

ROMAN (gypsy, çingene) CALISMALARI ICIN  
**BIBLIOGRAPIA**

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internet kaynakli bilgilerden ve baskalarinin yapmis oldugu  
calismlardan yararlanilarak  
hazirlanmistir.

This study is written from other examined studies and from  
internet based databases.

Sinan Sanlier  
**General Bibliographies about the Roma**

**BINNS, Dennis.** A Gypsy Bibliography of All Recent Books, Pamphlets, Articles, Broadsheets, Theses and Dissertations Pertaining to Gypsies and Other Travellers that the Author is Aware of at the Time of the Printing. Chorltonville, Manchester: Dennis Binns Publications, 1982, 1986, 1990. This detailed bibliography of 1,306 entries concentrates principally on English language publications. The shorter updates (1986, 1990) add to the 1982 original.

**BLACK, George F.** A Gypsy Bibliography. London: Gypsy Lore Society, 1913. Reprint. Ann Arbor: Gryphon Books, 1971. This classic work was the most comprehensive bibliography on the Roma at the time, and remains invaluable to Romany scholars interested in pre-20th century

publications. It contains 4,577 entries in all European languages.

**BOROVSKY, Stefan.** Ciganska otazka: Bibliografia [The Gypsy question: Bibliography]. Kosice: Statne vedecka kniznica, 1960. This Slovak bibliography on the Roma in Eastern Europe is somewhat limited.

Catalogue of the Romany Collection. Edinburgh; Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962. This bibliography is drawn from the impressive Romany collection of the University of Leeds. Its 1,234 annotated entries are broken down according to comprehensive works, history, linguistic, ethnography and folklore, works on Romany life, biographical material, and other topics including manuscripts, letters, photographs, and other miscellaneous items.

**GERMAN, A. Z.** Bibliografiya o tsyganakh: Ukazatel knig i statei s 1780

g. po 1930 g. Tsentrizday, 1930.

This fine bibliography begins with a useful overview of the Roma in Russia from the late 18th century until the late 1920s. Its 692 entries concentrate principally on Russian publications on the Roma during the period of coverage.

**GRONEMEYER, Reimer.** Zigeuner in Osteuropa: Eine Bibliographie zu den Laendern Polen, Tschechoslowakei und Ungarn (Mit einem Anhang ueber aeltere Sowjetische Literatur). Munchen: K.G. Saur, 1983. This is a bibliography of lengthy annotations in German of multilingual works on the Roma in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The section on Hungary is particularly impressive. There is a smaller appendix of publications on the Roma in the Soviet Union.

**HOHMANN, Joachim S.** Neue deutsche Ziguenerbibliographie.

Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992. This detailed bibliography of German-language sources on the Roma begins with publications in the late 19th century and includes entries through 1978.

**HORAK, Stephan M.** Eastern European National Minorities, 1918-1980: A Handbook. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1985. This fine

collection of bibliographic and historical essays includes important entries on the Roma in Bulgaria and the former Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The other minorities sections in the chapters on Hungary and Romania also have important demographic information on the Roma.

**HOVENS Pieter and Jeanne HOVENS.** *Zigeuners, Woonwagenbewoners enreizenden: een bibliografie.* Rijswijk: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare, 1982. According to the introduction by H.A. de Boer, the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Recreation and Social Welfare, this bibliography was underwritten by the Dutch to help make the literature on gypsies more accessible to those who work with gypsies. This multilingual work has one thousand unannotated entries, and deals with Roma throughout Europe.

**HUBSCHMANNOVA, Milena.** *Abstrakta odborné literatury o Cikanech v CSSR (1955-1972) [Abstracts of Specialized Literature on the Gypsies in the CSSR from 1955-1972].* Prague: Ústav pro filosofii a sociologii CSAV, n.d. This collection of abstracted essays on the Roma in Czechoslovakia is edited by one of that nation's premier Romany specialists. The entries are arranged topically.

**LOCKWOOD, William G. and Sheila Salo.** *Gypsies and Travelers in North America: An Annotated Bibliography.* Cheverly, MD: The Gypsy Lore Society, 1994. This solid bibliography concentrates principally on English-language publications dealing with the Roma in Canada and the United States. There are two appendixes for inaccessible unpublished works and bibliographies on the Roma worldwide.

**SCHOCK, Hermann.** *Migration und ethnische Minderheiten.* Bonn: Informationszentrum Sozialwissenschaften, 1995. This excellent bibliography on the question of migration and its relationship to affected ethnic minorities has a number of entries on the Roma. The 11th chapter of this detailed, well-written, critical bibliography is devoted to publications on the Roma, though there are other entries throughout the bibliography with references to this group.

**TONG, Diane.** *Gypsies: A Multidisciplinary Annotated Bibliography.* New York: Garland Publishers, 1995. This excellent annotated bibliography concentrates principally on English-language publications on the Roma. It has weak annotations on non-English sources. Some annotations are marred by unobjective comments.

**TYRNAUER, Gabrielle.** Gypsies and the Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essay. Montreal: Interuniversity Centre for European Studies and Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, 1989, 1991. This important bibliography begins with an historical overview of the Holocaust. Its 576 entries (1991 Second Edition) cover articles, books, and other Holocaust-related topics in all European languages.

## **Periodicals Which Regularly Publish Articles about Roma**

**Amaro Dives.** This Albanian publication was launched in 1992.

**Amaro Drom (since 1990).** Tavasmezo u. 6, 1084 Budapest, Hungary. This magazine has been published in Hungarian by the Roma Parliament since 1991.

**Amaro Lav. Brno, Czech Republic.**

This Czech journal began publication in 1991, replacing Lacho Lav, which was started in 1990. It is published principally in Czech, though there are some articles in Romani.

**Bukhazi.** United States. This is the newsletter of the International Romani Union-International Roma Federation. It is published in the United States in English and Romani.

**Ciganfuro.** u. 124, VIII District, Budapest, Hungary. This is a Hungarian publication which includes art, criticism, and articles about Romany issues.

**Drom Dromendar.** 5 Nikola Karev Str., 8800 Sliven, Bulgaria. This is a monthly newspaper in Bulgarian.

**Etudes Tsiganes** (since 1955). 2 rue d'Hautpoul, 75019 Paris, France. This is one of Europe's oldest and most prominent journals dealing with Romany matters.

**Giessener Haefte fuer Tsiganologie** (1984-6), succeeded by

Tsiganologische Studien (since 1990, on a sporadic basis). c/o Institut fuer Soziologie, Justus-Liebig-Universitaet, Karl-Glockner-Str. 21E, 6300, Giessen, Germany. This is an infrequently published journal on Romany studies in German.

**Interface**.. Newsletter of the Gypsy Research Centre/Centre de Recherches Tsiganes. Universite Rene Descartes, 106 Quai de Clichy-F-2110, Clichy, Paris, France. Interface has emerged as one of the most prominent Romany publications in Europe. This multilingual publication is published with the assistance of the European Commission, and concentrates on Romany educational matters. It specializes in issues relating to the Roma in Western Europe, though it periodically has information relating to the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe.

**I Tchachipen (La Verdad)**.. Apartados Correos 202, 08080 Barcelona, Spain. This journal, published by the Union Romani, covers social and cultural issues.

**Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society** (since 1988). 5607 Greenleaf Road, Cheverly, MD 20785, USA. This is the successor to the classic British journal of the same name. Beginning in 1888, this journal appeared in five series: Old Series, 1888-1892; New Series, 1907-1916; Third Series, 1922-1974; Fourth Series, 1974-1982; Fifth Series, 1991-. Since its first appearance, this ground-breaking journal has been the centerpiece of some of the most significant scholarly studies on the Roma worldwide. It features works on linguistics, history, politics, and other matters relating to the diverse cultural heritage of the Roma. The older series are anchored by periodic indexes.

**Khamutne Dive**.. Belgrade. This publication began in 1987, and is published in Serbian and Romani.

**Kethano Drom**.. Marek Jozsef u. 16 II/21, 1078 Budapest, Hungary. This is a relatively new Romany magazine in Hungarian.

**Kosoz Ut/Kethano Drom**.. Budapest. This publication is published in Hungarian.

**Lacio Drom**.. Centro Studi Zingari, Via dei Barbieri, 22, 00186 Rome, Italy.

This is one of Europe's older Romany publications dealing with Romany history, culture, and linguistics.

**Lungo Drom.** . Szapary ut. 19, 5000 Szolnok, Hungary. Published by the Lungo Drom organization, this magazine is available only in Hungarian.  
**Nevipens Romani (Noticias Gitanas).** Apartados Correos 202, 08080 Barcelona, Spain. Also published by the Union Romani, this newspaper covers issues of human rights, racism, and discrimination the Roma in Spain.

**O Drom.** P.O. Box 16875, 1001 RJ Amsterdam, Netherlands. This magazine, published in the Netherlands beginning in 1986, is put out by the Stichting lau Mazirel, a Dutch civil rights movement for Roma. It succeeded the Dutch publication Heidens, and deals with matters relating to the Roma and Sinti in Europe.

**Patrin.** P.O. Box 215, 080 01 Presov, Slovakia. This periodical is edited by Nevipe (Press Rom News Agency), and began in 1994. It appears in Romani and English.

**Phralipe.** Tavaszmezo u. 6, 1084 Budapest, Hungary.  
This Romany publication is written in Hungarian.

**Rom Som.** Hungary. This publication appeared first in 1973, but was soon banned. It has since been revived, and publishes articles in Hungarian and Romani.

**Roma.** Indian Institute of Romani Studies, 3290/15D, Chandigarh, Chandigarh 160015, India. This Indian publication, started in 1974, presents the unique view of Romany specialists living in this group's original homeland. It concentrates on development issues and issues relating to the international standing of the Roma.

**Romano Dzhaniben.** Prague. This publication, which began in 1994, has articles in Czech and Romani.

**Romano Gendalos.** Prague.

**Romani Kurko.** . Brno. Published since 1991, these journals have articles in Czech and Romani.

**Roma Rights** (since fall 1996). Newsletter of the European Roma Rights Center, H-1525, Budapest 114, P.O. Box 10/24, Hungary. A relative newcomer, Roma Rights concentrates on questions relating to Romany human rights in Europe.

**Roma Rights in Focus** (since March 1996). 23 Solunska Street, 6th floor, Sofia 1000, Bulgaria. This is the newsletter of the Human Rights Project, a non-profit organization focusing on monitoring and legal defense of the Roma in Bulgaria. It is published in Bulgarian and English.

**Romano Bavarylpe.** 10 Khan Asparyh Str., 1463 Sofia, Bulgaria. This is one of the new, smaller Romany publications that have appeared in Bulgaria since 1991.

**Romano Dzaniben.** Cimburkova 23, 130 00 Prague 3, Czech Republic. Published in Czech, this Prague-based journal focuses on Romany issues.

**Romano Ilo.** 10 Khan Asparyh Str., 1463 Sofia, Bulgaria. This monthly newspaper is published in Bulgarian.

**Romano Kurko.** Moravske typografie, Moravske namesti, Brno, Czech Republic. Focusing on political, cultural, and social issues relating to the Roma in the Czech Republic, this newspaper is available in Romani and Czech.

**Romano Lil.** ul. Hilendarska 2, Belgrade 11000, Yugoslavia. This newspaper is published in Romani by Rroninterpress, based in Belgrade. Its name is the same as the earlier Romany-Serbian newspaper that appeared in the 1930s in Yugoslavia.

**Rrom po Drom.** ul. Warszawska 43, 15-062 Bialystok, Poland. This magazine, first published in 1990, covers political and cultural issues and is available in both Polish and Romani.

**Traveller Education.** This British newsletter deals with questions relating not only to English Roma, but to matters that affect the Roma internationally.

## **The Roma in Germany**

DAVID, Henriette. 'Nouvelles de l'étranger: Allemagne.' *Etudes Tsiganes* 19, nos. 1-2 (1973): p.75. This article records an ethnic clash between Germans and Roma, underlining continuing anti-Roma sentiment in Germany.

GEIGES, Anita, and Bernhard WETTE. *Zigeuner Heute: Verfolgung und Diskriminierung in der BRD: eine Anklageschrift*. Bornheim-Merten: Lamuv-Verlag, 1979. This is an account of the German Roma's sufferings, rationalized as a result of the social and cultural differences between the marginalized Roma and the dominant German societies.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Gypsy History in Germany and Neighboring Lands: A Chronology Leading to the Holocaust and Beyond,' in David M. John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991. This excellent chronological overview traces the history of mistreatment of the Roma from the time of their arrival in the German states in the early 15th century through 1989. Seen through the detailed chronology, the Holocaust seems as though it was almost a natural outcome of centuries of destructive and sometimes deadly, anti-Roma policy and practice. This fine essay is anchored by detailed footnotes.

Human Rights Watch. *Foreigners Out: Xenophobia and Right-Wing Violence in Germany*. New York: Human Rights Watch Report, October 1992. This survey looks at the rise of neo-Nazi and other extremists groups in Germany after the collapse of communism and reunification. Among the victims of this upwelling of extremism are the Roma, many of them recent arrivals who fled to Germany in hopes of avoiding similar treatment in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

KOPF, Peter. *Sinti und Roma*. Munich: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1994. This study about the German Roma and their current problems compares their pre- and post-war treatment.

MACARTNEY, Robert J. 'East Berlin Said to Agree to Holocaust Payments.' *Washington Post*, 19 October 1988, pp. 25-26. This article is about the East German decision to recompense Jewish survivors of war crimes while refusing to pay anything to Romany survivors.

MARTINS-HEUSS, Kirsten. 'Reflections on the Collective Identity of



German Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) After National Socialism.' Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1989), pp. 193-211. This study, which draws on the author's earlier work 'Zur mystischen Figur des Zigeuners' in der deutschen Zigeunerforschung (Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen Verlag, 1983), centers around interviews with survivors of the Romany Holocaust. Despite their suffering, these victims retain a strong sense of Romany identity.

MEAGHER, Edmund Anthony. 'Gypsies in Germany Make a Stand.' The

Christian Century, April 11, 1990, pp. 370-372.

The author explores the outburst in anti-Roma violence in Germany in 1989-1990.

Most of it was aimed at recently arrived Romany immigrants who were fleeing si

milar mistreatment in Eastern Europe. The article highlights efforts by the German Evangelical church to convince government officials to grant the Roma special 5 year residency and work permits. Perhaps the most tragic of these upheavals took place on October 2, 1989, when Hamburg police tried to displace a number of recently arrived Roma who were camped out at the site of the former Neuengamme concentration camp. Some of the Roma who were attacked by police in full battle gear were survivors of the Holocaust.

MODE, H., and S. WOLFFLING. Zigeuner: Der Weg eines Volkes in Deutschland. Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1968. This book explains the connection between modern Romany problems and historic German-Roma relationships.

NOAKES, Jeremy. 'Social Outcasts in Nazi Germany.' History Today 18 (1985); and New York Times, 17 September 1986.

This author makes the point that Roma have historically been the target of German abuse and argues that the lesson of such injustice and violence should never be forgotten.

POND, Elizabeth. 'Romanies: Hitler's Other Victims.' Christian Science Monitor, 7 March 1980, p. 17.

This article examines the West German government that called Romany demands

for war crimes reparations unreasonable and slanderous.

Survey of the Policy and Law Regarding Aliens in the Federal Republic of Germany. Bonn: Federal Ministry of the Interior, 1992. Mentioned in I. Fonseca's *Bury Me Standing*. This study of legislation concerning German immigration tells of the difficulties faced by Roma in obtaining the status of legal immigrant.

VOSSSEN, Rudiger. *Zigeuner: Roma, Sinti, Gitanos, Gypsies, zwischen Verfolgung und Romatisierung*. Frankfurt: Ullstein Fachbuch, 1983. This explains the different tribal labels used to distinguish the Roma. In Nazi Germany, for example, the Lalleri and Sinti (see supra, Kueppers) were Aryan, at least to SS head Himmler, while other Roma were condemned as racially stained.

WEISSENBRUCH, Johann Benjamin. *Ausfuehrliche Relation von de famosen Zigeuner - Diebs - Mord - und Rauberbande*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1772. This late 18th-century work describes the wholesale murders of the Roma, specifically five pogroms which occurred across German lands.

## **General Academic Studies about the Roma**

ACTON, Thomas A., and Paul KEGAN. *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*. London: Routledge, 1974. This is a work on Romany political and social movements in Europe.

BALIC, S., et al., eds. *Romani Language and Culture*. Sarajevo, Institut za Proucavanje Nacionalnih Odnosa, 1989. This is a collection of articles written for the 1986 Conference on Romani Language and Culture in Sarajevo. Many of the articles address the linguistic consequences of Romany migrations.

BATAILLARD, P. 'De l'apparition et de la dispersion des Bohemiens en Europe.' *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. Vol. 5, 1834-1844, pp. 348-75, 521-52. This author advances his theory that the Roma originated as the blacksmiths of the Bronze Age, in the central region of the Western Alps.

BERLAND, Joseph C. and Matt T. SALO, eds. *Peripatetic Peoples. Nomadic Peoples*. Vols. 21-22. Montreal: Commission on Nomadic Peoples, International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1986. This fine collection of essays by prominent Romany specialists has essays on the Roma in France, Eastern Europe, the Balkans, North America, Great Britain, and Bulgaria.

CHATARD, R. P., and Michel BERNARD, eds. *Zanko (Chef tribal chez les Chalderas): La tradition des Tsiganes, conservee par aristocratie de ce peuple...Documents*. Paris: La Colombe, 1959. This collection of documents gathered by Chatard and presented by Bernard recounts the daily life of the Kalderas, a Romany tribe.

COHN, Werner. *The Gypsies*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1973. This account, which applies the Addison-Wesley modular anthropology program to the Roma, describes Romany cultural values and resistance to assimilation.

COLLOCI, A. A. *Gli Zingari*. Turin, 1889. An Italian work, this account focuses on Romany history, their origins, and their movement into and throughout Europe.

DUNA, William A. *Gypsies: A Persecuted Race*. Appendix reprinted from *Land of Pain: Five Centuries of Gypsy Slavery*, by I. Hancock. Minneapolis: Duna Studios, 1985. This study emphasizes the persecution of the Roma throughout history, but especially during the Holocaust.

ESTY, Katharine. *The Gypsies: Wanderers in Time*. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969. This book is a popularistic history of the Roma from their migration from India in the Middle Ages through the mid-20th century.

FONSECA, Isabel. *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*. London: Chatto & Windus; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995. This narrative describes the Roma as a landless, twelve-million minority and emphasizes their Eastern European history and migrations. It includes a well-selected bibliography, 50 illustrations, and 3 maps.

FRASER, Angus. *The Gypsies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, 2nd ed. 1995. This general history is composed of nine sections, each with one or more chapters. The Romany migration alone is detailed in five sections, beginning

with their early migrations from Persia and Armenia, through their experiences in the Ottoman Empire, to the renewed migration of the nineteenth century. The historical account ends with the most recent emigrations, especially from Romania and the former Yugoslavia.

GHEORGHE, Nicolae. *Romanies in the CSCE Process: A Case Study for the Rights of National Minorities with Dispersed Settlement Patterns*. Warsaw, 1994. This report on the debates at the 1993 CSCE Human Dimension Seminar in Warsaw, Poland is authored by one of Europe's most prominent Romany activists.

GREENFELD, Howard. *Gypsies*. Crown Publishers, 1977. This treatment of Romany life includes their history, traditions, customs, occupations, Asian origins, and the impact of modernity on traditional life inside their kumpania.

GRELLMANN, H. M. G. *Die Zigeuner: Ein historischer Versuch ueber die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprung*. Dessau and Leipzig: Auf Kosten der Verlags-Kasse und zu finden in der Buchhandlung der Gelehrten, 1783; 2nd ed., Gottingen, 1787. English translation, *Dissertation on the Gypsies*, London, 1787; 2nd ed., London, 1807; French translation, Metz, 1788 and Paris, 1810; Dutch translation, Dordrecht, 1791. This treatise is one of the first to establish the Indian origins of the Roma and one of the first to claim that they are racially inferior.

GRONEMEYER, Reimer. *Zigeuner im Spiegel fruherer Chroniken und Abhandlungen*. Giessen: Focus, 1987. This collection of essays deals with the history of the Roma in Europe from the 14th through the 18th centuries. Most of the entries here are primary source documents in German or Latin and provide further clues into the significant Romany presence in Europe during this period.

GRONEMEYER, Reimer, and Georgia A. RAKELMANN. *Die Zigeuner, Reisende in Europa: Roma, Sinti, Manouches, Gitanos, Gypsies, Kalderas, Vlach und andere*. Cologne: Dumont Buchverlag, 1988. This is an historic overview of the European Romany tribes emphasizing their socio-cultural differences across centuries and borders while underlining their similarities.

GROOME, F. H. *The Gypsies in National Life and Thought of the*

Various Nations throughout the World, ed. E. Magnusson. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1891. This rather modest article provides only limited insight into the history and culture of the Roma in Europe, and only mildly reflects the significant contributions of this Romany scholar to the broader world of Romany studies, particularly in the area of folklore.

HALEY, William J. 'The Gypsy Conference at Bucharest.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series* 13, no. 4 (1934): pp. 182-90. This article marks an event in the Romany international movement during the first half of this century: the 1933 International Romany Conference in Bucharest.

HALL, Elsie M. 'Gentile Cruelty to Gypsies.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series* 11, no. 2 (1932): pp. 49-56. This is a description of historic European intolerance for the Roma within gentile civilization.

HANCOCK, Ian. *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1987. This book pays particular attention to the institution of Romany slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia, and links the stereotypes that have for so long haunted the Roma in the Western world to the plight of the Roma in the 20th century. The author is a prominent Romany scholar and activist.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'The Romani Diaspora.' *The World and I* (March 1989): pp. 613-23. This article describes how European Romany migrations occurred within multinational empires, where the basic rule was to divide the population in order to dominate them more easily.

HEINSCHINK, Moses F. and Ursula HEMETEK. *Roma: Das bekannte Vol-Schicksal und Kultur*. Vienna: B`hlau, 1994. This interesting and eclectic collection about the Roma in Europe over the past five centuries is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship on this important group. In addition to a good look at the history of the Roma, this fine study also surveys the status of the Roma in the post-communist nations of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. It also discusses in some depth the plight of the Roma throughout Europe during the Holocaust.

HOHMANN, Joachim S. *Zigeuner und Zigeunerwissenschaft*. Marburg: Guttandin und Hope, 1980. This is a book about what the author terms *ëthe Roma* and Romany scienceí.

HUNT, Bernice Kohn. *The Gypsies*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972.

This rather textbookish work looks at Romany history, language, customs, and daily life, though without much scholarly insight.

KENRICK, D. *Gypsies from India to the Mediterranean*. Toulouse:

CRDP, 1993. This presentation of Romany history covers the exodus from India in the tenth century and subsequent settlements and wanderings across Europe.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Roma, Tsiganes, Voyageurs; Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*. Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Cooperation, 1987;

revised ed. 1994. This collaborative work is drawn from the research of Romany specialists throughout Europe. It includes documentation of official policies towards the Roma, as well as information about their origins and wanderings, demography, language, social organization, family, religion, economic status, culture, and lifestyle.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Mutation tzigane: la revolution bohémienne*.

Brussels: Edition Complexe, 1976. This book discusses the Opre Roma! movement (an approximate translation being, Stand Up for Your Rights, Roma!).

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre. *Tsiganes*. Paris: La Decouverte, 1983; *Gypsies: An Illustrated History*, abridged translation by T. Berrett. London: Al-Saqi Books, 1986. A socio-linguistic account of the Roma from their origins to their most recent ex-

periences with non-Roma, this book provides information about this scattered and diverse ethnic group with few records of their own. The abridged version is filled out with a rich collection of photographs.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre, and Nicolae GHEORGHE. *Roma/Gypsies: A European Minority*. Translated from the French by Sinead ni Shuinear. A Minority Rights Group International Report, 1995. This work highlights the danger of the European exclusion, containment, and assimilation policies and offers recommendations on how the collective identity of the Roma can be accommodated and their European (forced) migrations altered.

MARTLETT, D. M. M. *Munsterís Cosmographica universalis*. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series*. Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (1952), pp. 83-90. This article contains the Latin text of Munsterís classic account that includes some

important first hand information on the Roma and their origins.

MAYALL, David. *Gypsy-Travellers in Nineteenth Century Society*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. This revision of the author's doctoral thesis is useful to historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and philologists as well as to human rights researchers. It views the Roma as either an indigenous, itinerant population or an originally foreign group of immigrants.

McDOWELL, Bart. *Gypsies: Wanderers of the World*. National Geographic Society, 1970. This travelogue account of the history and culture of the Roma in Europe follows the traditional National Geographic approach of blending personal interviews with a rich collection of photographs. Topics range from the life of British travellers to the Roma family camp at Auschwitz during the Holocaust.

MÜNSTER, Sebastian. *Cosmographie universalis*. Universalis. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1550. [French edition, *La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde, augmentee, ornee et enrichie par Francois de Belleforest*, Paris, 1575]. An important early source on the Roma in Europe, it describes the Roman use of illicit passes to allow them to move freely throughout Europe. The first-hand accounts also detail the Roma's own sense of origins somewhere beyond the Middle East. Other good sources for samples of Münster's work can be found in D.M. M. Bartlett's Münster's *Cosmographie Universalis*, which is cited elsewhere in this bibliography, as is another source, Reimer Gronemeyer's *Zigeuner im Spiegel fruherer Chroniken und Abhandlung*.

MIRGA, A. *Human Rights Abuses of the Roma (Gypsies)*. Testimony before the subcommittee on International Organizations and Human Rights of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 2nd session, April 14, 1994. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994, pp. 29-32. Representatives of the international Roma movement testify to the historic oppression of the Roma.

ORGOVANOVA, K. *Human Rights Abuses of the Roma (Gypsies)*. Testimony before the subcommittee on International Organizations

and Human Rights of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 2nd session, April 14, 1994. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994, pp. 26-8. Along with Drs. Mirga, Gheorghe, and Hancock, this scholar presented to Congress the history of oppression of the Roma.

PREDARI, F. *Origine e vicende dei zingari con documenti intorno alle proprietà fisiche e morali*. Milan: Lampato, 1841. This author opined that the Roma are the descendants of a prehistoric people who had been turned into nomads by a geological or political catastrophe.

PROJECT ON ETHNIC RELATIONS. *Prevention of Violence and Discrimination Against the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Project on Ethnic Relations, 1997. This is one of a series of publications by PER that underscores the important grassroots work it is doing with Romany communities and government officials throughout Eastern and Central Europe in an effort to ameliorate some of the hardships and prejudice that so deeply affect Romany life. This brief study is the outcome of a conference held in Budapest in the spring of 1997, which discussed problems and recommendations for a change in the harsh prejudicial atmosphere that haunts the Roma in this part of Europe.

PUXON, Grattan. *Roma: Europe's Gypsies*. Minority Rights Report no. 14. London: Minority Rights Group, 1973, 1975, 1983, 1987. This invaluable collection covers the plight of the Roma in each European country, with periodic updates. Each edition contains a modest bibliography and valuable demographic statistics on the Roma in each European nation.

RAKELMANN, Georgia. *Interethnik. Beziehungen von Zigeunern und Nichtzigeunern*. Muenster: Lit Verlag, 1988. This is a socio-political study of the Roma in Central Europe generally and Germany specifically, highlighting the predicament of Romany communities within the surrounding and often hostile culture.

REHFISCH, Farnham, ed. *Gypsies, Tinkers, and Other Travellers*. London and New York: Academic Press, 1975. This collection of essays addresses the Romany way of life, especially their nomadism, within a general presentation of Romany kumpania-gadje (communitygentile) interactions in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as in America. It includes numerous bibliographical references.



SCHWAB, Gert and Edgar Wupper. *Zigeuner: Randgruppe*. Luzern und Frankfurt: Verlag C. J. Bucher, 1979. Richly illustrated with photographs of the Roma from throughout Europe, this study looks at the history of the Roma's European experience. It contains some documentation on various groups such as the Kalderas, the Gitanos, and the Manusch, and discusses the important II World Romani Congress. It ends with a bibliography of important sources on the Roma.

RISHI, W. R. *Roma: The Punjabi Emigrants in Europe, Central and Middle Asia, the USSR, and the Americas*. Patiala: Punjabi University, 1976. This is an examination of the Roma's language (including the etymology of many key Romani words such as Rom, gadje, etc.), religion, exodus, and subsequent migrations, beginning with their departure from the Punjab region.

SERBOIANU, C. J. Popp. *Les Tsiganes*. Paris: Payot, 1930. This summary of Romany history offers information about the medieval European migrations of the Roma and their more modern life.

SIMSON, James. *A History of the Gypsies, with Specimens of the Gypsy Language*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1871. This book discusses the origins of the Roma and their migrations. It also includes a study of their civilization from a linguistic perspective.

SINGHAL, Damodar P. *Gypsies: Indians in Exile*. Meerut, India: Archana Publications for Folklore Institute, 1982. This rather superficial history of the Roma begins with their movement out of India in the Middle Ages after the region was invaded by Muslim forces. Unfortunately, it is marred by stereotypes and some rather unscientific conclusions.

VAUX DE FOLETIER, Françoise de. *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes*. Paris: Fayard, 1970. An overview of the major phases of Romany history and their principle patterns of migration, this work also looks at the history of the Roma through the eyes of non-Roma, and has ample information on Romany culture, religion, and music.

VAUX DE FOLETIER, Françoise de. *Le Monde des Tsiganes*. Paris: Espace des hommes Berger-Levrault, 1983. This well-illustrated overview of the Roma by a prominent French specialist emp

hasizes the importance of nomadism to Romany culture. The author feels that the only countries where such characteristics are not significant is in Spain and Romania, where the Roma were forced to settle.

WEDECK, Harry Ezekiel. *Dictionary of Gypsy Life and Lore*. Written with the assistance of W. Baskin. London: P. Owen, 1973. This source on the Roma includes numerous references to various dictionaries and encyclopedias on this topic.

WILLIAMS, P., ed. *Tsiganes: identite, evolution: actes du colloques pour le 30eme aniversaire des Etudes Tsiganes*. Paris: Syros Alternatives: Etudes Tsiganes, 1989. This collection of articles about Romany ethnicity, prepared for the 30th International Conference on the Roma in Paris in 1986, emphasizes the mutual bonds existing between kumpania and gadje society.

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967. The author describes the Lovara Roma and their wanderings through Western Europe and the Balkans.

## **The Roma and the Holocaust**

ADELSBERGER, Lucie. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Story*. Translated from the German by S. Ray, with an introduction by D. Lipstadt, and annotations and historical advice by A. J. Slavin. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995. This memoir of a female Jewish Holocaust survivor, who worked as a physician in the infirmary of the Gypsy Camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau, describes the conditions faced by the Roma and Jews there.

ARAD, Yitzhak. *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. In this in-depth exploration of the three death camps set up in 1942-1943 that resulted in the murder of 1.5 million Jews, the author has a brief chapter on the Roma, 'The Extermination of the Gypsies.'

ARAD, Yitzhak, Shmuel Krakowski, and Shmuel Spector, eds. *The Einsatzgruppen Reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads Campaign Against the Jews in Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, July 1941-January 1943*. New York: Holocaust

Library, 1989. These first-hand accounts of the deadly sweeps of Einsatzgruppe A, B, C, and D in the first 19 months of the Soviet-German conflict provide ample information on the Roma.

BAUER, Yehuda. *Jews, Gypsies and Slavs: Policies of the Third Reich*. In *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*. New York and London: Greenwood, 1985. This is an account of Nazi atrocities and their victims, of which the most targeted were Jews, Roma, and Slavs.

BEDNARZ, W. *Oboz stracen w Chelmnie*. Warsaw: Panstwowy Institut Wydawniczy, 1946. This book provides general information about the genocide wrought at Chelmno and details the extermination of the Roma, which started in January, 1942 with groups numbering 200-300.

BEHRENDT, Johannes. *Die Wahrheit ueber die Zigeuner*. NS Partei Korrespondenz 10, no. 3 (1939). In this article, the author, a physician in the Office of Racial Hygiene under Hitler, offers that all Gypsies should be eliminated without hesitation, as a defective element in the population.

BERENBAUM, Michael. *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993. This richly illustrated volume provides a solid overview of the Holocaust, and pays some attention to Romany victimization.

BERNADAC, Christian. L. *Holocauste oublie: Le Massacre des Tsiganes*. Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1979. This extensive study focuses on the mistreatment of the Roma during the Holocaust, and details total Romany losses in an appendix. It also includes information on the mistreatment of the Roma in Europe after the war.

BIESTER, Johann E. *Ueber die Zigeuner: besonders im Koenig-reich Preussen*. *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 21 (1973): pp. 108-65. This study provides information on the Roma in Prussia, once an independent state.

BINDING, Karl, and Alfred HOCHE. *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung Vernichtung Lebensunwertesleben*. Leipzig: F. Meiner Verlag, 1920. This work by two racial scientists in the years immediately after the end of World War I called for the destruction of lives unworthy of life. The demands of the lawyer and psychiatrist who wrote this book caused an uproar in Weimar,

Germany, and later had deadly implications for the Roma and other genocidal victims of the Germans during the Holocaust.

**BLOCK, Martin.** *Zigeuner: Ihre Leben und Ihre Seele.* Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1936; *Gypsies: Their Life and Customs,* translated by Barbara Kuczybski and Duncan Taylor. New York: Appleton-Century, 1939. An overview of the Romany presence in Europe, this work is seriously marred by the author's conclusion that the Roma have no history and have made no contribution to Western civilization. He felt that the Roma were a group to be distrusted and despised. This volume does have a unique collection of Romany photographs.

**BOCK, Gisela.** 'Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany.' *Signs* 8, no. 3 (1983): pp. 400-21. In this article the author addresses Hitler's 1933 eugenics laws against the Roma and other Germans of color, which mandated sterilization of lives not worthy of life.

**BRANDIS, Emil.** *Ehegesetze von 1935 erläutert.* Berlin, 1936. The author defends racism against non-Aryans, showing that in 1935 the Roma, along with Jewish and Black Germans, became subject to the Nuremberg laws forbidding sexual relations between them and Aryan-Germans.

**BROAD, P.** *Zigeuner in Auschwitz.* *Auschwitz-Hefte* 9 (1959): pp. 41-2. This brief article traces the origins of the Gypsy Family Camp at Auschwitz until its liquidation during the Zigeunernacht in early August 1944.

**CARGAS, Harry James.** 'The Continuum of Gypsy Suffering.' In *Reflections of a Post-Auschwitz Christian.* Wayne State University Press, 1989. This article looks at the traditional mistreatment of the Roma in European society and ties such behavior to German Nazi victimization of this group. He pays particular attention to German practices towards the Roma in Auschwitz. He concludes with a glance at contemporary prejudices towards the Roma.

**CZECH, Danuta.** *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945.* From the Archives of the Auschwitz Memorial and the German Federal Archives. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997.

This comprehensive documentary study is organized on a day-to-day basis and has numerous references to the Roma in the Auschwitz complex. This excellent

study also has a good bibliography and detailed biographical sketches of the principle perpetrators at Auschwitz.

CZERNIAKOW, Adam. *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*. Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1978. The diary of the head of the Warsaw ghetto Judenrat (Jewish Council) has some modest references to the Roma in the ghetto.

*Day of Remembrance in Memory of the Gypsy Victims of Nazi Genocide*. Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 1986. This publication contains the various speeches and prayers of this memorial service that took place in 1986. Most moving are the speeches by several prominent Romany scholars and activists such as Ian Hancock and John Tene. Elie Wiesel provided opening remarks.

DIMRING, Hans-Joachim. *Dire Zigeuner im Nationalsozialistischen Staat*. Hamburg: Kriminalistik Verlag, 1964. This excellent study traces the origins of Nazi racial policy towards the Roma. The author looks at the evolution and practice of such policies in several German states and elsewhere, and describes the plight in Germany of the Sinti, the Roma, the Lalleri, and other Romany groups during the Holocaust. There is also some discussion of the Holocaust in the Balkans and the General Government in Poland. He also describes the role of important Nazi German leaders in the implementation of anti-Romany policies, and discusses the role of the principle concentration and death camps.

EZERGAILIS, Andrew. *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941-1944*. Riga: The Historical Institute of Latvia in association with The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., 1996. This fresh look at the Holocaust in Latvia is based on newly available Latvian primary source material as well as more traditionally available war crimes records, memoirs, and secondary sources. It has numerous references to the Roma throughout the study.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy, 'The Fate of Polish Gypsies.' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Lanham, MD:

University Press of America, 1982. This essay by one of Poland's most prominent Romany scholars traces the history of the Roma in Poland, and their deadly mistreatment at the hands of the Germans during World War II.

FREIBERG, Dov. Testimony. Yad Vashem Archives, Microfiche A-361. Along with general information about Nazi mass killings of the Roma, this witness adds that an unknown number of Roma are believed to have been killed in Sobibor.

FRIEDLANDER, Saul. 'Nazi Germany and the Jews.' Volume I: The Years of Persecution. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. This recent study of the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany in the years before World War II has a modest section on the Roma. It looks briefly at the plight of the Roma after the issuance of the Nuremberg Laws, and the work of Robert Ritter, the Third Reich's most prominent Gypsy specialist.

FRIEDMAN, Ina R. The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990. This collection of first-person survivor accounts from non-Jewish victims includes the testimony of Anton Bubuli Fojn, an Austrian Sinti, who now lives in Germany. Arrested as a 15 year-old soon after the Austrian Anschluss in 1938, Bubuli escaped and fled with his father first to Yugoslavia, and then to Slovakia. He was later arrested and sent to Dachau and then to Gusen, a forced labor camp in Austria. In Gusen, he was instrumental in saving 16 children from certain death.

FRIEDMAN, Philip. 'The Extermination of the Gypsies,' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. This essay looks at the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma and efforts by the Roma to gain recognition of their fate during the Holocaust.

GILBERT, Martin. The Holocaust. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985. This overview of the Holocaust, which relies very heavily on survivor testimony, has quite a bit of information on the Roma, particularly their experiences in the Lodz ghetto as well as in Chelmno, Auschwitz, and Mauthausen.

GUTMAN, Yisrael and Michael BERENBAUM, editors. *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1994. This fine collection of essays from prominent American, Israeli, Polish, and European scholars provides a fresh look at the inner workings of the sprawling Auschwitz camp network. Yehuda Bauer has a strong essay on the Roma in Auschwitz, and they are also discussed in other chapters, particularly those that relate to Josef Mengele's experiments with the Roma and twins.

GUTMAN, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 4 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1989. The only article on the Roma in this definitive work is in Volume 2, pp. 634-638. This entry by Yehuda Bauer has a small bibliography. The Roma are also mentioned in other articles throughout the rest of the encyclopedia.

HACKETT, David A., editor. *The Buchenwald Report*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. This important primary source is a collection of interviews of survivors done at the end of World War II by a specially trained team of American intelligence officers. The book is divided into two parts. The Main Report consists of the findings of the U. S. Army intelligence team, while the Individual Reports are made up of survivor testimony. Information on Romany inmates at Buchenwald is scattered throughout this important collection.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Gypsies, Jews, and the Holocaust.' *Shmate: A Journal of Progressive Jewish Thought*, Vol. 17 (1987), pp. 6-15; Vol. 18 (1987), pp. 14-17. The author does a comparative analysis of the plight of the two main victims of the Holocaust—the Jews and the Roma. He argues for greater recognition for the fate of the Roma during the Holocaust. His two-part article is accompanied by a fine selection of endnotes.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Uniqueness of the Victims: Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust.' *The Eaford International Review of Racial Discrimination*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1988): pp. 45-67. This article begins with a recounting of efforts to bring the plight of the Roma during the Holocaust into the

mainstream of American Holocaust memory. He details what he feels are slights in efforts to equate Romany suffering in the Holocaust with that of Jewish victimization. He discusses in some depth the roots of Romany discrimination in the Western world, and looks at the evolution of Nazi German policies towards this group. He feels that the Roma case has been slighted by the West German government, and argues anew for greater recognition of the Roma's plight throughout Europe and the United States.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust.' In Alan S. Rosenbaum, ed., *Is the Holocaust Unique?: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996. In this controversial collection of essays, the author argues in detailed bibliographic essays for greater recognition of the tremendous losses suffered by the Roma during the Holocaust. This prominent Romany scholar feels that such acknowledgement has contemporary significance, since the Roma are still heavily persecuted in Eastern Europe, and continue to suffer from age-old stereotypes throughout the world.

HILBERG, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3 vols. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985. Original 1 volume edition: New York: Quadrangle Books, 1961; New York: Harper & Row, 1979; student edition, New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981. Considered one of the classic works on the Holocaust, the Roma are mentioned with some infrequency throughout the three volume or single volume editions.

HILBERG, Raul, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kermisz, eds., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*. New York: Stein and Day, 1979. This diary of the chairman of the Warsaw ghetto Judenrat (Jewish Council) covers the period from the fall of 1939 until the eve of Czerniakow's suicide in the summer of 1942. It contains a number of important references to Roma in the ghetto. *Hitler's Ten Year War against the Jews*. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress/World Jewish Congress, 1943. This study of Hitler's victims also includes information about the Roma targeted by the Third Reich.

HOHMANN, Joachim S. *Zigeuner und zigeuner-wissenschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Grundlagenforschung und Dokumentation des Völkermords im Dritten Reich*. Marburg/Lahn: Frankfurt: Verlag Guttandin & Hoppe, 1980. This historical and documentary study deals with the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma, and highlights in some detail the Final Solution as it was applied to the Roma during the Holocaust.



This fine overview of the Romany Holocaust is accompanied by a detailed bibliography, followed by a rich collection of documents that trace the evolution of German and Nazi racial policies towards the Roma from 1926 to 1943. International Military Tribunal. Nuremberg Documents: NG-558; PS-682; Vol. 33. Henceforth, IMT. These extracts tell, in the words of the Nazis' official doctrine, about the annihilation of all the asocials and the objective that the Jews and Gypsies be exterminated unconditionally.

**HIMSS, Rudolf.** *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz.* Edited by Peter Paskuly. New York: Da Capo Press, 1996.

This rather defensive memoir by one of Auschwitz's most villainous commandants

has a short chapter on the Roma housed in the Gypsy family camp at Auschwitz. He begins the chapter with a brief overview of the plight of the Roma before the beginning of the war. Throughout this modest look at the Roma in his camp in Poland he adopts the same critical tone towards what he saw as stereotypical Romany behavior.

**HUTTENBACH, Henry R.** 'The Romani Porajmos: The Nazi Genocide of Gypsies in Germany and Eastern Europe,' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991). This overview of the Holocaust is drawn from German and other Western sources. It concentrates on domestic German policies towards the Roma, particularly their categorization into various racial groups. It also looks at the treatment of the Roma in various ghettos and concentration camps, and discusses the mounting German effort to murder them in Central and Eastern Europe. The author estimates that Romany Holocaust deaths numbered from 250,000 to 500,000.

**KENRICK, Donald and Grattan PUXON.** *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies.* New York: Basic Books, 1972. Roma translation, revised and updated: Bibahtade Bersa. London: Romanestan Publications, 1990. This is the classic study of the Romany Holocaust. It begins with a valuable overview of the persecution of the Roma since they entered Europe from India during the Middle Ages, but concentrates on the plight of the Roma during the German Nazi era in Europe from 1933-1945. Though it touches on all countries occupied by the Germans during this period, it is particularly strong in its coverage of the persecution of the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe.

**KENRICK, Donald and Grattan PUXON.** *Gypsies Under the Swastika.*

Hertfordshire: Gypsy Research Centre and University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995. This completely reorganized and freshly researched update of their 1972 study on the Holocaust differs somewhat from the original and should be used in conjunction with it.

KOLSTI, John. 'Albanian Gypsies: The Silent Survivors,' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991. This excellent study of the Holocaust in Albania underscores the dearth of information on the subject. The author begins with an excellent overview of the Romany presence in Albania, and their ability to blend in with the larger Albanian Muslim population during the Holocaust.

LEVY, Alan. *The Wiesenthal File*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993. This biography of the world's most prominent Nazi hunter discusses Wiesenthal's concern for the plight of the Roma and other non-Jewish victims of the Germans during the Nazi era. He pays particular attention to the work of Josef Mengele with Romany victims in Auschwitz.

LIFTON, Robert Jay. *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 1986. This innovative study looks at the plight of the Roma as victims of various German killing programs during the Holocaust. It includes Romany victims of Einsatzgruppe mass executions, euthanasia gassings, and medical experimentation, particularly at the hands of Josef Mengele.

LIHUILIER, Madame G. 'Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers (1941-1943).' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-2 (1948), pp. 36-40. This brief memoir looks at the plight of the Roma in the French Gypsy camp at Poitiers in France. The author volunteered to work among the Romany children there and helped open a school. She also conducted religious education classes. Over time, all of the adult males were taken from the camp and all that remained at war's end were the women and children.

LIPA, Jiri. 'The Fate of Gypsies in Czechoslovakia under Nazi Domination,' in Michael Berenbaum, ed. *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*. New York: New York University Press, 1990, pp. 207-216. This study of the Holocaust in the

German-controlled Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and German-allied puppet state of Slovakia is drawn partly from Ctibor Necasí Nad osudem ceskych a slovenskych Cikanu (Brno, 1981). Lipaís brief study provides an important overview of the plight of the Roma, and the network of forced labor camps set up to imprison them.

LUTZ, Brenda Davis and James M. 'Gypsies as Victims of the Holocaust,' in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Winter 1995), pp. 346-359.

This modest look at the Holocaust, drawn from secondary sources, tries to estimate Romany losses according to SS administrative zones. It is unfortunately flawed by references to the Roma as a race, and by rather low estimates of Romany death rates. On the other hand, it does conclude that the Roma were victims of genocide and thus should be included with the Jews as Holocaust victims.

MAUR, Wolf in der. *Die Zigeuner: Wanderer zwischen den Welten*. Vienna, Munich, and Zurich: Molden, 1969.

This scholar addresses the statistics of those who perished in the Nazi genocide, stating that 70% of all Roma living in European countries under fascist rule were murdered.

MAX, Frederic. 'Le Sort des Tsiganes dans les Prisons et les Camps de Concentration de LíAllemagne Hitlerienne.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1946), pp. 24-34. This is one of the earliest accounts of the Holocaust. It is based principally on Jewish survivor testimony. It is particularly valuable for information on the fate of the French Roma, but also has information on the Roma in Buchenwald and Auschwitz. It includes parts of several Romany songs from Buchenwald.

MAXIMOFF, Mateo. 'Germany and the Gypsies: From the Gypsiesí Point of View.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1946), pp. 105-108. This early post-Holocaust article underscores the Romany claim that 500,000 Roma died in the Holocaust. It decries Allied insensitivity to Romany claims before the

International Military Tribunal trials going on in the four occupation zones of Germany after World War II. Looking at the long tradition of Romany persecution in the West, the article is also an emotional appeal for more tolerance for what the author calls the freest people in the world.

MILTON, Sybil. 'The Context of the Holocaust.' *German Studies Review*. Vol. XIII, No. 2 (May 1990), pp. 269-283. This excellent historiographical article discusses the status of non-Jewish victims, particularly the Roma, in the broader field of Holocaust studies. In this context, the author traces the evolution of Nazi German policies towards the Roma throughout the Holocaust. This fine article is anchored by a valuable body of footnotes.

MULLER-HILL, Benno. *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others, Germany, 1933-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. Hebrew edition, Jerusalem: 1992. Beginning with a chronological overview of German scientific theories of racism dating back to 1900, this study looks at the evolution of the theory and practice of German Nazi racial theories, particularly as applied to the three groups designated ultimately for genocidal murder during the Third Reich—the handicapped, the Jews, and the Gypsies. A considerable part of the book is comprised of interviews with relatives of some of the principle advocates of deadly Nazi German racial practices.

NOVITCH, Myriam. *Le Genocide des Tziganes sous Le Regime Nazi*. Paris: AMIF Publication No. 164 (Comite pour l'erection en memoire des Tsiganes assassines en Auschwitz), 1968. English translation, Budapest: Romani Union Publication, 1987. This classic work by a Jewish Holocaust survivor details the victimization of the Roma. It looks at Romany persecution throughout German-occupied Europe and discusses Romany resistance to such policies.

PIPER, Franciszek. *How Many Perished: Jews, Poles, Gypsies...* Krakow: Poligrafia, 1991. This smallish study, which first appeared in Vol. XXI of *Yad Vashem Studies*, discusses the various opinions and estimates regarding the number of Roma, Jews, and other groups that died in Auschwitz. It provides an overview of German and scholarly estimates and also looks at death estimates according to country of origin. It estimates that 23,000 Roma were deported to Auschwitz and that 21,000 died there.

PORTSCHY, Tobias. 'Kein Schulbesuch fuer Zigeuner'. *Grenzmark-Zeitung*, 4 September 1938, p. 1. The author, one of the criminal Nazi

doctors and Area Commander in Styria, urged mass sterilization of the Roma to stop contamination of the blood of German peasantry with non-Aryan blood.

**PROCTOR, Robert N.** *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis.*

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988. This excellent study of the role of the German medical profession during the Holocaust looks briefly at the status of the Roma in Nazi Germany and the work of Robert Ritter, the regime's most prominent Gypsy specialist and head of the Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research office.

**PROESTER, F.** *Vrazdeni Cs. Cikanu v Buchenwaldu.* Document No. UV

CSPB-K-135 of the Archives of the Museum of the Fighters against Fascism, Prague, 1940. This document tells about the first mass genocidal action of the Holocaust: the killing of 250 Gypsy children at Buchenwald, in a test of the gas Zyklon B.

**PUXON, Grattan.** *Gypsies: The Holocaust's Forgotten Victims.* Los Angeles: Publication of the U.S. Romani Council, 1984.

Speaking about the Roma as the forgotten victims of the Holocaust, the author reveals little-known historic facts about their European flight.

**RAMATI Alexander.** *And the Violins Stopped Playing: A Story of the Gypsy Holocaust.* New York: Franklin Watts, 1986. This is the story of

one Romany Holocaust survivor, Roman Mirga, and his family. In 1942, the Mirga family began an odyssey of escape and survival that constantly brought them close to death through the end of World War II.

**REINHARTZ, Dennis.** 'Aryanism and the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945'. *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 9 (Autumn-Winter 1986):

pp. 19-25. This article is about the influence of German Nazi ideology on the leadership of the Independent State of Croatia during the Holocaust. It underscores the impact of these influences on the treatment of the Roma during this period.

**RITTER, Robert.** 'Die Bestandsaufnahme der Zigeuner,' in *Der öffentliche Gesundheitsdienst*, Vol. 6 (January 1941). This is one of a

number of articles written during the Holocaust by the Third Reich's principal Gypsy expert. Ritter headed the Racial Hygiene and Population

Biology Research office. For a complete list of Ritter's work on the Roma, see Hans-Joachim D'ring's *Die Zigeuner in Nationalsozialistische Staat* cited elsewhere in this bibliography.

RUMMEL, R. J. *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992. This thorough examination of most major studies of the Holocaust centers on various estimates of Holocaust losses. Extensive coverage is given to the Roma in most of the major death, forced labor, and concentration camps. This is an excellent study of losses during the Holocaust.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. 'Case of the Missing Millions.' *New York Times*, 26 May 1988, A5.  
This article discloses that the first Western money designated for war crimes compensation to the Roma was embezzled and never paid to the legitimate recipients.

SCHUCKENAK, J. *Sie sind auch umgekommen: Polen, Homosexuellen, Juden, Zeugen Jehovahs und andere nicht-Zigeunerische Opfer Hitlers Gewaltherrschaft*. Tuebingen: Klaffende Tur, 1988.  
This is a comparative survey of how Nazi ideology varied according to its victims, such as the Roma.

SERENY, Gitta. *Into that Darkness*. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.  
This study is made up of a collection of interviews with Franz Stangl, the infamous commandant of the Treblinka death camp. There are some references to the Roma in the interviews.

TENENBAUM, J. *Race and Reich*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1956.  
A history of the evolution and application of Nazi racial science, this study has a small but important section on the Romany Holocaust in the appendix. There are also scattered references to the Roma elsewhere in this work.

THURNER, Erika. *Kurzgeschichte des nationalsozialistischen Zigeunerlagers in Lackenbach, 1940-1945*. Eisenstadt, 1984. This book makes it clear that the Roma were a direct target of Nazi genocide, which mandated not only extermination through work, Vernichtung durch Arbeit, but

also direct executions, Sonderbehandlung.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *The Fate of the Gypsies during the Holocaust*. Washington: Special Report to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1985. This report describes Romany life under the Nazi regime, including the claim by Auschwitz Commander Hoss that the purest of them were his favorite prisoners.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. 'Germany and Gypsies.' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. Because the Nazis saw the Roma as a concern of public health, a parasite on the body of the German people, they subjected them to mass sterilization and death by exhaustion.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *Gypsies and the Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essay*. Montreal: Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, 1991. This work documents such stories as the one that claimed that once the Roma had a friend in Himmler and a foe in Lohse. (Himmler lost his ideological struggle of protecting the Roma, and they shared the Jews' fate of extermination).

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. 'Mastering the Past: Germans and Gypsies,' in Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, eds. *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*.

This essay, which is drawn from the author's earlier essay on the same subject in Jack Nusan Porter's *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*, begins by bemoaning the fact that the plight of the Roma during the Holocaust is almost a forgotten footnote in the history of the Nazi genocide. The author briefly surveys the history of anti-Roma prejudice and the heritage of mistreatment in Europe, and looks at its contemporary manifestations. The article has an excellent end note section.

VRISSAKIS, Yoannis. 'Nazis and the Greek Roma: A Personal Testimonial'. *Roma* 30 (1988): pp. 15-17. This narration recounts the 1942 murders of hundreds of Roma by Nazi death squads in Greece.

WIESENTHAL, Simon. *Justice Not Vengeance*. Translated by Ewald Osers. New York: 1989; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989. French edition,

Juifs et Tsiganes, in *Idem*, *justice n'est pas vengeance: Une*

autobiographie. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1989. In this quasi-memoir, the famed Nazi hunter argues that it is important to remember that there were also non-Jewish genocidal victims of the Nazis during the Holocaust. He estimates that 500,000 Roma died during the Holocaust, and argues that if there had been more Roma in Europe, their death totals could have been as high as that of the Jews. Wiesenthal is proud of his long advocacy of equal treatment for Romany victims of the Holocaust and notes at the end of his chapter on Jews and Gypsies that many Roma protested Elie Wiesel's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, feeling that the award should have gone to Wiesenthal.

WIESENTHAL, Simon. 'Tragedy of the Gypsies.' *Bulletin of Information* 26 (1986): p. 6. Vienna: Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Jüdische Verfolgter des Naziregimes. Wiesenthal denounces the mistake made by the then Darmstadt city mayor who, having addressed the Sinti and Roma council, said that their request of recognition insults the honor of the memory of the Holocaust victims by aspiring to be associated with them.

WYTYCZYK, Bohdan. *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell: A Brief Account of 9-10 Million Persons Who Died with the 6 Million Jews under Nazi Racism*, foreword by S. Siegel. Washington D.C.: The Nowak Report on the New Ethnicity, 1980. This book has an entire chapter devoted to the Nazi efforts to rationalize the genocide of the Jews, Slavs, and Roma, considered by Hitler to be subhumans and animals, which thus justified their extermination. It also includes some discussion on German Nazi information of Romany losses during the Holocaust.

YAHIL, Leni. *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. This classic study of the Holocaust gives modest coverage to the plight of the Roma.

YATES, Dora E. 'Hitler and the Gypsies: The Fate of Europe's Oldest Aryans,' in Jack Nusan Porter, ed. *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982. This brief look at the fate of the Roma during the Nazi era puts a human face on their mistreatment.

YOORS, Jan. *Crossing: A Journal of Survival and Resistance in World War II*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1988. The author, a Belgian from a prominent academic family, ran away from home when he was 12



years old, and was subsequently adopted by a nomadic Romany clan, the Lovara, who called him Putzina. When World War II broke out, Yoors (Putzina) was recruited by British intelligence in Paris for resistance work behind German lines, where he worked organizing resistance activities among Sinti Roma. This memoir details the dangerous work with the Roma, and discusses Yoors' arrest, torture, and imprisonment by the Gestapo.

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1987.

According to the author, this book was written as a protest against oblivion. It blends his own account of his experiences during the Holocaust with a more introspective look at the dynamics of Romany life, culture, and anti-Roma prejudice.

ZIMMERMANN, Michael. 'From Discrimination to the Family Camp at Auschwitz,' in *Dachau Review*, Vol. 2 (1990), pp. 87-113. This excellent article traces the evolution and implementation of Nazi German policies towards the Roma, particularly in the Greater Reich. The coverage is broken down into sections dealing with the 1933-1938 period, the era of detention in 1939, followed by deportation to Poland in 1940-1941. It takes an extensive look at the Roma Family Camp in Auschwitz, and the elimination of this camp on August 2-3, 1944.

ZIMMERMAN, Michael. *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet: Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik gegen Sinti und Roma*. Essen:

Klartext Verlag, 1989. This excellent study of the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma and Sinti deals with their initial incarceration and deportation, followed by sterilization, and then extermination in Auschwitz and elsewhere. The author puts the development of these policies into the broader context of German racial hygiene theories, and includes an excellent collection of documents. This work also has a solid essay on the historiography of the Roma question in Nazi Germany, and a bibliography of all applicable works.

ZILCH, Tilman. *In Auschwitz Vergast, bis heute Verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europa*. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979. This is official testimony about the Roma under the Nazis in Germany as well as other European countries, addressing their displacement and extermination.

III. B. The Roma and the Holocaust

ADELSBERGER, Lucie. *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Story*. Translated from the German by S. Ray, with an introduction by D. Lipstadt, and annotations and historical advice by A. J. Slavin. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995. This memoir of a female Jewish Holocaust survivor, who worked as a physician in the infirmary of the Gypsy Camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau, describes the conditions faced by the Roma and Jews there.

ARAD, Yitzhak. *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation Reinhard Death Camps*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. In this in-depth exploration of the three death camps set up in 1942-1943 that resulted in the murder of 1.5 million Jews, the author has a brief chapter on the Roma, 'The Extermination of the Gypsies.'

ARAD, Yitzhak, Shmuel Krakowski, and Shmuel Spector, eds. *The Einsatzgruppen Reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads Campaign Against the Jews in Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, July 1941-January 1943*. New York: Holocaust Library, 1989. These first-hand accounts of the deadly sweeps of Einsatzgruppe A, B, C, and D in the first 19 months of the Soviet-German conflict provide ample information on the Roma.

BAUER, Yehuda. *Jews, Gypsies and Slavs: Policies of the Third Reich*. In *UNESCO Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*. New York and London: Greenwood, 1985. This is an account of Nazi atrocities and their victims, of which the most targeted were Jews, Roma, and Slavs.

BEDNARZ, W. *Oboz stracen w Chelmnie*. Warsaw: Panstwowy Institut Wydawniczy, 1946. This book provides general information about the genocide wrought at Chelmnno and details the extermination of the Roma, which started in January, 1942 with groups numbering 200-300.

BEHRENDT, Johannes. *Die Wahrheit ueber die Zigeuner*. NS Partei Korrespondenz 10, no. 3 (1939). In this article, the author, a physician in the Office of Racial Hygiene under Hitler, offers that all Gypsies should be eliminated without hesitation, as a defective element in the population.

BERENBAUM, Michael. *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*.

Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993. This richly illustrated volume provides a solid overview of the Holocaust, and pays some attention to Romany victimization.

**BERNADAC, Christian. L. Holocauste oubliée: Le Massacre des Tsiganes.** Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1979. This extensive study focuses on the mistreatment of the Roma during the Holocaust, and details total Romany losses in an appendix. It also includes information on the mistreatment of the Roma in Europe after the war.

**BIESTER, Johann E. Ueber die Zigeuner: besonders im Koenig-reich Preussen.** Berlinische Monatsschrift 21 (1973): pp. 108-65. This study provides information on the Roma in Prussia, once an independent state.

**BINDING, Karl, and Alfred HOCH.** Die Freigabe der Vernichtung Vernichtung Lebensunwertesleben. Leipzig: F. Meiner Verlag, 1920. This work by two racial scientists in the years immediately after the end of World War I called for the destruction of lives unworthy of life. The demands of the lawyer and psychiatrist who wrote this book caused an uproar in Weimar, Germany, and later had deadly implications for the Roma and other genocidal victims of the Germans during the Holocaust.

**BLOCK, Martin. Zigeuner: Ihre Leben und Ihre Seele.** Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1936; Gypsies: Their Life and Customs, translated by Barbara Kuczybski and Duncan Taylor. New York: Appleton-Century, 1939. An overview of the Romany presence in Europe, this work is seriously marred by the author's conclusion that the Roma have no history and have made no contribution to Western civilization. He felt that the Roma were a group to be distrusted and despised. This volume does have a unique collection of Romany photographs.

**BOCK, Gisela. 'Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany.'** Signs 8, no. 3 (1983): pp. 400-21. In this article the author addresses Hitler's 1933 eugenics laws against the Roma and other Germans of color, which mandated sterilization of lives not worthy of life.

**BRANDIS, Emil. Ehegesetze von 1935 erläutert.** Berlin, 1936. The author defends racism against non-Aryans, showing that in 1935 the Roma, along with Jewish and Black Germans, became subject to the Nuremberg laws forbidding

sexual relations between them and Aryan-Germans.

**BROAD, P.** Zigeuner in Auschwitz. *Auschwitz-Hefte* 9 (1959): pp. 41-2.

This brief article traces the origins of the Gypsy Family Camp at Auschwitz until its liquidation during the Zigeunernacht in early August 1944.

**CARGAS, Harry James.** 'The Continuum of Gypsy Suffering.' In *Reflections of a Post-Auschwitz Christian*. Wayne State University Press, 1989. This article looks at the traditional mistreatment of the Roma in European society and ties such behavior to German Nazi victimization of this group. He pays particular attention to German practices towards the Roma in Auschwitz. He concludes with a glance at contemporary prejudices towards the Roma.

**CZECH, Danuta.** *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-1945*. From the Archives of the Auschwitz Memorial and the German Federal Archives. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997.

This comprehensive documentary study is organized on a day-to-day basis and has numerous references to the Roma in the Auschwitz complex. This excellent study also has a good bibliography and detailed biographical sketches of the principle perpetrators at Auschwitz.

**CZERNIAKOW, Adam.** *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*. Chelsea, MI: Scarborough House, 1978. The diary of the head of the Warsaw ghetto Judenrat (Jewish Council) has some modest references to the Roma in the ghetto.

**Day of Remembrance in Memory of the Gypsy Victims of Nazi Genocide.** Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 1986. This publication contains the various speeches and prayers of this memorial service that took place in 1986. Most moving are the speeches by several prominent Romany scholars and activists such as Ian Hancock and John Tene. Elie Wiesel provided opening remarks.

**DIMRING, Hans-Joachim.** *Dire Zigeuner im Nationalsozialistischen Staat*. Hamburg: Kriminalistik Verlag, 1964. This excellent study traces the origins of Nazi racial policy towards the Roma. The author looks at the evolution and practice of such policies in several German states and elsewhere, and describes the plight in Germany of the Sinti, the Roma, the Lalleri, and other

Romany groups during the Holocaust. There is also some discussion of the Holocaust in the Balkans and the General Government in Poland. He also describes the role of important Nazi German leaders in the implementation of anti-Romany policies, and discusses the role of the principle concentration and death camps.

EZERGAILIS, Andrew. *The Holocaust in Latvia, 1941-1944*. Riga: The Historical Institute of Latvia in association with The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., 1996. This fresh look at the Holocaust in Latvia is based on newly available Latvian primary source material as well as more traditionally available war crimes records, memoirs, and secondary sources. It has numerous references to the Roma throughout the study.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy, 'The Fate of Polish Gypsies.' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982.

This essay by one of Poland's most prominent Romany scholars traces the history of the Roma in Poland, and their deadly mistreatment at the hands of the Germans during World War II.

FREIBERG, Dov. *Testimony*. Yad Vashem Archives, Microfiche A-361. Along with general information about Nazi mass killings of the Roma, this witness adds that an unknown number of Roma are believed to have been killed in Sobibor.

FRIEDLANDER, Saul. 'Nazi Germany and the Jews.' Volume I: *The Years of Persecution*. New York: HarperCollins, 1997. This recent study of the plight of the Jews in Nazi Germany in the years before World War II has a modest section on the Roma. It looks briefly at the plight of the Roma after the issuance of the Nuremberg Laws, and the work of Robert Ritter, the Third Reich's most prominent Gypsy specialist.

FRIEDMAN, Ina R. *The Other Victims: First-Person Stories of Non-Jews Persecuted by the Nazis*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990. This collection of first-person survivor accounts from non-Jewish victims includes the testimony of Anton Bubili Fojn, an Austrian Sinti, who now lives in Germany. Arrested as a 15 year-old soon after the Austrian Anschluss in 1938, Bubuli escaped and fled with his father first to Yugoslavia, and then to Slovakia. He was later arrested and sent to Dachau and then to Gusen, a forced labor camp in

Austria. In Gusen, he was instrumental in saving 16 children from certain death.

FRIEDMAN, Philip. 'The Extermination of the Gypsies,' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. This essay looks at the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma and efforts by the Roma to gain recognition of their fate during the Holocaust.

GILBERT, Martin. *The Holocaust*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985. This overview of the Holocaust, which relies very heavily on survivor testimony, has quite a bit of information on the Roma, particularly their experiences in the Lodz ghetto as well as in Chelmno, Auschwitz, and Mauthausen.

GUTMAN, Yisrael and Michael BERENBAUM, editors. *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1994.

This fine collection of essays from prominent American, Israeli, Polish, and European scholars provides a fresh look at the inner workings of the sprawling Auschwitz camp network. Yehuda Bauer has a strong essay on the Roma in Auschwitz, and they are also discussed in other chapters, particularly those that relate to Josef Mengele's experiments with the Roma and twins.

GUTMAN, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 4 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1989. The only article on the Roma in this definitive work is in Volume 2, pp. 634-638.

This entry by Yehuda Bauer has a small bibliography. The Roma are also mentioned in other articles throughout the rest of the encyclopedia.

HACKETT, David A., editor. *The Buchenwald Report*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. This important primary source is a collection of interviews of survivors done at the end of World War II by a specially trained team of American intelligence officers. The book is divided into two parts. The Main Report consists of the findings of the U. S. Army intelligence team, while the Individual Reports are made up of survivor testimony. Information on Romany inmates at Buchenwald is scattered throughout this important collection.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Gypsies, Jews, and the Holocaust.' *Shmate: A Journal of Progressive Jewish Thought*, Vol. 17 (1987), pp. 6-15; Vol. 18 (1987), pp. 14-17. The author does a comparative analysis of the plight of the two main victims of the Holocaust—the Jews and the Roma. He argues for greater recognition for the fate of the Roma during the Holocaust. His two-part article is accompanied by a fine selection of endnotes.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Uniqueness of the Victims: Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust.' *The Eaford International Review of Racial Discrimination*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1988): pp. 45-67. This article begins with a recounting of efforts to bring the plight of the Roma during the Holocaust into the mainstream of American Holocaust memory. He details what he feels are slights in efforts to equate Romany suffering in the Holocaust with that of Jewish victimization. He discusses in some depth the roots of Romany discrimination in the Western world, and looks at the evolution of Nazi German policies towards this group. He feels that the Roma case has been slighted by the West German government, and argues anew for greater recognition of the Roma's plight throughout Europe and the United States.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust.' In Alan S. Rosenbaum, ed., *Is the Holocaust Unique?: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996. In this controversial collection of essays, the author argues in detailed bibliographic essays for greater recognition of the tremendous losses suffered by the Roma during the Holocaust. This prominent Romany scholar feels that such acknowledgement has contemporary significance, since the Roma are still heavily persecuted in Eastern Europe, and continue to suffer from age-old stereotypes throughout the world.

HILBERG, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. 3 vols. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985. Original 1 volume edition: New York: Quadrangle Books, 1961; New York: Harper & Row, 1979; student edition, New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981. Considered one of the classic works on the Holocaust, the Roma are mentioned with some infrequency throughout the three volume or single volume editions.

HILBERG, Raul, Stanislaw Staron, and Josef Kermisz, eds., *The Warsaw Diary of Adam Czerniakow*. New York: Stein and Day, 1979. This diary of the chairman of the Warsaw ghetto Judenrat (Jewish Council) covers the period from the fall of 1939 until the eve of Czerniakow's suicide in the summer

of 1942. It contains a number of important references to Roma in the ghetto. Hitler's Ten Year War against the Jews. New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress/World Jewish Congress, 1943. This study of Hitler's victims also includes information about the Roma targeted by the Third Reich.

HOHMANN, Joachim S. *Zigeuner und zigeuner-wissenschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Grundlagenforschung und Dokumentation des Volkermords im Dritten Reich*. Marburg/Lahn: Frankfurt: Verlag Guttandin & Hoppe, 1980. This historical and documentary study deals with the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma, and highlights in some detail the Final Solution as it was applied to the Roma during the Holocaust. This fine overview of the Romany Holocaust is accompanied by a detailed bibliography, followed by a rich collection of documents that trace the evolution of German and Nazi racial policies towards the Roma from 1926 to 1943. International Military Tribunal. Nuremberg Documents: NG-558; PS-682; Vol. 33. Henceforth, IMT. These extracts tell, in the words of the Nazis' official doctrine, about the annihilation of all the asocials and the objective that the Jews and Gypsies be exterminated unconditionally.

HIMSS, Rudolf. *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*. Edited by Peter Paskuly. New York: Da Capo Press, 1996. This rather defensive memoir by one of Auschwitz's most villainous commandants has a short chapter on the Roma housed in the Gypsy family camp at Auschwitz. He begins the chapter with a brief overview of the plight of the Roma before the beginning of the war. Throughout this modest look at the Roma in his camp in Poland he adopts the same critical tone towards what he saw as stereotypical Romany behavior.

HUTTENBACH, Henry R. 'The Romani Porajmos: The Nazi Genocide of Gypsies in Germany and Eastern Europe,' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991). This overview of the Holocaust is drawn from German and other Western sources. It concentrates on domestic German policies towards the Roma, particularly their categorization into various racial groups. It also looks at the treatment of the Roma in various ghettos and concentration camps, and discusses the mounting German effort to murder them in Central and Eastern Europe. The author estimates that Romany Holocaust deaths numbered from 250,000 to 500,000.



KENRICK, Donald and Grattan PUXON. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies*. New York: Basic Books, 1972. Roma translation, revised and updated: Bibahtade Bersa. London: Romanestan Publications, 1990. This is the classic study of the Romany Holocaust. It begins with a valuable overview of the persecution of the Roma since they entered Europe from India during the Middle Ages, but concentrates on the plight of the Roma during the German Nazi era in Europe from 1933-1945. Though it touches on all countries occupied by the Germans during this period, it is particularly strong in its coverage of the persecution of the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe.

KENRICK, Donald and Grattan PUXON. *Gypsies Under the Swastika*. Hertfordshire: Gypsy Research Centre and University of Hertfordshire Press, 1995. This completely reorganized and freshly researched update of their 1972 study on the Holocaust differs somewhat from the original and should be used in conjunction with it.

KOLSTI, John. 'Albanian Gypsies: The Silent Survivors,' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991. This excellent study of the Holocaust in Albania underscores the dearth of information on the subject. The author begins with an excellent overview of the Romany presence in Albania, and their ability to blend in with the larger Albanian Muslim population during the Holocaust.

Levy, Alan. *The Wiesenthal File*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993. This biography of the world's most prominent Nazi hunter discusses Wiesenthal's concern for the plight of the Roma and other non-Jewish victims of the Germans during the Nazi era. He pays particular attention to the work of Josef Mengele with Romany victims in Auschwitz.

Lifton, Robert Jay. *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books, 1986. This innovative study looks at the plight of the Roma as victims of various German killing programs during the Holocaust. It includes Romany victims of Einsatzgruppe mass executions, euthanasia gassings, and medical experimentation, particularly at the hands of Josef Mengele.

LÍHUILLIER, Madame G. 'Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers

(1941-1943).’ *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-2 (1948), pp. 36-40. This brief memoir looks at the plight of the Roma in the French Gypsy camp at Poitiers in France. The author volunteered to work among the Romany children there and helped open a school. She also conducted religious education classes. Over time, all of the adult males were taken from the camp and all that remained at war’s end were the women and children.

LIPA, Jiri. ‘The Fate of Gypsies in Czechoslovakia under Nazi Domination,’ in Michael Berenbaum, ed. *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis*. New York: New York University Press, 1990, pp. 207-216. This study of the Holocaust in the German-controlled Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and German-allied puppet state of Slovakia is drawn partly from Ctibor Necasí *Nad osudem ceskych a slovenskych Cikanu* (Brno, 1981). Lipa’s brief study provides an important overview of the plight of the Roma, and the network of forced labor camps set up to imprison them.

LUTZ, Brenda Davis and James M. ‘Gypsies as Victims of the Holocaust,’ in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Winter 1995), pp. 346-359. This modest look at the Holocaust, drawn from secondary sources, tries to estimate Romany losses according to SS administrative zones. It is unfortunately flawed by references to the Roma as a race, and by rather low estimates of Romany death rates. On the other hand, it does conclude that the Roma were victims of genocide and thus should be included with the Jews as Holocaust victims.

MAUR, Wolf in der. *Die Zigeuner: Wanderer zwischen den Welten*. Vienna, Munich, and Zurich: Molden, 1969. This scholar addresses the statistics of those who perished in the Nazi genocide, stating that 70% of all Roma living in European countries under fascist rule were murdered.

MAX, Frederic. ‘Le Sort des Tsiganes dans les Prisons et les Camps de Concentration de l’Allemagne Hitlerienne.’ *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1946), pp. 24-34. This is one of the earliest accounts of the Holocaust. It is based principally on Jewish survivor testimony. It is particularly valuable for information on the fate of the French Roma, but also has information on the Roma in Buchenwald and

Auschwitz. It includes parts of several Romany songs from Buchenwald.

MAXIMOFF, Mateo. 'Germany and the Gypsies: From the Gypsies' Point of View.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1946), pp. 105-108. This early post-Holocaust article underscores the Romany claim that 500,000 Roma died in the Holocaust. It decries Allied insensitivity to Romany claims before the International Military Tribunal trials going on in the four occupation zones of Germany after World War II. Looking at the long tradition of Romany persecution in the West, the article is also an emotional appeal for more tolerance for what the author calls the freest people in the world.

MILTON, Sybil. 'The Context of the Holocaust.' *German Studies Review*. Vol. XIII, No. 2 (May 1990), pp. 269-283. This excellent historiographical article discusses the status of non-Jewish victims, particularly the Roma, in the broader field of Holocaust studies. In this context, the author traces the evolution of Nazi German policies towards the Roma throughout the Holocaust. This fine article is anchored by a valuable body of footnotes.

MULLER-HILL, Benno. *Murderous Science: Elimination by Scientific Selection of Jews, Gypsies, and Others, Germany, 1933-1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. Hebrew edition, Jerusalem: 1992. Beginning with a chronological overview of German scientific theories of racism dating back to 1900, this study looks at the evolution of the theory and practice of German Nazi racial theories, particularly as applied to the three groups designated ultimately for genocidal murder during the Third Reich—the handicapped, the Jews, and the Gypsies. A considerable part of the book is comprised of interviews with relatives of some of the principle advocates of deadly Nazi German racial practices.

NOVITCH, Myriam. *Le Genocide des Tziganes sous Le Regime Nazi*. Paris: AMIF Publication No. 164 (Comite pour l'erection en memoire des Tziganes assassines en Auschwitz), 1968. English translation, Budapest: Romani Union Publication, 1987. This classic work by a Jewish Holocaust survivor details the victimization of the Roma. It looks at Romany persecution throughout German-occupied Europe and discusses Romany resistance to such policies.

PIPER, Franciszek. *How Many Perished: Jews, Poles, Gypsies...* Krakow: Poligrafia, 1991. This smallish study, which first appeared in Vol. XXI of *Yad*

Vashem Studies, discusses the various opinions and estimates regarding the number of Roma, Jews, and other groups that died in Auschwitz. It provides an overview of German and scholarly estimates and also looks at death estimates according to country of origin. It estimates that 23,000 Roma were deported to Auschwitz and that 21,000 died there.

PORTSCHY, Tobias. 'Kein Schulbesuch fuer Zigeuner'. Grenzmark-Zeitung, 4 September 1938, p. 1. The author, one of the criminal Nazi doctors and Area Commander in Styria, urged mass sterilization of the Roma to stop contamination of the blood of German peasantry with non-Aryan blood.

PROCTOR, Robert N. Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988. This excellent study of the role of the German medical profession during the Holocaust looks briefly at the status of the Roma in Nazi Germany and the work of Robert Ritter, the regime's most prominent Gypsy specialist and head of the Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research office.

PROESTER, F. Vrazdeni Cs. Cikanu v Buchenwaldu. Document No. UV CSPB-K-135 of the Archives of the Museum of the Fighters against Fascism, Prague, 1940. This document tells about the first mass genocidal action of the Holocaust: the killing of 250 Gypsy children at Buchenwald, in a test of the gas Zyklon B.

PUXON, Grattan. Gypsies: The Holocaust's Forgotten Victims. Los Angeles: Publication of the U.S. Romani Council, 1984. Speaking about the Roma as the forgotten victims of the Holocaust, the author reveals little-known historic facts about their European flight.

RAMATI Alexander. And the Violins Stopped Playing: A Story of the Gypsy Holocaust. New York: Franklin Watts, 1986. This is the story of one Romany Holocaust survivor, Roman Mirga, and his family. In 1942, the Mirga family began an odyssey of escape and survival that constantly brought them close to death through the end of World War II.

REINHARTZ, Dennis. 'Aryanism and the Independent State of Croatia,

1941-1945'. *The South Slav Journal*, Vol. 9 (Autumn-Winter 1986): pp. 19-25. This article is about the influence of German Nazi ideology on the leadership of the Independent State of Croatia during the Holocaust. It underscores the impact of these influences on the treatment of the Roma during this period.

RITTER, Robert. 'Die Bestandsaufnahme der Zigeuner,' in *Der öffentliche Gesundheitsdienst*, Vol. 6 (January 1941). This is one of a number of articles written during the Holocaust by the Third Reich's principal Gypsy expert. Ritter headed the Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research office. For a complete list of Ritter's work on the Roma, see Hans-Joachim Döring's *Die Zigeuner in Nationalsozialistischem Staat* cited elsewhere in this bibliography.

RUMMEL, R. J. *Democide: Nazi Genocide and Mass Murder*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992. This thorough examination of most major studies of the Holocaust centers on various estimates of Holocaust losses. Extensive coverage is given to the Roma in most of the major death, forced labor, and concentration camps. This is an excellent study of losses during the Holocaust.

SCHMEMANN, Serge. 'Case of the Missing Millions.' *New York Times*, 26 May 1988, A5. This article discloses that the first Western money designated for war crimes compensation to the Roma was embezzled and never paid to the legitimate recipients.

SCHUCKENAK, J. *Sie sind auch umgekommen: Polen, Homosexuellen, Juden, Zeugen Jehovas und andere nicht-Zigeunerische Opfer Hitlers Gewaltherrschaft*. Tübingen: Klaffende Tür, 1988. This is a comparative survey of how Nazi ideology varied according to its victims, such as the Roma.

SERENY, Gitta. *Into that Darkness*. New York: Vintage Books, 1974. This study is made up of a collection of interviews with Franz Stangl, the infamous commandant of the Treblinka death camp. There are some references to the Roma in the interviews.

TENENBAUM, J. *Race and Reich*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1956.

A history of the evolution and application of Nazi racial science, this study has a small but important section on the Romany Holocaust in the appendix. There are also scattered references to the Roma elsewhere in this work.

THURNER, Erika. *Kurzgeschichte des nationalsozialistischen Zigeunerlagers in Lackenbach, 1940-1945*. Eisenstadt, 1984. This book makes it clear that the Roma were a direct target of Nazi genocide, which mandated not only extermination through work, Vernichtung durch Arbeit, but also direct executions, Sonderbehandlung.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *The Fate of the Gypsies during the Holocaust*. Washington: Special Report to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, 1985. This report describes Romany life under the Nazi regime, including the claim by Auschwitz Commander Hoss that the purest of them were his favorite prisoners.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. 'Germany and Gypsies.' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982. Because the Nazis saw the Roma as a concern of public health, a parasite on the body of the German people, they subjected them to mass sterilization and death by exhaustion.

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. *Gypsies and the Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essay*. Montreal: Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, 1991.

This work documents such stories as the one that claimed that once the Roma had

a friend in Himmler and a foe in Lohse. (Himmler lost his ideological struggle of protecting the Roma, and they shared the Jews' fate of extermination).

TYRNAUER, Gabrielle. 'Mastering the Past: Germans and Gypsies,' in Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, eds. *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies*. This essay, which is drawn from the author's earlier essay on the same subject in Jack Nusan Porter's *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*, begins by bemoaning the fact that the plight of the Roma during the Holocaust is almost a forgotten footnote in the history of

the Nazi genocide. The author briefly surveys the history of anti-Roma prejudice and the heritage of mistreatment in Europe, and looks at its contemporary manifestations. The article has an excellent end note section.

VRISSAKIS, Yoannis. 'Nazis and the Greek Roma: A Personal Testimonial'. *Roma* 30 (1988): pp. 15-17. This narration recounts the 1942 murders of hundreds of Roma by Nazi death squads in Greece.

WIESENTHAL, Simon. *Justice Not Vengeance*. Translated by Ewald Osers. New York: 1989; London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989. French edition, *Juifs et Tsiganes, in Idem, justice n'est pas vengeance: Une autobiographie*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1989. In this quasi-memoir, the famed Nazi hunter argues that it is important to remember that there were also non-Jewish genocidal victims of the Nazis during the Holocaust. He estimates that 500,000 Roma died during the Holocaust, and argues that if there had been more Roma in Europe, their death totals could have been as high as that of the Jews. Wiesenthal is proud of his long advocacy of equal treatment for Romany victims of the Holocaust and notes at the end of his chapter on Jews and Gypsies that many Roma protested Elie Wiesel's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, feeling that the award should have gone to Wiesenthal.

WIESENTHAL, Simon. 'Tragedy of the Gypsies.' *Bulletin of Information* 26 (1986): p. 6. Vienna: Dokumentationszentrum des Bundes Jüdische Verfolgter des Naziregimes.

Wiesenthal denounces the mistake made by the then Darmstadt city mayor who, having addressed the Sinti and Roma council, said that their request of recognition insults the honor of the memory of the Holocaust victims by aspiring to be associated with them.

WYTWYCKY, Bohdan. *The Other Holocaust: Many Circles of Hell: A Brief Account of 9-10 Million Persons Who Died with the 6 Million Jews under Nazi Racism*, foreword by S. Siegel. Washington D.C.: The Nowak Report on the New Ethnicity, 1980. This book has an entire chapter devoted to the Nazi efforts to rationalize the genocide of the Jews, Slavs, and Roma, considered by Hitler to be subhumans and asocials, which thus justified their extermination. It also includes some discussion on German Nazi racial theories as related to the Roma. The appendix has some information of Romany losses during the Holocaust.

YAHIL, Leni. *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. This classic study of the Holocaust gives modest coverage to the plight of the Roma.

YATES, Dora E. 'Hitler and the Gypsies: The Fate of Europe's Oldest Aryans,' in Jack Nusan Porter, ed. *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology*. Lanham, MD: University Press of American, 1982. This brief look at the fate of the Roma during the Nazi era puts a human face on their mistreatment.

YOORS, Jan. *Crossing: A Journal of Survival and Resistance in World War II*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1988. The author, a Belgian from a prominent academic family, ran away from home when he was 12 years old, and was subsequently adopted by a nomadic Romany clan, the Lovara, who called him Putzina. When World War II broke out, Yoors (Putzina) was recruited by British intelligence in Paris for resistance work behind German lines, where he worked organizing resistance activities among Sinti Roma. This memoir details the dangerous work with the Roma, and discusses Yoors' arrest, torture, and imprisonment by the Gestapo.

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1987. According to the author, this book was written as a protest against oblivion. It blends his own account of his experiences during the Holocaust with a more introspective look at the dynamics of Romany life, culture, and anti-Roma prejudice.

ZIMMERMANN, Michael. 'From Discrimination to the Family Camp at Auschwitz,' in *Dachau Review*, Vol. 2 (1990), pp. 87-113. This excellent article traces the evolution and implementation of Nazi German policies towards the Roma, particularly in the Greater Reich. The coverage is broken down into sections dealing with the 1933-1938 period, the era of detention in 1939, followed by deportation to Poland in 1940-1941. It takes an extensive look at the Roma Family Camp in Auschwitz, and the elimination of this camp on August 2-3, 1944.

ZIMMERMAN, Michael. *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet: Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik gegen Sinti und Roma*. Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1989. This excellent study of the evolution of Nazi German racial policies towards the Roma and Sinti deals with their initial incarceration and deportation, followed by sterilization, and then extermination in



Auschwitz and elsewhere. The author puts the development of these policies into the broader context of German racial hygiene theories, and includes an excellent collection of documents. This work also has a solid essay on the historiography of the Roma question in Nazi Germany, and a bibliography of all applicable works.

Z<LCH, Tilman. *In Auschwitz Vergast, bis heute Verfolgt: Zur Situation der Roma (Zigeuner) in Deutschland und Europe*. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979. This is official testimony about the Roma under the Nazis in Germany as well as other European countries, addressing their displacement and extermination.

## **Miscellaneous: Memoirs, Biographies, General Information, Nonfiction, and Fiction**

BECK, Sam. 'Racism and the Formation of a Romani Ethnic Leader.' In *Perilous States, Conversations on Culture, Politics and Nation*, ed. G. E. Marcus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 165-91. This portrait of a Romanian Romany expert, N. Gheorghe, was written by a fellow sociologist who uses Gheorghe's story to underline the Roma's need for national as well as international leadership.

BERCOVICI, Konrad. *The Story of the Gypsies*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1929. Reedited under the title, *Gypsies: Their Life, Lore and Legends*. New York: Greenwich House, 1983. This survey chronicles the migration of the Roma from India to Europe and America, and includes information on Romany legends and folklore.

CLEBERT, Jean-Paul. *Les Tziganes*. Paris: B. Arthaud, 1961. *Los Gitanos*. Barcelona: Editora, 1965; *The Gypsies*, translated by Charles Duff. New York: E. P. Dutton; London: Vista Books, 1963; reprinted by Penguin Books, 1967. This older and somewhat outdated study of the Roma is drawn from a variety of non-Romany sources that tend to either romanticize them or underscore age-old Roma stereotypes. This study does contain some useful bibliographical sources.

LELAND, Charles Godfrey. *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling*. New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1963. This study by a prominent Romany specialist details the history of Romany magic, and has examples of incantations, tales, and specimens of medical magic.

TOMASEVIC, Nebojsa Bato, and Rajko DJURIC. *Gypsies of the World: A Journey into the Hidden World of Gypsy Life and Culture*. Photos by D. Zamurovic. Belgrade and London: Flint River Press, 1988; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988. This travelogue and history of the Roma in the Soviet Union, Turkey, Greece, Montenegro, Romania, Hungary, Italy, the United Kingdom, and France begins with an overview of their Indian origins. Its strength lies in its personal interviews with Roma in each of the countries under discussion. It is richly illustrated by photographs taken by the authors on their journey.

## **IV. Academic Studies on the Roma in Eastern Europe**

### **IV A. Eastern European Roma: Books, Articles, and Papers**

BARANY, Zoltan. 'Grim Realities in Eastern Europe.' *Transitions*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (29 March, 1995), pp. 3-8. A thoughtful look at the sad plight of the Roma in Eastern Europe since the collapse of communism. According to the author, who has done extensive fieldwork among the Roma, approximately 5 million Roma live in this troubled part of Europe, and suffer from grave discrimination. This, coupled with their dire socioeconomic status, creates barriers to their own growth and development. Failed government efforts to address adequately what the author calls the region's time bomb could haunt Eastern Europe in the 21st century.

BARANY, Zoltan D. 'Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies.' *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 321-344. This article discusses the socio-political and economic conditions the Roma have faced in Eastern Europe since the collapse of communism. It looks at the impact of the dramatic changes that have taken place

in the region and how this has affected the Roma, particularly on questions of identity and marginalization. The author ends his fine essay with a discussion of the international dimensions of what he calls the Gypsy question, particularly as it affects international organizations and the migration of the Roma.

BARANY, Zoltan. Marginality, Ethnopolitics, and The Question of Security: The East European Roma. St. Louis, MO: Center for International Studies, Occasional Paper No. 9703, February 1997. This paper explores the impact of the changes that have swept Eastern Europe since 1989 on the marginalization of the Roma. He examines in some depth the changes in Romany socio-economic and political marginalization and looks at questions surrounding the actual security of the Roma in East European society since 1989. He also looks at the impact of these changes on Romany political awareness and activity. He concludes that failure by governments throughout the region to do more to aid the Roma has serious security implications.

BAUER, Yehuda. Continuing Ferment in Eastern Europe. SICSA Report 4:1-2. Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. This report about nationalism and racism proffers an analogy between radical anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy sentiment in Eastern Europe.

CAHN, Claude. 'An Ordinary Pogrom.' Transitions, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 30-35. A look at the anti-Roma riot or pogrom in the ethnic Hungarian village of Velyka Dobron in Ukraine on September 10-11, 1995, where villagers burned 12 Romany homes, and forced the village's Roma to live in nearby forests for months afterwards. This firsthand investigation of the riot paints a grim picture of the anti-Roma sentiments still present in Central and Eastern Europe.

CLAUDE, Patrick. 'Gypsies Still Encounter Wide Discrimination.' Manchester Guardian (4 February 1990), p. 4. This article targets Western European public opinion and urges greater tolerance towards the Roma, while disclosing the discrimination and prejudice towards the Roma in Eastern Europe.

CROWE, David M. 'The Hunchback of Notre Dame Perpetuates Negative Gypsy Stereotypes.' Greensboro News & Record (August 4,

1996), p. F3. This guest editorial strongly criticizes the Walt Disney Productions film because of the stereotypes it uses in this distorted interpretation of Victor Hugo's novel.

The author feels that this film helps perpetuate a negative image of the Roma that has haunted them for centuries.

CROWE, David M. *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. This history looks in some details at the history of the Roma in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, and Yugoslavia. It begins with the entrance of the Roma into the Balkans during the Middle Ages, and traces their experiences in this part of the world through the late to mid-1990s. It is anchored by a lengthy bibliography.

CROWE, David M. and John KOLSTI, eds. *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. (with an introduction by I. Hancock). Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1991.

This is a collection of ten essays about Romany history in Germany, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Romania, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. It contains several valuable chapters dealing with the Holocaust and includes a solid bibliography.

DRUCKER, Jeremy. 'Present but Unaccounted For.' *Transitions*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 22-23. This article takes a brief look at the difficulty in gauging the number of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. The author feels that government data is unreliable and that Romany groups tend to exaggerate their numbers. He uses data from the Minorities at Risk project and other sources on this question to show the wide range of estimates for the Romany populations in each Central and East European country.

Great Britain. Foreign Office Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries. New York: Kraus International, 1983: No. 83 (7 May 1941), p. 15; No. 87 (4 June 1941), p. 15; No. 96; (7 August 1941), pp. 15-16. These articles survey various incidents across Eastern and Western Europe in which the Roma fell victim to totalitarian governmental policies.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'The Struggle for the Control of Identity.' *Transitions*, Vol. 4, No. 4, (September 1997), pp. 36-44. This look at the complex issue of Romany ethnic identity from one of the world's premier Roma experts, himself

a British Roma. The essay begins with a group of Roma gathered around a campfire in Texas, where they are discussing Romany identity. One of the problems with regard to Romany identity is resistance among some Roma to be identified as such, while other non-Roma specialists try to force identity upon the Roma. Yet the author feels that such issues are secondary when compared to the more complex day-to-day problems facing the average Roma. He makes a strong case at the end of this excellent article for the Indian origins of Europe's Roma.

HUTTENBACH, Henry R., ed. 'The Gypsies of Eastern Europe'. (Special Issue) Nationalities Papers. Vol. XIX, No. 3 (Fall 1991). This innovative collection of essays includes works by scholars who specialize in Romany studies. Most of the articles provide geographical coverage on the history of the Roma in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, the former Soviet Union and Germany. There are also essays on the Holocaust and Romany nationalism as well as a fine bibliographical piece by Diane Tong on the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Henry Huttenbach concludes this collection with a brief article on the Romany collection at the World Romani Union in Texas.

KAWCZYNSKI, Rudko. 'The Politics of Romani Politics.' Transitions, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 24-29. The author feels that a change is taking place in traditional Romany efforts to put the needs of the majority at the forefront of their political efforts. Now, a new Romany civil rights movement is emerging that is more aggressive in promoting Romany issues. He is also critical of the Romany experts who dominate international Romany political organizations, particularly those who are not Roma. He also finds fault with the International Romany Union, but finds hope in more grassroots Romany efforts such as those undertaken by the Roma and Sinti Union in Germany, and Phralipe and the Roma Parliament in Hungary.

KENEDI, Janos. 'Why Is the Gypsy the Scapegoat and Not the Jew?' East European Reporter, 2, no. 1 (1986): pp. 11-14. The author protests the poor treatment the Roma still receive in Eastern Europe, in comparison to that of the Jews.

PEARSON, Raymond. National Minorities in Eastern Europe, 1848-1945. London: Macmillan, 1983. This study deals with the plight of minority groups in the emerging nations of Eastern Europe from the mid-19th century until the end of World War II. It contains valuable insight into the place of the Roma in these emerging societies. The most valuable parts of this study are the sections on Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Holocaust. It also contains valuable demographic

information and a good bibliography.

PETROVNA, Dimitrina. 'Get Out, You Stinking Gypsy.' *Transitions*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 14-21. This article looks at the intensity of anti-Roma prejudice in Eastern Europe and Russia. Using contemporary examples, the author paints a picture of virulent hatred towards the Roma. She argues that most of Eastern Europe and Russia is dangerous for the Roma, and underscores the serious socio-economic and educational problems that prevent the Roma from improving their already desperate plight in this part of Europe.

PLEVEN, Nancy. 'For Eastern Europe's Gypsies, A Time of Suffering.' *The Sante Fe New Mexican* (May 16, 1995), pp. A1-A5. This article, which is part of a series on Macedonia, is based on the author's field work there and on interviews with David M. Crowe. It emphasizes the sad plight of Romany women in this part of the former Yugoslavia, and the desperate poverty that haunts them.

PUXON, Grattan. 'Gypsies: Blacks of East Europe.' *The Nation* 222 (17 April 1976): pp. 460-64. This unique essay compares the strong spirit of anti-Romany prejudice in Eastern Europe to prejudice against African-Americans in the United States. His essay provides a strong argument for this claim.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. 'The Politics of Intolerance.' Special Issue. RFE/RL Research Report, Vol. 3, No. 16 (22 April 1994). This special issue looks at the rise of right wing groups throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the former Soviet Union.

Often, as many of these articles point out, the victims of right-wing extremism are the Roma. 'Roma, Still Knocking on Europe's Closed Doors.' Special Edition. *Transitions*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 3-51. This excellent collection of articles on the Roma in Eastern Europe deals with prejudice against them, the status of Romany politics, Romany demographics, efforts by the Roma to maintain their unique cultural and ethnic heritage, the myth and realities of the Romany musical heritage, and a photographic essay on contemporary Romany life. A more detailed breakdown of each article is scattered throughout this section of the bibliography.

ROSENBLUM, Mort. 'The Gypsy Problem Grows: East Europeans Can't Control Gypsies.' *San Antonio Express* (25 March 1984), p. C1. This

article denounces abuse towards the Roma, such as coerced sterilization of Romany women and permanent removal of their children.

SOLOVAR, Maura Griffin. 'Against the Odds: The Politics of Disunity.' *Transitions*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (29 March 1995), pp. 9-11. A look at the difficulties the Roma face in attempting to develop the political skills necessary to draw attention to their own serious ethnic and socio-economic problems. The author feels that Romany political fragmentation works against their potential strength as the region's largest minority. Part of the problem is the Roma's distrust of non-Roma. The Roma still lack formal minority status in most of Eastern Europe. Education, the author points out, remains the key to the deeper integration of the Roma in the countries throughout this area. Yet a distinction must be made between integration and assimilation, since the latter practice often forces the Roma to give up some or all of their rich ethnic and cultural heritage.

#### IV. B. The Roma in the Balkans

LOCKWOOD, William G. 'Balkan Gypsies: An Introduction.' In Joanne Grumet, ed., *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*, pp. 91-99. New York: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1985. This excellent study provides a solid overview of the Roma in the Balkans, particularly those in the former Yugoslavia.

POULTON, Hugh. *The Balkans: Minorities and States in Conflict*. London: Minority Rights Group Publications, 1991. This fine look at ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, and Bulgaria, has only scattered references to the Roma. Its only significant contribution on this group is the demographic information given in the section on Albania.

SOULIS, George C. *The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 15 (1961): pp. 143-65. This superb article provides an excellent overview of Romany life and culture in the Byzantine empire and the Balkans in the later Middle Ages. It paints a colorful picture of the newly arrived Roma, and draws upon a rich array of primary and secondary sources. It discusses theories concerning their common appellation in all European languages which comes from the Greek *Atsinganoi*, meaning itinerant fortunetellers, ventriloquists and

wizards.

## IV. C. The Roma in Albania

HASLUCK, Margaret. 'Firman of A. H. 1013-14 (A.D. 1604-5) Regarding Gypsies in the Western Balkans.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1948), pp. 1-12. Despite its rather broad title, this article deals principally with the Roma in southern Albania and northwestern Greece. The Ottoman document deals principally with Romany taxes, while the bulk of the article centers around the author's detailed explanations of the terminology and historical significance of different aspects of this decree.

HASLUCK, Margaret. 'The Gypsies of Albania.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (April 1938), pp. 49-61; Vol. XVII, Jubilee Number (1938), pp. 18-31; Vol. XVII, No. 4 (October 1938), pp. 108-122. A detailed study of the Roma in Albania, this series concentrates on the culture and lifestyle of the various Romany groups in Albania. The author breaks down her discussion into sections on sedentary and nomadic Roma, and provides a vivid look at the diversity of life and culture within each group. This fine series, which is based on extensive field work by the author, also provides valuable insight into the growing prejudice in Albania towards the Roma.

KOLSTI, John. 'Albanian Gypsies: The Silent Survivors.' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991. This excellent look at the Roma in Albania during the Holocaust begins with an historical overview that details the Romany presence in Albania since the late Middle Ages. The author concentrates most of his efforts on the status of the Roma in fascist Albania in the 1930s and 1940s. The Greater Albania that emerged during this period was free from some of the more deadly Nazi racial practices that so deeply affected the Roma in other parts of Europe. This was partly due to the more temperate policies of the Bulgarians and the Italians, who jointly occupied parts of Albania with the Germans. But more importantly, according to the author, was the ability of the Roma to blend in with the native Albanian population. All of these factors enabled most of Albania's Roma to survive the Holocaust.



PLASARI, Ndreci, and Shyqri Ballova. *Politique et strategie dans la lutte antifasciste de liberation nationale du peuple albanais 1939-1944*. *Studia Albanica*, Vol. 2 (1975). This article tells of the Albanian battle against its fascist regime, which mentions the role played by each minority, including the Roma.

POLO, Stefanaq, Aleks Buda, et al., eds. *Historia e popullit Shqiptar*. Vol. 2, Prishtine (Originally published in Tirane by the University of Tirane, 1965). This Albanian history contains data about the Vlach and other Albanian Roma, but is difficult to locate in any major library.

RUCHES, Pyrrhus J. *Albania's Captives*. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1965. This look at Albania under Stalinist influence after World War II has some modest references to the Roma.

#### IV. D. The Roma in Bulgaria

ACKERLEY, F. G. 'Romano-Esi.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series. Vol. 27, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1948): p. 158. This short article looks at the brief history of the Bulgarian Romany newspaper *Romano-Esi* (The Gypsy Voice). Replaced a year later by *Nevo Drom*, (The New Way), all Bulgarian Roma were required to subscribe to both publications.

GILLIAT-SMITH, B. 'Endani Relatives.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 37, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1958): p. 156. This explains, among other things, how the Greek word describing the Roma became accepted by the Bulgarian Roma themselves. It was introduced by the Armenian troops sent by the Byzantine empire to settle the frequent Bulgarian independence movements.

GILLIAT-SMITH, B. 'Gypsies in Bulgaria (1948),' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. 27, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1948): pp. 156-7. This brief article looks at the life of the Roma in post-World War II Bulgaria, most particularly at the brief Romany renaissance in that country on the eve of its communization.

Helsinki Watch. *Children of Bulgaria: Police Violence and Arbitrary Confinement*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996. This extremely

important publication is based on a spring 1996 fact-finding mission by Yondon Thonden, and details the abuse of street children, most of them Roma. According to this first-hand account, most of the abuses are committed by the police and skinhead street gangs. The investigator visited Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Pleven, and Sliven to gather information. At the end of the report, there are a series of recommendations to Bulgarian authorities about changes needed to stop these abuses, as well as appendixes that detail United Nations' and other rules governing the treatment of children.

Helsinki Watch. *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Bulgaria*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991. This excellent study, which is based on fact-finding missions conducted in Bulgaria by Theodore Zang, Jr. and Lois Whitman, begins with a brief historical overview of the Roma in this Balkan nation. It then looks at questions about the state of Romany housing, education, employment, their involvement in the political process, and how they are viewed in the state media. It also discusses their treatment by the police and the military, and their relationship with other Bulgarians. Its appendixes contain important state documents from 1959 and 1962 dealing with governmental policies towards the Roma.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena. 'Ethnic Identity among Gypsy Groups in Bulgaria.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Fifth Series, Vol. II, No. 2 (1992): pp. 95-115. This solid look at the different Romany groups in Bulgaria describes their individual and collective origins, often along traditional occupational lines. This broad account traces the earliest origins of Roma groups in Bulgaria from the Middle Ages through the late 1980s.

MARUSHIAKOVA, E. 'Gruppi e organizzazioni zingare in Bulgaria e il loro atteggiamento verso l'impegno politico.' *Lacio Drom* 28 (January-April 1992): pp. 51-63. This article contains an explanation of the expressed political goals of the Bulgarian Roma in the postcommunist era.

MARUSHIAKOVA, E., et al. *The Ethnic Situation in Bulgaria: Research in 1992*. Sofia: Club 90 Publishers, 1993. Produced by a project on ethnic relations sponsored by Princeton University, this report contains an overview as well as details about how both Muslims and Roma are treated in Bulgaria.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena and Vesselin Popov. *Tsiganite na Bulgariya/ The Gypsies of Bulgaria: Problems of the Multicultural Museum Exhibition*. Sofia: CLUB 90 Publishers, 1995.

This colorful publication was produced as part of the Multicultural Museum's exhibition, 'A Tool for Educating the Public in Mutual Tolerance and Respect for Gypsies'. The exhibit was funded by the European Community and the Council of Europe. The publication provides an excellent overview in Bulgarian and English of the history, culture, and societal problems of the Roma in Bulgaria. It contains an excellent collection of photographs.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena and Vesselin Popov. *Studii Romani. Vol. I: Minority Studies Society*. Sofia: Club 90 Publishers, 1994. This English-Bulgarian study of Romany folklore and language was made possible by a generous grant from the Soros Roma Foundation. Edited by two of Bulgaria's foremost specialists on the Roma, its introductory material provides valuable insight into the evolution of Romany cultural and linguistic traditions in this Balkan nation.

MARUSHIAKOVA, Elena and Vesselin Popov. *Tsiganite v Bulgariya. Sofiya: Izdatelstvo Klub 90, 1993*. This excellent history of the Roma in Bulgaria traces their origins in the country from the late Middle Ages through the end of the communist era in the late 1980s. It is anchored by a fine bibliography of works on the Roma in Bulgarian, English, and other languages and has a good index. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of the Roma in Bulgaria.

POPOV, Vesselin. 'Problema zingaro in Bulgaria nel contesto attuale.' *O Lacio Drom*. Vol. 28 (January-April 1992): pp. 41-50. This article presents the socio-economic and political stature of the Roma in contemporary Bulgaria, and discusses their tenuous position in this rapidly changing society.

SILVERMAN, Carol. 'Bulgarian Gypsies: Adaptation in a Socialist Context.' *Nomadic Peoples*. Nos. 21-22 (December 1986): pp. 51-62. This article by a prominent Balkan folklorist deals with the problems that the Roma in Bulgaria had adapting their traditional nomadic and semi-sedentary culture to the demands of Bulgaria's communist system.

TOMOVA, Ilona. *The Gypsies in the Transition Period*. Sofia:

International Center for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations, 1995. An analysis of a survey begun in 1994 that attempted to determine how macroeconomic changes [in Bulgaria] reflected on the condition of the Roma community. The appendixes contain survey questions and regional responses to a team of specialists. The rest of the study looks at questions of ethnic identity, a demographic profile of Bulgarian Roma, marriage and family, nutrition and health, education, housing and living conditions, the economic well-being of the Roma, and general Romany opinions of their life in Bulgaria since 1989.

TROXEL, Luan. 'Bulgaria's Gypsies: Numerically Strong, Politically Weak.' RFE/RL Research Report, no. 1 (March 6, 1992): pp. 58-61. According to this report, the Bulgarians, though apparently tolerant towards other national minorities, have manifested an increasing hatred and violence towards the Romany population.

#### IV. E. The Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

ADAMOVIC, K., and P. KUREC, eds. *Problem vychovzky a vzdelavania ciganskej mladeze*. Bratislava: Psychodiagnosticke a didacticke testy, 1976. This is an official account of the socio-educational problems encountered by the Czech and Slovak Roma under the last regime.

BUBELINI, Jan. 'Skusenosti z riesena otazok ciganskych obyvateľov vo Vychodoslovenskom kraji.' *Socialna politika* 6 (1983): pp. 138-39. This is one among many official articles written by order of the government about social problems raised by the Roma in the former Czechoslovakia.

BULIR, Michal. 'Skolni dochazka cikanskych deti v letech 1980-1985.' *Demografie*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (1987): pp. 86-89. This article deals with the ongoing problem of school attendance among Romany children. One of the cornerstones of the Czechoslovakia's efforts to forcibly assimilate its Romany population in society was education. Almost from the outset, high school dropout rates seriously undercut the effectiveness of this policy. This article, while applauding the gains in Romany school attendance over the past two decades, bemoans persistent problems in this area.

‘Cigani.’ Encyklopédia Slovenska. Bratislava, 1977, p. 321. This entry in the official Slovak encyclopedia represents the prejudicial view towards the Roma in that part of Czechoslovakia in the 1970s.

Cikanske obyvatľestvo k 31. 12. 1968 [The Gypsy Population as of December 31, 1968]. Prague: Federalni statisticky urad, 1969. This official publication contains an excellent analysis of the Romany presence in the Czechoslovak republic. It details the Roma's principle areas of concentration and has data on their family sizes and employment information.

DAVIDOVA, Eva. ‘The Gypsies in Czechoslovakia. Part I: Main Characteristics and Brief Historical Development.’ Translated into English by D. E. Guy. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. 69, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1970): p. 84-97. This article, by one of former Czechoslovakia's specialists on the Roma, deals with the history of this group in Bohemia and Moravia and Hungarian Slovakia from the time they entered the region in the Middle Ages until the end of World War II. It looks at the different groups of Roma that dot the countryside, and discusses Romany culture as well as their relationship to the non-Roma population.

DAVIDOVA, Eva. ‘The Gypsies in Czechoslovakia. Part II: Post-War Developments.’ *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1971): pp. 39-54. This sequel to the above article looks at the status of the Roma in post-World War II Czechoslovakia. It traces the evolution of government policies designed to forcibly integrate the Roma more deeply into Czechoslovakian society, and the impact of these policies on Romany life, history, and traditional nomadic culture.

EDGINTON, B. ‘Czech Republic: To Kill a Romany.’ *Race Class* 35 (January-March 1994): pp. 80-2. This article about Romany life in the Czech Republic recounts racism towards the Roma in postwar Eastern Europe.

European Roma Rights Center. *Time of the Skinheads: Denial and Exclusion of Roma in Slovakia*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center, January 1997. This report offers an overview of human rights violations against Roma in Slovakia during the years 1993-1996. The ERRRC describes three main trends in Slovak-Romany relations. These include the denial by authorities that the rights of Roma have been

violated, the existence of legal, administrative, and social practices preventing the integration of the Roma into Slovak society, and the Slovak state's role as a caretaker state.

FINKOVA, Zuzanna. 'Zistovanie plodnosti ciganských žien.' [Ascertaining fertility of Gypsy women]. *Demografie*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (1981): p. 340. This article provides some details about the forced sterilization policies of Romany women in former Czechoslovakia.

FRIEDMAN, Philip. *How the Gypsies Were Persecuted*. Wiener Library Bulletin 3-4, 1950. This article examines signs of the growing pre-war intolerance and persecution of the Roma, such as the dramatic cannibalism trial in what is today Slovakia.

GROSS, T. *The Czech Republic: Citizenship Research Project*. Unpublished report for The Tolerance Foundation, Senovazne Nam. I, Prague I, 1994. It is mentioned in I. Fonseca's *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*, p. 310. This paper, though unavailable to the general public, reports on how the new Czech citizenship law is intended to affect nomadic Czechs such as the Roma.

GRULICH, Tomas, and Tomas HAIMAN. 'Institucionalni zajem o cikanske obyvatelstvo v Ceskoslovensku v letech 1945-1958.' *Cesky lid*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (1986): pp. 72-85. This article traces Czechoslovakia's communist leaders' growing awareness of the Roma's serious social, economic, and educational problems. Anchored by valuable demographic data, the article looks at the evolution of policies designed to halt Romany nomadism and to integrate the Roma more deeply into Czechoslovak society.

HANA, Jiri. 'Vybrane problemy cikanske etnicke skupiny v okrese Cheb.' *Demografie*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1987): pp. 167-71. The author looks at Roma life in the Ohre valley district in western Czechoslovakia. Most of the issues addressed here such as high unemployment and low educational achievement are common to the Roma throughout the country.

HOLOMEK, Miroslav. 'Soucasne problemy Cikanu v CSSR a jejich reseni.' *Demografie*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1969): p. 205.

This brief account, published after the brief Prague Spring experiment with liberalization, looks at the plight of the Roma in the Czechoslovak republic.

HORVATHOVA, Emilia. *Cigani na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Vytadelstvo Slovenskej Akademie Vied, 1964. This monumental history of the Roma in Slovakia traces their entrance into the region from India during the latter part of the Middle Ages. It also includes information on the much smaller Romany presence in Bohemia, one of the important districts that would later form the western portion of the Czechoslovak republic. In addition to an excellent historical overview, this study looks at Romany culture and folklore. There is a rich selection of photographs and drawings throughout this work, and a solid bibliography. It also has a modest English summary.

HUBSCHMANNOVA, Milena. 'Co je tzv.[tak zvana] Cikanska otazka.' *Sociologick y casopis*. Vol. 6, No. 2 (1970), pp. 105-120. The author of this important article was one of the most prominent Czechoslovakian specialists who attacked Jaroslav Susí's earlier work claiming that Romany life, culture, and language was devoid of any significant value, and that the only course open to them to improve their status in Czechoslovakia was through total assimilation. She argues that in order for there to be any real hope of Romany assimilation into greater Czechoslovakian society, the Roma must play an important, equal part in deciding those issues which will pave the way for integration. Unless Roma and non-Roma approach this process as equals, Roma assimilation will be ineffective and unfair. Most important, any approach to Romany assimilation must be respectful of Romany traditions and culture, which can only be insured by Romany equality in planning for the process of assimilation.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Roma in the Czech Republic: Foreigners in Their Own Land*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996. An update of the publication below, this report argues that the plight of the Roma has changed positively and negatively. While the Roma now enjoy new freedoms and opportunities, the social climate has seen a rise in anti-Roma pre-judice and violence. The report documents the murders of several Roma, and scrutinizes the behavior of the police. Discrimination abounds in housing, education, and in the job sector. Moreover, the 1993 Czech citizenship law is indirectly discriminatory against the Roma.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki Watch. *Struggling for Ethnic Identity: Czechoslovakia's Endangered Gypsies*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1992. This fine report, prepared by Rachel Tritt, is based on a series of fact-finding missions conducted by the author in Czechoslovakia from the fall of 1991 through the spring of 1992. Beginning with an historical overview of the Roma in the Czech and Slovak lands, this study concentrates on the treatment of the Roma in that area since 1989. One of its principal contributions is the section dealing with the forced sterilization of Romany women before and after 1989. Its subsequent sections concentrate on issues surrounding Romany education, housing, employment, relations with the police and the judicial system as well as exclusion from public and private services. It also looks at the image of the Roma in Czechoslovak media, and has an extensive collection of documents that detail government policies towards the Roma since 1972.

'In a Gypsy School.' Translated from Czech by S. E. Mann. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (1934): pp. 117-118. This touching article deals with the opening of a Romany school in Uzhorod in eastern Slovakia. The school, run by Mr. Hegeds, helped transform the Romany community in Uzhorod, and gained international acclaim for its innovative curriculum.

KALVODA, Joseph and David M. CROWE. 'National Minorities in Czechoslovakia, 1919-1980.' In Stephan Horak, ed., *Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980: A Handbook*. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1985. This essay has a modest bibliography on the Roma. Its historical overview provides some interesting demographic information on the Roma, and underscores the difficulty that the Roma have had in gaining any sort of official recognition via census data.

KAPPEN, O. van. 'A Prague Edict against Gypsies (1710).' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series 42, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1963): pp. 117-121. This is an account of a harsh anti-Roma decree issued in Prague in the early 18th century.

KOSTELANCIK, David, J. 'The Gypsies of Czechoslovakia: Political and Ideological Considerations in the Development of Policy.' *Studies in Comparative Communism*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (winter 1989): pp. 307-321. This excellent study provides an incisive look at the development of official



Roma policies in Czechoslovakia. It is essential reading for anyone interested in the political and ideological considerations that went into the development of that country's controversial Romany programs.

Koudelka, Josef. *Gypsies: Photographs*. Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1975.

This photographic collection and accompanying commentary detail the poverty and richness of Romany life in eastern Slovakia.

NECAS, Ctibor. *Nad osuden ceskych a sloveanskych cikanu v letech*

1939-1945. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyne, 1981. This excellent, groundbreaking study looks at the plight of the Czech and Slovakian Roma during the Holocaust. According to the author, there were only 17,000 to 18,000 Roma in the Czech lands transformed by the Germans into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The puppet Slovak republic initially had a Romany population of 60,000, though these figures increased to 100,000 during the war. Czech Roma were sent to two forced labor camps at Lety and Hodonin, and many were later sent to Auschwitz and death. Slovakia's Roma were more fortunate, though they too suffered from extremely discriminatory policies. Estimates are that only a few hundred of Slovakia's Roma died during the Holocaust. This study is anchored by an extensive bibliography and a rich collection of charts.

SRB, Vladimir. 'Nektere demograficke a kulturni charakteristiky cikanskeho obyvatelstva v CSSR 1980.' *Demografie*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1984): pp. 161-78. This article, using 1980 demographic data, shows an

official Romany population

of 288,440, a 31.4% jump over 1970 figures. Other data suggests a Romany population of over 306,000, with substantial growth of the Romany population in the Czech republic. It details the successes and failures of government policies designed to improve the quality of Romany life, centered around intensified efforts to destroy Romany slum housing and the further mainstreaming of Romany children into the public education system. Government efforts to raise the Roma's standard of living by an improved employment program met with mixed success

SRB, Vladimir., ed. 'Ustavujici sjezd svazu Cikanu-Romu v CSR v Brne.' Special Edition. *Demografie*, Vol.11, No. 4 (1969). This

important report details the founding of the Congress of the Alliance of Gypsy-Romani in Czechoslovakia after the Prague Spring of 1969. The congress report criticized the government for failing to give the Romany nationality status, which in turn robbed them of important subsidies granted to other recognized eth

nic groups. This congress helped spur a brief Romany renaissance in Czechoslovakia, though by 1973 the Romany congress was removed from the rolls of the National Front, while other Romany organizations were outlawed.

SRB, Vladimir. 'Zmeny v reprodukci Ceskoslovenskych Romu 1970-1980.' *Demografie*. Vol. 30, No. 7 (1988): pp. 305-308. This essay traces the dramatic increase in the Romany population in Czechoslovakia from 1970 to 1980. Drawn principally from official census data gathered at the beginning and end of this decade, it underscores the 31.4% increase in Romany population figures vis-à-vis the national population increase of only 6%. The increase in Romany population statistics was most dramatic in the Czech Republic, where Romany figures rose by 47%, followed by a 25.5% in Slovakia. Such growth became the source of growing government and public concern over the country becoming what the newspaper *Express* would call the Romska republika.

SRB, Vladimir and O. Vomackova. 'Cikanu v Ceskoslovensky v roce 1968.' *Demografie*. Vol. 11, No. 3 (1969), pp. 221-230. The authors look at the dramatic changes and challenges that faced the country's large Romany population in the aftermath of the dramatic Prague Spring developments in 1968. Slovak Roma founded the Union of Gypsy-Romanies (*Zvaz Cikanov-romov*) that year, followed by a similar Czech organization in 1969. Both organizations would later band together while retaining separate republic organizations.

SUS, Jaroslav. *Cikanska otazka v CSSR*. Prague, 1963. In this highly controversial study that influenced government thinking, the author claimed that the Romany way of life was a primitive blend of nomadic tribalism that led to continual tribal infighting. The author called Romani, the language of the Roma, a hodgepodge that was unworthy of study or preservation. He argued that the only way to resolve the country's Romany problem was to force them to totally assimilate. In 1969, Susí's study became the source of growing attacks, led by the prominent Roma specialist, Milena Hrbšmannova.

ULC, Otto. 'Communist National Minority Policy: The Case of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia.' *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (April 1969), pp. 421-443. This is one of the earliest detailed essays to appear in the West that discusses in some depth the early development of an integrative governmental policy towards the Roma in Czechoslovakia. This article underscores the government's shift from a policy that praised Romany educational achievements to one that grudgingly began to acknowledge that the Roma rested

at the lowest rung of the country's socio-economic and education ladders. By 1956, the country's leaders began to speak of the Gypsy crisis that was likened by the Slovak journal *Smena* to the plight of the Negro in the United States.

ULC, Otto. 'Gypsies in Czechoslovakia: A Case Study of Unfinished Integration.' *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 2, No. 2 (Spring 1988), pp. 306-332. This follow-up to the author's earlier study of the Roma and governmental policies towards them calls this early period of government experimentation the 'wrong policy phase'. By 1965, the government adopted new tactics designed to force full employment on the Roma and to destroy Romany settlements. This also involved the forced resettlement of the Roma throughout the country. He spends some time on the brief Romany fling with liberalization and a sense of greater national identity during the Prague Spring, followed by an era of 'normalization' in the 1970s that saw many of these gains destroyed. Human rights activists decried the plight of the Roma in 1978, while the government continued to press forward with programs designed to raise the literacy rate of the Roma and improve their socio-economic status. The article ends with a detailed account of the deep prejudice encountered by the Roma throughout Czechoslovak society.

ULC, Otto. 'Integration of the Gypsies in Czechoslovakia.' *Ethnic Groups*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1991): pp. 107-117. This article focuses on the political emergence of the Roma human rights movement after the Velvet Revolution of 1988-1991 which brought a peaceful end to communism in Czechoslovakia.

## IV. F. The Roma in Hungary

CROWE, David M. 'The Roma (Gypsies) of Hungary through the Kadar Era.' *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter 1991), pp. 297-311. Part of a special edition on the Roma in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, this article teaches the history of the Roma in Hungary from their entrance into the region in the Middle Ages through the late 1980s. It emphasizes the serious historical prejudices that have haunted the Roma throughout their existence in Hungary.

CSEMER, Geza. *Habiszti: Ciganyok Elete-Etele*. Budapest: Lettera Kft,

1994. This collection the lives of famous Roma includes Hungarian Romany recipes..

DIOSI, Agnes. *Ciganyut*. Budapest: Szepirodalmi Konyvkiado, 1988.

This rich collection of photographs brings to life a vibrant study of Romany culture in Hungary in the 1970s and 1980s. It also explores government policy towards the Roma since the 1950s.

HAJDU, Mihaly. 'Gypsies, 1980.' *Hungarian Digest*, No. 6 (1980): pp. 28-34.

This article looks at the life of the Roma in Hungary and includes some interviews with Roma. Though it provides some valuable insight into Romany life at this time, it still includes some of the subtle stereotypes that have haunted the Roma in Hungary.

HANN, C.M. *Tazlar: A Village in Hungary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. This is a sociological case study on Hungarian rural conditions before dramatic changes occurred in government policies. It shows how the conditions affected ethnic cohesion between majority and minority populations, including Hungarian and Romany populations.

HOOZ, Istvan. 'Census Relative to Gipsy Population in the 18th and 19th Centuries.' In *A Magyarorszagban Cziganyosszeirds Eredmenyei: 1893 januar 31-en vegrehajtott*. Budapest: Az Athenaeum R. Tasulat Konyvnyomdaa, 1893. This detailed analysis of the 1893 Romany census is an essential source for anyone interested in a critical look at the status of the Roma in Hungary at the end of the 19th century. There is an English summary at the end of this study.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki. *Rights Denied: The Roma of Hungary*.

New York: Human Rights Watch, 1996. This report surveys human rights offenses against Hungary's largest minority, the Roma, and analyzes the reasons behind them, including political-legal failures. It offers recommendations to the Hungarian government about how to address these problems, and contains several appendixes that contain documents germane to Romany human rights issues.

Helsinki Watch. *Struggling for Ethnic Identity: The Gypsies of Hungary*.

New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993. This is a report about the Hungarian Romany minority, completed just as the Minority Bill passed. It tells of the Romany struggle for identity and human rights after the fall of the former regime. It contains recommendations for the police and civil guards on the proper

relationship with and treatment of Roma, and suggests the creation of an ombudsman for human rights. An appendix contains Human Rights Watch's policy statement on the protection of Hate Speech.

**KARSAI, Laszlo.** *A Ciganykerdes Magyarorszagon 1919-1945: Ut a Cigany Holocausthoz.* Budapest: Scientia Hungariae, Cserepfalvi Kiadasa, 1992.

This book traces the history of the Roma in Hungarian society from the end of World War I through the end of the Holocaust. It looks at the growing body of prejudice in interwar Hungary against the Roma and the impact of forced magyarization on this group. It culminates with a discussion of the Holocaust in Hungary, which saw 28,000 Roma shipped out of the country, with only about 3,000 returning at war's end. Those who remained in Hungary during the war were subjected to varying degrees of discrimination triggered by Hungary's relationship with Nazi Germany.

**MCCAGG, W.D.** 'Gypsy Policy in Socialist Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 1945-1989.' *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1991): pp. 313-36. A comparative study that explores the similarities and differences of official policy towards the Roma in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The author paints a rather mixed picture of policies designed to raise the socio-economic and educational level of the Roma in both countries. He correctly underscores the problems of deep-seated anti-Roma prejudice and its impact on the implementation of such policies, and is highly critical of sterilization programs and efforts to kidnap Romany children to break up the Romany family unit. He feels that both governments were driven by a welfare-ist approach to the Gypsy problem, and by hastily implementing these policies wound up creating programs that seemed more abusive than initially intended.

**MEZEY, Barna, Laszlo POMOGYI, and Istvan TAUBER.** *A Magyarorszagi Ciganykerdes Dokumentumokban, 1422-1985.* Budapest: Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1986. This is a collection of primary and secondary sources of the Roma and their life in Hungary from the early 15th century until 1985.

**SCHWICKER, J. H.** *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenburgen.* Vienna and Teschen: Karl Brochasta, 1883. This classic study of the Roma in Hungary and Transylvania is based upon an extensive analysis of Austrian census data in the 18th and 19th century. It provides a unique glimpse into some of the

more grim realities of Romany life in that country during this period. It should be used in conjunction with Istvan Hoozís 'Census Relative to Gipsy Population in the 18th and 19th Centuries.'

STEWART, Michael. *Brothers in Song: The Persistence of (Vlach) Gypsy Community and Identity in Socialist Hungary*. Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1988). Published in Hungarian as *Daltestverek: Az Olah Cigany Identitas es Kozossege Tovabbelese a Szocialista Magyarorszagon*. Budapest: Twins Kiado, MTA Szociologiai Intezet, Max Weber Alapitvany, 1993. This innovative anthropological work looks at on the Vlach (Wallachian) Roma in Hungary and explores their deep cultural and linguistic traditions. Based on field work in Hungary, it provides an incisive look at Romany life in Hungary among this distinct group.

STEWART, Michael. *The Time of the Gypsies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. A study based on extensive fieldwork that centered around the authorís 15 month stay with his wife and child in the Vlach Romany settlement or Third Quarter in Harangos, Hungary. The author blends a unique anthropological perspective with a human touch to provide a rare glimpse of life within a distinct Romany community. This is not a romantic stroll through a Romany community, but a hard, honest look at the realities of Romany life in contemporary Hungary. It is anchored by a solid bibliography.

SZUHAY, Peter, and Antonia BARATI, eds. *Kepek a Magyarorszagi Ciganyasag 20. Szazdi Tortenetbol: A vilag letra, melyen az egyik fel, a másik le megy (cigany kozmondas)*. Budapest: Novrotrans, 1993. This book was compiled by the historians and anthropologists of the Budapest Museum of National History to accompany a comprehensive exhibition of pictures of the Romany community in Hungary.

UTASI, Agnes, and Agnes MESZAROS, eds. *Ciganylet*. Budapest: MTA Politikai Tudomanyok Intezet, 1991. This is an edited collection of scholarly works on Hungarian Roma.

VAJDA, Gabor. 'Gypsies Face a Crisis of Confidence.' *Budapest Week* 3, no. 27 (September 9-15, 1993): p. 5. The author contends that political responsibility is the only way of ensuring political freedom and avoiding its misuse and loss. Such an outcome occurred immediately after the constitutional reform of 1990, when the Hungarian Roma failed to aggressively pursue their new

legal rights.

VEKERDI, Jozsef. 'Earliest Arrival Evidence on Gypsies in Hungary.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Fourth Series, Vol. I, No. 2 (1976):* pp. 170-72. This article looks at early 14th century documents on the Roma in Hungary, particularly references later that century in a Hungarian Slovak document, the Book of Executions of the Lords of Rozmberk, which some scholars feel contains references to the Roma.

#### IV. G. The Roma in Poland

BARTOSZ, Adam. *Nie boj sie Cygana. Sejny: Pogranicze, 1994.* A modest look at the history and contemporary life and culture of the Roma in Poland, this book combines history and folklore to produce a fresh glimpse at the rich traditions of the Roma. It has a fine collection of photographs and examples of Romany music. An appendix has a collection of important documents relating to the Roma in Poland since the 1950s.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy. 'The Fate of Polish Gypsies.' In Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology: University Press of America, 1982.* This essay details the Nazi German persecution of the Polish Roma, particularly their massacre in the death camps.

FICOWSKI, Jerzy. *The Gypsies in Poland: History and Customs,* translated by Eileen Healey. Warsaw: Interpress, 1991. Polish edition: *Cyganie w Polsce: Dzieje i Obyczaje. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1989.* A richly documented history of the Roma in Poland from the late Middle Ages through the 1960s, this book discusses Romany tribal structure, housing, cuisine, relations with the non-Roma, birth and death rituals, occupations, and magic. This special volume has a superior collection of photographs of Polish Roma as well as a Polish-Romani dictionary and a strong bibliography.

MIRGA, Andrzej and Lech MROZ. *Cyganie: Odmienosc Nietolerancja.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1994. This book is a richly illustrated history of the Roma from the time they entered Europe through Persia from India in the Middle Ages. It explores the problem of trying to categorize various Polish Roma groups, and looks carefully at Romany culture, religion, and ethnicity. This fine volume is anchored by a good

bibliography.

## IV. H. The Roma in Romania

BECK, Sam. 'Ethnicity, Class and Public Policy: Tiganii/Gypsies in Socialist Romania.' In Kot K. Shangriladze and Erica W. Townsend, eds., *Papers for the V Congress of Southeast European Studies* (Belgrade, September 1984). Columbus: Slavica Publishers. This solid look at Romanian policy towards its post-World War II Romany population begins with a discussion of immediate postwar government efforts to encourage Romany participation in the new communist regime. Though such opportunities would be short-lived, many Roma saw this window of opportunity as a chance to improve dramatically their social and political status in Romania. Later governments would increasingly neglect the Roma or sweep growing Romany impoverishment under the collective socialist rug.

BECK, Sam. 'The Origins of Gypsy Slavery in Romania.' *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 14 (April 1989): pp. 53-61. This solid study examines the origins of Romany slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia. It explains Romany bondage as a result of the persistent wars between the Danubian Roman-ian principalities and Hungary, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Empire, when Romany prisoners were enslaved.

BECK, Sam. 'The Romanian Gypsy Problem.' In Joanne Grumet, ed., *Papers from the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meeting, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter. Publications No. 2*, New York: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1985, pp. 101-109. This paper explores the complexities of the Romany plight in Nicolae Ceausescufs Romania and the impact of his Romanization policies on this impoverished group.

BLAGA, Ion. *Romania's Population: A Demographic, Economic and Socio-Political Essay*. Translated into English by Doina Glavan and Nora Scurtulescu, Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1972. This is an official statistical source of information, with data about the Roma in formerly communist Romania.

CARTNER, H. 'Ethnic Conflict in Tirgu Mures.' New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1990, May newsletter. This human rights report



summarizes Romanian ethnic animosities, especially in Transylvania, where Tirgu Mures is located, consisting mainly of Romanian antipathy towards the Hungarian minority, but also of a common hatred by both those groups toward the Roma.

CARTNER, H. 'News from Romania.' New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1990, July newsletter. This report on the evolution of human rights in Romania immediately after the fall of the Ceaucescu government describes the expectations of each Romanian minority, including Roma, and their socio-economic and cultural needs.

CARTNER, H. 'Romanian Lynch Law: Violence against Roma in Romania.' New York: Human Rights Watch Helsinki, 1994, November newsletter. Using as background a tragic event when a Romany village experienced the aggression of neighboring villagers, this text provides information about recent human rights abuses in Romania.

European Roma Rights Center. Sudden Rage at Dawn: Violence against Roma in Romania. Budapest: European Roma Rights This report discusses the findings of the ERRC's mission to Romania in 1996. The group found that Roma faced a new type of abuse in Romania. Now, the old pattern of community violence has been replaced by a new pattern of police raids conducted systematically in Romany communities.

FISHER-GALATI, Stephen. 'National Minorities in Romania, 1919-1980.' In Stephen M. Horak, ed., Eastern European National Minorities, 1919-1980: A Handbook. Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, 1985. A brief survey of the history of Romania's various minorities, this solid account provides a very modest glimpse of the Roma. There is one entry on the Roma in the bibliography.

GASTER, M. 'Bill of Sale of Gypsy Slaves in Moldavia, 1851.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series, Vol. II, No. 2 (1923): pp. 68-81. This innovative article centers around an analysis of an 1851 bill of sale of Romany slaves or robi in Moldavia. It also includes a rather incisive look at the abusive system of Romany slavery in this part of Romania only 13 years before emancipation.

GHEORGHE, Nicolae. 'Origin of Roma's Slavery in the Rumanian Principalities.' Roma, Vol. 7 (1983): pp. 12-27.

Written by a prominent Romanian Romany scholar, this is a presentation of historic data concerning the origins of their enslavement in Wallachia and Moldavia.

GILBERG, Trond. 'Ethnic Minorities in Romania under Social-ism.' East European Quarterly 7 (January 1974): pp. 435-464. This is a report about Romanian minority rights under the former communist government, with new perspectives about the rights of the Roma there.

GILLIE, Oliver. 'Ceaucescu Is Dead, the Gypsy King Lives!' Independent (London), 7 March 1990, p. 13. This article contains information about the abusive treatment of the Roma by members of the Romanian police forces, taken from formerly secret records discovered after the fall of Ceaucescu.

Helsinki Watch. Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Persecution of Gypsies in Romania. New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991. Based on three field studies conducted by Theodore Zang, Jr. and Rob Levy, this look at the plight of the Roma in contemporary Romania begins with an historical overview. The study then looks at issues such as Romany culture, housing policies, education, employment, and their relationship with the police and local authorities from the 1950s through 1989. The more contemporary part of this valuable investigatory work looks at the rising crescendo of violence against the Roma in a number of specific communities. This work ends with recommendations to improve the status of the Roma in Romania, and its appendixes include a collection of documents dating back to the Holocaust that deal with different facets of Romany life in Romania.

ILLYES, Elemer. National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania. Boulder: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1982. This sociological monograph contains some very good demographic information on the Roma in post-World War I, though it conflicts with data supplied by Joseph Roucek in his Contemporary Roumania and Its Problems (1932).

KOGALNICEANU, Mihail. 'Dezrobirea tiganilor, stergerea privilegilor

boieresti, emanciparea taranilor. Discurs rostit In Academia Romana.' In A. Zub, ed., Opere 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1976, pp. 603-635. This is a copy of the speech made by Mihail Kogalniceanu, one of the most important advocates of Romany emancipation in the 19th century. Delivered before the Romanian Academy on April 9, 1891, to commemorate the end of Romany slavery in Romania, Kogalniceanu recalled the terrible scenes of Romany slavery that he had seen as a child, which he recounted in his classic *Equisse sur l'histoire, les moeurs et la langue des Cigains* (1837).

KOGALNICEANU, Mahail. 'Esquisse sur l'histoire, les moeurs et la langue des Cigains.' Berlin, 1837. Abridged Romanian translation by D. Simionescu, in D. Simionescu, ed., *Opere*, Vol. 1. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974, pp. 552-3, and the entire French text republished in A. Zub, ed., *Opere*, Vol. 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1974, pp. 354-85. Drawn principally from his own childhood observations in Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, Kogalniceanu's work vividly describes the inhumane treatment of Romany slaves or *robi*. He felt that the practice totally dehumanized the Roma, and estimated that there were 200,000 Romany slaves in Wallachia and Moldavia at the time. His work played an important role in opening up not only Romanian national consciousness about the area's slave problem, but also Europe's.

KOGALNICEANU, Mihail. *Desrobirea Tiganiloru*. Bucharest, 1891. This work follows up on the author's 1837 study, and celebrates the important gains made by the Roma in Romania since their emancipation in 1864. According to Kogalniceanu, the Roma now held positions as teachers, businessmen, legislators, and artists. Romany assimilation had gone so far, he observed, that there were only two groups of Roma in the country who had not integrated fully into society—the *Ursari*, or blacksmiths and tinkers, and the nomadic *Laiesi Roma*.

MCCLURE, E. F., and Malcolm M. MCCLURE. 'Factors Influencing Language Variation in a Multilingual Transylvanian Village.' *Rumanian Studies* 3 (1973-1975): pp. 207-20. This linguistic study of the Romanian territory depicts ethnic connections among the people living there, including the Roma. It also explains why sometimes mixed or adjacent settlements were not at all or not quite successful.

PANAITESCU, P.N. 'The Gypsies in Wallachia and Moldavia: A Chapter of Economic History.' Translated by Doris Hardman. *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XX, No. 2 (April 1941): pp. 58-72.

A careful, studied look at the practice of Romany slavery in Romania's two historic provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia. The author explores this phenomena within the context of both regions' rather complex socio-economic needs, and underscores the point that Romany slaves were only a step below Romania's deeply oppressed peasants.

POTRA, George. *Contributiuni la istoricul tiganilor din Romania*.

Bucharest: Fundatia Regele Carol I, 1939. Written by a student of P.N. Panaitescu, this study discusses the improvements made by the Roma in Romania during the interwar years. He noted that many Roma had given up their nomadic ways and settled in urban areas. Some had also done well at farming, and others had even broken with tradition and begun to enter the professional class of professors, physicians, and lawyers. Most Roma, though, the author admitted, continued to work at odd, unskilled jobs, and many continued to live as nomads.

ROUCEK, Joseph S. *Contemporary Roumania and her Problems*.

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932. A fine study that looks at Romanian society in the decade after the end of World War I. It provides valuable demographic data on the Roma at this time, though this information conflicts with that provided by Elemer Illyes in his *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania* (1982).

RUSSELL, Alex. 'Classification and Numbers of Wallachian Gypsies in 1837.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. New Series, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1912-13): p. 150. This brief glance at Romany demographic estimates for 1837 provides some insightful information on the number of Romany slaves in Wallachia as well as the number of Romany families involved in this oppressive institution.

## IV. I. Roma in Russia and the Former Soviet Union

ANDRONIKOVA, I. M. 'Evolution of the Dwellings of the Russian

Gypsies.’ *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 3-28. Reprinted from *Sovetskaia etnografiia*, No. 4 (1970).

A unique look at the dwellings of the various Romany groups in different parts of the former Soviet Union, this richly illustrated article blends ethnographic detail with a history of the Romany experience in different parts of the country over the past few decades.

BARANNIKOV, A. P. ‘Ob izucenii cygan SSSR.’ *Bulletin de l’Academie des Sciences de l’U.R.S.S. Leningrad: Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*. Vol. VII, No. 5 (1929), pp. 369-98; and No. 6 (1929), pp. 457-78. This unique study traces the history of the Romany presence in tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union from the early 18th century to the late 1920s. He details Romany efforts to create their own literature and provides excellent demographic evidence on the Romany presence in the Soviet state.

BARANNIKOV, A.P. ‘On the Russian Gypsy Singers of To-Day.’ *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4 (1932), pp. 187-192. This article is an excellent look at Romany life in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The author blends his discussion of Romany musical traditions with the shifts and changes in Soviet cultural policies during this period.

BARANNIKOV, A. P. *The Ukrainian and South Russia Gypsy Dialects*. Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1934. Ukrainian Edition: *Ukrains ki ta pivdenno rosiis ki tsigans ki diyalekti*. Leningrad: Izdatel stvo Akademii nauk CCCR, 1933. This classic study of Romani dialects in Ukraine and other parts of southern Russia has a brief historical introduction. The bulk of this work, though, concentrates on linguistic matters. It has chapters on the various Romani dialects in this part of the country, and also discusses at some length the phonetics, morphology, and syntax of these dialects. It ends with an extensive collection of Romani texts from sedentary and nomadic Roma in Ukraine and southern Russia.

BOBRI, Vladimir. ‘Gypsies and Gypsy Choruses of Old Russia.’ *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series*, Vol. 40, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1961): pp. 112-20. This classic essay explores the unique Romany choral tradition in Russian history. According to the author, a close associate of Catherine the Great put together a Romany serf chorus, which soon became the rage among the nobility. Over time, no noble family of any consequence was without its Romany serf chorus. This strong Romany musical tradition continued

until well into the 19th century, and was the basis for continued Russian fascination with Romany music.

CHINYAEVA, Elena. 'Hostages of Their Own Music.' *Transitions*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (September 1997), pp. 45-49.

This author shatters the stereotypical Russian image of the Roma based on the rich musical contributions in Russian society. The author shows that these images are very much contrary to actual Romany life and culture in Russia. These stereotypes remained a part of the Russian art scene throughout the 1980s. Today, the gypsy problem is not the issue it is in Central and Eastern Europe, though there is a danger of Romany artistic traditions being lost in the larger Russian culture.

CHERENKOV, L.N. 'Nekotorye problemy etnograficheskogo Tsygan SSSR,' in I.I. Krupnik, ed., *Malye i Dispersnye Etnicheskie gruppy v Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR (Geografiia rasseleniia i kul turnye traditsii)*. Moscow: Moskovskii filial Geograficheskogo obshchestva SSSR, 1985. This essay looks at the estimated 200,000 Roma in the former Soviet Union, and analyzes this population along dialectical and ethnographic lines. He subdivides these categories and his studies along settlement, religious, occupation, lifestyle, and name patterns. He feels that a Romany mindset centers around a sense of their own unique ethnic heritage and socio-professional grouping.

CROWE, David. 'The Liuli (Gypsies) of Central Asia.' AACAR (Association for the Advancement of Central Asian Research) Bulletin. Vol. VI, No. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 2-6. This essay provides a look at Central Asia's small Romany group, the Liuli, which is divided into four groups. Most of the Liuli live in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, though there are also Liuli in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakstan, and Turkmenistan. Though they officially number less than 30,000, they have been able to avoid the strong force of assimilation, and speak a secretive language known as lavzi mughat or arabcha, a throwback to the days when they wandered in the Middle East.

DEMETER, N.G. and L.N. CHERENKOV. 'Tsygane v Moskve.' In I.I. Krupnik, ed. *Etnicheskie gruppy v gorodakh Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR: Formirovanie rasselenie dinamika kul'tury*. Moscow: Moskovskii filial Geograficheskogo obshchestva SSSR, 1987. This is a solid look at the history and development of the Romany community in Russia's most important city. According to the authors the Roma began to settle in the imperial capital in 1660 and, over the next few centuries, came to have an important cultural and

artistic impact on its life. The triumphal creation of the Moscow Theatre Romani in 1931 became the centerpiece of Romany culture in the Soviet era. By the mid-1980s, Moscow was home to 1,500-2,000 Roma. Though the Roma once lived together on the fringe of the city, urban renewal and construction dispersed them throughout the sprawling environs of this ancient Russian capital.

DEMETER, R.S. and P.S. Demeter. *Obraztsy folklori Tsygan-Kelderarei*. Moskva: Glavnaya Redaktsiya Vostochnoi Literatury, 1981. This study of Russian Kalderash Roma is by two of the Soviet Union's most respected Romany scholars. Though mostly a collection of Kalderash works, it contains a small introductory section that details the Roma experience in Russia.

DOBROWOLSKI, V.N. *Kisilefskie Zigane*. St. Petersburg, 1908. This classic study centers around the author's fieldwork and personal experiences among the Roma in the region west of Moscow. Though the author provides little background into how he gathered this material, the result is an extremely important, detailed look at the history, life, and customs of Russian Roma at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. See the citation for Devey Fearon de l'Hoste Ranking in this bibliography for more information on this work.

DRUTS, Efim, and Aleksei Gessler. 'Folklor russkikh tsygan.' in I.I. Krupnik, ed., *Malye is Dispersnye Etnicheskie gruppy Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR (Geografiia rasseleniia i kulturnye traditsii)*. Moscow: Moskovskii filial Geograficheskogo ovshestva SSSR, 1985. This glance at the folklore of northern Russian Romany centers around the folk traditions of urban Roma. This tradition, which followed them from their nomadic past, has entered the Russian cultural mainstream, and has taken on a musical dimension never practiced by the Roma themselves.

GILLIAT-SMITH, B.J. 'Russian Gypsy Singers.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. I, No. 2 (1922), pp. 58-64. An excellent look into Romany life in the early Soviet Union, this article consists of frequent interviews with a group of traveling Romany musicians from St. Petersburg who were performing in Bulgaria.

HALLIDAY, W.R. 'A Russian Gypsy Renegade.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 2, no. 3 (1923): p. 6. This is the story of Jacob, a romantic figure and Russian Romany diplomat, who Peter the Great sent to spy on the Turks. It is said that he became an agent for the Ottomans upon his arrival

in Istanbul.

HAARMANN, Harald. *Spracherhaltung und Sprachwechsel als Probleme der interlingualen Soziolinguistik: Studien zur Gruppenmehrsprachigkeit der zigeuner in der Sowjetunion*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1979.

In many ways, this study cuts to the heart of issues of preservation of the Roma's language and culture against the heavy force of assimilation in Soviet society. The author bases his work on a detailed evaluation of the 1970 Soviet census. He looks at how many Roma considered Romani their first language and how many were fluent in a second language. This work provides a unique glimpse into Romany life and acculturation, and underscores the strengths and weaknesses of the linguistic acculturation process in different parts of the former Soviet Union. If this work is flawed, it is because the author seemed to accept Soviet census data at face value.

JANICKI, Joel. 'Gypsies.' in George J. Gutsche, ed. *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literatures*, Vol. 9 (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1989), pp. 186-189. This is an valuable survey of references to Roma in Russian and Soviet literature. This essay underscores the tremendous impact of the Roma on the Russian literati. Writers such as Pushkin, Tolstoi, and Blok have included the Roma in their works.

LEMON, Alaina. 'Increasing Opportunities for Romani Publishing.' *Transitions*, Vol. 1, No. 18 (6 October 1995), pp. 56-58. This article looks at the revival of the Romany press in Eastern and Central Europe. Most of the publications mentioned in this article are included in this bibliography's periodical section.

LEMON, Alaina. 'In Russia, A Community Divided.' *Transitions*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (29 March 1995), pp. 12-18. This essay is drawn from several years of fieldwork done by the author in Moscow and elsewhere. She begins by dealing with the size of the Romany population and traces the history of the Roma in Russia since they arrived there in the 15th century. The author addresses the question of discrimination and looks at state policy towards the Roma since the 18th century, and discusses briefly the political difficulties they face as they try to have their problems addressed in the Russian political arena.

LEMON, Alaina. 'Roma (Gypsies) in the Soviet Union and the Moscow



Theatre Romeni.' Nationalities Papers, Vol. XIX, No. 3 (Winter 1991), pp. 359-372. A study of one of the most unique, longlasting Roma theatrical groups in Europe, it blends the tale of this remarkable theatre with the complex political and cultural upheavals that swept the Soviet Union from the 1930s through the late 1980s. The author has done extensive field work among Soviet Roma.

MANUSH, Leksa. 'Folk lor Latyshskikh Tsygan.' Sovetskaya Etnografiya. Vol. 3 (May-June, 1981), pp. 113-123.

This fine article looks at the history of the study of Latvian Romany folklore from the mid-19th century through the 1970s. It is an essential work for anyone interested in folklore and culture of Latvian Roma.

NAZAROV, Kh.Kh. 'Contemporary Ethnic Development of the Central Asian Gypsies (Liuli).' Soviet Anthropology and Archeology, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (Winter 1982-83), pp. 3-28. This is an indepth exploration of the history and culture of the Liuli, collectively the four groups of Central Asian Roma. The author uses detailed census information from the 1920s to the 1970s to underscore the significance of their presence, which he traces to the Middle Ages. He provides the most indepth look at the Liuli currently available in English. This article is particularly strong on the impact of Soviet policies on the Roma, not only in Central Asia, but throughout the Soviet Union.

RANKING, Devey Fearon de líHoste. 'The Gypsies of Central Russia.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series. Vol. I, No. 3 (January 1911), pp. 195-217; 'The Gypsies of Central Russia: The Gypsies of Kisilefka.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series, Vol. IV, No. 4 (April 1911): pp. 245-258; 'The Gypsies of Central Russia: Manners and Customs.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series. Vol. VI, No. 2 (1912-13), pp. 90-110. This collection of articles is drawn from the author's reading and translation of V.N. Dobrowolski's *Kisilefskie Zigane*, which is discussed elsewhere in this bibliography. The articles provide an extremely useful analysis of Dobrowolski's important studies on the Roma in this village in the Smolensk oblast.

ROM-LEBEDEV, I. *Ot Tsyganskogo khora k teatru Romeni*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1990. Though this excellent study centers around the history of the Moscow Theatre Romeni since its founding in 1931, it is much more. It traces the history of the Roma and their arts back to the 18th century, and brings to life the rich musical and artistic traditions and individuals that have so enriched Russian

history. A unique collection of photos and theatre art make this a very special study of Romany life and culture in Russia and the former Soviet Union.

SHOUP, Paul S. *The East European and Soviet Data Handbook: Political, Social, and Development Indicators, 1945-1975*. Columbia University Press, 1981. A work that contains important data on the Romany population in the former Soviet Union, its constituent republics, and the countries of Eastern Europe.

#### IV. J. The Roma in the Former Yugoslavia

ACTON, T.A. 'Resettlement.' *Migrationworld* 24, no. 4 (1996): pp. 21-6.

The author describes a group of 3,000 Kalderas people from Banja Luka, displaced by war, now trying to settle in Great Britain, and asks for tolerance from their new English hosts.

BARANY, Zoltan D. 'The Roma in Macedonia: Ethnic Politics and the Marginal Condition in a Balkan State.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.18 (July 1995): pp. 515-31. While Macedonia is considered by some to be a Romany haven, this article dispels this myth and shows that Macedonian Roma suffer from the same deep impoverishment and discrimination as do many other Roma in other parts of the Balkans. This article also explores the whole question of the Roma in the broader world of Macedonian ethnic politics.

GJORGJEVIC, Tihomir R. *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*. Budapest:

Buchdruckerei Thalia, 1903. Originally the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of Munich, this classic study traces the history, life, and culture of the Roma in what would become the future Yugoslavia's most important state. He uses ample demographic information to detail the breadth of Romany life in Serbia, and includes a wide range of sources to bring the history of this community to life.

GJORGJEVIC, Tihomir R. 'Die Zigeuner im Vlasenicaer Bezirke in Bosnien.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. New Series*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October 1907), pp. 146-149. This excellent article by one of the Balkan's foremost Romany specialists details the history and culture of the white, black (Karavlas), and Guberti (Kotlari) Roma groups in Bosnia.

GJORGJEVIC, Tihomir R. 'Rumanian Gypsies in Serbia.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (1929), pp. 7-25.

This excellent article provides unique insight into the history of migrations of Romanian Roma, particularly after their emancipation in 1864. He divides Romanian Roma into four categories for the purposes of his study and describes the lifestyle and traditions of each group. He also briefly discusses the plight of the Roma as slaves in Romania. The latter part of the article, which is essential reading for anyone interested in Serbian or Romanian Roma, deals with the life and customs of Romanian Roma in Serbia.

GJORGJEVIC, Tihomir R. 'Von der Zigeunern in Serbien.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. New Series, Vol. I, No. 3 (January 1908), pp. 219-227. An extensive look at the Roma in Serbia, this survey begins with a detailed popu

lation analysis of the Romany presence in this Balkan state. The author follows with a discussion of Romany language usage, lifestyle, and professional activities.

KOMAC, Miran. *Romi na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Institute for Ethnic Studies, 1991. This edited collection, which is anchored by a collection of documents, looks at the historical and contemporary life of the Roma in Slovenia. It discusses Romany ethnology as well as questions of demography and integration and assimilation.

PETROVIC, Alexander. 'Contribution to the Study of the Serbian Gypsies.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (1935), pp. 21-25; Vol. XIV, No. 2 (1935), pp. 86-94; Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1935), pp. 156-159; Vol. XIV, No. 34 (1935), pp. 185-185; Vol. XV, No. 1 (1936), pp. 21-33; Vol. XV, No. 2 (1936), pp. 63-71; Vol. XV, No. 3 (1936), pp. 107-196; Vol. XVI, Nos. 1-2 (1937), pp. 9-26; Vol. XVI, No. 3 (1937), pp. 111-137; Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (January 1939), pp. 24-34; Vol. XVIII, Nos. 2-3 (April-July 1939), pp. 122-139; Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (October 1939), pp. 175-184; Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2 (1940), pp. 34-42; Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 (July 1940), pp. 87-100. This extensive 15-part series on Serbian Roma is essential reading for anyone interested in the various Romany groups that dot the Serbian countryside and cities. While some of these articles could be put into the category of folklore, the author brings in much valuable background information.

PUXON, Grattan. 'Roma in Macedonia.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Fourth Series, Vol. I, No. 2 (1976): pp. 128-33.

This article describes the socio-economic position of the Roma, particularly in Macedonia.

PUXON, Grattan. 'Tito and the Future of Roma.' *Roma* 5 (July 1980).

This analysis emphasizes what the author describes as the gap between the reality of Romany life and the falsehoods supporting Tito's policy towards the Roma.

RAMET, Pedro. 'From Strossmayer to Stepinac: Croatian National Ideology and Catholicism.' *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 12 (spring 1985): pp. 123-39.

This article presents the effects of religious nationalism upon the Roma in this profoundly Catholic country.

RULLMANN, Hans P. 'Child Slave-Trade in Yugoslavia: Gypsies (Romas) Oppression.' *That's Yugoslavia* 5 (1986): pp. 5-8. This article reveals the organized kidnapping of Romany children from what was then Yugoslavia, either for sale to Italians and Americans, or for training in crime.

STRUKELJ, Pavla. *Romi na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva Zablotzba v Ljubljani, 1980. This is the most complete history of the Roma in Slovenia. What differentiated Romany traditions and life in this former Yugoslavian state was the heritage of Austrian rule. Though there was never a large Romany presence in Slovenia, it suffered from all of the prejudices and mistreatment suffered by other Roma in other southern Slavic states. The work contains a bibliographic selection of very useful works for further study of Slovenian Roma.

VUKANOVIC, T.P. 'The Gypsy Population in Yugoslavia.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Third Series, Vol. XLII, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1963), pp. 10-27. In this important look at the Romany demographics throughout Yugoslavia, the author reveals that many Roma tried to hide their ethnic background, and often referred to themselves as Serbian or Yugoslavian. He carefully examines Romany movements in Croatia and Serbia in the 19th century, and discusses the impact of such activities on 20th century settlement patterns. He also explores the question of the Romany use of Romani at the end of

the 19th century, and uses considerable data to evaluate the status of the Roma in mid-20th century Yugoslavia. He uses a number of charts and graphs to break down the Romany population according to social structure, professions, and age.

VUKANOVIC, T.P. Killing of Old People Among Gypsies on the Balkan Peninsular. VI Congres International des Sociences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques (Paris, 30 July-6 August 1960), Vol. II . Paris: Musee de l'Homme, 1964. This look at the Romany practice in Serbia and Montenegro in the 1930s of allowing the elderly to go off to die with dignity provides some interesting insight into the interaction of Romany nomadic traditions vis-à-vis those of their non-Romany neighbors.

VUKANOVIC, T.P. 'The Manufacture of Pots and Pans Among the Gypsies of the Region of Kosovo and Methohija.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series, Vol. XL, Nos. 1-2 (January-April, 1961), pp. 35-44. This study discusses the influence of Romany nomadism on the development and spread of pot manufacturing on Roma not only in Kosovo, Methohija, but also in other parts of Macedonia and Montenegro. It traces the spread of this craft among various Romany groups throughout the region, and discusses the complex impact of this trade upon the Roma.

VUKANOVIC, T.P. 'Part Taken by Gypsies in the Peasant Rebellion in Srem (Syrmiium) in 1807.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series, Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 1-2 (January-April 1969), pp. 77-79. This article provides an important look at the active role played by nomadic Roma in the Serbian national revolution in Vojvodina in 1807.

VUKANOVIC, T.P. 'The Position of Women Among Gypsies in the Kosovo-Methohija Region.' Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. Third Series, Vol. XL, Nos. 3-4 (July-October 1961), pp. 81-100. This detailed look at the status of Romany women in Serbian Kosovo-Methohija begins with the spread of the Roma into this part of Yugoslavia. It provides ample demographic evidence to document the Romany presence there, and uses similar information to evaluate the professional status of Romany women in the region. The article is anchored by a strong endnote section.

VUKANOVIC, Tatomir. Romi (Tsigani u Jugoslavji). Nova Jugoslavija, 1983. A masterful study of the Romany presence in the southern Slavic lands from the Middle Ages through the last third of the 20th century, this article blends

a tradi

tional historical overview with an insightful look at Romany lifestyle, culture, religion, and nomadic-sedentary traditions. This work is greatly enhanced by artwork and photographs, and has a strong bibliography.

## **The Roma in the Ottoman Empire**

CLARK, Edison L. *The Races of European Turkey: Their History, Condition and Prospects*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1878. This work offers some details of Romany daily life under Ottoman rule.

INALCIK, H. 'Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire.' In Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Bela K. Kiraly, eds. *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: the East European Pattern*. New York: Brooklyn College Press, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1979. This study provides a unique look at the status of Christian and Muslim Roma in the Balkans, and is based on Ottoman primary and secondary sources.

SOULIS, George C. 'A Note on the Taxation of the Balkan Gypsies in the Seventeenth Century.' *The Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Third Series 38, nos. 1-2 (January-April 1959): pp. 154-6. This article describes how the Roma enjoyed full liberty under Ottoman rule as long as they paid their taxes according to their religious beliefs. The Christian Roma paid a higher tax than the Muslim Roma.

SUGAR, Peter. *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977. This summary of Ottoman history contains information about the liberties Roma enjoyed under Ottoman rule. It also discusses their tax status within the Balkan parts of the Turkish empire.

## **Academic Studies about**

# Roma in Western Europe

## General Information

‘Citizens of Europe.’ *The Economist* (April 21, 1990), pp. 55-6. This article, which focuses on traveling Roma, details the continued discrimination they face throughout Europe. They are, according to the article, true citizens of Europe.

LIEGEOIS, Jean-Pierre, et al. *La scolarisation des enfants tsiganes et voyageurs; School Provision for Gypsy and Traveller Children: A Synthesis Report*. Luxembourg: Commission des Communautés Europeennes/Commission of the European Communities, 1986, 1987. This work details a study done for the CEC in 1984-1985 on the problems faced by Romany children in the public educational systems of Western Europe. The report makes suggestions for how to improve the educational environment for these children, and how better to educate teachers about the special needs of Romany children.

‘True, Tormented Pan-Europeans.’ *The Economist* (October 26, 1991), p. 66. This article looks at the prejudices that contemporary Roma face throughout Europe.

SOEST, George von. *Ziguner zwischen Verfolgung und Integration*. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1979. This joint German-Swiss study explores the history of the Roma, who the author feels have been traditionally trapped between the forces of discrimination and forced assimilation. Though there is ample background information on the Roma in this study, it concentrates on post-World War II Germany. It has a good bibliography and list of addresses of Romany organizations.

# The Roma in Austria and Switzerland

European Roma Rights Center. *Divide and Deport: Roma and Sinti in Austria*. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center, 1996. This is a report on the treatment of poor aliens, particularly Romany migrants, by the Austrian government and the way Roma are denied any enforceable human rights there.

FISK, Robert. 'Fear of Nazis Reigns among Vienna Gypsies 50 Years On.' *The Times*, (14 March 1988), p. 2. The author articulates the silent fear of the Austrian Roma of recurrent Nazi persecution in a country where the Roma are officially still not welcome.

PERCHINIG, Bernhard. *Die rechtliche, oekonomische und soziale Situation von Migrantinnen in Oesterreich*. Prepared for the Conference on Migration in the New Member States of the European Union, December 15-16, 1995. This is a report about the legal, economic, and social aspects of seeking asylum in Austria.

WILLIAMS, Frances. 'Swiss Shame over Stolen Children.' *Times* (London), 8 June 1986, p. 10. This article exposes Swiss racism in transferring Romany children from their kin to non-Romany families in an official plan to annihilate the Swiss Roma's way of life.

# The Roma in Germany

DAVID, Henriette. 'Nouvelles de l'étranger: Allemagne.' *Etudes Tsiganes* 19, nos. 1-2 (1973): p.75.  
This article records an ethnic clash between Germans and Roma, underlining continuing anti-Roma sentiment in Germany.

GEIGES, Anita, and Bernhard WETTE. *Zigeuner Heute: Verfolgung und Diskriminierung in der BRD: eine Anklageschrift*. Bornheim-Merten: Lamuv-Verlag, 1979.



This is an account of the German Roma's sufferings, rationalized as a result of the social and cultural differences between the marginalized Roma and the dominant German societies.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'Gypsy History in Germany and Neighboring Lands: A Chronology Leading to the Holocaust and Beyond,' in David M. Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1991. This excellent chronological overview traces the history of mistreatment of the Roma from the time of their arrival in the German states in the early 15th century through 1989. Seen through the detailed chronology, the Holocaust seems as though it was almost a natural outcome of centuries of destructive and sometimes deadly, anti-Roma policy and practice. This fine essay is anchored by detailed footnotes.

Human Rights Watch. *Foreigners Out: Xenophobia and Right-Wing Violence in Germany*. New York: Human Rights Watch Report, October 1992. This survey looks at the rise of neo-Nazi and other extremists groups in Germany after the collapse of communism and reunification. Among the victims of this upwelling of extremism are the Roma, many of them recent arrivals who fled to Germany in hopes of avoiding similar treatment in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

KOPF, Peter. *Sinti und Roma*. Munich: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag, 1994. This study about the German Roma and their current problems compares their pre- and post-war treatment.

MACARTNEY, Robert J. 'East Berlin Said to Agree to Holocaust Payments.' *Washington Post*, 19 October 1988, pp. 25-26. This article is about the East German decision to recompense Jewish survivors of war crimes while refusing to pay anything to Romany survivors.

MARTINS-HEUSS, Kirsten. 'Reflections on the Collective Identity of German Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) After National Socialism.' *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1989), pp. 193-211. This study, which draws on the author's earlier work 'Zur mystischen Figur des Zigeuners' in *der deutschen Zigeunerforschung* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen Verlag, 1983), centers around interviews with survivors of the Romany

Holocaust. Despite their suffering, these victims retain a strong sense of Romany identity.

MEAGHER, Edmund Anthony. 'Gypsies in Germany Make a Stand.' *The Christian Century*, April 11, 1990, pp. 370-372. The author explores the outburst in anti-Roma violence in Germany in 1989-1990. Most of it was aimed at recently arrived Romany immigrants who were fleeing similar mistreatment in Eastern Europe. The article highlights efforts by the German Evangelical church to convince government officials to grant the Roma special 5-year residency and work permits. Perhaps the most tragic of these upheavals took place on October 2, 1989, when Hamburg police tried to displace a number of recently arrived Roma who were camped out at the site of the former Neuengamme concentration camp. Some of the Roma who were attacked by police in full battle gear were survivors of the Holocaust.

MODE, H., and S. WOLFFLING. *Zigeuner: Der Weg eines Volkes in Deutschland*. Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1968. This book explains the connection between modern Romany problems and historic German-Roma relationships.

NOAKES, Jeremy. 'Social Outcasts in Nazi Germany.' *History Today* 18 (1985); and *New York Times*, 17 September 1986. This author makes the point that Roma have historically been the target of German abuse and argues that the lesson of such injustice and violence should never be forgotten.

POND, Elizabeth. 'Romanies: Hitler's Other Victims.' *Christian Science Monitor*, 7 March 1980, p. 17. This article examines the West German government that called Romany demands for war crimes reparations unreasonable and slanderous. *Survey of the Policy and Law Regarding Aliens in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Bonn: Federal Ministry of the Interior, 1992. Mentioned in I. Fonseca's *Bury Me Standing*. This study of legislation concerning German immigration tells of the difficulties faced by Roma in obtaining the status of legal immigrant.

VOSSSEN, Rudiger. *Zigeuner: Roma, Sinti, Gitanos, Gypsies, zwischen Verfolgung und Romatisierung*. Frankfurt: Ullstein Fachbuch, 1983. This explains the different tribal labels used to distinguish the Roma. In Nazi Germany, for example, the Lalleri and Sinti (see supra, Kueppers) were Aryan, at least to SS head Himmler, while other Roma were condemned as racially stained.

WEISSENBRUCH, Johann Benjamin. *Ausfuehrliche Relation von der famosen Zigeuner - Diebs - Mord - und Rauberbande*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1772.

This late 18th-century work describes the wholesale murders of the Roma, specifically five pogroms which occurred across German lands.

## The Roma in France

BROWN, Marilyn. *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in 19th Century France*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research, 1985. This work looks at the influence of the mythical Bohemian lifestyle of Roma and others on French artists in 19th century France.

SANGAN, Jean-Claude. *Une Ecole chez les Tziganes*. Preface par M. A. Bloch. [A Romany school. Introduction by M. A. Bloch]. Societe d'Édition. Paris: Droit & Liberte, 1974. This teacher's journal contains details about the Roma. At the end of the book is a French administrative order concerning legislation on the education of the nomadic Roma.

## The Roma in Scandinavia and the Netherlands

DYRLUND, F. *Tatere og Natmandsfolk i Danmark*. Copenhagen, 1872. This book tells about medieval Danish migrations and the origins of the Roma in Denmark.

GRONFORS, M. *Blood Feuding among Finnish Gypsies*. Helsinki, 1977. This book with Romany life and customs in Finland.

HEYMOWSKI, A. *Swedish Travellers and Their Ancestry*. Uppsala, 1969. Focusing on the Swedish Roma, this book discusses their first

migration there and describes their present nomadism.

HOVENS, P., and R. DAHLER, eds. *Zigeuners in Nederland*. Nijmegen/Rijswijk, 1988.

This collection of essays about the Dutch Roma contains inside information about their relatively settled communities.

LUCASSEN, L. *En Men noemede hen Zigeuners*. Amsterdam and The Hague, 1990. This relatively recent account deals with Roma living in or passing through the Netherlands.

VAN KAPPEN, O. *Geschiedenis der Zigeuner in Nederland*. Assen, 1965. Aimed at both the specialist and the layperson, this work describes the mistreatment historically suffered by the Roma in the Netherlands.

## The Roma in Spain and Portugal

ALFARO, Antonio Gomez. *The Great Gypsy Round-Up*. Gypsy Research Center/Editorial Presencia Gitana, Spain, 1993. The book discusses the general imprisonment of 10,000-12,000 Spanish Roma during the reign of Ferdinand VI in July 1749, for the collective crime of being Gypsy.

AMADOR, Antonio Martinez. 'Technical Racism and Transformation in Spanish Gypsy Society.' In *Romani Language and Culture*. Sarajevo: Institute za Proucavanje Nacionalnih Odnosa, 1989.

This is a report on anti-Roma incidents in Spain, where the Roma were the target of attempted expulsions and even lynchings.

BOHLEN, Celestine. 'Spanish Martyr is First Gypsy Beatified by Catholic Church.' *New York Times*. May 5, 1997, pp. A1-A8. This article discusses the beatification of Ceferino Jimenez Malla, El Pele, a Roma executed as a martyr to his faith during the Spanish Civil War. Beatification is only the first of the several steps to sainthood in the Catholic church.

COELHO, F.A. *Os Ciganos de Portugal*. Lisbon, 1892.

A work that contains theories about Romany origins in Portugal. DONOVAN, B. M. 'Changing Perceptions of Social Deviance: Gypsies in Early Modern Portugal and Brazil.' *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 26 (Fall 1992): pp. 33-53.

This work argues that the use of African slaves as forced labor in early Portugal

and Brazil kept the Roma from suffering the horrible discrimination that they faced in other parts of Europe and Latin American.

GASSOL, Juan Castella. *El problema Gitano*. Madrid: Editorial ZYX, 1967. The author writes about Romany racial inferiority, claiming that the Gypsies are for the Spanish what the Blacks are for the Yankees.

LOPEZ DE MENESES, A. *La inmigracion gitana en Espana en el siglo XV*. Martinez Ferrando Archivero. Madrid: Asociacion nacional de bibliotecarios, archiveros y archeologos, 1968.

This is an account of the Romany migration in Spain in the 15th century.

YOORS, Jan. *The Gypsies of Spain*. New York: Macmillan, 1974. This book, with photos by A. Lopez, is based on the author's travels throughout Spain. He describes in some depth the life of the Roma in this country.

## The Roma in India and the Middle East

GOEJE, M. J. de. *Accounts of the Gypsies in India*. Delhi: New Society, 1976. Contribution to the proceedings of the Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen of Amsterdam in 1875.

The author hypothesizes that between the 10th and the 15th centuries, the Roma emigrated from India through today's Iran, entering Europe through Asia Minor.

HANCOCK, Ian. 'On the Migration and Affiliation of the Domba: Iranian Words in Rom, Lom, and Dom Gypsy.' *International Romani*

Occasional Papers, series F, no. 8 (1993).

The author discusses Romany migration and their linguistic heritage, noting commonalities between Middle Eastern and European Roma.

KOCHANOWSKI, J. 'Roma: History of Their Indian Origin.' *Roma* 4 (1979): pp. 16-32.

This work focuses on Indian history and the origins of the Romany minority and their subsequent migration throughout the world.

LONGPERIER, G. de. 'L'Inde et ses mysteres.' *Musee Universel* 1 (1857): pp. 330-6. This article attempts to show the ties between Roma and India.

MACRITCHIE, David, ed. *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*. New Society Publications, Delhi, 1886. This English translation of A Contribution to the History of the Gypsies by M. J. de Goeje, professor of Arabic at Leyden University, provides a unique look at the Roma in late 19th century India.

TURNER, R. L. 'The Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series* 5 (1926): pp. 145-89. This article about the Roma's linguistic origins yielded a polemic between Turner and Sampson. Sampson's reply and the author's rejoinder can both be found in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series* 6 (1926).

## The Roma in North and South America

GROPPER, Rena C. *Gypsies in the City: Cultural Patterns and Survival*. Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1975. The author wrote this social study of the North American Roma and their relatively closed community based on her extensive fieldwork among them.

KEPHART, William. *Extraordinary Groups: The Sociology of Unconventional Lifestyles*. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982. This sociological study of North American communal subcultures (the Amish, Shakers, Mormons, etc.) devotes its first chapter to the American

Roma and their uncompromising dedication to firm social boundaries, keeping the gadje total outsiders.

MARCHBIN, A.A. 'Gypsy Immigration to Canada.' *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series*, 13 (1934): pp. 134-44.

This is an article on the history of Romany migration to Canada from the United States and Europe. Some of the research the author used in this article later became part of his Ph.D. dissertation, *A Critical History of the Origin and Migration of the Gypsies* (Pittsburgh, 1939).

MAZZONE, G. L. 'Traveling Criminals: Take the Money and Run.' *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 63 (July 1994): pp. 5-8. This article is aimed at law enforcement personnel, containing statistics about Romany criminal activities.

MCLAUGHLIN, John B. *Gypsy Lifestyle*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980. This is a controversial book about Romany lifestyle and their traditional occupations in the United States, written by a deputy sheriff and an associate professor with the Police Training Institute at the University of Illinois.

SALO, M. T. 'Gypsy Immigration to the United States.' *Papers from the Sixth and Seventh Annual Meetings, Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter*, New York, 1986, pp. 85-96. Focused on Romany economic adaptability, this paper offers information about Roma kumpania and their socio-economic patterns.

SALO, M. T., ed. 'The American Kalderas: Gypsies in the New World.' *Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, held at Wagner College, Staten Island, New York, September 29, 1979*. Hackettstown, New Jersey: Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, 1981. This is a collection of multidisciplinary studies about the American Kalderas, authored two years after the formation of the North American Chapter of the Gypsy Lore Society.

SUTHERLAND, Anne. *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans*. London and New York: Free Press/Macmillan, 1975. This portrait of the American Roma kumpania and its complex socio-economic and judicial system is based on the author's field work among a group of Vlach Roma.

SWAY, M. *Familiar Strangers: Gypsy Life in America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. This is a sociological study of the American Roma.

THOMAS, James D., et al. 'Disease, Lifestyle and Consanguinity in Fifty-Eight American Gypsies'. *Lancet*, 15 August 1987, pp. 376-79. This medical study of the Roma presents the medical risks assumed by a semi-closed community.

WEBER, Bruce. 'A Hard Lesson.' *New York Times Magazine*, 23 March 1988. This article discusses the fact that the Capitol Children's Museum in Washington D.C. refused to include Roma among the Nazis' victims