Julius, Rankestraße 1, Sohn von Salomon Rosenberg,
emigriert nach England, dort gestorben.
- 1097 *Ro.senberg*, Salli (Salomon), Vtehandlung, Bahnhofstr. 8. deportiert nach Theresienstadt,
ermordet.
- 1.098 *Rosenberg* ‘ Rosa, **geb. Adelsdorfer, Bahnhofstraße 8**, verheiratet mit Salli Rosenberg, Schweußer
von Fanny Arendt, deportiert nach Theresienstadt, ermordeL
- 1.099 *Rosenberg*, Erna, Bahnhofstraße 8,
Tochter von Salli Rosenberg, verehelichte Strauß, mit ihrem einjährigen Sohn nach Polen
deportiert zur Zwangsarbeit in Fabrik, verschollen.
- 1.100 *Rosenberg-Strauß*, Kind, Bahnhofstraße 8, Sohn von Erna Rosenberg, mit ihr nach Polen
deportiert. verschollen.
- 1.101 *Samuel*, Max, Viehhändler, Karl-Marien-Straße 17, geb. 10.01.1882 in Affordern/Waldeck, seit
01.03.1940 bei Ehrlich, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, deportiert, ermordet.

- 1.102 *Samuel*, Rosa, geb. Heldmann, Karl-Marien-Straße 17, geb. 28.03.1883 in Gochsheim/Ufr., verheiratet mit Max Samuel, deportiert, ermordet.
- 1.103 *Samuel*, Rike (Erika), Karl-Marien-Straße 17 geb. 03.02.1912 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Max Samuel, emigriert nach den USA.
- 1.104 *Schaul*, Max, Kürschnermeister, Herzog-Hedarl-Str. 16, Sohn von Tobias Schaul und Rosalie, geb. Flatau,
1. Ehe 1894 mit Agnes Minna Rosine, geb. Rosenbaum,
gesch., 2. Ehe 26.12.1905 mit Julia, geb. Joseph, 1937 in Arnstadt gestorben.
- 1.105 *Schaul*, Julia, geb. Joseph, Herzog-Hedan-Straße 16, seit 01.03.1940 bei Ehrlich, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, geb. 26.07.1879 in Dortmund, verheiratet mit Max Schaul, 1942 deportiert, vergast im KZ Belzec bei Lublin.
- 1.106 *Schaul*, Theodor, Herzog-Hedan-Straße 16, geb. 19.09.1907 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Max Schaul, April 1938 emigriert nach Australien, 1981 dort gestorben.
- 1.107 *Schaul*, Dora, Herzog-Hedan-Straße 16,
(1940 Thomas-Mann-Straße 15),
geb. 20.08.1910 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Max Schaul,
1942 mit Mutter deportiert, vergast im KZ Belzec bei Lublin.
- 1.108 *Schaul*, Paula, verh. Stern, Herzog-Hedan-Straße 16,
(1940 Kasseler Straße 15),
geb. 22.08.1922 in Arnstadt, Tochter von Max Schaul,
01.11.1940 Umschulungslager Neuendoif b. Flirstenwalde,
dort verheiratet mit Klaus Stern, (vgl. 2.01.),
1943 deportiert nach Auschwitz,
1945 befreit und zurückgekehrt,
bald danach nach Seattle/USA emigriert.
- 1.109 *Schmelz*, Berta, Sekretärin, Ritterstraße 3/5, geb. 27.03.1911 in Mainz, Februar 1945 zugezogen mit Kind aus Polen über Ilsenburg, der Vernichtung entkommen, 1948 Lessingstraße 21, später in die Westzone gegangen.
- 1.110 *Schmelz*, Josef, Ritterstraße 3/5,
geb. 16.11.1941 in Mainz, mit der Mutter überlebt.
- 1.111 *Simon*, Hermann, Manufakturwarenhandlung, Bahnhofstraße 34, geb. 14.12.1872, 1940 Karolinenstraße 2, deportiert nach Theresienstadt, dort 30.09.1942 ermordet, 1938 Buchenwald.
- 1.112 *Simon*, Fanny, geb. Gutmann, Bahnhofstraße 34, (1940 Karolinenstraße 2) geb. in Kissingen, verheiratet mit Hermann Simon, deportiert nach Theresienstadt, dort 15.01.1943 ermordet.
- 1.113 *Simon*, Walter, Bahnhofstraße 34,
geb. 24.07.1904 in Arnstadt, Sohn von Hermann Simon, Juli 1937 emigriert nach New York, lebt dort 1988.

Simon, Georg, Herrenmoden, Rosenstraße 10, geb. 09.01.1884 in Karschin Kr. Konitz, nicht mit Hermann Simon verwandt, deportiert und ermordet.

- 1.115 *Simon, Julia*, Rosenstraße 10,
geb. 20.04.1893 in Kobyben Kr. Posen,
verh. mit Georg Simon, deportiert und ermordet.
- 1.116 *Simon, Inge*, Rosenstraße 10,
geb. 29.09.1925 in Berlin, Tochter von Georg Simon, 01.11.1940 (angeblich) wegen TBC-
Verdacht
in ein Heim verschickt, verschollen.
- 1.117 *Stavenhagen, Friederike*, geb. Liebert, Privariere, Markt 4, Witwe des Pferdehändlers Martin
Stavenhagen, Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.118 *Stavenldagen, Hans*. Landwirt, Markt 4, geb. 31.01. 1898 in Berlin, Sohn von Martin und
Friederike Stavenhagen,
12.07.1920 in Arnstadt zugezogen, getauft 19.09.1920 in Arnstadt, Christ, 1941 aus der Kirche ausgeschlossen, (bis
1945), verheiratet mit Marie-Eva Haack, evangelisch, (gestorben 1954 in Arnstadt), Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.119 *Stern, Hermann*, Herrenbekleidung, Marktstraße 14, geb. 12.08.1866 in Bibra b. Meiningen, Sohn von Moses Stern
(vgl. 3.097), 1938 Buchenwald, gestorben 14.10.1939 in Arnstadt.
- 1.120 *Szer,i, Recha*, geb. Lowenthal, Marktstraße 14, geb. 11.08.1871 in Möringen, 12.08.1896 verheiratet mit Hermann
Stern in Bleicherode/Harz, deportiert nach Theresienstadt, von dort durch Frau Roosevelt freigekauft, emigriert
nach England, dort gestorben,
- 1.121 *Stern. Käthe*, Marktstraße 14, Tochter von Hermann Stern, deportiert nach Theresienstadt, von dort durch Frau
Roosevelt freigekauft, emigriert nach England, 1994 in London gestorben.
- 1.122 *Stern, Arthur*, Marktstraße 14,
Sohn von Hermann Stern, in Prag ermordet.
- 1.123 *Vorräuter, Hermann*, Viehhändler, Ried 7, deportiert und ermordet.
- 1.124 *Vorräuter, Rosa*, geb. Eckmann, Ried 7, geb. 2 1.05.1874, gest. 17.02.1933 in Arnstadt.
- 1.125 *Vo,-räuter*, Sohn von Hermann, Ried 7, deportiert und ermordet.
- 1.126 *Wolf, Bernhard*, Viehhändler, Ritterstraße 2, geb. 11.12.1867 in Barchfeld, 10.03.1916 zugezogen, 12.11.1900
verheiratet mit Ida, geb. Laun, evangelisch (1877 - 1952), deportiert nach Theresienstadt, 1945 befreit, gestorben
nach 1952.
- 1.127 *Wolf, Siegfried*, Buchdrucker, Ritterstraße 2, geb. 28.06.1901, Sohn von Bernhard Wolf, als Halbjude eingestuft.
Schicksal unbekannt.
- 1.128 *Wolferrmann, Sally* (Salomon), Handelszmann, Karl-Marien-Straße 26, geb. 20.12.1876 in Eisenach, 08.03.1940
emigriert nach Kapstadt/Südafrika.
- 1.129 *Wolferrmann, Caroline*, geb. Lehmann, Karl-Marien-Straße 26, geb. 30.01.1876 in Oberzenn/Mfr., verheiratet mit
Sally Wolferrmann, 08.03.1940 emigriert nach Kapstadt/Südafrika.
- 1.130 *Wolferrmann, Leo*, Karl-Marieri-Straße 26, geb. 08.04.1906, Sohn von Sally Wolferrmann, 08.03.1940 emigriert
nach Kapstadt/Südafrika.

- 1.131 *Wolfermann*, Alfred, Karl-Marien-Straße 26, geb.25.03. 1908, Sohn von Sally Wotfermann, 08.03.1940 emigriert nach Kapstadt/Südafrika.
- 1.132 *Wolpiansky*, Anton, Bau-Ing., Kaufmann, Zimmerstraße 16, geb. 20.01.1876 in Konstantinograd/Rußland. getauft 27.03.1907 in Arnstadt, heiratet am 25.12.1907 Elli Winne (1881-1954), evangelisch, nicht als Jude erfaßt, gestorben 1978, (102 Jahre).
- 1.119

1945 BEFREITE KZ-HÄFTLINGE

- 2.01 *S(ern*, Klaus, Dekorateur, geb. 01.05.1921 in Breslau, 02.08.1942 Umschulungslager Neuendorf bei Fürstenwalde, dort verheiratet mit Paula Schaul (vgl. 1.1 08) ,seit 20.04.1943 KZ AuschwitzBirkenau,von dort am 24.08.1945 zugezogen nach Zimmerstraße 13.
- 2.02 *Finkelscherer*, Gerda, geb. Adler, Krankenschwester, geb. 02.11.1921 in Mittelsheim/Mfr., zugezogen aus
2.03 Auschwitz, Zimmerstraße 21, verzogen am 30.08.1945 nach Hildburghausen, München, Nürnberg, dort 1981 gestorben.
- 2.03 *Monat*, Hermann, Gärtner, geb. 28.09.1906 in Berlin, zugezogen 17.07.1945 von KZ Auschwitz nach Zimmerstraße 21.
- 2.04 *Kuniansky*, Margort, Kontoristin, geb. 11.11.1922 in Plauen, zugezogen 29.08.1945, von Halle nach Zimmerstraße 21, Freunde von Paula Stern aus Neuendorf/Auschwitz.
- 2.05 *Groß*, Ruth, Krankenschwester, geb. 28.05.1921 in Butzbach, zugezogen vom KZ Berlin nach Lohmühlenweg 2.
- 2.06. *Groß*. Joachim, Schüler, geb. 15.06.1925 in Butzbach, zugezogen am 17.09.1945 vom KZ Berlin nach Lohmühlenweg 2.
- 2.07 *Grunwald*, Max, geb. 24.06.1923 in Schwabach, zugezogen am 17.09.1945 vom KZ Berlin nach Lehmühlenweg 2.
- 2.08 *Grunwald*, geb. 13.12.1925 in Schwabach, zugezogen am 17.09. 1945 vom KZ Berlin nach Lohmühlenweg 2.
- 2.09 *Kuchill*, Alex, geb. 31.03.1924 in Schwabach, zugezogen am 17.09.1945 vom KZ Berlin nach Lohmühlenweg 2.
- 2.10 *Rosen wasser*, Sonja, geb. 06.04.1927 in Schwabach, - zugezogen am 17.09.1945 vom KZ Berlin nach Lohmühlenweg 2.
- 2.11 *Zweig*, Fritz, Kaufmann, Angestellter, Jude, geb. 04.09.1894 in Breslau, zugezogen am 11.12.1945 nach Lohmühlenweg 17.

2.12 *Zweig*, Hedwig, geb. Schwytz, katholisch, geb. 17.10.1903 in Oppeln, -
zugezogen am 11.12.1945 nach Lohmühlenweg 17,

2.13 *Zweig*, Jutta,
geb. 29.03.1936 in Breslau,
zugezogen am 11.12.1945 nach Lohmühlenweg 17.

JÜDISCHE MITBÜRGER VOR 1933

3.00,1 *Amhach*, Simon, Pferdehändler, Ried 12 (1902) verh. 1869 mit

3.002 *Ambach*, Fanny, geb Rosenbaum, Ried 12 geb. 20.07. 1845 Kleinbairdorf, Tv. Raphael R. und Stany, gest.
25.06.1914 in Arnstadt.

3.003 *Boot*; Mordka, Kaufmann, verh. mit

3.004 *Baat*; Pepi, geb. Hochrath

3.005 *Baar*, Helene,
geb. 24.01.1919 Arnstadt, Tv. Mordka und Pepi

3.006 *Bacharach*, Levi, Lehrer, Ritterstraße 7 (1891), wgz. Eschwege, verh. mit

3.007 *Bacharach*, geb Jonas, Tv. Juda Jonas, vgl. 3.045

3.008 *Blumenthal*, Ilse, Ried 7 (1902),
geb. 03.06.1904 Arnstadt,
Tv. Viehhändler Salomon El. und Regine, geb. Kahn

3.009 *Czarnikow*, Numa, Bankvorsteher, Karolinenstraße 9 (1891), geb. 26.01.1844 Sondershausen, Sv. Kommerzienrat
Moritz C. und Johanne, geb. Boer, Übertritt zur evangelischen Kirche 19.12.1903 Arnstadt, verh. mit Hedwig, geb.
Haenel, evang.

3.010 *Czarnikow*, Hans,
geb. in Sondershausen, 1880 Abitur Arnstadt, seit 1892 Justizrat Halle, 1914-1918 Major

3.011 *Dörnberg*, **Max**, Commis, Erfurter Straße 8, wgz. 1910.

3.012 *Dörnberg*, Moses, Kaufmann, Kantor, Erfurter Straße 8, geb. 19.07.1832 Plaue, Sv. Süßmann D. und Caroline,
Kfm. Eschege, gest. 28.09.1904 Arnstadt, best. Plane, 2. Ehe mit

3.013 *Dörnberg*, Jeanette, geb. Liebenthal, Erfurter Straße 8,
2 Söhne, 3 Töchter.

- 3.014 *Ehrlich*, geb. Romberg, Caroline, Ried 7 (1891), verh. 1869 Lehrer Hermann Ehrlich, 1891 verw.
- 3.015 *Ehrlich*, Max, Hutfabrikant, Ried 1(1891), geb. 30.11.1851 Berkach bei Meiningen, Sv. Hermann E. und Caroline, geb. Romberg, verh. 21.06.1882 mit
- 3.016 *Ehrlich*, Bertha, geb. Schloß, Ried 1, 6 Kinder.
- 3.017 *Emmerich*, Hugo Bernhard, Kaufmann, verh. mit
- 3.018 *Emmerich*, Mathilde, geb. Oppenheimer, 3 Kinder.
- 3.019 *Emmerich*, Ruth Liesel,
geb. 10.05.1921, Tv. Hugo und Mathilde E.
- 3.020 *Emmerich*, Lothar Felix,
geb. 30.04.1922, Sv. Hugo und Mathilde E.
- 3.021 *Frank*, Herbert, Bankbeamter in Erfurt, geb. 03.10.1898 Arnstadt.
Sv. Samuel F. und Meta Henle, gefallen 29.03.1918 Monci Je Preuse/Frankreich.
- 3.022 *Frank*, Samuel, Kaufmann, Arnstadt, gest. Erfurt, verh. mit
- 3.023 *Frank*, Meta, geb. Henle, 3 Kinder.
- 3.024 *Frank*, Curt, geb. 05.10.1901 Arnstadt, Sv. Samuel und Meta F.
- 3.025 *Frank*, Rudolf, geb. 01.07.1903 in Arnstadt, Sv. Samuel und Meta F.
- 3.026 *Friedmann*, Isaac, Viehhändler, Ritterstraße 7 (1891)
- 3.027 *Friedmann*, Lazarus, verh. mit
- 3.028 *Friedmann*, Julie, geb. Compart, (Tochter Jenny, geb. 13.08.1896, verh. 28.12.1892 Simon Grünstein, Viehhändler Ilmenau, gest. 07.07. 1896 Ilmenau).
- 3.029 *Friedmann*, Jacob, Viehhändler, Ried 11(1891).
bis 1886 Rittergasse.
- 3.030 *Goldmann*, Paul, Conditior, Karl-Marien-Straße 66(1891)
- 3.031 *Goldschmidt*, Sigismund, Prakt. Arzt, Kohlgasse 1 (1891)

- 3.032 *Gutmann*, Alfred, Fabrikdirektor, Mühlweg 2 (1928), gest. 03.10.1932 in Arnstadt, verh. mit
- 3.033 *Gutmann*, Klara
- 3.034 *Guttmann*, Bernhard, Thomas-Mann-Straße 15, gest. 1931 Arnstadt, verh. mit Lucie G., vgl 1.034.
- 3.035 *Hassenstein*, Elise, Rentiere, Marlittstraße 23 (1891)
- 3.036 *Heldmann*, Rieka, geb. Lustig,
geb. 03.02.1848 Nusleben, Tv. Selignann u. Miriam L., gest. 1918 Arnstadt, best. Plaue, 4 Kinder.
- 3.037 *Herda*, David Christian,
geb. 18.02.1846, gest. 06.09.1919, verh. mit
- 3.038 *Herda*, Henriette Therese Friederike. geb. Hesse, geb. 19.10.1845, gest. 21.09.1921.
- 3.039 *Herzberg*, Herz,
geb. 27.05.1852, gest. 05.03.1924 Arnstadt.
- 3.040 *I-Ievmann*, Heymann, Hausierer, Karl-Marien-Straße 62, geb. 29.12.1848, Sv. Moses und Eva H. gest. 13.10.1915
Arnstadt, verh. mit
- 3.041 *Heymann*. Therese, Karl-Marien-Straße 62, geb. 17.07. 1857, gest. 09.06.1932 Arnstadt,
- 3.042 *Hevmann*, Moses, Garderobehändler, Rankestraße 21, verh. mit
- 3.043 *Hevmann*. Eva, geb. Michael.
- 3.044 *Hi,-schmann*, Else, Karolinenstraße 2 geb. 09.01.1887 in Arnstadt, Tv. Siegmund Hirschmann, getauft 05.06.1898
Arnstadt, Christ, Heirat 1917 Dr. med. Kurt Bingold, der ihretwegen die Stellung des Klinikdirektors in Nürnberg
verliert, gest. 1970 in München.
- 3.045 *Jonas*. Juda, Viehhändler, Ritterstraße 7 (1891), gest. 11.07. 1899 Arnstadt. verh. mit
- 3.046 *Jonas*, Rieka, geb. Strupp, Ritterstraße 7,
geb. 19.08.1833 in Neuhaus/Ufr., gest. 17.02.1914 Arnstadt, best. Plaue.
- 3.047 *Jonas*, Minni, Ritterstraße 7,
Tv. Julius Jonas (vgl. 1.047), geb. 1899.
1922 verh. Heimann, 1927 in Stuttgart,
1939 emigriert nach USA, gest. 1990 in Lakewood NJ.

- 3.048 *Kahn*, Salomon, Kaufmann,
geb. 12.03. 1826, Sv, Mendel und Therese, geb Eckstein aus Gleicherwiesen, gest. 02.06.1905 Arnstadt. best.
Plaue, verh. mit
- 3.049 *Kahn*, Jutte, geb. Friedmann
- 3.050 *Kah*,. Max, Kaufmann, verh. mit
- 3.051 *Kuhn*, Grete, geb. Behrendt
- 3.052 *Kahn*, Lothar Siegfried,
geb. 24.08.1909 in Arnstadt, Sv. Max und Grete K.
- 3.053 *Katz*, Nathan, Viehhändler,
geb. 19.03.1840 Niederurff, Sv. Viehhändler David K. und Gella geb. Israel, verh. 26.08.1874 mit
- 3.054 *Katz*, Fradchen, geb. Rosenbusch,
geb. 12.05.1847 Hessen, Tv. Herz R. und Frommel, geb. Stern, gest. 05.08.1914 Arnstadt,
- 3.055 *Katzenstein*, Meier, Schneider, Marlittstraße 21(1891)
- 3.056 *Katzenstein*, Adele, geb. Gutmann, Putzmacherin, Marlittstraße 21.
- 3.057 *Katzenstein*, Feibel, Viehhändler, Ried 7, verh. mit
- 3.058 *Katzenstein*, Philippine, geb. Neumann, Ried 7
- 3.059 *Katzenstein*, **Leopold, Viehhändler, Ried 7 (1891)**, geb. 11.08.1857 Aschenhausen b. Kaltennordheim, Sv. Feibel
und Philippine K., gest. 15.08.1912 Amstadt, verh. mit Fanny (vgl. 1052).
- 3.060 *Katzenstein*, Max, Feldhilfsarzt. Led 7,
geb. 14.12.1890 Amstadt, Sv. Leopold und Fanny K. Abitur 1909 in Arnstadt, stud. med. Fürst!. Schwarzb.
Ehrenkreuz IV. Kl. m. Eichenl~ruch (1916), gest. 25.12.1916 Arnstadt an Kriegsfolgen.
- 3.061 *Lichienstein*, Alfred, Schnittwarengeschäft, Erfurter Str.5 verh. mit
- 3.062 *Lichienstein*, **Erna, Schnittwarengeschäft, Erfurter Str.1, nach Scheidung, 2. Ehefrau von Louis Pommer,**
vgl 1.083
- 3.063 *Lindemann*, Ernst, **Herrenmode und Berufsbekleidungsfabrik, Rosenstraße, Gehrener Straße 1 1a**, geb.
26.02.1877, gest. 24.03.1932 Arnstadt, vgl. Friedhofsliste, verh. Hedwig, geb. Reiter, (vgl. 1064).
- 3.064 *Lindemann*, Hans, Gehrener Straße 1 1a, geb. 24.04.1904 Arnstadt, Sv. Ernst und Hedwig L. emigriert 1923 nach
New York, dort gest.

- 3.065 *Lindemann*, Johanna, Gehrener Straße 1 la, **geb. 02.06.1907 Arnstadt**, Tv. Ernst und Hedwig L. verh. Heinz Wittenberg in Berlin, emigriert nach New York, lebt dort 1987.
- 3.066 *Marchand*<, Salomon, verh. mit
- 3.067 *Man-handt*, El friede, geb. Herzberg, geb. 28.04.1856 in Essen, Tv. Joseph und Rieka M., gest. 12.11.1918 in Arnstadt.
- 3.068 *Mayer*, Siegfried, Kaufmann in Ilmenau, geb. 24.01.1898 Ilmenau, Sv. Bernhard M. und Rosa, geb. Rosenbaum, gest. 03.12.1918 Arnstadt, best. Plaue, ledig.
- 3.069 *Mave*,; Martha, verw. Rosenbaum, geb. Perlinski, Rosenstraße 1, getauft 30.06.1915 in Arnstadt. Witwe des Kaufmanns Isidor Rosenbaum in Thorn, dann in Arnstadt mit Dr. med. Nicolaus Mayer (kath.) verh., aber vor 1918 geschieden.
- 3.070 *Rosenhaum*, l-lilda, Rosenstraße 1, geb. 04.12.1901 Thorn, Tv. Isidor und Martha R., evang. getauft 30.06.1915 Arnstadt.
- 3.071 *Rosenhaun*,, Ilsa, Rosenstraße 1, geb. 20.01. 1903 Thorn, Tv. Isidor und Martha R., evang. getauft 30.06.1915 Arnstadt.
- 3.072 *Muiet*; Nicolaus Joseph, Rosenstraße 1, geb. 20.02.1914 Arnstadt, Sv. Nicolaus und Martha M.
- 3.073 *Mendel*, Abraham, Viehhändler, Ried 7(1891) verh. 29.04.1869 mit
- 3.074 *Mendel*, Charlotte, geb. Ehrlich, Ried 7, geb. 30.04.1847 Berkach, Tv. Lehrer Hermann E. und Karoline, geb. Romberg, vgl. 3.014, gest. 20.03.1918 Arnstadt.
- 3.075 *Mendel*, Hermann, Kaufmann, Ried 7, geb. 06.01.1882 Arnstadt, Sv. Abraham und Charlotte M., vermißt 17.01.1915 bei Vilcey/Frankreich.
- 3.076 *Mülh'r*, Siegmund, Kaufmann, Bahnhofstraße 3, geb. 1876, gest. 1932, verh. mit Rosa Freudenberger, vgl. 1.076.
- 3.077 *Nelken*, Fritz, Dr., 24.03.1910 von der mosaischen zur ev.-luth. Konfession nach Unterweisung in der Lehre aus freiem Entschluß ubergetreten (Kirchenbuch).
- 3.078 *Pannenberg*, Julian, Kaufmann, Marlittstraße 21(1891), später Markt, verh. mit
- 3.079 *Pannenbeiiig*, Mathilde, geb. Pelot, Marlittstraße 21
- 3.080 *Pannenbeig*. Hedwig Margarethe, Marlittstraße 21, geb. 18.07.1891.
- 3.081 *Pommer*, Hulda, geb. Seemann, Haushaltwaren, Erfurter Straße 15, geb. 07.04.1869, gest. 16.05.1921 Arnstadt, (erste Bestattung in Arnstadt) verh. Louis Pommer, vgl. 1.083.

- 3.082 *Rosenbaum*, Adelheid, Schw. v. Sara, Fasanengarten 9, geb. 04.04.1862, gest. 12.11.1930, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.083 *Rosenbaum*, Sara, Schw. v. Adelheid, Fasanengarten 9, geb. 23.06.1866, gest. 19.05.1929 in Arnstadt, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.084 *Rosenbaum*, Salomon, Konfektionsgeschäft, Rankestraße 1, vorher Marktstraße, geb. 1864, gest. 1926 Arnstadt, vgl. Gräberliste, nicht mit Meier R. verwandt, verh. Esther Herzberg, vgl. 1.093.
- 3.085 *Rosenbaum*, Meier, Viehhändler, Rankestraße 18 (1891), geb. 10.03.1850, gest. 02.09.1929 Arnstadt, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.086 *Rosenbaum*. Bertha, geb. Ehrlich, Rankestraße 1, geb. 10.01. 1860, **gest. 15.03.1928 Arnstadt**, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.087 *Rosenhusch*. Fridolin,
geb. 12.05.1847 Borkem/Hessen?, gest. 05.08.1914 Arnstadt.
- 3.088 *Sciid*. Johann Friedrich, Rechtsanwalt, Erfurter Straße 1, (1891)
- 3.089 *Schickgr.*, Ernst, Kaufmann, verh. Bertha Palmibaum
- 3.090 *Schwarz*. Bertha, geb. Palmibaum
- 3.091 *Schwarz*, Liselotte,
geb. 11.09.1904, Tv Ernst und Bertha 5.
- 3.092 *Silberstern*, Hermann, Kaufmann, geb. 28.08.1833, Sv. Simon 5. und Wilhelmine, geb. Simonsohn, gest. 21.07.1914 Arnstadt, best. Berlin, verh. mit
- 3.093 *Silberstern*. Sophie, geb. Handen
- 3.094 *Stern*, Max, geb. 24.11.1859 in Bibra, gest. 1926 in Rudolstadt, vgl. Gräberliste
- 3.095 *Stern*, **Moritz, Haushaltwaren, Marktstraße 14**, (1891 Zimmerstraße 17)
geb. 17.03.1851, gest. 23.12.1930 Arnstadt, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.096 *Stern*, **Hedwig, geb. Liebenthal, Zimmerstraße 17**, geb. 30.01.1864, gest. 07.03. 1924, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.097 *Stern*, Moses, Pferdehändler, Holzmarkt 17 (1891), verh. mit
- 3.098 *Stern*, Rosalie, geb. Mannheimer, Holzmarkt 17, geb. 02.09.1834, gest. 08.04.1931 Arnstadt, vgl. Gräberliste.
- 3.099 *Stern*, Hilde, geb. Mayer,
geb. 18.03.1880 Wiesbeck, gest. **04.05.1930**, vgl. Gräberliste.

- 3.100 *Stern*, Georg, Maschinen-und Pfeidehändler, Lindenallee 2, geb. 05.01.1848 Bibra, Sv. Michael Stern und Jeue Süßmann, gest. 10.11.1901, best. Plaue, verh. mit
- 3.101 *Stern*, Emma, geb. Koopnann, Linderiallee 2, 1 Tochter.
- 3.102 *Stern*, Meyer, Kaufmann, verh. mit
- 3.103 *Stern*, Agathe, geb. Goldschmidt
- 3.104 *Stern*, Lucie,
geb. 21.04.1901 Arnstadt, Tv. Meyer und **Agathe 5**.
- 3.105 *Wohl gemuth*, Hermann, Kaufmann, geb. 08.01.1841 Stargard, Sv. Kfm. W. und **Henriezte** Altmann, gest. 12.09.1915 Arnstadt, ledig.
- 3.106 *Wolf*, Louis, letzter Jude aus Plaue, geb. 1834, Sv. Atwaije Wolf, geb. Beyer, gest. 20.11.1914 Amstadt 3.107
Zirulnik, Saul, Techniker, verh. mit
- 3.108 *Zirulnik*, Gitlei Hanna, geb. Pinus
- 3.109 *Zirulnik*, Markus,
geb. 27.09.1907, Sv. Saul und Gitlei Z.

EPILOGUE

At the conclusion of this publication, I would like to quote the speech that I delivered on October 26, 1988, on the occasion of the unveiling of the memorial stone near the Himmelfahrtskirche. It must be seen in the context of the social situation as it existed one year before the fall of Socialism. I am afraid it is still relevant.

My young and old fellow citizens!

I feel great satisfaction that my suggestion to erect such a stone finally became a reality, although, or precisely because it now did not happen –as originally planned- with the responsibility of the Protestant and Catholic church communities. I would like to thank all those who espoused the idea and who supported its realization.

I received many moving letters from former Arnstadt citizens, who as Jews survived, and who are scattered all over the world today. They are touched by the fact that their synagogue and their fate have not been forgotten in their hometown. It is important to remind future generations that there used to be a Jewish temple across from here, which, along with hundreds of other synagogues in Germany, was brutally destroyed during that horrible night from November 9th to the 10th, 1938.

It seems equally important to me to mention the fate of the people who lived among us as Jews in 1933. In this regard, I will randomly recount two examples:

There was the hardware dealer Max Ledermann of Lessingstrasse 3, who committed suicide together with his wife, just as his son and daughter had done earlier, to avoid deportation to the concentration camp and the suffering there. The cattle dealer Max Friedmann of Ried 11 managed to immigrate with his family to Holland in time. When German troops marched into Holland on May 10, 1940, he was so terrified that he suffered a fatal heart attack. A short time later, his daughter and a son-in-law were captured by the SS and killed in a concentration camp.

Ideology was sacred, but not the life of humans. Not the life of millions of religious, secular, or baptized Jews, not the life of other groups of people such as the handicapped, the mentally ill, the Sinti and Roma gypsies, or the homosexuals, who fell victim to euthanasia.

Our church has admitted its share in the guilt of our people. This guilt, however, has not yet been expunged, as the most recent events in the state council indicate. And mankind still does not understand to this day, that different people, people of different color, and people who have different opinions, are not a threat, but a gift and enrichment for our society. The holy gift of life, as the church in the Soviet Union likes to formulate it, in all its richness and multitude, can not be squeezed or molded into narrow channels.

Compared with this richness and multitude of life, any use of control and force remains ultimately powerless. Today, this can be experienced in all social systems, including our own. For us Christians, this experience is the great miracle of God, who, as the Creator and Protector, preserves human life in its variety. This miracle commits us, irrespective of our ideology or function, to constantly strive for justice, understanding and reconciliation in society, whatever our position in life maybe. This is what we want to do. ABOUT THIS BOOK

Quotes used from literature of local history and culture:

Olearius, Johann Christoph; *Historia Arnstadtensis* 1701

Unger, Peter; *Chronology of the History of Arnstadt 704-1977*

Publication of the museums of the Town of Arnstadt H.4.1979 (with references)

Unger/Ziegenhardt; Small Chronicle of the History of the Jewish Population of Arnstadt (1273-1944) – Contribution to the Local History of the Town and District of Arnstadt Issue 10/1988/pages 11-27 (with references)

Schörnig, Fritz; “They were Communists and Pioneers of our Republic” – a.a.O. Page 65 (with reference to Gottfeld)

I am grateful for important information from the parish registers of the Protestant Church Community in Arnstadt, especially the soul registers, as well as many verbal and written accounts of interested people in exile and at home.

The lists of names I prepared are numbered to allow for cross-reference. The first one lists, along with our Jewish citizens, all those, who were subject to persecution on the basis of the Nürnberg Laws. The third list includes Jewish citizens who moved, emigrated or died before 1933; some of them are only mentioned to save them from falling into oblivion.

Abbreviations:

Geb. Born
Verh. Married
Gest. Died
Best. Buried
Verw. Widowed
Sv/Tv son of/daughter of
Wgz. Moved to
Zgz. Moved to Arnstadt
Vzg. Moved to

Street names are as they appear in 1995.
Added numbers indicate the year the address was valid

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