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Pharrajimos

The fate of Roma during Holocaust

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Foreword to the English Edition

Pharrajimos – The Fate of the Roma in Hungary during the Holocaust



When delving into the study of the modern European and Hungarian history of the Roma people, we need to keep in mind the thesis of cultural anthropologist Levy-Strauss who proposed that the tradition of European Humanism and its system of values was, for a very long time, applicable only to Christian, white peoples living in Europe.

The oppression, enslavement, eradication, plundering of “foreign” nations, races and religious groups, the elimination of their culture and their treatment as inferior, parasitical almost subhuman people had been for a long time conveniently compatible with the moral values and thinking of groups and peoples who thought of themselves and their like as Christian Humanists.

After the 15th century, this limited understanding of Humanism supplanted the previously dominant idea of Christian universalism: unity in God.

As all this occurred after the discovery and conquest of new continents, the incursion of the Muslim empire of the Ottomans into Europe and a series of religious wars, it is apparent that the notion of “limited Humanism” amounted to the exclusion of “foreign” religious/racial/cultural groups from the “universal brotherhood of man,” and consequently these groups were condemned to submission, humiliation and eradication.

This exclusionist and limiting set of values and form of identity was broken up by the French Enlightenment and the gradual process of the spread of bourgeois humanist thinking with its ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. Thus emerged

a new chance for Christian universalism to redeem itself and a new chance for the peaceful and tolerant coexistence on an equal and equitable basis between the various religious, racial or cultural groups hitherto deemed "foreign" and the groups and peoples belonging to the economically and militarily dominant cultures of Europe and North America.

The principle of "limited humanism" had to be erected on such notions as "cultural superiority," "struggle against barbarism and heathenism," the "primitive, backward" nature of conquered people, their "lack of culture," "inability to evolve" and "cultural minority," the dangers of "criminal hordes" and "exotic savages" in order to be able to legitimize its own behavior towards these cultures marred with murder, pillage and oppression.

While the ideas of bourgeois humanism and their practice were gaining ground, it was a gradual and painstaking process – for instance, struggle against slavery and the emancipation of slaves occurred in the case of the Roma people in Romania in the late 19th century and the colonial world only fell apart in the second half of the 20th century.

The advances of the ideas of modern bourgeois humanism occurred simultaneously with the emergence of modern European nation states ever growing in strength, the spread of capitalist economies, the intensification of competition and the resulting wars -- as well as the deterioration and demise of feudal, peasant communal traditions, values and hierarchies.

These resulting tensions paved the way for the emergence of new ideologies that actually pitted the elements of the triadic principle of bourgeois humanism (liberty, equality, fraternity) against each other (e.g. Leninism) and for new fascist ideologies that repudiated certain processes of modernity and modern bourgeois humanism as such.

One such ideology, National Socialism, declared a struggle for the absolute primacy of the *volkisch* state and nation, for a new "superior commonwealth of nations," for "racial primacy" in order to realize its foul goals of world domination. In its infinitely crooked view of the world, the "superior racial community" – be it of Germans, Japanese, Croatians, Hungarians, etc – made up of "racially superior individuals" so declared by bastard science, engages in a "life-or-death struggle" with the "inferior, foreign, racially alien" groups and nations that "have designs" on the pure races' "*lebensraum*" which they "occupy illegitimately" or "set out to conquer."

The thus erected Nazi identity construct had for its central element a "superior community of people" organized into a totalitarian state and governed by

revelations from the supreme leader, the "Führer." All citizens had to submit themselves to the corporatist state and the objectives of the nation and to obey even if it meant jettisoning all religious, moral or legal scruples.

This total of objective of the race, the nation and the state determined everything: economic production, the assessment of capital (there was "good" and "bad" money) the conditions of wage labor (e.g. the dismantling of trade unions and forceful corporatisation) the availability of cultural goods (e.g. book burnings, banning and even internment of artists), the monopolization and militarization of communication and education – all the way up to the very right to life (organized eradication of mentally ill persons.)

The vulgar cult of Social Darwinist violence, the false notion of racial selection and superiority, the Prussian military tradition of unquestioning obedience, the economic misery of the Depression and the humiliation of the post-WW I peace treaties all contributed to the temporary defeat of the forces of modern bourgeois humanism in Germany.

Humanist democracies were pictured as weak, effeminate, decadent and cowardly, as something that compared very unfavorably to the "racial superiority" of the Nazis and their unscrupulous drive towards the "racial and national objectives" proclaiming the right of the mighty.

This Nazi identity construct needed a cohesive agent and found it in the idea of "the enemy" which threatens the existence of the "racially superior community of people" weakening it from the inside by "sucking its blood, sapping its life force, poisoning its air and polluting its purity." The enemy also needed to be somewhat distinguishable from its environment, preferably on an ethnic, racial, religious or cultural basis. The distinguishing marks were understood by the environment as the typical characteristics of the group. In other words, the image of the enemy had to be distinguishable, within the context of pseudo-scientific theories of race, from the "superior, chosen race."

The ideology had to, on the one hand, extol the virtues of a people "naturally chosen for racial leadership" and inspire a consciousness of superiority, while on the other hand, it had to demonize whoever in the Nazi terminology was of an "inferior race," an enemy conspiring against the purity, world dominance and livelihood of the "racial community of people."

The incessant inculcation of the idea of this paranoid "struggle" and its presentation as a life-or-death struggle made it possible for masses of people to

accept the "us or them" proposition, the unscrupulous terror as well as the abandonment of the principles of democracy and bourgeois humanism. They accepted and obeyed the commands of their leader(s), even if they were incompatible with morals, faith, rights and the essence of humanity – in other words, they became participants in the well-organized, industrial-style mass genocides taking place before their eyes.

This Nazi "racial system of ideology" was a return to the late medieval principle of "limited humanism" rationalizing it as the "calling of the dominant, superior race, its exclusive due to be fought for and defended," and rejected the universal legitimacy of modern humanism.

After assuming power, the Nazis and their organized, militarized instruments of state terror first turned against the actual and potential sources of political resistance: political institutions and their organizations, leaders and activists. Democratic and leftist parties, trade unions and associations were banned, their active members were dragged off to concentration camps. They banned or hijacked "competition" media, cultural institutions, intimidated the Church and constructed a central apparatus of terror along lines of military organization. The institutions of democracy were supplanted by corporatist institutions of ostensible interest protection and uncontrollable networks of espionage and "internal security" emerged.

After consolidating their power, the Nazis set about realizing their ideological objectives. The Nuremberg Laws and its implementation orders pointed out the "enemy within": the Jews, Roma and Blacks who were relegated to the status of second-class citizens. In laws designed to protect the "purity of the German blood," miscegenation became a criminal offence and sexual intercourse between Aryans and their "racial enemies" was to be punished. A sharp dividing line was drawn between the "dominant race" and the scapegoats.

Others were also attached to the group of people to be later eradicated: mental patients who were "superfluous to society, gobbling down resources and carrying hereditary dangers," homosexuals who were "inhibiting goals of procreation," criminals who "hereditarily carry impulses contrary to the interests of the nation," as well as political opponents and members of smaller pacifist churches who rejected war as a matter of principle.

The economy and the army was beginning to prepare for revenge and for the realization of Nazi world domination, for the fulfillment of the ambitions of the "good capital" and "the military, administrative and party elite."

One might wonder why these specific groups had been singled out by the Nazis for the role of scapegoats?

In the case of the Jews, the element of enmity did not have to be invented as it was a traditional, religion-based sentiment with a long history. Various elements contributed to this prejudice such as the Catholic tradition of the charge of "deicide," and the view of the Jewish people as the "people of the Bible." Their religion was full of strict regulations on ritual purity and heavily shot through with a "foreign" system of precepts densely interwoven with the strands of everyday life – all of which was largely incomprehensible for the peasantry which viewed these with hostility and interpreted them through a set of superstitions. Moreover, the distance between the two cultures was increased by the Jews' confinement to certain areas of economic activity (trade, banking, services, crafts) and their absence from the "productive" work of tilling the land. However, with the development of capitalism, the economic areas where Jews were overrepresented became increasingly dominant in business and social life, contributing to an increased pace of emancipation for the Jews. As learning and books gained significance, the Jews with their strict religious learning found themselves at an advantage in areas requiring education, A large proportion of them embarked upon careers that had previously been inaccessible to them and became lawyers, doctors, teachers, administrators and so on, generating envy and resentment on the part of the dominant population. As a significant part of the Jewish population became wealthy, there emerged envy, resentment and a desire to "reclaim" the "ill-gotten riches" that were clearly not the fruits of real work (i.e. agricultural or industrial labor) on the part of those who "actually worked for their bread." (All this, of course, did not pertain to the much larger group of non-Jewish people who were accumulating wealth in a similar manner, who actually welcomed the sentiments directed against their Jewish "competitors." And of course, the majority of Jews was not wealthy at all.)

Among the ideologues and leaders of the international workers' movement and international Communist movement that became significant forces by the turn of the 19th/20th century, there were a great number of Jewish people. (Partly because of their intellectual upbringing, partly because of the assimilative, internationalist, egalitarian and accepting nature of these ideologies.)

There were a great number of Jews among the heads of international companies and banking institutions but also among internationally-renowned, innovative artists, scientist and scholars. This gave rise to false accusations and myths of "Jewish conspiracy for dominance" and related theories which were really the

products of envy, jealousy, fear of falling behind on the part of a provincial, nationalist, inward-turning culture.

The ideology of the Nazis was composed of these processes, facts, half-truths and outright lies and the false accusation of the "the conspiracy of the Judeo-bolshevist plutocracy for world dominance." Personally and collectively, the Jews, by virtue of their birth, had been made the scapegoat for all the ills of humankind and all the problems of the "superior German race."

Masses of people were motivated by this ideology, especially after they had been corrupted and made accomplices in crime, rewarded with the wealth taken by force from the Jews or bribed with social, cultural, scientific or economic appointments. One way or another, they had been made to accept the state-run industrial genocide.

The scapegoating of the Blacks was based on the lingering colonialist pride of the day and the dominant view of the Blacks as an inferior race, which was also a application of the earlier, late medieval understanding of "limited humanism." On the other hand, German Blacks were usually the children of German mothers and foreign fathers who immigrated from the colonies or returned from colonial wars in the English or French armies. At any rate, they were living, visible proofs of the war defeat and the occupation which was a big thorn in the side of the "race-purifying" perspective of the Nazis.

The third ethnic group that was made a scapegoat in Nazi Germany was the Roma population which had been present in Germany for some 500 years. From the 16th century on, the Roma, in the eye of the authorities and the power-that-be, has always been one of the foreign, inferior groups whose skin color destined them to persecution, oppression and eradication, according to the perspectives of "limited humanism."

Roma integration into host societies had been for centuries impeded by the competition between their itinerant craftsmen and the artisans of the guilds, but in the age of religious wars, their itinerant lifestyle could no longer be supported in an environment where all foreigners were supposed to be the "enemies of the faith." Just like the threat of the Ottoman Empire and its Muslim faith, the Roma, too, came from the east, therefore could always be suspected of being dangerous spies, especially as their outward appearance, customs and language differed so greatly from the intolerant and suspicious environment they found themselves in.

Monarch issued a great number of anti-Roma edicts, usually banning and punishing them, but in Germany, organized manhunts designed to kill a large number of Roma were still carried out in the 18th century. The bloody aspirations of the powers-that-be, however, failed to yield the desired results, i.e. the eradication of the Roma people from Europe.

Thanks to the ingenuity of the Roma, however, they managed to find markets for their goods and services on the peripheries of society in isolated places, where they bartered successfully and found allies and helpers, earned themselves a livelihood and managed to give the persecuting powers the slip. Thus, during the long years of coexistence, new dialects came into being: Kalo (Romani mixed with Spanish), Manush (Romani mixed with French) and Sinti (Romani mixed with German).

The period of modern bourgeois humanism did not bring about the emancipation and rise of the Roma. Industrial development, however, devalued their services as craftsmen, resulting in the disintegration of their communities and the social proliferation of the members. Some joined the ranks of the urban proletariat and became wage laborers, some managed to merge into the middle class through assimilation. The remaining communities, however, were exposed to police persecution of increasing efficiency and miserably poor, they tried to eke out a living on the very peripheries of society.

Only a select few could aspire to reaching a somewhat higher social status: circus artists, carpet dealers, musicians and blacksmiths.

Long-standing prejudices and persecutions, as well as the imagery of Romanticism combined to form an image of the Roma as a "exotic, dangerous savage." Towards the end of the 19th century, Cesare Lombroso propagated his views on the hereditary nature of criminality which closely tied in with similar, pseudo-scientific, race-motivated theses of the day. Commissioned by the Interior Ministry of Bavaria, Alfred Dillmann in his 1905 "Zigaunerbuch" characterized the Roma people as a group of hereditary (and incorrigible) criminals. The police started to open files on all the Roma, purely on a racial basis, treated them as hardened criminals, issued them with special ID cards and continually harassed them. Roma people in the public consciousness slowly became a "dangerous, parasitical, criminal race." The Nazis took up this tradition and in order to realize their "race purity" goals, they systematically persecuted the Roma, made them scapegoats, sterilized them, interned them and used industrial methods in murdering them with a view of their total and final eradication.

In the eyes of the Nazis, the primary enemy was the "Judeo-bolshevist, plutocratic world conspiracy" in collision course with the destiny of the German nation. The Roma in this struggle constituted only a "second front," so their eradication was also a secondary objective. However, their persecution was based on the same racial ideology, took the same forms, was directed by the same institutions and resulted in a proportionately similar loss as in the case of the Jewish people.

The main difference emerged in the aftermath of the Holocaust. As opposed to the Jews, the fall of Nazism did not make the Roma the "victors." They could not turn the fact of their persecution and the extent of their losses into a public issue, a subject of public discourse. For long decades, the idea of retribution or compensation was not even entertained in their case. For a long time they lacked all political and church representation, any degree of organization, they had no leaders, intellectuals or allies who could have been instrumental in securing these. There was nobody to size up and record the losses, nobody to intervene on their behalf in the political, legal, communication, scientific, economic, administrative or social arenas.

The identity construction of the Roma and the formation of their historical consciousness are processes which started very late and are still ongoing today. As part of this process, the interpretation of the Holocaust, its memories and events are being transformed from a narrow family or ethnic consciousness to a collective Roma memory.

In Eastern Europe – where after the 16th century, Hungary also belonged from the perspective of the Roma population – the Roma had to face a different fate. For a long time, the exclusionist practice of "limited humanism" with its roots in colonialism did not take hold in these regions. Here, far from the seas and from the mainstream of economic development, the proximity of the Ottoman Empire and the permanent wars maintained a demand for the services offered by itinerant Roma craftsmen for centuries. These Roma economic activities were integrated into the economies of the various countries, the military industry included. Roma communities often enjoyed the protection of the monarch, sometimes even privileges of autonomy and they paid their taxes regularly. However, from the middle of the 18th century on, the situation changed drastically with the consolidation following the Turk's withdrawal from Europe. The patriarchal slave status of the Roma in Romania (which meant that the slave

could wander about the country and perform his work and may return to winter at the estate of his owner, sharing a set portion of his profit with him) was turned into actual slavery, where Roma were forced by beatings, violence and mutilations to perform agricultural labor. After the mid-19th century emancipation of slaves in Romania, the lack of land and tools turned masses of the former slaves into penniless paupers and a vast reserve pool of agricultural wage workers.

In the 20th century, in the Central and Eastern European territories allied to the Germans but not occupied by them, anti-Roma genocide was most rabid in Croatia, but Roma people were also deported by the tens of thousands from Romania into Transnistria, condemned to starve to death.

The Austrian emperors ordered forced settlement of Roma people into Hungarian villages, where no serf plots were available – their free movement was curtailed, so they could not pursue their traditional itinerant occupations and they were helplessly exposed to the whims of landowners, magistracies and gendarmes. The use of the Romani language was prohibited, so was the wearing of traditional Roma costumes, their children were forcefully removed from the Roma and given to peasant families to raise.

From the 19th century on, the majority of the Roma provided cheap labor reserves for the villages. Roma and Hungarian peasant families lived in a sort of symbiosis: at peak labor times, Roma went to the peasant holdings to harvest, thrash, hoe, plow, took care of the rougher, dirtier work around the house, in exchange of which they received payment in nature, in the form of under-priced goods. In the winter and spring, when shortages of food and fuel threatened the Roma households, the peasants charitably provided them with these. The Roma were also made to clean and maintain roads and public places. Besides these, they were employed as occasional or seasonal workers in larger estates and forestries.

The gendarmes continually harassed and terrorized Roma groups who stayed or new migrant groups that recently moved into their area. At the same time, they treated the settled Roma as “unreliable elements” and harassed them into fear and intimidation. Bourgeois development did not provide the Roma with the same protection of the law it afforded others – marginalized and disenfranchised, the Roma lived in village or forest ghetto-quarters, vulnerable to the whims of anybody in position of power. Emancipation was an avenue open only to a select few: mostly urban musicians and artisans.

In the 1940s, the overwhelming majority of the Roma of Hungary lived as indigent agrarian workers. The peasantry or the landowners could not possibly envy their wealth and exploited their labor in exchange of minimal payments. However, the population at large harbored deep-seated prejudices against the Roma, who lived in slums, who were "inferior, lazy, impure, disease-spreading, primitive, dirty, thieving" and of course, "exotic savages." In the eyes of the locals, these prejudices legitimized the continuous harassment, humiliation and disempowerment of the Roma population on the part of law enforcement.

The "spirit of the age" – the pseudo-scientific theories of race coming from the West – first took roots in a narrow but influential segment in Hungarian society: the doctors fighting epidemics and borrowing racial ideas from the German colleagues, some of the administrators, the gendarmes and the adherents of far-right ideologies friendly to the Nazis.

With the intensification of the war effort, more and more Roma soldiers were taken to the front as cannon fodder or dragged off with their families to forced labor sites at state-owned or other large estates, organized along military lines, to make up for the pressing labor shortage. Those declared "unreliable" were often interned.

After the Vienna Awards of 1941, some 20,000 Jews and Roma, who were unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship with the proper documentation, were deported into theaters of military operation in the Ukraine where they were massacred by German Einsatzgruppen, Hungarian military gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen.

The German army occupied Hungary on 19 March, 1944, after which time the Jews' disenfranchisement, plunder, incarceration and deportation to Auschwitz picked up pace with the collaboration of Hungarian authorities and the Gestapo and the domestic application of genocidal race theories and the principle of total war.

As far as the Roma were concerned, they were left out of processes of emancipation and could not be envied for any reason. Therefore there was no need for legislation to turn the emancipation clock back, since an overwhelming majority of the Roma people held little or no rights. Almost all of them were poor, so a state-organized plunder of their wealth made no sense at all. They lived in

ghetto-like, segregated quarters, so pushing them into ghettos also made little sense.

The persecution and massacre of the Roma population was something that for the occupying German forces "could wait" as long as the focus was on the main tasks of the war effort, the control of the country and the eradication of the Jews.

For a good while, the anti-Roma measures were issued by Horthy's authorities. In the name of the war effort, the Roma population of significantly large areas were detained in collection camps in Eastern Hungary, from where the men were dragged off to military forced labor camps and put to work on the line of fortifications called "Árpád Line" which was to guard the passes of the Carpathian mountains. Women and older men were put to work on the fields. Roma males detained in collection camps in the Transdanubian region were also used at fortification constructions.

Military authorities set up separate forced labor units, called labor companies, for the Roma, who, guarded by a special contingent or armed soldiers, were forced to carry out such dangerous work as sweeping mines or constructing fortifications under enemy fire. The military or "field gendarmes" of these authorities were to commit the first mass murders at Nagyszalonta, Doboz, Pocsaj in order to intimidate the population during times when the Russian Army was temporarily pushed back.

After the botched attempt by the Horthy regime to renounce its alliance to the Germans and the assumption of power by the Arrow Cross Party who were willing lackeys of the Nazis, the rounding up of Roma in raids commenced almost immediately and so did administrative measures aimed at transferring the Roma to concentration camps in the Third Reich. At a number of locations, Roma were massacred in or near their place of residence. The center of Roma genocide and collection for transportation to Germany was the concentration camp at Komárom, the so-called Csillag fortress, jointly run by the Gestapo and the Arrow Cross. From the courtyard of the fortress, trains were dispatched on Saturdays toward Dachau, Mauthausen, Natzweiler, Ravensbrück, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald.

Relative to the territories under the control of the Third Reich, state-organized racist genocide against the Roma was launched in Hungary much later and with much less efficiency. The approach of the Red Army, fear from future reprisals, the disorganized state of the administrative institutions under Arrow Cross control, the hesitation of representatives of authorities who quite often were simply playing for time and the economic interests of the peasantry all contributed to the slow, reluctant and inefficient implementation of the anti-Roma

measures. (The peasantry, while they did not have a vested interest in eliminating the Roma population, continued to profit from the patriarchal, exploitative relationship vis-à-vis the Roma and were more than willing to use their nearly free labor.) In spite of all this, some one-third of the entire Roma population was directly affected by persecution.

* * *

Similarly to other countries, the terrible crime committed against the Roma was not publicly acknowledged even after the fall of Nazism. The persecution of the Horthy-era went on almost without missing a beat. Anti-Roma measures were formally reinstated in 1947 at the time of the declaration of the Second Republic, in violation of the Paris peace dictates. The Roma population was excluded from the redistribution of land and from avenues of redress and compensation that were opening up after the war.

* * *

There is a current debate among Holocaust scholars and researchers whether what happened to the Roma was actually part of the Holocaust or was only a "simple" genocide, much like other such crimes that have been committed before and after.

There are scholars who say that the figures describing the losses of the Roma are exaggerated, they question the Nazis' intent to exterminate the race of the Roma and even dispute that the persecution and mass murder of the Roma took place on the basis of racial superiority.

The facts refute these allegations. Proportionately speaking, the losses of the Roma and the Jews hardly differ from each other in Nazi-controlled areas. Naturally, exact figures will never be ascertained in either case since the perpetrators had no reason to meticulously record the details of their actions. Data unearthed by research however clearly demonstrates the scale of persecution and mass murder. Trivializing these takes one down the road to Holocaust denial in the case of the Roma too.

The deniers of total Roma genocide often point to Hitler's "Auschwitz order" in 1942, which appears to spare the Sinti and Lalleri groups from among the wider Roma "race" destined to be eradicated. This argument refutes itself, since it reinforces the fact that those to be murdered were to be killed on a "racial basis"

and that Himmler and other Nazis reserved for themselves the right for "racial classifications" in the course of organizing genocide. At any rate, there was no "sparing" of anybody when it came to the implementation, as we learned from historical data. In Ritter's racial classification at his Institute of Racial Hygiene, hereditary criminality was one of the traits of the Roma race – it is obvious then that the Jews and the Roma were both victims to the genocide planned by the Nazis and implemented via modern, industrial methods. As we indicated earlier, some characterize the Jews as primary and the Roma as secondary victims.

One can only find essential differences between the fate of the Roma and the fate of the Jews on a theological basis. If the Holocaust was a burnt offering, God's will manifested toward the Jews, with the purpose of creating the state of Israel, then the Roma truly cannot be part of the Holocaust. But only from this perspective can this be argued – and this has nothing to do with historical scholarship.

The researchers publishing their studies in this volume, with one exception, are not recipients of any government funding for their work. In Hungary, there is no research institution devoted to Roma history or a museum that could undertake such research and state-funded institutions do not regard it their task to look at history from a Roma perspective.

The material collected in this volume was originally prepared for a temporary Pharrajimos exhibition housed by the Holocaust Documentation Center and Memorial at the time of its opening. The material in manuscript form was included in the exhibition so that visitor could study it on the spot. This was followed by the publication of the material in a book by L'Harmattan and later by its translation into English.

The studies in this volume present the Roma Holocaust, its historical context and its particular events in Hungary. They illuminate the features of the administrative persecution of the Roma under the Horthy regime, present the history of the concentration camp of Komarom, the so-called Csillag fortress and recall the events of the Roma mass murder at Varpalota. There is a study devoted to the analysis of the presence of the Holocaust in Roma folklore. The fate of the Roma in 560 Hungarian settlements are presented, on the basis of over 3,000 testimonies and other data. The recollection of Roma survivors of the Holocaust are also included and so are documents revealing the polemics surrounding the interpretation of the Parraimos in Hungary.

Place by Place: Events of the Pharrajimos

By János Bársony (2004)

In the present state of research, the process of checking the events listed in this chapter against the sites and archives is still incomplete. The list of settlements has not been consolidated on the basis of the former and current names of the listed villages, towns and cities. Other researchers suggest that the victims came from a significantly broader area than the one delimited here¹.

All this notwithstanding, we feel it is important to publish these findings even in their fragmentary state as local historians, minority organizations, young researchers and those who are simply interested in the topic will be able to put them to good use. Sixty years after the event, the Roma of Hungary are finally collecting detailed data on the Parraimos so that we can confront our past, our history.

We have around 3,000 individual records on the basis of which we indicated the events that took place in the various settlements. Needless to say, the research is ongoing and we hope to be able to increase the accuracy of this list.

Sources:

- Anonymous data recorded in the course of the compensation process in the 1960s (Általános és Értékforgalmi Bank, ÁÉBR)
- Swiss relief program, 1999
- Swiss compensation program, 2001
- Registries of German concentration camps and other publications
- Research conducted by János Bársony
- Roma Press Center (RSK)
- Romedia Foundation
- Interviews in Patrin magazine
- Research by Szabolcs Szita
- Research by László Karsai
- Data from the in-depth interviews conducted in the course of the 1971 representative Roma research project under the leadership of István Kemény.

¹ For instance, referring to contemporary documents, László Karsai thinks it is highly possible that Roma residents of settlements in Baranya, Somogy and Zemplén counties were also confined to ghettos.

The figures after the abbreviations for the sources indicate the number of data sources, known cases or mentions.

Abbreviations:

ÁÉBR - Általános és Értékforgalmi Bank

RSK - Interviews in the volume "Roma Holocaust" published by the Roma Press Center

KP - the Swiss relief program conducted by the Red Cross

RPA - data from the Roma Civil Rights Foundation

LOCATION	EVENT	SOURCE
Abaújszántó	Some of the local Roma were rounded up in April and September of 1944 and were kept in ghettos under armed guard. They were finally freed in October 1944.	JB3
Abony	The local Roma population was rounded up and herded into ghettos at the Halápi and the Salaczy farms in April and June of 1944. They were set free around October and November of the same year.	JB3
Adács	On All Souls' Day in 1944, a number of families were taken to the collection camp in Komárom, from where they were transferred to Dachau and Buchenwald. Only a few of them ever returned home.	ÁÉBR, JB3, RSK
Ajka	Local Roma were taken to Komárom in the autumn of 1944. Some were transferred to German concentration camps, the rest were freed during the winter of 1944 and 1945.	JB3
Alap	Roma from here were taken to the ghetto at Várpalota then later transferred to Komárom. Some were removed to German concentration camps, some were freed in February 1945.	JB1
Alsóberek	The Arrow Cross militia rounded up people living in the Roma quarter. The men were taken to camps in Austria, the women, who were collected later, could not be deported in time since the approaching Soviet Army already liberated Körmend.	1971
Alsóság	In August 1944, local Roma were taken to Komárom. Many were taken to camps in the Third Reich, the survivors were set free in February 1945.	JB4
Alsószentiván	In December 1944, local Roma were taken to Komárom. Some were freed in April 1945, but many ended up in German concentration camps.	JB1

Alsószentmárton	A part of the local Roma community was taken to Komárom in September 1944 and many of them were transferred to camps in Sering, Szejlinte and Linz. The survivors were freed on various dates during the summer of 1945.	JB6
Alsóújlak	In June and October of 1944, local Roma were rounded up and taken to Komárom and interned there until February 1945, though a number of them were transferred to camps in the Third Reich.	JB3
Alsózsíd	Roma were taken to Komárom in October 1944. The source regained his freedom in February 1945, the others were taken to Germany.	JB1
Antalbokor	Local Roma were taken to Huszt to a military forced labor camp.	JB1
Apátfalva	Gendarmes dragged off many a Roma to Fejér County and they were forced to perform labor at the Ménesi estate in Mezőhegyes (March 1944 to September and December, 1944). Others were taken to Komárom in September 1944 and not freed till March 1945. "The humiliation ended when the Russians came in."	RPA/KP JB10
Aranyosapáti	In May, September and October of 1944, local Roma were rounded up and transferred to the ghetto at Kisvárda. Some were freed as early as August, some as late as November.	JB8
Arló	Local Roma were taken to the ghetto at Komárom in September 1944. In the same month, they were transferred to Auschwitz. Survivors returned in May 1945.	JB2
Arnót	Members of the Roma community were forced into the local ghetto in September and October of 1944 and detained there until November 1944.	JB4
Ásványráró	Local Roma were taken to collection camps in Komárom where they were detained from September 1944 to January 1945, though some of them were transferred to the Third Reich.	JB2
Badacsonytomaj	Some of the local Roma were taken to the ghetto at Komárom from October 1944 on, others were interned at Tapolca beginning in November 1944 and were only freed in February and March of 1945. In October 1944, some of them were taken to Auschwitz, where they stayed until February 1945.	JB17
Bagolasánc	Local Roma were taken to the collection camp set up in the Coffee Factory at Nagykanizsa. They were able to return on various dates, in March, September, October and December of 1944. Some of the internees at Nagykanizsa were transferred to Germany in October 1944 and not allowed to return until the summer of 1945.	JB5

Bályogszovát	Members of the local Roma community were taken to the collection camp in Komárom in November 1944 and detained there until February and March of 1945.	JB2
Baja	Local Roma were taken to the collection camp in Komárom in November 1944 and detained there until February 1945.	JB1
Bajánsenye	In the autumn of 1944, gendarmes rounded up four or five Roma families and escorted them to the Városmajor Park in Szombathely, then on to Komárom. Some of them were set free in the spring of 1945 and some of them were transferred to camps in Germany.	JB
Bajánsenye-Böröce	Beginning in November 1944, local Roma were rounded up and taken to Komárom at various dates. Some of them were put on trains and transported to the concentration camp at Dachau. The survivors were freed in the summer of 1945.	JB
Bajna	The Arrow Cross militia rounded up the local Roma in the winter of 1944. The head of the militia wanted to have a pit dug in Fácánkert and have the Roma shot into it but instead, they drove them on foot to Komárom, to the Csillag fortress. Upon the Red Army's approach and the subsequent evacuation, the victims were marched to Győr, from where they made their escape one by one until the Russians liberated the city.	1971
Bak	Beginning in November 1944, local Roma were rounded up and taken to the ghetto at Komárom. Some of them were transported to the concentration camp at Dachau in the same month and not released until May 1945.	JB2
Bakonybánk	Local Roma were detained at the Komárom ghetto between November 1944 and February 1945.	JB
Bakonyszentlászló	Between July and August 1944, local Roma were taken to the ghetto in Komárom. From here, some of them were transferred to Mauthausen.	JB
Baksa	In March and October of 1944 (and even later) local Roma were rounded up and taken to the collection camp at Komárom. Some of them were transferred to Ravensbrück and not released until January 1945.	JB4
Baktalórántháza	The Roma data source was taken to the collection ghetto at Kisvárda where he was kept between May and November of 1944.	JB1
Balassagyarmat	Between April and June of 1944, local Roma were continuously rounded up and collected at the ghetto in Nógrádmarcali. From here, some of them were taken to Tótygyarmat while some were transferred to forced labor locations at Derecske, Moha and Magyarnádor.	JB7
Balozsamegyes	Local Roma were taken to the Komárom and	JB4

	Sárvár ghettos. In Sárvár they were sent to the sugar and silk factories and kept there from September 1944 to February 1945. Those taken to Komárom in the autumn of 1944 were detained there until February 1945.	
Balsa	In May 1944, the Roma data source was taken to Rázonpuszta (Tiszalök) and kept there until October 1944 when he was transferred to Tevesienedt (?) until freed in May 1945.	JB1
Bánfa	From the spring of 1944 on, local Roma were rounded up and taken to Dachau and Ravensbrück to perform forced labor. Only a few returned.	AEBR JB1
Bánokszentgyörgy	One local Roma was interned at the Nagykanizsa ghetto from October to December 1944, when he was transferred to the Draskovec camp. He was released in April 1945. Another local Roma was taken to Komárom in October 1944, but a month later he was transferred to Auschwitz. He regained his freedom in May 1945.	JB2
Baracska	All Roma males were rounded up and taken away by Hungarian gendarmes.	1971
Báta	Some of the local Roma were taken to Véménd in March/April of 1944 where they were interned in the ghetto until October 1944. Some were transferred to the Third Reich in March 1944 from where the survivors returned in February 1945.	JB10
Bátaszék	Beginning in the spring of 1944, some of the local Roma were taken to Véménd and had to perform forced labor at Trefortpuszta. Others were put to forced labor nearby, working on a German airfield.	JB15
Bátya	One Roma was taken to the ghetto in Komárom in October 1944 and was released in February 1945.	JB1
Becsehely	Beginning in September 1944, local Roma were collected at the Nagykanizsa Coffee Factory where most of them were detained until December while some of them were transferred to Révkomárom and did not regain their freedom until the spring of 1945.	JB2
Bedő	In August 1944, gendarmes from Biharkeresztes surrounded the Roma quarter and the cca. 80 people inside. Many were taken to perform forced labor. Some were kept in the local ghetto from June to October 1944. All were liberated by the Russian and Romanian troops.	RPA/KP JB15
Békéscsaba	Local Roma were taken to state-owned estates throughout the county where they were forced to work. Some of them were taken to the ghetto in Komárom. The source was there from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Bélapátfalva	Some Roma from the surrounding areas were	JB3

	taken to Bélapátfalva (from April to June in 1944), others to Budapest (from March to September 1944) for forced labor. Yet others were dragged off to a concentration camp near Vienna (from October 1944 to May 1945).	
Belezná	From October 1944 on, the local Roma were being rounded up and detained at the Coffee Factory at Nagykanizsa. Some of them were transferred to Draskovec where they were detained between January and April of 1945	JB3
Berekböszörmény	On September 25, 1944, German soldiers and gendarmes surrounded the Roma quarter at Berekböszörmény with some 400 people inside. Originally they were to be transferred to the Third Reich but they managed to regain their freedom on October 13, 1944. Some local Roma were taken to Komárom in September 1944 and then transferred to Letmeritz. They were freed in April 1945.	RPA/KP JB65
Beret	Many local Roma families were rounded up by the gendarmes and taken to Abaújszántó where they were put to forced labor. They owe their survival to the arrival of Romanian troops.	RPA/KP JB1
Berettyóújfalu	Local Roma were collected in the Újfehértó ghetto between April and November of 1944.	JB2
Berhida	The source was taken to Komárom in October 1944 and transferred from there to Dachau where he stayed until May 1945	JB2
Berkesd	Between October 1944 and February 1945, local Roma were taken to Komárom. Some of them were dragged off to Peterdpuszta in April 1944 and were not released until December. Some inmates were not freed until February 1945, and some were taken to POW camp in Romania.	JB7
Bicsérd	On November 3, 1944, local Roma were taken to Komárom, from where they were transferred to Dachau, Berlin and Mauthausen. They only regained their freedom in May 1945.	ÁÉBR JB10
Bicsérd-Kültelek	Many local Roma were dragged off to Dachau and Buchenwald in November 1944.	ÁÉBR
Bicske	The residents of the Roma quarter were rounded up by German soldiers and detained in the courtyard of the village hall, but as evening fell, the Red Army reached the village, liberating them. Earlier, however, the Arrow Cross rounded up a group of them – they were among the 114 Roma murdered by the militia at Várpalota Grábler Lake.	1971
Biharkeresztes	The Roma quarter was surrounded by gendarmes at the end of August, 1944. Many made their escape in October 1944. Some of the local Roma were taken to the Nagyszalonta ghetto in August 1944 and were only released in November.	RPA/KP JB9

Biharnagybajom	The local source was pressed into forced labor at Sarkad in May, 1944 and was not released until September 1944.	JB1
Bikács	The local source was taken to the Esztergom ghetto in July and regained his freedom in December, 1944.	JB1
Bocfölde	On November 3, 1944, gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia surrounded the Roma quarter. Some of the local Roma were then taken to Pápa and the Csillag fortress in Komárom. After a few weeks, the more fit-for-work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen and Altruff. Those detained at home and those dragged off to Germany could only regain their freedom with the fall of the Third Reich, mostly in May 1945.	RPA/KP RSK JB7
Bódvavendégi	Roma were collected in the local ghetto from May to October 1944.	JB1
Bogádmindszent	Local Roma were taken to a ghetto in May and were released in August, 1944.	JB2
Bogyiszló	Some of the local Roma were detained in Komárom between September 1944 and May 1945. Others were taken to Mohács in September 1944 and not released until May 1945. However, some Roma were taken from here to Auschwitz and very few of them ever returned.	JB6
Bokod	Local Roma were taken to Komárom and detained there between November 1944 and January 1945.	JB2
Borjád	Gendarmes and German soldiers rounded up most of the local Roma and detained them in the Csillag fortress in Komárom between July 1944 and late November 1944. Some were taken to Mohács or Véménd. They regained their freedom in February or March of 1945 with the advance of the Red Army.	RPA/KP JB1
Borsodszentgyörgy	Local Roma were dragged off to Mohács, then onto Véménd and Komárom. Their tribulations lasted from July 1944 to February 1945.	JB1
Borsodszirák	Local Roma were detained in a local ghetto from April to September 1944, during which time they were kept under guard and forced to perform labor.	JB1
Botpalád	One local Roma was taken to Germany in March 1943, never to return. The others were dragged off to the ghetto in Mátészalka in the spring of 1944.	JB1
Böde	After November 1944, local Roma were rounded up and taken to Komárom. Some then were transferred to Dachau and Auswitz, never to return. Those who stayed in Komárom were liberated in February 1945.	JB6
Bödő	The local Roma source was detained in Komárom from January to April 1944.	JB1
Bököny	Starting in April 1944, local Roma were	JB4

	rounded up and taken to various ghettos in Debrecen, Újfehértó and Rázonpuszta. They regained their freedom in November 1944.	
Bölcske	Local Roma were transported to the Nagykálló ghetto in April 1944 where they were detained until November 1944.	JB1
Budapest	In the last days of October 1944, most of the Roma were taken from collection sites in the Brick Factory in Óbuda (C/2) and the Canning Factory to concentration camps in Dachau, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald. Medical experiments were also performed on the victims. The more fortunate of them regained their freedom in May 1945.	ÁÉBR JB27
Budapest (Kispest)	From September to November 1944, local Roma were rounded up and transported to Komárom.	JB2
Budapest (Rákospalota)	While István Csorba was fighting in the Hungarian Army at the Battle of the Don, his wife and her relatives were detained, taken to the Brick factory in Óbuda and later transferred to the Dachau concentration camp.	1971
Buják	Local Roma were rounded up and detained at the ghetto in Komárom between October and December 1944.	JB2
Bük	In 1944, the Gendarmes rounded up local Roma and transported them to Szombathely, then on to Komárom, where hundreds of them were killed. Some were transferred to Ravensbrück where they became subjects of medical experiments.	ÁÉBR
Bükkösd	Local Roma were taken in November 1944 to the ghettos in Pécs and Komárom. They regained their freedom in January 1945.	JB2
Cegléd	The Roma population were rounded up and detained at the local Jewish temple, in Jászberény (at the Vigyázó estate) and Abony-Újszász where they had to perform forced labor from the summer to the winter of 1944.	JB4
Celldömök	On November 3, 1944, gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia surrounded the Roma quarter. Some of the local Roma were then taken to Pápa and the Csillag fortress of Komárom. A few weeks later, the more fit-for-work were transferred to Dachau and Mauthausen. Those detained at home and those dragged off to Germany only regained their freedom when the advance of the Red Army reached them.	RPA/KP JB6
Celldömök-Ság	The local Roma source was taken to Komárom and detained there from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB1
Carnelháza-Damonya	In October 1944, the local Roma were taken to the ghetto in Komárom and kept there until November.	JB2
Csabrendek	The local Roma source was taken to Komárom in the autumn of 1944 and transferred from	JB

	there to a concentration camp in the Third Reich.	
Csácsbozsók	On November 3, 1944 gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia members surrounded the Roma quarter. Some of the rounded up residents were taken to Komárom and Pápa. After a few weeks, those who were fit to work were taken to Dachau and Mauthausen. For those left in their homes and those dragged off to Germany, liberation came with the Russian troops in early 1945.	RPA/KP JB7
Csanádpalota	Local Roma were taken to Mezőhegyes where they were forced to perform labor at state-owned estates from March to August in 1944. (Some of them were not freed until February 1945)	JB3
Csenger	Local Roma were transferred to the local collection camp and the one in Mátészalka from April to October in 1944.	JB10
Csépa	Gendarmes surrounded and closed off the Roma quarter in December 1944. Some of the residents were taken to Komárom and from there, to Germany. By the time the Russian troops liberated the area, over half of the local Roma population perished.	RPA/KP JB
Csepel	Arrow Cross members rounded up local Roma including the Sztojka family and detained them at the Brick Factory in Óbuda on 30 October 1944. On 8 November they were put on trains and transferred to Dachau and then to Bergen-Belsen. They were finally liberated in April 1945.	1971 JB2
Csepreg	Local Roma were dragged off to Nagykanizsa in September and October of 1944 and were only released in 1945. Some of them were taken to Baja and forced to perform labor at a bridge construction.	JB2
Cserdi	Local Roma were taken to the ghetto at Komárom from September 1944 on, until February 1945.	JB
Cserhátsurány	Local Roma were detained at the collection and slave labor camp at the Livia estate between April and November of 1944.	JB3
Csobaj	The local Roma were taken to Nyíregyháza and confined in the ghetto there between August and September 1944.	JB1
Csobánka	Local Roma were taken to the ghetto in Vác where they were detained from the summer of 1944 to the winter of the same year.	JB
Csolnok	The Roma of Csolnok were transported to Komárom where they were detained until February 1945.	JB34
Csolnok-Tokod	All of the local Roma were rounded up and transferred to Komárom in September 1944. They regained their freedom in February 1945.	JB28
Csorna	In the autumn of 1944, local Roma were	JB6

	dragged off to Komárom. When Komárom was evacuated because of the approaching Red Army, they were driven on foot toward Germany, but the Russians caught up with them on the road to Galánta and set them free in April 1945.	
Csót	In the spring of 1944, local Roma were taken to Komárom where they were detained until the winter of the same year. Some of them were transferred to Dachau and Ravensbrück in January 1945 and only set free in May 1945.	JB1
Csöngé	Local Roma were dragged off to the ghetto in Komárom and detained there from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB1
Debrecen	Most of the local Roma were detained in the local ghetto from April 1944 on. Together with the Roma from neighboring settlements, they were kept under guard and forced to perform slave labor. Some of them were transferred to Sáropatak and Végardó in the spring of 1944 and they only managed to return home by the autumn of 1945.	JB14
Decs	On November 3, 1944, gendarmes and Arrow Cross members surrounded the Roma quarter. Some of the rounded-up residents were taken to Mohács, Pápa and Komárom. A few weeks later, those in better physical condition were transferred to Dachau and Mauthausen. The survivors only managed to return home in the autumn of 1945.	RPA/KP JB8
Demecser	The Roma residents were kept under guard at the local ghetto between June and November of 1944.	JB5
Dencsháza	Local Roma were taken to Komárom and kept there between October 1944 and February 1945.	JB1
Derecske	The local Roma were detained in the concentration camp at Királymező between August and October of 1944.	JB2
Dombrád	In April 1944, local Roma were taken to ghettos in Demecser and Gégény.	JB1
Domony	In early September 1944, gendarmes arrived at the Roma quarter which housed some 300 residents in 21 homes and ordered them to board trucks. They were first taken to Nagykanizsa, then on to Dachau and Buchenwald. They regained their freedom around April 1945 when the German guards fled the camps.	RPA/KP JB
Döbrököz	Local Roma were transferred, in a number of transports to the great collection camp at Komárom beginning in the spring of 1944. The camp was liberated in the winter of 1944/1945.	JB3
Dudar	In the winter of 1944, local Roma were taken	JB2

	to the ghetto at Bödö.	
Dunaföldvár	Beginning in the autumn of 1944, local Roma were taken to the Komárom ghetto. Some Roma were dragged off to Dachau where they were detained from the spring of 1944 to May 1945.	JB2
Dunaharaszti	The Roma source was captive at the Brick Factory at Óbuda from November 1944 on and detained in the Komárom camp until January 1945	JB
Dunaszekcső	Local Roma were taken to Véménd (Trefortpuszta) and Sopron and kept there between August 1944 and February 1945. Some were transferred to Vienna.	JB
Dunaszentbenedek	Local Roma were detained in the ghetto at Komárom between December 1944 and February 1945. Some Roma were taken to Csolnok and Tokod for slave labor.	JB
Écs	Local Roma were taken to the Komárom ghetto and detained there from the autumn of 1944 to 1945.	JB3
Ecseg	The Roma source was detained at the Gyöngyöspata ghetto in October and November of 1944.	JB
Ecsi	Local Roma were taken to the Komárom ghetto and detained there from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Edelény	Roma residents were locked up in the local ghetto from May to October in 1944.	JB
Eger	Most of the Roma were taken to the local ghetto or transferred to the Komárom ghetto in the autumn of 1944. Some of them were taken from here to Salzburg until 1944/1945.	JB6
Egerág	Local Roma were taken to the Komárom ghetto and detained there from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Encs	Roma residents were locked up in the local ghetto from October to December in 1944.	JB
Encsencs	Roma residents of the village were taken to the collection ghetto on Mátészalka from April to October 1944.	JB3
Ercsi	Local Roma were taken to perform forced labor first to Pusztarom, then to Tatabánya from June 1944 to January 1945	JB
Erdőbénye	A number of Roma families were dragged off by the gendarmes to Viss and Végardó, then on to Carnoh, Slovakia, for forced labor.	RPA/KP
Érpatak	Most of the local Roma (women, children, older people) were taken to Újfehértó in the spring of 1945 and were kept there until the spring of 1945. The men were taken to Rahó, to a military logging camp.	JB12
Erzsébet	Local Roma were taken to the ghetto in Komárom in October 1944, where they were detained until December 1944. Some of them were transferred from there to Dachau. Others	JB

	were first detained at the Brick Factory in Óbuda, then transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Ravensbrück, women and children included. Young women were sterilized.	
Esztergom	In 1942, the Roma quarter in Esztergom was partially blocked off, residents were allowed outside only for a few hours. Roma were forbidden to sit on park benches. In the autumn of 1944, the Arrow Cross dragged off all residents of the Roma quarter first to the local Jewish temple in town, then, two or three weeks later, on to Komárom. Many dead bodies were dumped in the Danube. Another six weeks later, the victims were herded on foot towards Galánta (now in Slovakia). They were freed when the advancing Red Army caught up with them.	RPA/KP JB8
Fábiánháza	In May 1944, the local Roma were rounded up and marched, on foot, under armed guard by the gendarmes, to Mátészalka. Russians liberated the victims in October 1944.	RPA/KP JB3
Fehérgyarmat	Some of the local Roma were taken to a military forced labor camp at Gyergyótölgyes in the autumn of 1944. Some were kept in the local ghetto, others were marched on foot, under armed guard by the gendarmes, to the collection ghetto at Mátészalka. Russians freed them in October 1944.	JB10
Felnémet	The local Roma source was taken to perform forced labor to Velslambah in Germany in August 1944. He regained his freedom in April 1945.	JB1
Felsőcsatár	In September 1944, local Roma residents were taken to Komárom and some of them were transferred from here to Auschwitz.	ÁÉBR
Felsőnyék	The local Roma source was taken to Germany in October 1944 and released in April 1945.	JB
Felsőpaty	The local Roma source was taken to Órtorony in June 1944 and released in March 1945	JB
Fernapuszta	After October 1944, local Roma were taken to Révfülopy, Szigetvár then to Komárom where they were detained until February 1945.	JB
Fertőrákos	Roma residents were taken from Pápadavecser to Veszprém, then to Komárom from September 1944 on. They were released in February 1945, but some were transferred to Bergen-Belsen and Ravensbrück.	JB2
Fony	Local Roma were first taken to the Nyíregyháza ghetto, then transferred to Mauthausen (from October 1944 to March 1945).	JB2
Fülöp	The local Roma source was taken to the Mátészalka ghetto in April 1944 and released in October.	JB
Fülöpszállás	Local Roma residents were detained at the Kecskemét ghetto from April to October 1944.	JB2

Füzesabony	Some of the local Roma were taken in September 1944 to the ghettos in Kompolt and Verpelét where they also had to perform forced labor until October 1944.	JB
Gádoros	Local Roma were forced to perform slave labor at state-owned estates from 1943 to 1945.	JB13
Gáva	In April 1944, local Roma were taken to Rázonpuszta and Tiszalök. They regained their freedom in the autumn of 1944.	JB
Gávavencsellő	In April 1944, local Roma were taken to Rázonpuszta and Tiszalök. They regained their freedom in November 1944.	JB
Gerjen	In November 1944, Arrow Cross members rounded up people from the Roma quarter and took them to Komárom. Later, they were driven on foot toward Germany, but the advancing Russian troops caught up with them at Galánta and freed them.	RPA/KP JB2
Gesztreg	Gendarmes took the local Roma to Komárom in November 1944. Some of them were transferred to Dachau and Ravensbrück where quite often, parents would be murdered and the children submitted to medical experiments.	ÁÉBR
Girincs	In the early autumn of 1944 – perhaps in September – it was publicly announced that Roma residents were forbidden to leave the settlement. Apart from the ailing and the aged, gendarmes and policemen escorted everyone to the ghetto at Tiszalúc. Some of them were transferred to Benerdorf. The advancing Russian troops liberated them.	RPA/KP
Gráboc	Local Roma were taken to the Komárom ghetto in April 1944 and detained there until February 1945.	JB
Guta	In May 1944, local Roma were taken to Harampuszta, then transferred from there to Germany.	JB
Gutorfölde	On November 3, 1944, gendarmes removed a number of families to Komárom from where many of them were transferred to Dachau and Ravensbrück.	ÁÉBR JB
Gyón	Roma residents were detained in the local ghetto in October and November of 1944.	JB
Gyömöre	After the autumn of 1944, local Roma were taken to ghettos in Komárom and Hatvan.	JB4
Gyöngyös	In the summer of 1944, local Roma were taken to Marcali and were released in the winter.	JB
Gyöngyospata	In 1944, German soldiers took local Roma people to Germany via Szurdokpüspöki. In October, 1944, many Roma residents were shot dead on the spot while others were confined to the local ghetto.	RPA/KP BJ
Gyönk	Local Roma residents were confined to the ghetto in Komárom in the autumn and winter	JB

	of 1944.	
Győr	In the autumn of 1944, Arrow Cross militia members sealed off the Roma quarter where local residents and people from nearby settlements were detained for about 6 months. Some were subsequently taken to the Csillag Fortress in Komárom. They regained their freedom when the guards "disappeared".	RKI/KP JB34
Győrszemere	Local Roma residents were detained in the ghetto at Komárom from November 1944 to March 1945.	JB
Győrszentmárton	From November 1944 to February 1945, local Roma were detained at the collection ghetto at Komárom. Some of them were transferred to concentration camps in Germany.	JB
Győrvár	Some of the Roma were taken to Komárom, from where a number of them were transferred to Dachau from September 1944 to February 1945	JB
Hács	Between March 1944 and April 1945, local Roma residents were detained at Révkomárom.	JB
Hajdúszoboszló	Between May 1944 and November 1944, local Roma residents were detained at the collection ghetto in Debrecen.	JB
Hangony	One local Roma resident was taken to a camp in Budapest in March 1944. In October, he was transferred to a camp near Vienna. He regained his freedom in May 1945	JB1
Hangony	On September 13, 1944, gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia members surrounded the settlement and dragged off many men and women to Sajószentpéter and Hangony. Two months later, they were transferred to Miskolc (Fazekas Street) and then they were put on trains and taken to Valkó in cattle cars. Next, they were detained in the fortress in Komárom, from about the middle of November to December 6. From here, they were transferred to Auschwitz. ("We were in captivity from about January 1944 for two weeks.") Then they started off for home on foot, but the Russians picked them up and took them for slave labor to the Carpathians where they worked from February 1945 to the summer of 1946.	RPA/KP JB6
Hatvan	All local Roma were locked up in the slate tile factory on September 20, 1944 and guarded by Hungarian soldiers. Many managed to escape until a few months later, with the approach of the Russian army, they were all set free.	RPA/KP
Hidvégdó	The local Roma were detained in their own homes turned into a local ghetto, from April 1944 to November 1944.	JB
Hodász	Roma residents were detained in the ghettos	JB

	of Nyíregyháza and Mátészalka from April to November 1944	
Hódmezővásárhely	Hundreds of local Roma residents were detained and worked under bestial conditions in the military forced labor camp at Rahó from February 20, 1944 to November 5, 1945.	RPA/KP JB35
Homokkomárom	Some of the local Roma were taken to the Coffee Factory in Nagykanizsa from September to December 1944. Some of them were transferred from here to Draskovec in January 1945 and set free in May 1945.	JB
Homokszentgyörgy	Local Roma were detained in the Komárom ghetto from October 1944 to February 1945 and the Marcali ghetto from November 1944 to March 1945	JB2
Hont	Local Roma were detained from November to December 1944 and forced to work at the Livia estate near Patvarc.	JB1
Horvátzsidány	Roma residents were taken by the Germans to Komárom in October 1944, then transferred to Ravensbrück.	ÁÉBR JB
Hosszúhetény	Local Roma were detained in the Komárom ghetto from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Hógyész	Roma residents were taken to the Szekszárd ghetto.	JB
Ibrány	Some of the local Roma were taken to the ghetto in Nyíregyháza starting from April 1944. Later they were transferred from here to the forced labor camp at Pápa.	JB
Inám	Roma residents were detained in the Komárom ghetto from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Inke	The local Roma were interned at Zalaegerszeg from March 1944 to May 1945.	JB
Inota	Some Roma residents were kept in the local ghetto throughout August and September 1944, while most of them were detained in their own homes or in the cellar of the local manor-house.	JB
Istvándi	A few of the local Roma were detained in the Marcali ghetto from summer 1944 to spring 1945.	JB
Iván	The local Roma were first taken to the Komárom ghetto then transferred to Dachau. Only few of them managed to return to their homes in January 1945.	JB
Jánk	Roma residents were kept in the ghetto at Mátészalka from April to October 1944.	JB
Jánosháza	Most of the local Roma people were taken to collection camp in Komárom, while others were confined to the ghettos of Summás, Zalaegerszeg or Sárvár.	JB6
Jászalsó-szentgyörgy	Some of the Roma residents were detained in the local ghetto, while others were dragged off to Sub-Carpathia in March 1944. These latter were released only in 1945.	RPA/KP JB
Jászapáti	One Roma resident was detained at Bácska in	JB

	Voivodina from May 1944 to January 1945.	
Jászberény	The local Roma were detained at Nagykáta from June to September 1944, then transferred to Kőbánya (in Budapest), where they were forced to work in the aircraft repair facility that the Germans set up in the brewery. They were kept there from August to December 1944.	JB
Jászdózsa	Roma residents were forced to perform slave labor locally.	JB2
Jászfényszaru	Local Roma were confined to the ghetto at Dévaványa from May to November 1944. Some were transferred to Dachau to return only in February 1945.	JB2
Jászkarajenő	Roma residents were kept in the Abony ghetto from September to November 1944.	JB
Jászladány	Most of the local Roma were dragged off to Bácska in Voivodina to perform slave labor at state-owned estates. Others were taken to Jászalsószentgyörgy or Kisszállás, where they were forced to work until December 1944.	RPA/KP JB20
Kajdacs	Roma residents were interned at the Komárom camp from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Kál	Roma residents were taken to Gyöngyös starting in April 1944, then transferred to Kőbánya, Budapest. They regained their freedom in the winter of 1944.	JB
Kálló	Local Roma were detained in ghettos (e.g. at Hatvan) from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Kálmánca	Local Roma residents were kept at Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945. Some were later transferred to Germany never to return.	JB8
Kalocsa	Roma residents were confined to the local ghetto from June 1944 to February 1945. (Some were later removed from here to Komárom, then off to Germany.)	JB3
Kámánacs	Roma from here were detained in the Nagykanizsa Coffee factory in October and November 1944, then taken to Draskovec, from where they were released in February 1945.	JB
Kántorjánosi	The local Roma population was taken to the Mátészalka ghetto by gendarmes in May 1944. They unexpectedly regained their freedom in October that year.	RPA/KP
Kapolcs	Local Roma were detained at Munich, (Dachau) and Stuttgart between November 1944 and May 1945.	JB
Kápolnásnyék	Roma residents were forced to work near Baracska in January and February 1945.	JB
Kaposvár	Roma residents were interned first at Nagykanizsa in September and October 1944, then at Draskovec until April 1945.	JB
Káptalantóti-	Roma from here were forced to perform slave	JB

Rizapuszta	labor in Badacsonytomaj between November 1944 and March 1945.	
Kapuvár	Roma residents were taken to Komárom from October 1944, and released in March 1945.	JB4
Karancsság	Roma from here were detained in Dachau and Linz (Mauthausen?) in 1944 and 1945.	JB
Karcag	Roma residents were kept in the local ghetto between June and October 1944. Some were transferred to Kunhegyes.	JB
Kassa	The Roma people from here were detained in the local ghetto from September to November 1944. The ghetto also served as a collection camp for a Roma labour service company.	JB
Kaszaháza	Part of the Roma population was taken to Draskovec or Nagykanizsa, while others were interned in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Kávás	Roma from here were kept in the Komárom ghetto between September 1944 and March 1945.	JB
Kázsmárk	The Roma population was confined to the local ghetto from April to October 1944.	JB
Kecel	Local Roma were kept in the Kiskőrös-Baja ghetto between March and November 1944.	JB
Kecskemét	Some Roma men were dragged off to Germany in 1944. Many Roma were forced to dig a pit then were shot into their own grave with their children.	RPA/KP JB
Kék	Roma from Kék were detained in the collection ghetto at Kisvárdá from March 1944 till October of the same year.	JB
Keléd	Roma residents were taken to Komárom from September 1944, where they were kept until February 1945. Some were transferred to Dachau and most of them died there. The survivors regained their freedom only in May 1945.	JB6
Kemecse	The local Roma were detained in the Nyíregyháza ghetto or in the military forced labor camp at Rahó between May and October 1944.	JB2
Keménfa	The local Roma source was taken to the Komárom collection camp in March 1944, then transferred to Auschwitz, from where he/she was released in May 1945 to return home.	JB1
Kercaszomor	The source was taken first to the Komárom ghetto in September 1944, then transferred to Auschwitz in October to be kept there until May 1945.	JB
Kerecseny	The local source was taken to Komárom in November 1944, then removed to Auschwitz, where he was detained until February 1945.	JB
Kerekegyháza	One night in November 1944 Nazis entered the Roma homes and shot many people, even children, if they faced the slightest resistance. Local sources invariably reported they were	RPA/KP JB6

	treated brutally. They were unable to tell how many of them died, since in most cases the Roma were not even registered.	
Kerkaszentkirály	Local Roma were detained first in Nagykanizsa then in Draskovec from October 1944 till April 1945.	JB2
Kérsemjén	The Roma people were kept in the Fehérgyarmat ghetto from September till end of November 1944.	JB2
Kesznyét	At one dawn in November, 1944, the "Gipsy Street" was surrounded and all the people, the old and the sick included, were ordered to board horse-drawn carts. It took altogether 10-12 carts to transport them to the Tiszalúc schoolyard. For a week they were guarded by gendarmes and Germans, who told them: "Your graves are already dug and we will shoot you into them." The Roma were being herded into cattle cars when the Russians suddenly started shelling Tiszalúc and the Germans fled.	RPA/KP JB32
Keszthely	The local Roma were forced to perform slave labor in the oil refinery at Pétfürdő from April 1944 to May 1945.	JB1
Királyerdő	The local Roma source was taken to Nyáregyháza in November 1944. He was transferred first to the Arrow Cross headquarters in Budapest, then further to Bevenhausen, where he was detained throughout February and March 1945.	JB
Kisbicsérd	Roma residents were detained at Komárom from October 1944 until February 1945.	JB12
Kiscséc	All Roma residents of the settlement were rounded up, most were taken by gendarmes to Kesznyéten, then further off to Tiszalúc in November 1944. Though the arrival of the Russian troops ended their sufferings, by then their dead outnumbered the living. (Some Roma residents were taken Girincs.)	RPA/KP JB19
Kisgörbő	Local Roma were detained in the Komárom camp from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB2
Kiskassa	Some of the Roma were detained in Komárom between November 1944 and February 1945. Those who were left at home were surrounded by military gendarmes in January, forced to dig their own graves and shot dead.	JB1
Kiskunfélegyháza	The Roma people were interned in Komárom in November and December 1944.	JB2
Kiskunhalas	The Roma people were kept in the local ghetto between September and November 1944.	JB1
Kiskunlacháza-Pereg	Roma residents were taken to the forced labor camp in Szentkirálypuszta in 1944.	JB
Kisléta	Local Roma were detained in the Mátészalka ghetto from April to October 1944.	JB
Kispest	In the first days of November 1944 Roma families with their children were taken to the Brick Factory in Óbuda, then most of them	ÁÉBR JB

	were ordered to board cattle cars and transported to Dachau. Some families were interned in other camps like Ravensbrück or Bergen-Belsen.	
Kistarcsa	Some of the Roma of Kistarcsa were first removed to the Brick Factory in Óbuda, then to Bergen-Belsen.	RSK volume JB1
Kistelek	Local Roma were detained in the Komárom camp from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB1
Kisújszállás	Roma residents had to perform slave labor at Szolnok-Szandaszőlős between April and October 1944.	JB4
Kisvárdá	The Roma people of the area were kept in the local ghetto between September and November 1944. Some of them were taken to Cologne to be released only in mid-1945.	JB2
Kisvarsány	The source was interned in the Kisvárdá collection camp between May and November 1944.	JB
Kóka	Roma residents were kept in the collection camp at Nagykáta from July to November 1944. Some of them had to perform forced labor in Isaszeg or in the German aircraft factory at Kőbánya.	JB3
Komádi	Local Roma were detained in the Graz concentration camp from October 1944 until 1945.	JB
Komárom	The Roma people were kept in the collection camp Csillag fortress in Komárom guarded by gendarmes and SS soldiers from November 1944 on. Those whom the SS found fit to work were later taken to Dachau, Ravensbrück, Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and other camps. Trains left for Germany every Saturday. People had to endure terrible conditions in the Komárom collection camp, many had to sleep out of doors in winter. There was no latrine, and they were short of food and water. (In October and November about 1,200-1,300 people died.) The total number of the Roma in this camp was approx. 15,000.	RPA/KP JB4 AEBR Szabolcs Szita's research László Karsai's research
Komárváros	Most Roma residents were detained first in Nagykáta then in Nagykanizsa from March 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Komló	Local Roma were interned in the Komárom collection camp from November 1944 to March 1945.	JB3
Komlódtótfalu	The Roma people from here were taken to Mátészalka and kept there from May till October 1944.	JB
Komlódtótfalu	Roma residents were detained in the Komárom collection camp from November 1944 till December 1944 or some until as late as March 1945.	JB3
Kopócsapáti	The Roma people were detained in the	JB9

	Kisvárda ghetto from May to October 1944.	
Koppányszántó	The local source was kept in Prague from May 1944 to May (?) 1945.	JB
Korpád	Local Roma were taken to the collection camp in Komárom in October 1944 and detained there until February 1945.	JB
Korpavár	The Roma people were first taken to the Coffee factory in Nagykanizsa, then transferred to Draskovec and kept there from October 1944 till April 1945.	JB
Körmend	The Roma people from here and from the surrounding areas were taken to the local collection camp in December 1944. Soon they were removed to Incehof, Strem or Komárom.	ÁÉBR JB
Körmend-Tolnaszecsőd	Roma residents were taken to Komárom then to Dachau in 1944.	JB
Köröm	Most Roma residents were taken to Tiszalúc (and some to Kesznyét) by gendarmes in November 1944. They regained their freedom with the arrival of the Russian troops.	RPA/KP JB2
Kötegyán	In the last days of September 1944 military gendarmes returned to the Roma quarter of the village that had been retaken. Many Roma people were rounded up and taken to the Sarkad Gendarmerie Barracks where they and other Roma people from Nagyszalonta were beaten for days. When the news of the Russian assault reached them, the gendarmes marched the victims on foot towards Doboz. There were 5 guards and 21 detainees altogether. They stopped at the Doboz cemetery on October 5, and the Roma were forced to dig their own graves before being shot dead. The murderers were found guilty by the People's court in the summer of 1956.	RPA/KP JB Karsai Ervin
Kunszentmiklós	About 25 Roma families were locked up in the brick factory close to the settlement in 1944. In March or April 1944 all Roma were collected in the square at the end of Wesselényi Street by gendarmes. On November 1, Roma men were forced to dig anti-tank trenches from Szalkaszentmárton to Solt and Dunaföldvár. Survivors were liberated by Russian troops.	RPA/KP JB3
Lábatlan	Most Roma people were removed from their homes to Komárom then to Ravensbrück in autumn 1944 and kept there till February 1945.	JB
Lajoskomárom	Local Roma were forced to dig their own graves and shot dead by local camp gendarmes. Men were buried in the cemetery ditch, women and children in the field beyond the village. The graves are unmarked.	JB
Lajosmizse	Roma residents had to perform forced labor on the state-owned estate from September 1944 to May 1945.	JB
Lak	The Roma population was kept in the local	JB

	ghetto from May till October 1944.	
Lendvaújfalu	The source was kept in Csáktornya from September to December 1944, then taken to Draskovec, where he was detained until April 1945.	JB
Lengyel	Gendarmes staged a "hunt" and picked off local Roma people. There is a memorial to the victims in the village cemetery, the gendarmes were found guilty in 1957.	JB
Lenti	One local Roma group was taken to Komárom, then transferred to German camps; another group was shot locally by camp gendarmes and Arrow Cross members in February 1945.	JB
Lesencetomaj	Roma residents were taken to Komárom starting from March 1944. Most were transferred to Dachau, where they faced further sufferings. All survivors were released in February 1945.	JB6
Létavértes	The Roma people were confined to the local ghetto from April 1944 to January 1945.	JB
Letenye	Some of the Roma residents were kept in the local Gendarme Barracks from March 1944, while others were removed to Nagykanizsa, then further off to Germany to be detained there until summer 1945.	JB37
Letenye-Molnári	The Roma from here were taken to Nagykanizsa in September 1944 and kept there until December, then transferred to Csáktornya. They were released in April 1945.	JB
Lőrinci	Some of the local Roma were detained in the ghettos of Komárom and Hatvan between October and December 1944.	JB
Madar	Those Roma who were found fit to work were taken to Auschwitz and Dachau by Hungarian gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia. Many of these Roma died.	1971
Mágocs	The Roma were taken to Véménd (Trefortpuszta), where they were forced to perform slave labor from September to November 1944.	JB
Magyarcsanád	Roma residents were interned in the military forced labor camp at Rahó from July till November 1944.	JB
Magyarnádalja	Local Roma were taken to Komárom in October 1944 and kept there until December the same year.	JB
Mány	The source had to perform forced labor at Kállóz, Nagyhöröcsögpuszta between August and December 1944. (Dortmund ???)	JB
Marcali	Some Roma residents were kept in the local ghetto from May 1944, while others in the cellar of the local manor-house between April and September 1944.	JB
Martonyi	???	JB
Mátészalka	Roma residents were interned in the local collection ghetto in April 1944. Some of them	RPA/KP JB4

	suffered there until October 1944, but many of them were removed to Germany and other places. In June 1944 groups of these people were transferred to Auschwitz and Pápa or to Gyergyótölgyes, Ajtós, Ojtoz in the Carpathians.	ÁÉBR
Mátraderecske	Local Roma were detained at Nyíregyháza from March to June 1944, then transferred first to Komárom, then to Linz (Mauthausen) to be kept there until May 1945.	JB
Mátraverebély	The Roma people were confined to the local ghetto from July to December 1944. Some of them were taken further to Komárom or the Balassagyarmat ghetto or the Lívia Estate.	JB7
Mecsekszabolcs	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB3
Medina	Roma residents were kept in the local ghetto and forced to perform labor from November 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Megyefa	The Roma from here were taken to the Komárom collection camp in November 1944 then transferred to Germany.	ÁÉBR
Meggyeskovácsi	Some of the local Roma were detained in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945. From there, some of them were dragged off to German camps.	JB
Ménfőcsanak	The local Roma were interned in the Győr ghetto from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Mezőberény	Roma people from Mezőberény were forced to perform slave labor at Csongrád-Laskó from September to November 1944.	JB
Mezőkeresztes	Roma residents were confined to the Gyöngyös ghetto from May to October 1944.	JB
Mezőkovácsháza	In the winter of 1941 many Roma were taken before the local magistrate, then transported to Békéscsaba in cattle cars under the guard of gendarmes and soldiers. The next stop was Budapest, where they were locked up for 2-3 months and many of them were beaten so badly that they died. They were later transported to a building at 9 Erzsébet Square in Nagykanizsa. Being illiterate, most of them did not know where they were. In spring 1944 they were removed to a new location in cattle cars, which remained unknown to them since they could only see buildings surrounded by barbed wire and woods all around. At the beginning of 1946, soldiers told them that they could cease work and most were taken back to Mezőkovácsháza or Végegyháza.	RPA/KP
Mezőkovácsi	The Roma population of the village was taken to the collection camp in Komárom in 1944. Some of them were later transferred to German camps.	???
Mezőkövesd	The Roma residents were first confined to the local closed collection ghetto. They were then	JB

	dragged off to the ghettos of Gyöngyös and Hatvan.	
Mezőtúr	Local Roma were kept under guard in the local ghetto between April and October 1944.	JB
Miháld (Cseri puszta)	Roma people from here were interned at Nagykanizsa between September 1944 and February 1945.	JB
Mikosszéplak	The Roma were taken to Komárom in November 1944, then on to Dachau in December of the same year. Only in May 1945 could they return home.	JB
Miskolc	Some of the Roma were kept in the local closed ghetto from October to December 1944. Some others were in the Szikszó closed ghetto in September and October 1944.	JB5
Mogyorós	The source was taken to Komárom in November 1944. He set out for home on foot in March 1945, and via Győr, Nagymegyer and Galánta finally arrived home in April 1945.	JB
Mohács	Detention in the Komárom camp from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Molnárszecsőd	Local Roma were taken to Komárom in October 1944, then to Dachau in February 1945. They were back at home in July 1945.	JB
Monor	The Roma of Monor were detained in the local brick factory. At the end of October 1944 Arrow Cross militia rounded off the people in the Roma quarter and took them to Maglód. János Kozák was the only one to escape after 3-4 days, all others were deported to Germany.	1971 JB1
Mór	In November 1944, Roma residents were rounded up and taken to Komárom. In December, the women and the children were released and those fit to work were transported to German camps.	JB
Nádudvar	The Roma from here were dragged off to the Nyíregyháza ghetto in August 1944 and kept there until October.	JB
Nagybajom	Roma residents were collected in the local ghetto and Marcali from August to December 1944.	JB
Nagybakónak	Detention in Nagykanizsa from September to December 1944, then in Révkomárom until April 1945.	JB
Nagybicsérd	Detention in Pécs and Komárom between October 1944 and January 1945.	JB
Nagycsepely	Forced labor in the Marcali ghetto from spring 1944 till summer 1945.	JB
Nagydobsza	Roma people from here were kept in the local ghetto from October 1944 to April 1945.	JB
Nagyecsed	Roma residents were rounded up by gendarmes in May 1944 and marched to Mátészalka on foot under armed guard. At the approach of the Russian troops they were released.	RPA/KP JB1

Nagykálló	Roma from here and the surrounding areas were interned in the forced labor camp set up for the Roma at Nagykálló-Misó.	JB
Nagykanizsa	Local Roma were detained locally between October and December 1944, then in Draskovec between January and April 1945.	JB
Nagykanizsa	Residents of a local Roma quarter were first taken to the local Coffee Factory in October 1944, then dragged off to Draskovec, Yugoslavia along with many other Roma from the surrounding areas. They were detained there until the arrival of the Russian troops. Another Roma quarter was also surrounded by Arrow Cross militia members and gendarmes on November 3, 1944. Many Roma were locked up in the local coffee factory, and some were taken to Pápa and the Csillag fortress in Komárom. After a few weeks those fit to work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen.	RPA/KP
Nagykáta	Roma from Nagykáta and the surrounding areas were locked up in the local ghetto set up in the school building from July to December 1944. The place also served as the headquarters of the Roma military labor service unit. These people were dragged off to fight at the front, to construct fortifications or to work in the German aircraft repair facility set up in the cellar of the brewery in Kőbánya.	JB
Nagykónyi	Roma residents were detained in Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Nagykorpád	Roma from here were taken to Marcali in March 1944 then to Préospuszta, where they were kept until February 1945.	JB
Nagykőrös	Local Roma were removed to the Komárom ghetto in November 1944, and released in December the same year.	JB
Nagyléta	Most Roma were forced to perform slave labor in the local ghetto from April to October 1944. Some of them were taken to Linz (Mauthausen?).	JB
Nagylóc	The local Roma families were dragged off to Balassagyarmat in October 1944, and after a few weeks they were removed to Komárom, then transferred to Germany in cattle cars. They owe their lives to the arrival of the Russian troops. (October 1944 - April 1945)	RPA/KP JB3
Nagyperkáta	Roma from here were taken to Auschwitz (?) in 1944, and released only in May 1945.	JB4
Nagypeterd	Local Roma were removed to Komárom in October 1944, the survivors were released in January 1945.	JB
Nagysáp	Residents of the Roma quarter were rounded up in 1945. They were transported to the ghetto in Héreg, where many manage to escape. The rest were taken further to Győr, but many escaped successfully. One Roma	1971 JB2

	woman and a 10-year-old Jewish girl were shot into the Danube in Győr. The second source named Komárom as the collection center for the Nagysáp Roma, many of whom were removed from there to Germany.	
Nagysimonyi	Roma residents were detained in Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945, then taken to Germany. Few of them ever returned.	JB
Nagyszakácsi	Local Roma were kept in the Marcali ghetto, then in Komárom from 1944 to March 1945.	JB3
Nagytilaj	Gendarmes took most of the Roma population to the Komárom collection camp in November 1944. Many were transferred to Dachau, most of whom never returned.	ÁÉBR JB1
Naszvad	Roma from Naszvad were taken to Komárom starting in August 1944. They regained their freedom only in February 1945.	JB
Nemesdéd	Roma people were transported to several places from here: Letenye, Nagykanizsa or Draskovec, to be kept there from August 1944 till April 1945.	JB6
Németi	Roma from Németi were detained in Komárom in November and December 1944.	JB
Németkér	The source was taken to Komárom in November 1944, then on to a German camp to remain there until April 1945.	JB
Nick	Roma residents were detained in Komárom from September 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Nógrádkövesd	The source was interned in the ghetto at Komárom from January till March 1945.	JB1
Nógrádverőce	Local Roma were kept in the ghetto of Dunavarsány from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Noszvaj	Roma from here were collected in Mezőkövesd in November and December 1944.	JB
Nova	Local Roma were detained in Nagykanizsa and Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945. Some were taken to Draskovec.	JB
Nyalka	Detention in Komárom from June 1944 to January 1945.	JB
Nyárád	Detention in Komárom from November 1944, then in Dachau until May 1945.	JB
Nyésta	Roma residents were confined to the closed ghetto set up in the local Roma quarter from March to December 1944.	JB
Nyírábrány	Local Roma were collected in the Mátészalka ghetto in April 1944 and kept there until December of the same year.	JB
Nyírbátor	In May 1944 Roma residents were taken by gendarmes to Mátészalka and Nyíregyháza, where they suffered greatly. Quite unexpectedly they were soon released.	RPA/KP
Nyíregyháza	A huge collection camp was set up near the city in April 1944. The Roma people were taken from there to the military labor camps of the Carpathians: Gyergyótölgyes, Rahó, Ojtoz,	JB

	Gyimes; or westwards: Pápa, Komárom, the border camps of occupied Austria, Mauthausen, Buchenwald (Muna), Dachau, Bergen-Belsen.	
Nyíribrony	Detention in the Kisvárda ghetto from May to November 1944.	JB
Nyírlugos	Roma residents were taken to the ghetto in Mátészalka in April 1944 and confined there till October of the same year.	JB
Nyírmihálydi	Roma residents were detained in the Mátészalka ghetto from April till October 1944.	JB
Nyírpazony	Detention in the Kisvárda ghetto throughout September and October 1944.	JB
Ófehértó	Roma from here were taken to the ghetto at Nyíregyháza, then to Gömör in Slovakia, where they had to perform forced labor.	JB
Olcsva	The source was in the Mátészalka ghetto between August and October 1944.	JB
Ondód	Local Roma were dragged off to Városmajor Park in Szombathely in the first days of November 1944. After a week-long rail journey they garrived at the Komárom collection camp, then some of them were further transferred to Dachau or Ravensbrück. Here girls and women were subject to medical experiments, all were sterilized with injections. Only 10 of 40 women returned.	ÁÉBR JB10
Oroszlány	16 Roma men from here were dragged off in January 1945. They were taken to several places: Komárom, Bergen-Belsen, Augsburg and Dachau. They returned home as late as October 1945.	JB1
Öreglak	Detention in Komárom from October 1944 till January 1945.	JB
Órhalom	The Roma people were collected locally and forced to perform slave labor from April till November 1944.	JB
Óriszentpéter	Many families were transported to Szombathely then on to Komárom in the autumn of 1944. They were released in the spring of 1945. Other Roma groups had to perform forced labor in the collection camp set up at Barracks 48 in Sopron for 8 weeks in 1944. Some Roma people from here were also taken to Germany.	RPA/KP ÁÉBR JB9
Örkény	In August 1944 Roma men from here were taken to Újhartyán, then to Komárom and Germany. Some were in Russian captivity for three years.	1971
Pánd	Roma residents were detained in the Szolnok ghetto (Szandaszőlős) to perform forced labor from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Pankasz	Most Roma people were taken to the Körmend collection camp for a few days in December 1944, soon to be transferred to Strem, Austria.	ÁÉBR JB15

Pankasz	Many Roma residents of Pankasz were removed to Germany.	RSK volume
Pannonhalma	The local Roma were interned in the Komárom ghetto from November 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Panyola	Roma residents were kept in the ghetto at Fehérgyarmat in September and October 1944.	JB
Pápa	A local ghetto was set up for the Roma in October 1944. Here they were forced to perform slave labor, some were also transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen.	ÁÉBR JB6
Pápadereske	Roma from here were transported to Komárom in November 1944, then most of them were taken to Dachau.	ÁÉBR JB6 RSK volume
Pápasalamon	The source was interned at Rivic (?) between October 1944 and June 1945.	JB
Parád	Roma residents were detained locally or in Komárom.	JB
Párkány	Local Roma were taken by German soldiers to Komárom on November 20, 1944, then on to Dachau. Only few of them returned home in December 1945.	RPA/KP JB
Pásztó	Roma residents were detained in the local closed ghetto from June to December 1944. They were made to perform slave labor.	JB
Pata	Roma people from here were detained locally and in Komárom throughout October and November 1944.	JB
Patapoklosi	Roma residents were taken to Komárom and Révfülu from May 1944 and interned there until February 1945. Some were later removed to German camps: Dachau or Bergen-Belsen.	JB13
Patosfa	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from December 1944 to February 1945.	JB1
Pátroha	Most Roma residents were kept at Újfehértó and Kisvárda from April 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Pécs	Detention in Révkomárom from September 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Pécs	Roma residents were detained locally and in Komárom. Many Roma men were taken away from Pécs various forced labor sites. Many were later transferred to Dachau and Sachsenhausen.	JB30 RSK volume
Pécs (Mecsekszabolcs)	Local Roma were interned in Komárom from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Pécs-Málom	Detention in Komárom from September 1944 to March 1945.	JB
Pécs-Mecsekszabolcs	Detention in Komárom from September 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Pély	The Roma quarter was put under quarantine in 1944 and 1945. Many Roma people were dragged off to perform forced labor in 1941. Several families were removed to Komárom in	RPA/KP JB1

	the autumn of 1944. They came back in 1945, but none of them are alive today.	
Penészlek	Detention in the Roma ghetto at Mátészalka between May and October 1944.	JB
Pereszteg	Roma residents were dragged off to Komárom by gendarmes on November 3 1944. They were released in February 1945.	ÁÉBR
Pereszteg	Local Roma were taken to the collection camp at Komárom in November 1944, then further to Ravensbrück. Medical experiments were also performed on many of the victims. Very few of them could return.	ÁÉBR
Perkáta	Roma residents were detained at Kunszentmiklós and Komárom from autumn 1944 till the spring of 1945. Some were taken to Ravensbrück.	JB
Perkupa	The Roma people were kept in the local closed ghetto between May and October 1944, and forced to perform slave labor.	JB
Pestszentlőrinc	In November 1944 the local Roma were taken to the Brick Factory at Óbuda, Budapest, then on to Bregen-Belsen. They regained their freedom in May 1945.	JB
Pétervására	Roma residents were kept in the local ghetto from October to December 1944. They had to perform labor, dig trenches, and were very often beaten and caned.	JB
Petőhenye	The Roma quarter here was surrounded by gendarmes and Arrow Cross members on November 3 1944. Some of the Roma were taken to Pápa and Komárom. A few weeks later those who were found fit to work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen.	RPA/KP JB4
Pettend	Local Roma were removed to Marcali collection camp in October 1944, then to the Komárom one. They were released in February 1945.	RPA/KP JB4
Piliscsaba	The Roma from here were taken to the ghetto in Vác in November 1944.	JB
Pilismarót	Roma residents were taken to the Brick Factory in Óbuda at the beginning of November 1944. They were later transported to several German camps (Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen), to be interned there until March 1945.	JB
Pilisvörösvár	Roma residents were detained in the ghetto at Pestszentlőrinc, later at Dabas until December 1944.	JB
Pincehely	One group of Roma was shot with machine guns by military gendarmes locally in January 1945. Roma people from here were taken to Komárom in September 1944, later transferred to Dachau, and kept there until April 1945.	JB3
Pocsaj	Some of the Roma quarter residents were taken to the ghetto of Debrecen in May 1944. Those who were left at home were made to dig	JB

	their own graves and shot dead by a group of military gendarmes in October of the same year.	
Pókaszepetk	Most Roma residents were interned in Komárom in November and December 1944. Some were transferred to Dachau until February 1945.	JB2
Polgár	All Roma residents of Polgár were rounded up in the yard of the local Jewish temple, then taken to Rázonpuszta (located between Tiszalök and Polgár). They were detained there for 7-8 months by Arrow Cross militia. Only the arrival of the Red Army put an end to their sufferings.	RPA/KP JB5
Pomáz	Detention in Vác in October and November 1944, later in Strem (?) from November 1944 till March 1945.	JB
Porcsalma	Roma from here were taken to the Mátészalka ghetto in April 1944. Later they were transferred to Pápa to perform forced labor until March 1945.	JB
Poroszló	Local Roma were detained in the ghetto of Dormánd throughout September and October 1944.	JB
Posfa	All males of the Roma quarter were rounded up by Arrow Cross members in 1944. They were transported first to Sárvár, then to Germany. Women could avoid the same fate only because in the meantime Russian troops liberated the village.	1971
Pózva	The source was detained in Komárom in November and December 1944.	JB
Pózva-felsőtanya	Gendarmes and Arrow Cross militia members surrounded the Roma quarter on November 3 1944. Some of the Roma were removed to Pápa or to the Csillag fortress in Komárom. A few weeks passed and those fit to work were taken to Dachau and Mauthausen. Both the ones at home and those in Germany were liberated by the Russians.	RPA/KP
Pördefölde	The Roma residents were detained in Komárom then in Dachau between November 1944 and May 1945.	JB
Pötréte	Roma from here were transported to Komárom in November 1944, then to Hamburg (Ravensbrück?) in December.	JB
Pusztá-mogyoród	The source was taken to the Coffee Factory in Nagykanizsa in September 1944 then transferred to Révkomárom in December, where he was kept until February 1945.	JB
Putnok	The Roma residents were detained in the local closed ghetto between May and December 1944. They were also taken to perform forced labor.	JB
Püspökszenterzsébet	Most local Roma were interned in Komárom between October 1944 and February 1945.	JB

	Some were transferred to Auschwitz.	
Püspökszenterzsébet	The Roma residents were taken to the Komárom collection camp in October 1944, then some of them were removed to Berlin, others to Auschwitz.	ÁÉBR
Püspöknádasd	The Roma people from here were detained in the Véménd ghetto from April till December 1944.	JB
Rábahídvég	One Roma person from here was taken to Vasvár, then to Körmend. Thanks to the village notary jegyző, he was soon released. The grinder Roma were taken to Germany, 4-5 of them disappeared.	1971 + JB
Rábapaty	Detention in Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Ráckeve	The Roma people were taken to Szúnyog-estate in Újhartyán, then on to Germany.	Ágnes Diósi, "Past and Future" 1988
Rakaca	Detention locally from March till November 1944.	JB10
Rakamaz	On 15th September 1944, Roma residents were dragged off to Morotva, later to Tiszalök and Rázonpuszta by gendarmes. Some families had earlier been removed to the ghetto at Nyíregyháza.	RPA/KP JB
Rákospalota	On 29th October 1944, many families from the Aporháza Street Roma quarter were taken to the Brick Factory in Óbuda by gendarmes. Some of them were transferred to Dachau, Ravensbrück. Others were later interned in the Komárom camp.	ÁÉBR2 JB4
Ramocsaháza	Detention in the Kisvárda ghetto from April till October 1944.	
Regöly	Roma residents were collected in Komárom from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Ricse	Detention in the Roma ghetto of Sátorajjújhely from June to October 1944.	JB
Rinyaszentkirály	Forced labor at the estates of Patosfa and Lajosmajor from the autumn of 1944 till January 1945.	JB
Romhány	Roma from here and the surrounding areas were detained in the local ghetto from October to December 1944.	JB
Rózsafa	Detention in the Komárom ghetto from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Salgótarján	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from September till December 1944. Many were dragged off to German camps (Dachau, Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen).	JB
Sárbogárd	The Roma residents were taken to Komárom first, then to Ravensbrück or Bergen-Belsen between November 1944 and January 1945. Few of them ever returned.	ÁÉBR
Sárhida	The Roma quarter was surrounded by	RPA/KP

	gendarmes and Arrow Cross members on November 3, 1944. Some of the Roma were taken to Pápa or the Csillag fortress in Komárom. A few weeks later those who were found fit to work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen.	JB RSK
Sárhida, Cigánytanya	In November 1944 the residents of the Gipsy Village [=Cigánytanya] at Sárhida were removed to Komárom by gendarmes and soldiers. Most of them were later transported to Dachau.	ÁÉBR
Sarkad	Roma from here and the surrounding areas were collected in the local ghetto in September 1944. They were forced to perform labor.	JB3
Sárpilis	Gendarmes and soldiers surrounded the Roma quarter on November 3, 1944. Some of the Roma were taken to Pápa or to the Csillag fortress in Komárom. Within a few weeks those fit to work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen or Bergenbelsen.	RPA/KP JB2
Sárvár	A Roma collection camp was set up in Sárvár in June 1944 by gendarmes. Many a Roma were taken from here to Komárom, then to Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Magdeburg or Ravensbrück. They had to perform forced labor there and were also subject to medical experiments.	ÁÉBR JB2
Sátoraljaújhely	In 1944 the Roma residents were rounded up by gendarmes and transported to perform forced labor at the Rózsák farm. They were detained locally or in Komárom between July and November 1944.	RPA/KP JB2
Sávoly	Detention in Sárvár from the autumn of 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Segesd	Roma from here were taken to Sárvár and Nagykanizsa, then on to Draskovec in the summer of 1944. They were kept there until April 1945.	JB
Selyeb	Roma people had to perform forced labor locally between March and August 1944.	JB
Siklósnagyfalu	Detention in Révfalu, Komárom, Linz (Mauthausen?) between May 1944 and May 1945.	JB
Sióagárd	Roma residents were collected in Szekszárd, then in Komárom in April 1944. They were released in January 1945.	JB
Somogyapáti	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from September 1944 till March 1945.	JB14
Somogysávoly	Detention in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Somogyszentmiklós	Roma people were taken to the Coffee Factory in Nagykanizsa in September. Two months later they were transferred to Murakeresztúr and Draskovec and kept there until April 1945.	JB4
Sopronkőhida	Detention in Sárvár, Komárom and Mauthausen between September 1944 and	JB

	May 1945.	
Sopronpereszteg	The source was removed to Komárom on November 3 1944, then transferred to Dachau.	RSK volume
Sorokpolány	Detention in the ghettos of Szombathely and Révkomárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Soroksár	Roma residents were taken to the Brick factory in Óbuda on 29th October 1944. They were transported to Dachau by rail on 8th November, then further to Ravensbrück, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald. Those who were rounded up as late as mid-November were transported to Komárom first, then many of them on to Germany.	JB
Sorokújfalu	Detention in the Csillag fortress in Komárom from September 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Söjtör	Detention in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Sumony	Detention in Révfalu and Komárom between September 1944 and February 1945.	JB
Súr	Locked up in the ghetto in September and October 1944, then in the Csillag fortress of Komárom.	JB
Sümeg	Roma residents were detained in Komárom then in German camps between autumn 1944 and May 1945.	RPA/KP JB9
Szabadbattyán	Local Roma were interned in Kistarcsa, had to perform forced labor in Pápa, and were detained in the Várpalota ghetto from November 1944. In January 1945 many a Roma had to dig their own graves before being murdered locally.	JB
Szabadegyháza (then called Szolgaegyháza)	Gendarmes staged a "hunt" and picked off local Roma families.	JB László Karsai's research
Szabadszállás	Roma residents were collected in the local ghetto in November and December 1944.	JB
Szabolcsfalu	Forced labor locally from September to December 1944.	JB
Szakony	Local Roma were interned in Komárom in November and December 1944, then in Auschwitz from February 1945.	JB
Szalánta	Detention in Komárom from September 1944 to March 1945.	JB
Szamosszeg	Detention in the Mátészalka ghetto between September and November 1944.	JB
Szászvár	Detention in the Komárom camp from September 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Szatmárnémeti	Detention in the Mátészalka ghetto from August till November 1944.	JB
Százhalombatta	Detention in the Komárom camp from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Szedres	Detention in Komárom between December 1944 and March 1945.	JB
Szeghalom	Forced labor at Tiszaderzsi between May and	JB

	November 1944.	
Székesfehérvár	The Roma quarter was sealed off in March 1944. Many people were taken from here to Komárom in November, then dragged off to German camps (Mauthausen, Dachau). The city was reoccupied by German-Hungarian forces in January 1945. Some Roma were accused of helping the Russians to acquire horses. Arrow-Cross members and gendarmes surrounded the quarter and all residents were herded off to Várpalota. They had to dig a mass grave by the Grabler Lake together with other Roma from the surrounding areas. Finally 130 people were shot into the grave with machine guns. Only two of them survived the massacre, as they managed to crawl out of the grave in spite of their injuries.	JB
Szekszárd	Detention in the local collection ghetto then in Komárom between November 1944 and March 1945.	JB
Szendehegy	Detention in the Vác collection ghetto and in Komárom, forced labor in Germany from October 1944 to May 1945.	JB
Szendrő	Roma people from here and the surrounding areas were confined to the local collection ghetto between May and October 1944.	JB
Szendrő	Local ghetto from June to October 1944.	JB56
Szendrőlád	Roma residents were detained locally and had to perform forced labor between May and October 1944.	JB30
Szentes	Local Roma were removed to Szolnok, Gyergyótölgyes and Nagygorovics in March 1944 and kept there until October the same year.	JB
Szentgál	Detention in Komárom from August 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Szentgotthárd	Detention in Komárom then in Dachau from September 1944, released in May 1945.	JB
Szentlőrinc	Most Roma from here were taken to Komárom in September 1944 and kept there until February 1945.	JB25
Szergény	Detention in Komárom from December 1944 to March 1945.	JB
Szigetcsép	Roma residents from here were taken to the Brick factory in Óbuda by soldiers at the beginning of November 1944, then transported by rail to Ravensbrück. Few of them returned home in autumn 1945.	
Szigetszentmiklós	On 29th March 1944 soldiers dragged off many Roma families to the basement of a ruined building in Dunavarsány. Liberation for them came with the arrival of the Russian troops in December 1944.	RPA/KP JB12
Szigetvár	Detention in Révfülszab (July 1944) and Komárom (January 1945)	JB
Szikszo	A local ghetto was set up for the Roma of the	JB

	surrounding areas. They had to perform forced labor there between September and December 1944.	
Szil	Detention in the Győr collection camp then in Komárom from October 1944.	JB
Szín	Roma people had to hide in nearby hills and forests between April and October 1944.	JB12
Szolnok	Roma residents were kept in the local collection ghetto and forced to perform labor (in Szandaszőlős), later they were transferred to Komárom and detained there from October 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Szombathely	Gendarmes and Arrow-Cross members surrounded the Roma quarter on November 3 1944. Some Roma were taken from here to Pápa or Komárom. After a few weeks those who were found fit to work were transferred to Dachau, Mauthausen, some to Hamburg.	RPA/KP5 ÁÉBR 1971 JB
Szögliget	Local Roma were detained locally from June to October 1944.	
Szőny	On 4th November 1944 the Oláh and the Kolompár families -- altogether about 100 people were dragged off to the Csillag fortress in Komárom by gendarmes. They were kept there for about a month, until in December they regained their freedom.	RPA/KP JB10
Szuhony	Local forced labor from April till September 1944.	JB
Tamási	Detention in the Csillag fortress in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Táp	Detention in the Csillag fortress in Komárom between March and June 1944.	JB
Tápiógyörgye	Detention in the Nagykáta collection ghetto from September to December 1944.	JB
Tápiószele	Detention in the Cegléd ghetto, then in Budapest and Ócsa from September to December 1944.	JB
Tapolca	Detention in the Csillag fortress in Komárom between November 1944 and February 1945.	JB
Tar	Forced labor in Salgótarján in October and November 1944.	JB
Tárkány	Some of the Tárkány Roma were taken to Komárom on 4th November 1944 and kept there until February 1945. A few of them were transferred to Dachau and Regensburg (?), and none of these ever returned home.	JB7
Tarnalelesz	Roma residents were forced to perform slave labor at Szentgotthárd from August 1944 to February 1945. Some of them were taken to other places.	JB8
Tarnanádaska	The Roma people were confined to the local ghetto from May to October 1944.	JB1
Tarnaszadány	Local Roma had to perform forced labor in Bargo (Romania) between August 1944 and February 1945.	JB2
Tarpa	Roma residents were detained in the	JB

	Mátészalka ghetto from June to October 1944.	
Tata	Most Roma from Tata were interned in Komárom between October 1944 and February 1945. Some were removed to Salzburg.	JB7
Telekes	Roma residents were detained in Komárom in 1944 and 1945.	JB
Tét	Local Roma were taken to Bakonyság, then to Mezőörs, later to Sopron.	JB
Tikos	All Roma residents were rounded up by gendarmes in November 1944. They were first transported to the Csillag Fortress in Komárom, then to the Dachau concentration camp. Though the camp was hit by a bomb, these Roma survived and came back home on foot. Some of them arrived in Vörs in May 1945.	RPA/KP
Tinnye	Detention in Révkomárom from October to December 1944.	JB1
Tiszabecs	Roma from Tiszabecs were detained in the Mátészalka ghetto from May 1944 to March 1945.	JB4
Tiszabercel	Local Roma were removed to Rázonpuszta in June 1944 and kept there until October the same year.	JB1
Tizadada	Several families were taken to Tizalúc in September 1944, they were not released until November.	JB2
Tizakanyár	The source was taken to Ardó in September 1944, was released a month later.	JB
Tizakóród	Detention in Bergen-Belsen from November 1944 till May 1945.	JB
Tizalúc	Roma residents were detained in the local school and the Jewish temple between September and November 1944.	JB5
Tizapalkonya	The Roma people had to perform forced labor in the local and the Mezőkeresztes ghetto from August to October 1944.	JB3
Tóalmás	Local Roma were interned in Komárom from December 1944 till April 1945.	JB
Tokod	Roma residents were detained in Komárom from December 1944 to April 1945.	JB4
Tolna	The source was taken to Bogyiszló in August 1944, then transferred to Szedres, where he was forced to work at the construction of a German airstrip. He was released in February 1945.	JB
Tornaszentandrás	Roma residents were locked up in local basements. From July to October 1944 they had to perform forced labor.	JB1
Torony	On the night of 12th August 1944, gendarmes rounded up all Roma people whom they could find at home and herded them to the local schoolyard. On 4th November 1944, young girls and women were deported to the Városmajor in Szombathely. They were taken further to the Csillag fortress in Komárom, and	RPA/KP RSK ÁÉBR JB

	many of them were transferred to Dachau, Auschwitz or Ravensbrück. Altogether one third of the local Roma population was deported (about 200 people), only 13 of them made returned home.	
Tótszentgyörgy	Detention in Komárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Törökszentmiklós	All Roma residents were rounded up by gendarmes in April 1944 and taken to Somogyjád to perform slave labor. They were kept here until the arrival of the Russian troops.	RPA/KP JB3
Türje	Local Roma were interned in Komárom from September 1944 to February 1945. Some were taken to Germany never to return.	JB6
Tüskevár	Roma people from here were detained in the ghettos of Devecser, Pápa and Komárom between November 1944 and March 1945. Many of them were transferred to Dachau and died there. There was a non-Gypsy farm hand who spoke out for them. He was also dragged off along with the Roma by the gendarmes and was killed in Dachau.	JB19 RSK volume
Udvari	Roma from Udvari had to perform forced labor in the local ghetto from August to December 1944.	JB2
Újfehértó	Roma women, children and old people from the neighbouring areas were confined to the local Jewish ghetto from April till October 1944. There were 200-300 people in detention there, often beaten, tortured and starved. Roma men were dragged off to Rahó to the military forced labor camp.	JB20
Újpest	Local Roma were detained in Rákospalota between June and August 1944. In the last days of October whole families were dragged off to the Brick Factory in Óbuda, then transferred to Dachau by rail. Some of them were transported even further, to Ravensbrück or Bergen-Belsen. They got back home in the autumn of 1945.	JB2
Újszász	Roma residents were interned in the ghettos at the outskirts of Abony and at Jászberény from October to December 1944.	JB4
Újudvar	The Roma from here were detained in the Coffee Factory of Nagykanizsa from October to December 1944. Some were transferred to Draskovec.	JB2
Vác	A local ghetto was set up especially for Roma people. They were kept here under dismal conditions throughout November and December 1944.	JB4
Vajdácaska	Most local Roma were detained in Ardó/Sárospatak from May 1944 till January 1945. Some were taken to Sátoraljaújhely.	JB2
Vajta	Roma residents were taken to Szekszárd and	JB

	Kistarcsa and kept there from September 1944 till January 1945.	
Vámoscsalád	Roma people from here were removed to Komárom then to Germany from October 1944 till summer 1945.	JB
Váralja	Local Roma were taken to Komárom then to Auschwitz from autumn 1944 till April 1945.	JB
Várfölde	The Roma from here were transported to Komárom in October 1944 and kept there until March 1945. Some were removed to Dachau never to return.	JB5
Varsány	Local Roma were detained in Nógrádabony (Lívia Estate) from April to October 1944.	JB
Várvölgy	Most local Roma were interned at Komárom in October 1944 and released in January 1945.	JB
Vásárosdombó	Roma residents were detained in Komárom between October 1944 and April 1945.	JB
Vásárosnamény	Roma people from here were taken to the Jewish ghetto at Újfehértó in April 1944. They were released in October of that year.	JB
Végegyháza	In 1941, 10 Roma persons were removed to Mezőkovácsháza, then transported further to Békéscsaba, Budapest. Many local Roma were also interned at Nagykanizsa. In 1944 they were transferred to a labor camp in Croatia, then finally returned to a place near Szolnok in 1945.	RPA/KP JB2
Véménd-Erdő	The local source had to perform forced labor at Véménd (Trefortpuszta) from May to December 1944.	JB1
Vencsellő	Roma residents were detained at Rázonpuszta between April and November 1944.	JB2
Vép	Roma people from here were interned in Komárom from September 1944 till February 1945. Some were taken to Ravensbrück.	JB2
Vép-Sándorháza	The source was taken to the Városmajor Park in Szombathely in October 1944. He was later removed to Komárom and further to Ravensbrück, where he was subject to medical experiments.	ÁÉBR
Vép-Szombathely	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from October 1944 till March 1945.	JB
Verpelét	Roma people from here were kept in the Gyöngyös ghetto from March to August 1944.	JB
Versend	Roma residents had to perform forced labor at several places: Tarcsapuszta, Komárom and Trefortpuszta from 1943 to February 1945.	JB
Vértesacsá	Local Roma were interned in Komárom from December 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Veszprém	The Roma people of Veszprém were detained in the local ghetto from October 1944. Many of them were later transferred to Komárom, then to German camps. The ones who were left at home, like the Roma of Székesfehérvár, were killed in the Grábler Lake massacre.	JB
Vésztő	Roma residents were transported to a Gypsy	JB3

	camp by the River Drave in Croatia. They had to perform forced labor from March 1944 till February 1945.	
Vizsoly	Many Roma people were removed to the Komárom camp, then to Bergen-Belsen. Others had to perform forced labor in Tolna county between October 1944 and December 1945.	JB
Zagyvarékas	Roma people here lived along the banks of the river Zagyva. As they were trying to escape through a cemetery, gendarmes and German soldiers caught them one by one. Those who were thus caught were interned in the ghetto at Abony-Cegléd.	RPA/KP JB3
Zákánytelep	Roma from here were taken to Nagykanizsa in October 1944, then removed to Csáktornya and Bélice (?) and kept there until April 1945.	JB
Zalaboldogfa	Detention in Komárom, then in Dachau between November 1944 and April 1945.	JB
Zalacsány	Detention in Révkomárom first, then in Berlin (?) between November 1944 and August 1945.	JB2
Zalacséb	Detention in Komárom between August 1944 and January 1945.	JB
Zalacséb	Detention in Révkomárom from November 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Zalaegerszeg	On November 3, 1944, gendarmes and Arrow Cross members surrounded the Roma quarter. Some of the Roma were taken to Pápa or to the Csillag fortress in Komárom. A few weeks later those who were found fit to work were transferred to Dachau or Mauthausen. The deportees and the ones detained at home were finally liberated by the Russian troops.	ÁÉBR RPA/KP JB52
Zalaegerszeg-Neszele	Detention in Komárom from September 1944, removed to Dachau and kept there until May 1945.	JB
Zalaegerszeg-Petőhenye	Five Roma families were rounded up in October 1944. They were kept in the Zalaegerszeg ghetto for 2 weeks, then transported to the Csillag fortress in Komárom to be detained there for 10 to 12 weeks. In 20 to 30 cattle cars Roma people were taken to Mauthausen near Salzburg. Some were transported to Dachau. Most of them did not survive, while others could escape during the approach of the Russian troops.	RPA/KP
Zalaegerszeg-Pózva	The source was taken to Komárom in August 1944, transferred to Dachau and kept there until January 1945.	JB
Zalagyömörő	Roma residents were interned in Komárom from October 1944 till February 1945.	JB
Zalalövő	Local Roma were collected in the Brick factory at Zalaegerszeg from September 1944. In December they were all transported to Révkomárom and kept there until February 1945.	JB12

Zalamerenye	Roma people from here were taken to Révkomárom in March 1944 and kept there until October 1945.	JB
Zalaszántó	Roma residents were interned in Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Zalaszentgyörgy-Zélpusztá	Local Roma were detained in Révkomárom in November and December 1944.	JB
Zalaszentmihály	Roma people from here were interned in Dachau from October 1944 to April 1945.	JB
Zaláta	Roma residents were taken to Komárom in September 1944, and were released only in February 1945.	JB
Zámoly	Local Roma were detained in Komárom from October 1944 to February 1945.	JB
Zemplénagárd	Roma people from here were taken to the Ardó ghetto from 1944. Many of them never returned.	JB
Zsid	The source was taken to Germany in August 1944 and returned home in August 1945.	JB

Appendixes

To Péter Sipos, historian and museologist
Chairman of the Committee of Historians and Museologists
Public Foundation for Holocaust Documentation Centre and Memorial Collection
Budapest 1091, Üllői u 47-49

An Expert Opinion

Re: The Historical Material prepared for the Hungarian Holocaust exhibition

Dear Mr Péter Sipos,

Per your kind request, I have perused the material you have sent me and formed the following opinion about it:

In its present form and with its present content, the material is not suitable to fulfill the objective of historically grounding the first permanent exhibition on the Holocaust in Hungary in my opinion. I present to you the following arguments in support of this position:

1. The material largely concentrates on the analysis of the history and injuries of the Jewish population in Hungary, the processes of terror and genocide, the activities of Hungarian political institutions, parties and individuals – often with questionable focus and emphasis. Most of the time, the material ignores the fact that the Holocaust was a crime against the entirety of humankind (including the Hungarians) and not just a crime against the Jews. Its development and events were fundamentally not uniquely Hungarian in character but were the results of global processes. The preliminaries of the development of the ideology of the totalitarian state and of the Nazi race theories are not adequately highlighted, therefore the plans of the perpetrators (including the planned fate of Hungarians) are not sufficiently clarified. The material does not present the transformation of such principles as the “superior race” or the “community of the German *volk*” into specific aims of the totalitarian state then into global objectives. It does not analyze the process of substitution: the substitution of earlier human cultural achievements, especially the civil values of Europe, such as natural and human rights, liberty, equality, fraternity, a law-based state, Christian-Jewish culture, religion and

humanism with a primitive social-Darwinism, unbridled urges to pillage and conquest, mob mentality, racism, terror, intimidation, genocide, breeding, extolling subhuman urges, national corporatism and methods of mass manipulation.

2. The historical material does not make clear the objective of the exhibition to be created – nor is it clear to whom it intends to speak, what kind of knowledge it presupposes of the audience and what it offers in way of added knowledge. This problem is all the more conspicuous since the intention is the historical grounding of the first permanent Holocaust exhibition in Hungary. This moment is the first opportunity since the change of the political regime to create a free, comprehensive, social, ideological and historical consensus in this area. The question is with whom this exhibition intends to create a consensus? With the Jewish community of Hungary or some subgroup thereof? With historical scholarship? The democratically-minded majority of Hungarian society or only some subgroups thereof? With all of us? The material is not helpful in finding the proper arguments, instruments, objectives, balances and focuses or in harmonizing these. It is questionable, for instance, that mentioning the real or supposed cannibalism in the concentration camps actually helps us to understand the real nature of events.
3. The material is rather eclectic in its methods – sometimes it reads like an objective, descriptive, historical text without the necessary historical context, correlation and analysis – at other times it reads like the very opposite, i.e. a personal account of injuries that fails to show the essential underlying processes.
4. Conspicuous by their absence are the descriptions of the struggles carried out by those opposed to the “Nazi spirit of the age,” their temporary fall and the analysis of the reasons for their weakness. Also missing are the facts and records of the non-Zionist resistance. Also absent from the material is the description of the *other* “spirit of the age” the similarly unscrupulous totalitarianism of class warriors, whose practices and ideology exerted a paralyzing effect on this struggle to preserve human values.

5. Missing from the documentation is a presentation of Holocaust losses of the Hungarian society in terms of ratios within the bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, trained and skilled working class. The material is remiss in presenting the facts and reasons of the deficiencies in the extermination of the Nazi/Hungarist ideology and in the social confrontation of the horrors of the Holocaust and the associated responsibilities.
6. The material fails to present us with a differentiated picture of the processes of Jewish emancipation, assimilation, integration and segregation, the associated focuses, ratios and balances, the various Jewish identities, their religious, social and political endeavors and the determining phenomena of an internal process of bourgeois development.
7. It is not in keeping with historical consensus -- and probably neither with the facts -- that Wallenberg merely attempted to but in actuality failed to save any victims. All I can say about this is that Wallenberg ransomed my grandmother, Mrs Bársony Ilona Gyéres from the death march along the road to Vienna with thirty others and brought them back to Budapest where he put them up in the "safe house" in Pozsonyi street.
8. The presentation of the Roma Holocaust in the material is unacceptable, biased, quite often racist and defective in both its facts and its perspectives.

I will now offer a detailed explanation of this last point as I assume that I have been selected to provide an expert opinion primarily on the strength of the researches I have conducted in this area.

The first mention of the racist persecution of the Roma population occurs on page 25 of the material, in connection with a failed attempt on the part of Professor Ferenc Orsós to convince the Upper House of the Parliament to comprehensively adopt Nazi racial laws and to employ instruments of the "final solution" in the case of the Roma as well. (At this time, as it is apparent from Hungarian press reports, a Nazi concentration camp had been operational for a year, in Lackenback, 7 kilometers from Sopron, and in Wien Fischeamend, where thousands of Roma, mostly Hungarian speakers possessing Hungarian national identity, were detained. Most of them were transferred in May 1940 to the east, to the Jewish ghetto in Lodz, then on to

the extermination camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Many of the female detainees became the first inmates at Ravensbrück. The Nazis set up the first concentration camp for the Roma as early as 1936 in Marzahn, in the vicinity of Berlin. The Nazi institute of Racial Hygiene had also been operational since 1936, under the leadership of Professor Orsós's colleague, Dr Ritter. But the material makes no mention of these facts.)

(N.B. With the extermination of Hungarian speaking Jews and Roma with Hungarian identities, the Hungarian ethnic minority in Burgenland dropped to half of its prewar numbers – but this fact is rarely mentioned these days.)

The material then goes on to state that no anti-Roma law was passed in Hungary and the legal definition of "Gypsy" was not enacted in law either. This much is true. (But the author seems to neglect that decrees and measures have the same legal force, furthermore the authorities usually had the acumen to decide if the person they wanted to prosecute was a Gypsy on account of the color of his skin or for other reasons. Legal grounding was available since the issuance of Interior Ministry Decree 15.000/1916 which removed Roma deemed by the authorities as "migrant" from the protection of the law and enabled the authorities to detain such persons, confiscate their properties, intern them or prohibit their movements without due legal process or verdict. For the harassment of the Roma and the collection of "migrant" elements, raids were held twice a year, which, contends the author, were not carried out effectively enough by the gendarmes.)

Roma men could serve in the army and it was only in August 1944 that Roma labor companies were set up specifically for them, the author writes. (Which in reality meant forced labor units, under armed guard, like in the case of the Jews, but this is not clarified by the author.)

What follows then is an explicitly racist, anti-Roma text: "The Gypsy question in Hungary prior to 1945 was about as serious and important a problem as the Indian question is these days in the United States. It only became a 'Negro question' as a consequence of forced industrialization, the migration of Gypsies into the cities and the since the appearance or organized or unorganized but certainly mass Gypsy crime." (It is hard to fathom what the author means by "Indian question" and "Negro question" in the US. For the Native Americans, their own problems are of paramount importance and people in the US have rather differentiated views on the issue depending on

their particular perspectives and some of them, especially if they are racist, have ready-made answers. As for the "Negro question," the mere articulation of the phrase would put the author in danger of physical abuse by African Americans – and almost certainly make him a defendant in a lawsuit – but most of the Whites would shun him too as a result. For the application of the phrase "Gypsy crime" and for the propagation of associated ideas, the last Interior Minister of the Communist state publicly apologized because of its inherently racist nature in 1989, at the threshold of the change of the political regime. Regarding the content, I would like to call the author's attention to domestic criminology "literature" published in the 1930s and 1940s, where similarly racist remarks regarding "Jewish crime" can be found. (Crucially, the Roma population of Hungary at the time simply lacked the political leverage and social position to defend themselves against racist state persecution and political violence directed against them as the majority of them lived in villages in patriarchal, subordinated relationships with their environment, in a division-of-labor symbiosis with the local population.)

The author concludes by saying "they were not afraid of them, though surely, they did not like them." (He omits specifying who was afraid of whom and who did not like whom. These are personal emotions and their application to an entire population, to a faceless mass of people, can only be a work of superficial, racist thinking. In other areas, racism is supposed to start at the point when somebody hates or envies not the landowner Kohn but all the Jews as well. I cannot help wondering what a statement like this is doing in a scholarly material devoted to the Holocaust?)

As for the structure of the material, it is fundamentally "Jewish-centered" which is understandable as on the one hand, the overwhelming majority of the victims of the Holocaust were Jewish people, and on the other hand, the majority of the creators of the present material are experts in this particular area. At the same time, I would very much like to point out that the Roma are the most populous minority in Hungary. Their "involvement" in the Holocaust is an undisputed fact. The interpretation of their past and the creation of a historical consensus in the issue of the Holocaust is a process that the Roma are still grappling with to this day. It would be a source of grievous consequences if, in the spirit of this material, we were to separate the genocides against the Roma and the Jews and pit them against each other, belittling and trivializing the injuries suffered by the Roma. This could result in

the emergence of a false, anti-Semitic consciousness on the part of the Roma people which benefits neither party and falsifies history itself, since the two peoples were suffering side by side during the Holocaust. Moreover Roma historical identity consciousness is in the process of being formed and this exhibition might well contribute to and shape a consensus. The preservation of the current situation might result in unnecessary, but unfortunately rather legitimate attacks by the Roma civil organizations against the important cause of the exhibition.

It is my suggestion that the exhibition incorporate a separate section dealing with the fate of the Roma. A separate Roma material should be compiled, with the inclusion of experts less biased than László Karsai. The Roma section should present the fate of the Roma during the Holocaust as well as the preliminaries and the specific events, with special attention to the injuries suffered by the Roma people of Hungary. (There is adequate literature in this area, available even in Hungarian, such as the Interface series of Pont Publishers, the Roma Holocaust issue of Polgárjogi Füzetek [Civil Rights Booklets], the publication of Szabolcs Szita and so on.)

Factual errors and mistakes make the revision of the Roma-relevant sections of the material imperative. One such error may be found on page 39, where it says "the life of the Roma people of Hungary went on largely as it did before, until the end of August, 1944." This is not true, since by the end of April and the beginning of May, the majority of the Roma residents of Szabolcs-Szatmár and Hajdú counties (at least 10,000 people) were kept under armed guard in ghettos organized by the district authorities. (In his book, Karsai brings examples of this from Baranya county.) In the ghetto, they were exposed to torture and starvation and were often forced to perform slave labor. In the course of the summer, many of the inmates were transferred from here to military forced labor camps in Gyergyótölgyes and other locations, set up to assist with the fortifications of the mountainous border regions in Transylvania. By the time the autumn came about, many inmates were transferred from these ghettos to concentration camps in Austria and Germany. It was also during the summer that Roma families from the Jászság region were taken to labor camps in Voivodina and kept under armed guard. Roma males, sometimes with, sometimes without their families were put to work under armed guard in state-owned estates in Komárom, Veszprém and Békés counties.

On page 40 of the material we read that so far, the existence of four Roma labor service companies have been verified, which incorporated some 1,000 Roma persons. According to my latest findings, Roma labor service units (sometimes mixed Roma-Jewish units) were set up in Vác, Szentendre, Jászberény (some of whom were transferred to the German aircraft repair facility operating in the basement of the Kőbánya Brewery) Nagykáta, Pesterzsébet, Szolnok, Nagyvárád, Miskolc, Szeged, Kassa and Hódmezővásárhely. The number of people pressed into these units totals about twice the figure mentioned in the material.

On page 43 of the material we read that in late November 1944, Roma were being rounded up primarily in the Transdanubian region, transported to the Csillagerőd in Komárom, subjected to a selection process, following which hundreds of fit-to-work individuals were transferred to concentration camps in Germany.

There is no mention in the material that Roma from Heves and Nógrád counties and from the occupied settlements of Southern Slovakia as well were transported here. There is no mention of the conditions in the camp even though witnesses, who saw many children killed and many of their fellows die of starvation, described them as being worse than what they encountered in Dachau. The author seems to be ignorant of the fact that at the end of February, those still left in the camp were set out on a foot march towards Germany and were only freed by the Russian troops that caught up with them around Galánta.

There is no mention of the fact that in early November, raids were held in suburbs of Budapest (Csepel, Pesterzsébet, Soroksár, Budafok, Kispest, Újpest, Rákospalota, Cinkota) and other settlements, in the course of which many Roma families, women and children included, were detained and taken to the nearest gendarme or police headquarters before they were driven to the Brick Factory in Óbuda. In the predawn hours of November 6, 1944, the Roma inmates were put on a special train at the Budaörs train station and transported to Dachau. Many victims were subsequently transferred to Ravensbrück, Bergen-Belsen and Buchenwald. Over 1,000 Roma victims were involved in this action.

It makes no mention of the fact that Roma were dragged off from the ghetto in Körmend and taken directly to Austria, to the concentration camp at Strém, where they were forced to perform slave labor at logging and fortification sites.

What the material does mention is that "the estimates of 30,000 to 70,000 Roma victims from Hungary are obviously exaggerated, since the researchers commissioned by the Yad Vashem archives never managed to find documents in the archives from which one could conclude that the number of the victims was higher than a few thousand."

Earlier, László Karsai estimated the Hungarian Roma victims of the Holocaust at 5,000, defining as "victims" those who were murdered. Perhaps he was right, though I must say I have serious reservations about this figure.

At the same time, I need to point out the fact that in the course of my research involving the perusal of 2,200 witness testimonies I had to conclude that one-quarter of the Roma population of Hungary, some 50,000 people were subjected to various forms of persecution because of their ethnicity: detention at ghettos, concentration camps and forced labor camps, internment and deportation to concentration camps in Germany. The material, unfortunately, makes no mention of this.

I respectfully ask you to consider my remarks and suggestion to revise the material and to prepare a separate Roma material and set up a separate Roma section at the exhibition.

Budapest, 30 November 2002

Dr János Bársony

Minority researcher

Director of the Foundation for Roma Civil Rights

Expert at the State Secretariat for Roma Issues at the Chancellery

Observations on the Roma sections of the permanent Holocaust exhibition

By Ágnes Daróczy, 22 September 2004

The current exhibition is a welcome departure from the attitude surrounding the 60th anniversary exhibition, at which time we had to make strenuous efforts to make sure that the Roma victims are mentioned at all. This time, even though we had to compile the exhibition material in the impossibly short time of three weeks, the Roma people have been included in the concept from the start.

However:

1. The Parramos is not "an illustration to a concept."
2. If the fate of the Roma is not presented in its own terms and in the context of its own correlations, the entire issue becomes relativized and trivialized and the visitors (perhaps including the victims themselves) will leave the exhibition with the feeling "what do these Roma want, what was their suffering compared to that of the Jews?"
3. The facts relevant from the perspective of the history of the Roma people should be presented with the emphasis befitting their particular importance (being declared "unreliable," transferred to theatres of military operations, detention at ghettos etc).
4. The situation in Hungary was never independent from the international situation: there was one Third Reich and one ideology, even if ways of implementation might have differed from settlement to settlement.
5. It is through the presentation of these differences that the symbiosis, which took centuries of coexistence to develop, might be best understood – and consequently, it can be an instrument of tolerance education nowadays.
6. Because of the scarcity of documents, the deficiencies of research and the destruction of archives, there is no guarantee that the kind of material which renders the suffering of the Jews palpable will ever be available in connection with the Roma. (There will never be photographic evidence to support such sections as "Plunder" or "Lost Rights" etc.)
7. The history of any nation can only be understood and analyzed in its own continuity.

8. The creators of the exhibition should keep this in mind and so should the developers of the concept.
9. Therefore, research should be directed at the relevant nodes of Roma history.
10. If the current concept is realized, we, in the possession of documents and material collected over the decades with no state funding, see the following dangers taking shape on the horizon:
 - a. The fate of the Roma people will be relativized
 - b. The fate of the Roma people will be kept silent about
 - c. We will enter a numbers game (over the number of the victims)

As researchers and responsible members of the intelligentsia, we can only give our names to the preparation of the exhibition if the issues sketched out above are addressed.

We see three possible avenues of proceeding at this point:

1. Leaving the present exhibition material as it is, complementing it with international material and continuing the research in the meantime
2. The creation of a separate exhibition
3. An exhibition to be created on the basis of the following concept:

Besides Jewish emancipation, space must be given to the lack of Roma emancipation or to the limitation of that emancipation to a select section of the Roma population. Being deprived of rights was something that in the case of the Roma was a preexisting state of affairs and plunder was not something highly relevant to their situation. (These are processes tied in with the cancellation of Jewish emancipation.) In other words, the concept is based on the determining aspects and stations of the Shoah in Hungary, which, however, cannot be automatically applied to the fate of the Roma – which was often similar, often different from that of the Jews of Hungary – though it led to the same denouement, the Parraimos.

We would like to offer a list of theses which can form the basis of the concept for a section presenting the fate of the Roma:

Theses For The Roma Script Of The Permanent Exhibition In The Holocaust Museum

By János Bársony

1. The royal decrees of the 18th century (by Emperor Joseph II and Empress Marie Therese) prescribing the settlement and forced assimilation of the Roma had disrupted the earlier spontaneous processes of economic integration and assimilation. Most of the Roma communities were divested of their civil rights and relegated to the status of landless, barely tolerated farm hands or even below that. Only a select group of outstanding urban musicians and artisan groups benefited from certain restricted emancipation processes while in the case of the Jews, the situation was quite the opposite: processes of mass emancipation and bourgeois development – success in business and trade, equal civil rights, equal religious rights, increasing wealth, success in education and integration into the intelligentsia – were under way by the 20th century. This success in emancipation triggered the resentment, envy and desire to plunder on the part of the peasantry, lower nobility and non-Jewish middle class, all of which made the Shoah possible. The Parraimos, on the other hand, was made possible as racist masses thought of their Roma compatriots as “barely tolerated, foreign, dangerous, non-productive elements, a parasite, hereditarily criminal and subhuman race.”
2. The exhibition must present the occasional manifestations of Roma emancipation (such as the association of Roma musicians, their publications and music records, commercial and industrial orders to artisans for rail and carpentry cramp-irons etc, grammars, dictionaries, literary publications) but more space needs to be devoted to documents of the fate of the overwhelming majority of the contemporary Roma population who were confined to their quarters within the settlement or to ghettos, to their helplessness, regular struggle with starvation, exclusions from education and a nearly total divestment of civil rights (i.e. Interior Ministry Decree 15.000/1916, images of the slums, of gendarme excesses, documents of regular harassment of the Roma such as the Dános case, the forced delousing ordered by the authorities, local regulations, images of everyday discrimination) (Films: e.g. Ady’s “Krumplikapálás.”) We need to show the symbiosis that developed between large estates and Roma farm hands who constituted inexpensive seasonal labor reserves and between peasant holdings and Roma families

on the basis of paternalistic subordination. In connection with the issue of "migrant Gypsies" we need to show that the majority of Roma people could be declared as "migrant" at the whim of the authorities, since in most cases, the Roma quarters were owned by the landowner or the village, where groups of Roma were tolerated only as long as the owners did not have other plans for the land or as long as there was no clash of interests or other disputes. If such situations arose, Roma families could be evicted and "resettled" with impunity. Space should be given to the proliferation in the early 20th century of racist, quasi-scientific views primarily in the press (such as Dillmann's *Zigeunerbuch*, Lombroso's *Der Verbechers* and the writings of Kálmán Porzso, Emil Molnár and László Endre.)

3. Space must be devoted to the racist, anti-Roma measures and events in the Nazi Third Reich: the divestment of equal rights of citizenship, marriage interdiction, racial purity laws, forced sterilization, closed urban ghettos, mass internment (Dachau, Ravensbrück, Lackenbach, Mauthausen) the massacres committed in the east by the Einsatzgruppen, deportation to ghettos in the east (Łódź), the mass murders by gas vans at Kulmhof, the Auschwitz Order, the life of the Gypsy Camp and the uprising. We also need to document the genocidal measures in the vassal states (Croatia, Slovakia, Romania). We need to show Roma resistance, the partisan struggle in Yugoslavia, the resistance in Italy and Slovakia, the efforts to save people in Austria.
4. We need to show the developments of the authorities' handling of the "migrant Roma issue" from 1916 through 1928, 1931 to the Interior Ministry Decree 66.045 which declared that the Gypsies should be collectively treated as "unreliable elements." This coincided in time with the anti-Jewish legislations. This decree sanctified the arbitrary treatment of the Roma by authorities: the raids, the prohibition of crafts, forced delousing (e.g. in Dorozsma), the interdiction on keeping horses, the daily harassments and internments. Local anti-Roma regulations (e.g. the ghettos in Esztergom or Nagyszalonta that were sealed for years) and measures (forced relocation, delousing) must be presented. The anti-Roma articles appearing in the press (quotes from the article in *Népegészségügy* [Public Health] and the Pest County recommendations) as well as the films friendly to the Roma (*Dankó Pista*, *A Cigány*, *Gül Baba*, *Rákóczi Nótája* etc) must also be given space.

5. We also need to show the facts of wartime atrocities: the declaration of the Roma residents of the reoccupied Subcarpathian region as “unreliable and undocumented” and their transfer to the German theater of operations, their handing over to the murderers in the summer of 1941 as well as the Roma victims of the Voivodina massacres.
6. Space should be devoted to the presentation of the fate of Roma families in 1943 and 1944. (The head of the family serving in the army at the front, the mother, aging parents and children having to perform labor at the state-owned estates e.g. in Voivodina, Mezőhegyes, Pápa, Bábolna etc). We need to show the proliferation of ghettos and forced labor camps in the eastern parts of the country (Rázonpuszta, Újfehértó, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza, Sátoraljaújhely, Nagykálló, Mátészalka) and in other parts as well (Révfülu, Patvarc, Újhartyán etc). Also presented should be the facts of transfer from internment camps to extermination camps in the Third Reich.
7. Space should be devoted to the treatment of the Roma by Horthy’s army (the rejected 1941 initiative to set up Roma labor service units, the forced conscription at the time of the creation of the 2nd Army, the setting up of Roma military labor camps from June 1944 onwards to help with the construction of the Árpád Line fortifications (Rahó, Gyergyótölgyes, Tatárhágó, Ojtoz) the creation of Roma labor service units in August, mass murders in late September and early October (Nagyszalonta, Doboz-Kötegyán, Pocsaj).
8. We need to present the raids and internment activities after the Arrow-Cross coup (from the environs of Budapest and the Brick Factory at Óbuda to Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Ravensbrück, from Northern Hungary, the Western Great Plains and Transdanubia to the Komárom camp and on to Mauthausen, Dachau, Natzweiler, Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald.) Mention must be made of Clausberg’s sterilization experiments. The history of the Komárom facilities should be included: the rounding up of the victims, the conditions of their captivity, the selection process, the release of some of the women and children at the pre-Christmas approach of the front, further captivity and selections in Germany, the foot march toward Galánta.
9. The exhibition must present the local massacres between December of 1944 and February of 1945 (Várpalota, Inota Grábler Lake, Lajoskomárom, Szolgaegyháza, Szabadbattyán, Lengyel, Kiskassa in Transdanubia.)

10. Space should be given to the events that occurred in Zala county and in Western-Transdanubia (Collection of the Roma at the Coffee Factory at Nagykanizsa and their transfer to Draskovec and Kőszeg, transfer of Roma victims from Körmend and environs to the fortifications on the borders of the Reich, to Strém).
11. The declaration of Arrow-Cross Interior Minister Vajna about the commencement of the "total, and if need be, Draconian resolution of the Jewish and Gypsy questions," must be included.
12. We need to highlight that the ratio of the prosecuted to the total Roma population of Hungary was 1 to 3. Nazis and their vassals eliminated 85% to 90% of the Roma population in Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Croatia, Slovenia. (Among them, thousands of Hungarian-speaking Roma with Hungarian identity in Burgenland, Austria).
13. Roma survival in Hungary was due to the fact that the authorities of the Horthy government rarely took it upon themselves to initiate genocidal activities on their own. The German army only occupied the country in March 1944 and the Gestapo gave priority to the deportation of the Jews (since the "conspiracy of the Judeo-Bolshevist plutocracy" was one of the reasons for the war). The emancipation of Roma musicians was tied to their service to the upper classes (see the intervention of the Bishop of Győr, Baron Vilmos Apor on their behalf). Furthermore, Roma had little in way of possessions so the plunder of their wealth was no motivation and the demand of the large estates for seasonal work force also inhibited the zeal of the officials. Later, when the Russians were already in the county, officials in power started thinking of their future and fear of reprisals may have stayed their hands.
14. Space should be given to presentation of instances of people saving Roma from their fates (or the contrary) as it happened in Túskevár, Bátaszék or Mezőcsát.
15. The exhibition should conclude with the presentation of the aftermath of the war years: the court trials (Várpalota, Lengyel, Doboz), the lack of sympathy, the return to the ghettos and to secondary citizenship, the 1952 Interior Ministry survey, plans for work camps, black ID cards in 1954 and the presentation of the case of the Roma memorial in Székesfehérvár.

Notes

- ¹ Sir Angus Fraser, "A cigányok" [The Roma] Budapest, Osiris, 1996, p.230
- ¹ Cesare Lombroso, "Der Verbrecher (Homo Delinquens)" in "Antropologischer Artzlicher und Juristischer Beziehung" Hamburg, Verlaganstalt und Druckerei A.G., 1894
- ¹ Alfred Dillmann "Zigeunerbuch" München, 1905
- ¹ Ian Hancock "Mi vagyunk a Romani nép" [We Are the Romani People], Budapest, Pont Kiado, 2004, p.127
- ¹ Dobos-Schiffer "A cigánylakossággal kapcsolatos problémák a Szovjetúnióban" [Problems regarding the Gypsy population in the Soviet Union], Belügyi Szemle, 1963/3 p.66
- ¹ Barna Gyula Purcsi "A cigánykérdés „gyökeres és végleges“ megoldása" [The radical and final solution to the Gypsy question] Debrecen, Csokonai, 2004 p.268
- ¹ Fraser, op.cit. p.228, 235
- ¹ Fraser, op.cit. p.233
- ¹ Frank Sparing ed. "A cigánytábor – szintik és romák a náci rendszer alatt" [Gypsy Camp: the Sinti and Roma under the Nazi regime] Pont Kiado, Interface series, 2001 p.38
- ¹ Herbert Heuss "A szinti és romaüldözés politikája" [The policy of Sinti and Roma persecution] in: Frank Sparing ed. "A cigánytábor – szintik és romák a náci rendszer alatt" [Gypsy Camp: the Sinti and Roma under the Nazi regime] Pont Kiado, Interface series, 2001 p.31
- ¹ Dragoljub Ackovic "Stradanja Roma u Jasenovacu" Beograd-Nis, 1994
- ¹ Viorel Achim "Cigányok a román történelemben" [Gypsies in the history of Romania] Budapest, Osiris, 2001
- ¹ Gerhard Bumgartner, Florian Freund "Roma Politik in Österreich in der EU und im übrigen Europa" Kulturverien Österreicher Roma, p.27
- ¹ Heuss, op.cit. p.33
- ¹ Memorial Book – The Gypsies at Auschwitz-Birkenau, KG Saur, 1993
- ¹ Purcsi, op.cit. pp.16-20
- ¹ Mezey, Pomogyi, Taubert: „A magyarországi cigánykérdés dokumentumokban“ [Documents of the Gypsy question in Hungary] Budapest, Kossuth, 1986 pp.183-191
- ¹ László Pomogyi „Cigánykérdés és cigányügyi igazgatás a polgári Magyarországon“ [The Gypsy question and administration of Gypsy issues in the bourgeois Hungary], Budapest, Osiris-Szazadveg, 1995, p.125f
- ¹ Mezey, Pomogyi, Taubert, op.cit. p.200f
- ¹ László Endre „A kóborcigány kérdés rendezése“ [Settling the issue of migrant Gypsies] Magyar Közigazgatás 1934-16 p.5. Also see Mezey, Pomogyi, Taubert, op.cit. p.225f.
- ¹ Pomogyi op.cit. p.282-290
- ¹ Pomogyi op.cit. p.198, Interior Ministry Decree 198.892/1931
- ¹ Mezey, Taubert "A magyarországi cigányság jogi helyzetének rendezését célzó szabályozás egyes kérdései" [Some issues of the regulations aimed at settling the legal status of the Gypsy population of Hungary] in: Acta Facultatis Politico-Juridicae Universitatis Scientiarum. A supplement to the circular decree was published in The Gerndarme Gazette (appendix 1938.12.9 – fingerprints must be attached to the gerndarme report on a Roma suspect)
- ¹ Népegészségügy, 1942/8, p.1160

- ¹ Purcsi, op.cit. p.56-89
- ¹ László Karsai “Cigánykérdés Magyarországon 1919–1945” [The Gypsy Question in Hungary 1919–1945] Cserépfalvi Kiadó 1992, p.61
- ¹ See interviews in the Oral History section (e.g. Mrs Miklos Murzsa, Piroska Peller, etc.)
- ¹ “Roma Holocaust” Roma Sajtóközpont, 2001, pp 108-110
- ¹ Karsai, op.cit. p.87
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ Data provided by researcher Michael Sinclair Stewart
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ Szombathely, Defence Ministry Commissioner decree 147 of 1944
- ¹ Mezey, Pomogyi, Tauber, op. cit. p.205f
- ¹ Karsai, op.cit. p.124
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the paper by Szabolcs Szita in this volume
- ¹ See the paper by Szabolcs Szita in this volume
- ¹ See the paper by János Ury in this volume
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ See the testimony of Ilona Lendvai in this volume
- ¹ Pomogyi op.cit.
- ¹ Karsai op.cit.
- ¹ Pomogyi op.cit
- ¹ Karsai, op.cit
- ¹ Mezey-Tauber op.cit.
- ¹ Rendőrségi Közlöny [Police Gazette] 1 Nov 1947, p.593
- ¹ Purcsi, op.cit.
- ¹ See the interviews and the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ Roma Holocaust, op.cit.
- ¹ Karsai, op.cit.
- ¹ Erna Sággy „A magyarországi cigányság története a holocausttól az 1961-as párthatározatig – a politika tükrében“ [The History of the Gypsies of Hungary from the Holocaust to the 1961 Party Decree] Bachelor’s Thesis, Department of Modern History, ELTE University of Budapest, 1996 p.42
- ¹ See survivor testimonies
- ¹ See the table in the chapter “Events by Settlements” in this volume
- ¹ The exhibition of the Holocaust Documentation Centre on unmarked mass graves of the Roma, 2004
- ¹ Data provided by researcher Michael Sinclair Stewart
- ¹ Survivor testimony
- ¹ Karsai, op.cit.
- ¹ László Pomogyi „Cigánykérdés és cigányügyi igazgatás a polgári Magyarországon“ [The Gypsy question and administration of Gypsy issues in the bourgeois Hungary], Budapest, Osiris-Szazadveg, 1995, p.77f

¹ László Pomogyi „A Cigányság történelme a közigazgatási vonatkozások tükrében“ [Roma History and Public Administrationú *József főherceg történelmi szimpózium* [www.romaweb.hu/romawebindex.jsp?p=tortenelem]

¹ Interior Ministry circular decree BM 257.000 of 1928 on increasing the efficiency of regulating migrant Gypsies and a new wave of data collection.

¹ Pomogyi op.cit. p.11

¹ Interior Ministry circular decree BM 151.041 of 117, section VII: „... all available help must be rendered to those registered Gypsies who pursue a regular itinerant craft temporarily staying in one settlement, such as tub makers, woodcutters, basket weavers, charcoal burners and similar workers, that they, in the possession of the appropriate permits, be able to pursue their occupation unhindered during the winter.“

¹ Decree 141.113 of 1931 K.M. on the restrictions on the itinerant or traveling sales activities of settled Roma people. Also see Interior Ministry Decree BM 192.304 of 1931 on the permits on the itinerant or traveling sales activities of the Roma people. MCD p.207f.

¹ Pest County Archives (hereafter referred to as PCA) IV.408-b general ALISPANI documents of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, 1928, 3405 (R.H. Interior Minister VIII Nr. 159.200/1927 VIII)

¹ ibid. „Draft: Elimination of Migration of Gypsies and other Persons“ (Paragraph 1)

¹ ibid. paragraph 4

¹ ibid. paragraph 5

¹ ibid. paragraph 6-7

¹ ibid. paragraph 9 section B

¹ Interior Ministry Decree BM 86.471 of 1916 on the placement of the children of migrant Gypsies in state-run shelters for children. Also see Interior Minister 76.3341908, MCD p. 210f

¹ László Pomogyi „A Cigányság történelme a közigazgatási vonatkozások tükrében“ [Roma History and Public Administration] *József főherceg történelmi szimpózium* [www.romaweb.hu/romawebindex.jsp?p=tortenelem]

¹ This practice may remind some people of the great Hungarian poet Attila József, who received the name „Pista“ in a foster home.

¹ Sir Angus Fraser, “A cigányok“ [The Roma] Budapest, Osiris, 1996, p.229 and also Laurence Jourdan “Long Pursuit of Racial Purity [Gypsy Hunt in Switzerland] Le Monde Diplomatique, October 1999 [www.monde-diplomatique.fr]

¹ PCA „Draft: Elimination of Migration of Gypsies and other Persons“ (Paragraph 12)

¹ Interior Ministry circular decree BM 257.000 of 1928 on increasing the efficiency of regulating migrant Gypsies and a new wave of data collection. (4) MCD p. 200-202

¹ Pomogyi 1995:152

Number of people receiving work-house sentences between 1923 and 1940			
YEAR	Total number of people with binding sentences	Number of people work-house sentences	In percentage (%)
1923	58,839	25	0.042
1924	59,479	38	0.063
1926	40,537	24	0.059
1929	42,696	11	0.025
1932	45,115	9	0.019
1935	48,570	13	0.026
1938	50,948	6	0.011
1940	56,351	11	0.019

¹ Magyar Alkotmánytörténet [History of the Hungarian Constitution] Osiris K, Budapest, 1999, pp. 247f

¹ PCA IV.408-b 1928. 3405. (39051928 kig.sz. Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county ALISPAN, Re: Regulation of the Gypsy Issue, Deadline: February 15.

¹ Ibid. (5061928 kig. Sz. 1 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Ráckeve District)

¹ Ibid. (6081928 kig. Sz. 7 March 1928. Head Magistrate of the Pomáz District)

¹ Ibid. (3481928 kig. Sz. 23 January 1928. Head Magistrate of the Dunavecsek District)

¹ Ibid. (1169 kig. Sz. 1928. 10 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Central District)

¹ Ibid. (3881928 kig. Sz. 8 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Abony District)

¹ Ibid. (4131928 kig. Sz. 1 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Nagykáta District)

¹ Ian Hancock, „A Brief Romani Holocaust Chronology“ Open Society Institute, Budapest [www.osi.hu/rppholocaust.htm]

¹ PCA Ibid. (642/1928 kig. Sz. 22 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Kiskörös District)

¹ Ibid. (39051928 kig. Sz. 11 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Kiskunfélegyháza District)

¹ Ibid. (4061928 kig. Sz. 10 March 1928. Head Magistrate of the Alsódabas District)

¹ Ibid. (8281928 kig. Sz. 28 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Monor District)

¹ Ibid. (6021928 kig. Sz. 23 January 1928. Head Magistrate of the Kalocsa District)

¹ literally “valiant” referring to a Hungarian Knightly order founded by Miklós Horthy

¹ Ibid. (63528 kig. Sz. 14 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Gödöllő District)

¹ Zoltán Vági, „László Endre. Fajvédelem és bürokratikus antiszemitizmus [László Endre: Race Protection and Bureaucratic Anti-Semitism] In; Tanulmányok a Holocaustról, Randolph E. Braham ed., Balassi, Budapest, 2002, p.98

¹ Hungarian currency until 1946

¹ In the 1760 edict of Marie Therese, addresses the issue of child nudity „... The same royal and imperial majesty wishes that the children of the gypsies dare not to exit their abode in the nude, in which case she orders the parents to be subjected to corporeal punishment and the children to be captured and whipped or lashed.“ MCD p.85

¹ Ibid. (6351928 kig. Sz. 21 February 1928. Head Magistrate of the Gödöllő District)

¹ [Author’s Note: Endre’s ideas regarding the work camps – apart from the element of sterilization – is almost verbatim rehashed in an internal recommendation of the Communist Interior Ministry in 1952] See: Purcsi, Barna Gyula „Fekete személyi igazolvány és munkatábor. Kísérlet a cigánykérdés megoldására az 1950-es évek Magyarországon“ [Black ID Cards and Work Camps: An Attempt to resolve the Gypsy Issue in Hungary in the 1950s] In: Beszelo, III./VI/6, June 2001, p.30

¹ László Endre „A kóborcigány kérdés rendezése“ [Settling the Issue of Migrant Gypsies] Magyar Közigazgatás, 1934.16, p.5 In: MCD pp.225f.

¹ István Vassányi „Cigánykódex“ Magyar Közigazgatás, 1936.44, 1936.46, 1936.47

¹ Fraser, op.cit. p. 134, 144 as well as Interior Ministry Decree BM 15.000.1916 as well as Kamill Erdős „Cigánytanulmányok“ Békéscsaba, 1989, p.57

¹ Herbert Heuss, „A szinti és romaüldözés politikája Németországban (1870-1945) [The policy of persecution against the Sinti and the Roma in Germany from 1870 to 1945] In: Szintik és Romák a náci rendszer idején. A fajelmélettől a lágerekig. Centre des Recherches Tsiganes, Pont, Budapest, 2001, pp.30f

¹ From the ALISPAN of Pozsony County 11370.1916, see MCD p.191

¹ Pomogyi op.cit. pp.64-69

¹ Barna Mezey, István Taubert "A magyarországi cigányság jogi helyzetének rendezését célzó szabályozás egyes kérdései" [Some issues of the regulations aimed at settling the legal status of the Gypsy population of Hungary] in: Acta Facultatis Politico-Juridicae Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae. Tomus XXIII. Budapest, 1980, p.230

¹ Pomogyi, op.cit. p. 67f

¹ Vági, op. cit. pp. 113, 115

¹ Pomogyi, op.cit. p.68

¹ Budapest Archives IV 402-a, Documents of the Head Magistrate of the Central District. General Administrative Documents. 11029.1939. Registering and regulating Migrant Gypsies. (Nr: ad. I. 14059.1939 kig)

¹ Jenő Lévai, „Endre László a magyar háborús bűnösök listavezetője“ [László Endre Tops the List of Hungarian War Criminals] Müller K., Budapest, 1945, p.50 as well as Randolph I. Braham „A népirtás politikája. A Holocaust Magyarországon [Policy of Genocide – The Holocaust in Hungary] Belvarosi, Budapest, 1997, pp. 458f.

¹ Vági, op. cit. p. 125

¹ Vági, op. cit.

¹ Pest Vármegye Hivatalos Lapja, 1939.18. 22.659-1939 kig.sz. "Registering and Regulating Migrant Gypsies," Budapest 24 April 1939.

¹ BA IV.402-a. 11029.1939. 8291.1939. kig.sz. (Head Magistrate of the Central District of Pest County)

¹ Ibid. 1951.1939 (RH Gendarme District Budapest I, Pestszentimre station)

¹ Ibid. 1061.1939 (Dunaharaszti station)

¹ Ibid. 753 bűn.1939 (Rákoskeresztúr station)

¹ Ibid. 137.1939 (Soroksár station)

¹ Ibid. 9334.1939 (Re: Registering and regulating Migrant Gypsies. Head Magistrate of the Central District of Pest County)

¹ Ibid. 9284.1939 (Head Magistrate of the Central District of Pest County)

¹ Ibid. 25.898.1939 kig (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County)

¹ Ibid. 27.960.1939 kig (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County)

¹ Ibid. 9234.1939 kig (from the municipal authorities of Rákoshegy)

¹ Ibid. 6024.1939 kig (from the municipal authorities of Pestújhely)

¹ Ibid. 8176.1939 (from the municipal authorities of Pestszentimre) and 11.246.1939 sz (from the municipal authorities of Csepel)

¹ Ibid. 7383.1939 (from the municipal authorities of Soroksár)

¹ Ibid. 6236.1939 (from the municipal authorities of Sashalom) and 8988.1939 kig (from the municipal authorities of Rákosszentmihály)

¹ Ibid. I.27960/1939 kig (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County) 11029/1939 (Head Magistrate of the Central District), I.22.659/1939 (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County)

¹ Ibid. 11029.1939 (Head Magistrate of the Central District)

¹ Ibid. 3834.1939 (from the municipal authorities of Cinkota)

¹ Ibid. Ad.8096.1941 kig. (Head Magistrate of the Central District)

¹ Ibid. RH Gendarme District Budapest I, 104.1939 (Dunaharaszti station) 17.1939 (Soroksar platoon commander) 195.1939 (Pestszentimre station) 130.1939 (Rákoskeresztúr station)

¹ Ibid. 137.1939 (Soroksár station)

- ¹ Ervin Hollós, „Rendőrség, csendőrség“ [Police, gendarmerie] VKF 2., Kossuth, Budapest, 1971, p.87
- ¹ Budapest Archives, ih. 53.763/1939. kig.sz. (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County)
- ¹ Ibid. 11.029/1939 (Head Magistrate of the Central District)
- ¹ PCA ALISPANI documents of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county, general administrative documents, IV.408-b 14.399/1944 Controlling Migrant Gypsies. (Ad. 2601.1944.kig. from the head magistrate of the Kiskunszentmiklós district.
- ¹ Ibid. 5628.1939 (Head Magistrate of the Buda Environs District)
- ¹ Ibid. 2134 kig.1941.kig. (Head Magistrate of the Dunavecse District) [The responses of the ALISPAN to the documents 28.202/1941 kig and II.39.580/1941 urging a response.
- ¹ Ibid. 4981.1941 kig. (Head Magistrate of the Monor District of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun county) 2301.1941 kig (Head Magistrate of the Ráckeve District)
- ¹ 4981.1941 kig. (Head Magistrate of the Monor District)
- ¹ Ibid. 4731.1941 (draft)
- ¹ Cited in Pomogyi, op.cit, p. 68
- ¹ PCA loc. cit. 5429/1942 (Head Magistrate of the Gödöllő District)
- ¹ Ibid. 3569/1942 (Head Magistrate of the Monor District)
- ¹ Ibid. 2977/1942 (Head Magistrate of the Nagykáta District)
- ¹ Ibid. Ad 7033/1942 (Head Magistrate of the Central District)
- ¹ Ibid. 15.834/1942 pm.sz. (Mayor of the free royal county seat Esztergom)
- ¹ (Head Magistrate of the Central District) 20.204/1942 and ad. 7033/1942
- ¹ (Head Magistrate of the Kiskőrös District, twice) 8.262.1942 kig.sz. and 3.047/1942 kig.sz.
- ¹ Ibid. 1964/1942 (Head Magistrate of the Dunavecse District)
- ¹ Ibid. 4305/1943 (draft)
- ¹ Ibid. 15.554/1943 kig March 31
- ¹ PCA Ibid. 6170/1943 kig (Head Magistrate of the Central District of Pest county)
- ¹ Ibid. 4166/1943 (ALISPAN of Tolna county), 11.379a/1943 (ALISPAN of Heves county) 5.313/1943 (ALISPAN of Fejér county) 4581-1alisp/1943 (ALISPAN of Csongrád county) 12.160 kig/1943 (ALISPAN of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county)1943 (ALISPANS of Csanád-Arad-Torontál counties)
- ¹ Ibid. 2.677/1943 (Head Magistrate of the Kiskőrös District)
- ¹ Ibid. 2.454/1943 (Head Magistrate of the Abony District)
- ¹ Ibid. 4.438 /1943 (Head Magistrate of the Gödöllő District)
- ¹ Ibid. 3.475 /1943 kig (Head Magistrate of the Monor District)
- ¹ Ibid. 2.677/1943 kig (Head Magistrate of the Kiskőrös District)
- ¹ Ibid. 14.399/1944 kig (ALISPAN of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County)
- ¹ Ibid. 3013/1944 (Head Magistrate of the Nagykáta District) 2305 /1944 kig (Head Magistrate of the Monor District)
- ¹ Ibid. 3013/1944 (Head Magistrate of the Nagykáta District)
- ¹ Documents of the History of the Persecution of the Jews (Documents from the Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County Archives) Published by Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Centre, Budapest, 1994, p.17f
- ¹ Jenő Lévai, „Endre László a magyar háborús bűnösök listavezetője“ [László Endre Tops the List of Hungarian War Criminals] Müller K., Budapest, 1945, p.50 as well as Randolph I. Braham „A népirtás politikája. A Holocaust Magyarországon [Policy of Genocide – The Holocaust in Hungary] Belvarosi, Budapest, 1997, pp. 458f. p.513

¹ Documents of the History of the Persecution of the Jews (Documents from the Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County Archives) p.18

¹ Éva Teleki „Nyilas Uralom Magyarországon“ [Arrow Cross Rule In Hungary] Kossuth, Budapest, 1974, p.193, 356

¹ Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find this list

¹ Gábor Farkas „Fejér megye és Székesfehérvár város közigazgatása 1944 március 19től 1945 végéig“ [The public administration of Fejér county and the city of Székesfehérvár between 19 March 1944 to the end of 1945] Levéltári Szemle, 2, 1965

¹ The manuscript diaries of Col Pál Csoknay, Fejér County Archives

¹ Correctly: The National Retribution Squad

¹ Collected Recollections at the Fejér County Archives

¹ i.e. January 22

¹ The National Retribution Squad

¹ Published by László Szegő in *Mozgó Világ*, 1983/12, pp. 58-66

¹ Interior Ministry Decree 166.923/1945 Győr-Sopron County Archives, 2123/1945

¹ i.e. Gendarme Sgt. 1st Class István Fekete

¹ i.e. Ferenc Ács

¹ i.e. January 23

¹ i.e. December 24

¹ The National Retribution Squad

¹ Municipal Archives of Budapest, Nb. VII.3327.1948

¹ Municipal Archives of Budapest, BV 10.501125/1950

¹ Municipal Archives of Budapest

¹ Municipal Archives of Budapest, Criminal Case of Kemenes and others, NOT.I. 8297/1946

¹ NB 102/1946/16, Veszprém, August 16, 1946

¹ Testimony of Gendarme Capt. Dr. Endre Radó, head of the military investigations subdepartment of the NSZK, to the PRO (political police, precursor to the state security police AVO) on January 9, 1946

¹ The National Retribution Squad

¹ Archives of Veszprém County, Documents of the municipality of Várpalota, 456/1945

¹ For instance, Andor Kohn was escorted on foot between 11 and 14 of December, from a detention center in Budapest to Komárom. From here, he was transferred to Dunaszerdahely but he escaped. [Records of the Committee for the Care of Deported Persons (DEGOB), Nr.1742, in the collection of the Holocaust Documentation Centre and Memorial Collection.]

¹ for detailed data, see Károly Hetényi Varga „Akiket üldöztek az igazságért“ [Just Ones Persecuted] Budapest, Ecclesia, 1990

¹ László Kecskés „Komárom, az erődök városa“ [Komárom, City of Fortresses] Zrínyi Military Publishers, 1984, p.220. The „A magyar antifasiszta ellenállás és partizánmozgalom kislexikona“ [Handbook of Hungarian Antifascist resistance and Partisan Movement, Budapest, Kossuth, 1987, pp. 262f] is mistaken in saying that the system of fortifications occupying both banks of the Danube was used as an internment camp. In the summer of 1945, the fort were put to use again and the Csillagerod served as an interment camp for captured Arrow Cross members and the Igmandi fort was used as the so-called „screening camp“ for those returning from the West.

¹ “Dokumentumok a zsidóság üldöztetésének történetéhez“ [Documents of the History of the Persecution of the Jews] (Documents from the Archives of Komárom-

Esztergom County) Hungarian Auschwitz Foundation, Holocaust Documentation Center, Budapest, 1994, pp.44-46

¹ Elek Karsai, László Karsai „A Szálasi per“ [The Szálasi Trial] Budapest, Reform, 1988, p.413

¹ Géza Berey „Hitler – Allee“ Budapest, Gondolat, 1979 pp.107-109

¹ In Fossenbürg, Berey was assigned prisoner registration number 35 938. He mentions some of his fellow inmates: Unitarian pastor Áron Bónis, shoemaker József Budai from Voivodina, convenience store owner Ignác Sümegi from Apc, former Deputy Chief of the Budapest Police, Dr József Sombor-Schweinitzer, attorney Dr. Izidor Király from Székesfehérvár, former Interior Minister Ferenc Keresztes-Fisher who was given an office job, former secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Pécs, József Tolna.

¹ First mentioned in “Vádirat a nácizmus ellen“ [Charges against Nazism] in: “Dokumentumok a zsidóság üldöztetésének történetéhez“ [Documents of the History of the Persecution of the Jews] vol 3. June 26 to Oct 15, 1944, MIOK 1967, p.303

¹ On November 14, he was transferred to Dachau, then on to Dautmergen. He did not survive.

¹ Új hang [New Voice] March 3, 1955, pp.52f

¹ Survivor testimonies quoted in Ferenc Vadász (Kritika, 1985 november 11, pp.26f). According to research findings, of the Sátoraljaújhely inmates, administration official Sándor Braun from Debrecen was deported to Dachau, mechanical engineer László Erdős to Ausburg then to Landberg, Benő Wetzler to Dachau then to Buchenwald. Only half of the 56 political prisoners from around Kassa lived to see the end of the war (some of the men were not sent to concentration camps but were pressed into the „special labor unit Nr. 383.“)

¹ Dr Klára Székely ed. „Börtönfelkelés Sátoraljaújhely, 1944 március 22“ [Prison Uprising at Sátoraljaújhely on 22 March 1944] Budapest, 1994, pp. 219f

¹ ibid. Testimony of Márton Lombos

¹ The typewritten manuscript is in the György Klapka Museum in Komárom. I am grateful to museum director Emese Számadó for letting me study this and other documents.

¹ Deportation was officially called “laborer relocation” by the occupying German forces.

¹ Among the deported clergymen were István Benkő (Budapest pastor, arrested by the Gestapo), Ferenc Bilkei (priest, Székesfehérvár-felsőváros, Gestapo), Iván Camplin (chaplain, Bánokszentgyörgy) István Eglis (pastor, Budapest, Gestapo) Imre Gojnik (priest, Szigetvár), József Király (archdeacon, Csicsó, Member of the Parliament, Gestapo), István Laposa (Evangelical Pastor, Tótkeresztúr), István Lestár (abbey priest, Komárom), Bálin Málek (priest, Kisszabadka) Lajos Neményi (provost, editor of the diocese newspaper Új Fehérvár, Gestapo) József (Bauer) Pór (abbey priest, Bonyhád, Gestapo), Dr Márton Proity (pastor, Bishop’s councillor, Székesfehérvár-Maroshegy, Gestapo) Antal Pungucz (Rom. Cath. priest of the Armenian rite, Budapest), Dr Antal Somogyi (priest, Kisbér), Emil Szivak (Calvinist pastor, Jolsva), Gyula Tárnok (Calvinist pastor, Marcalkeszi).

¹ On November 22, 2002, the ashes of deported trade union leaders József Drebál, Ernő Fekete, József Heller and Imre Navara were returned from Dachau and given a burial in Tatabánya. (in: Tovább, vol.21, 2/57, Dec. 2003, p.1)

¹ Székely ed, op.cit. p.219

¹ ibid.

¹ László Ligeti „Múltakra emlékezve“ [Remembering Pasts] Budapest, Kossuth, 1975 p. 141

¹ On the arrest and tribulations in Komárom of József kazári of Meggyeskovácsi, see the interview by Ágnes Daróczi in Polgárjogi Füzetek II/1/4 pp. 45-48

¹ Testimony of Rozália Vajda in: Népszabadság, August 5, 2000

¹ Testimony of mechanical engineer György Hajdu, in: 168 Óra, April 5, 2001, p.49. „Cigány foglyok visszaemlékezései“ for the educational use of „Tények, adatok, a cigányok háborús üldöztetéséhez 1939-1945“ (Szabolcs Szita ed, Budapest, 2001 pp.80-97)

¹ „Porrajmos“ Roma Sajtóközpont Könyvek vol 2, Budapest, 2000, p.58

¹ From a letter to János Érsek, resident of Komárom, in the Klapka Museum. Newspaper editor Lajos Neményi was arrested by the Gestapo on October 20. He regained his freedom on December 7, having avoided deportation from the Komárom fortress.

¹ János Harsányi „Magyar szabadságharcosok a fasizmus ellen“ [Hungarian Freedom Fighters Against Fascism] Budapest, Zrinyi, 1969, p.618

¹ Report on public safety, by the Komárom station of the R.H. Police, Strictly Confidential, 92/7/1944. Published by Mária Ember „Ide is gyűtt az ablakára csendőr...“ Magyar Nemzet, October 21, 1984

¹ Extract from the manuscript “A pécsi partizánper vértanúi“ [Martyrs of the Partisan Trial of Pécs] in the collection of the Klapka Museum of Komárom, p. 30.

¹ “Ego sum gallicus captivus – Francia menekültek Magyarországon“ Budapest, Európa Kiadó, 1980, p.85

¹ Győri Munkás, April 4, 1947

¹ eg. From the nearby Mezőörs or from Györszentmárton.

¹ Karsai, 1992

¹ Népszava, November 17, 1984

¹ In the collection of the Klapka Museum of Komárom

¹ Testimony (undated) of Zoltán Keszegh in the collection of the Klapka Museum of Komárom

¹ Gyula Lovas ed: „Magyar vasutak a világháború éveiben“ [Hungarian railways in the War Years] Vasúthistóriai könyvek, Budapest, 1996, p.267

¹ ibid. p. 128, 130

¹ In early April of 1944, Ministry of Defense registers showed a total of 5,000 Polish military and civilian internees. In : Ágnes Godó „Magyar-lengyel kapcsolatok a második világháborúban“ [Hungarian-Polish Relations During World War II] Zrinyi-Kossuth 1976, p.113

¹ Data provided by Dachau archivist Albert Knoll

¹ György Mészáros “A magyarországi cigányság, és társadalmi beilleszkedésének néhány problémája, Hevesi Művelődés, 1972. 1-2.”

¹ Rüdiger Vossen: Zigeuner, Catalog zur Ausstellung des Hamburgischen Museums für Völkerkunde, 1983.

¹ Vossen, op.cit.

¹ Vossen, op.cit.

¹ Dr Mrs István Kozák “A cigány lakosság- beilleszkedése társadalmunkba”, Reflektor, 1983. 1.

¹ Kozák, op.cit.

¹ Mrs József Székely born 1930, Zalaegerszeg. **The text in Romani:**

¹ Gyula Balogn, born 1926 Rákospalota **The text in Romani:**

¹ János Szőnyi: A cigányok sorsa a fasizmus évei alatt, Cigányok - honnét jöttek, .
merre tartanak?, Kozmosz Könyvek, Bp. 1983. II

¹ Vossen, op.cit.

¹ Lajos Gábor, born 1928, Marosvásárhely **The original text in Romani:**

¹ For instance, referring to contemporary documents, László Karsai thinks it is highly possible that Roma residents of settlements in Baranya, Somogy and Zemplén counties were also confined to ghettos.

¹ This is an article written by historian László Karsai published in the large-circulation daily Népszabadság (17 August, 1998). Translation by Eszter Pál. The translation was funded and the publication in this volume permitted by OSI-Roma Participation Program.

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