

Hana Kubátová

Jewish and Romani Encounters under Slovak Persecution

Abstract

This article examines the persecution of Jews and Roma in wartime Slovakia, with a particular focus on the historically multicultural eastern region of the former Šariš Zemplín County. It studies the removal of Roma from Slovak towns and villages from 1941, and the 1942 deportation of Jews to occupied Poland. These events occurred concurrently with the regime's "civilisation mission" in the peripheries. While it was Nazi Germany that fuelled the machinery of death and destruction that marked World War II, the speed and direction of ousting the Jews and Roma from Slovakia was not straightforward and depended on national and local factors and actors. The article shows that the racialisation of Slovakia's borderlands was driven by both the urban elites in Bratislava who tried to appease Hitler and the national population, as well as the inhabitants of the volatile peripheries themselves. In this sense, the two processes of Jewish and Romani persecution were connected in the racial imaginings of the fascist Slovak state.

Elena Lacková's play *The Burning Gypsy Camp* (in Slovak, *Horiaci cigánsky tábor*) has three acts – taking place shortly after the proclamation of the Slovak state, in forced labor camps, and in the immediate aftermath of World War II. The play tells the story of a Romani family living on the outskirts of an unnamed village somewhere in Šariš Zemplín County, the eastern corner of what was left of the republic.¹ Early in the play, we witness the family being forbidden from entering the village, and the local Romani men being taken for slave labour to work on the railway line linking Prešov and Strážske, a strategic development project of the Slovak regime. One of the play's central figures is the daughter Angela who falls in love with Anton, an engineer and non-Romani Slovak, as he comes to inspect the Romani settlement with a Hlinka Guard member named Andrej. There is a scene in which Anton approaches Angela and, clearly having feelings for her as well, he warns her of what is to come: "Angela, what I'm about to tell you, keep it a secret. They will persecute not only the Jews but you as well. You will face tough times. But you must not give in. Stick together, and if necessary, resist."² Helped by Anton, Angela later incites a rebellion against the gendarmes and the Hlinka Guard, who represent fascist rule in the play.

1 I will be using "eastern Slovakia" and "Šariš Zemplín County" largely interchangeably here, although they are not necessarily synonymous with each other. Šariš Zemplín County came into existence on 1 January 1940, when the law on the division of the territory of Slovakia into six administrative territories called "counties" (*župa* in Slovak) came into effect. The term "eastern Slovakia" can and, in some accounts, also does include regions around the Tatra Mountains, which were incorporated into the Tatran County. It is also important to note that Šariš Zemplín County became more of a borderland region because of the broader geopolitical changes in the country, prompted by the First Vienna Award of 2 November 1938 and also the Slovak-Hungarian War of March 1939.

2 Elena Lacková, *Cigánsky tábor: Hra o troch dejstvách (štyroch obrazoch)* [Gypsy Camp: A Play in Three Acts (Four Scenes)] (Prague: Československé divadelní a literární jednatelství, 1956), 15. The play was later rehearsed under the shortened title *The Gypsy Camp* (in Slovak, *Cigánsky tábor*).

Lacková was born in 1921 to a Romani family in Velký Šariš in the north-east of Slovakia. Velký Šariš was a multicultural town, with mostly Slovaks but also Ruthenians, one of the largest Roma communities in the area, and a small Jewish minority living there.³ Lacková witnessed first-hand the structural persecution of Roma by the fascist regime and the more personal torment of Roma that came from neighbours, local politicians, and religious authorities from within the county and the town itself.⁴ After the war, Lacková became a renowned author and activist, pushing for the educational and cultural rights of the Roma. She wrote the play in 1946 and first rehearsed it with local Romani residents from her hometown Velký Šariš.⁵ The communist regime that rose to power with the February 1948 coup turned Lacková into “a model ‘citizen of gypsy origin’ who could help train other Roma as good socialist citizens”.⁶ The play became popular and, as it was perceived as supporting the socialist ideal of liberation from oppression, Lacková toured Czechoslovakia with it.⁷ As late as 2000, the play was performed in Košice by the Romani professional theatre Romathan.⁸ Lacková had a clear audience in mind when composing the play:

I began to entertain the idea that we had to impose ourselves on human society in a different way than the gadje [non-Roma] had imagined. In parallel with these considerations, our war experiences kept coming back to me, and they were put together as if in scenes and on a stage. [...] So, one full moon night, I decided to write a play. Our Romani theatre! And to show the gadje who we are, what we have experienced and what we experience now, how we feel and how we would like to live.⁹

More than seven decades later, knowledge of (and interest in) Romani persecution in wartime Slovakia is scarce. Scholars of the Slovak state and the Holocaust, including myself, have contributed to the marginalisation of Romani experiences in the 1930s and 1940s. While advocating for an integrated story in the various books and articles published on the era, historians have often overlooked the oppression of Slovak Roma. I certainly I did.

This article builds on a presentation which I gave at the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute in May 2021 on my latest book project, which is about the making of the Holocaust from the perspective of doubled edges, that of Slovakia and its eastern peripheries. I look here at the mediation that took place between the urban elites in Bratislava and the people of the eastern edges where Lacková also situated her play. In the Q&A that followed, I was asked about the situation of Roma in some of the vil-

3 See especially *Moje mesto Velký Šariš* [My Town Velký Šariš] (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Anna Nagyová, 2013), and David Scheffel, “Belonging and Domesticated Ethnicity in Velký Šariš, Slovakia”, *Romani Studies* 25 (2015): 115–149.

4 Elena Lacková, *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou* [I Was Born Under a Lucky Star], ed. Milena Hübschmannová (Prague: Triáda, 1997), 105–171. See also Scheffel, “Belonging and Domesticated Ethnicity in Velký Šariš, Slovakia”, 126–130.

5 Lacková, *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou*, 156–171. See also Milena Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni: Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska 1939–1945* [After the Jews, the Gypsies: Testimonies of Roma from Slovakia 1939–1945], vol. I. (1939–August 1944) (Prague: Triáda, 2005), 97–109.

6 Celia Donert, *The Rights of the Roma: The Struggle for Citizenship in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Human Rights in History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 3.

7 See also the interview with Elena Lacková’s son Milan Lacko, “Milan Lacko (1941)”, *Paměť národa*, accessed 1 October 2022, <https://www.pametnaroda.cz/sk/lacko-milan-20170512-0>.

8 “Romské divadlo” [Roma Theatre], *Radiožurnál*, 1 June 2017, <https://radiozurnal.rozhlas.cz/romske-divadlo-8106654>.

9 Lacková, *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou*, 156. See also Markéta Bernatt-Reszczyńska, “Před sto lety se narodila romská spisovatelka Elena Lacková” [A Hundred Years Ago, Romani Writer Elena Lacková Was Born], *Paměť národa*, 21 March 2021, <https://www.pametnaroda.cz/cs/magazin/pribehy/pred-sto-lety-se-narodila-romska-spisovatelka-elena-lackova>.

lages and towns of eastern Slovakia, a question I have received repeatedly since embarking on this project. I remember we had an interesting conversation about the lack of centralised decision-making in Slovakia when it comes to the Roma and some of the regional aspects of their persecution. Yet I also remember my responses being vague, heavily leaning on scholarship by Ctibor Nečas, Milena Hübschmannová, and others, without much of my own contribution.¹⁰ The discussion we had stuck with me as my book project evolved. Turning from a microhistory of a place into a meso-level analysis of how this place was transformed, and by whom, prompted me to look at eastern Slovakia not only as a geographical place and a social space, but also as a civilisational project. It was there and then – as the “backward” villages prided themselves on finally having concrete pavements, a renovated swimming pool, their first houses of culture, and a new railway connection – that I began thinking more intensely about the place of the Roma in the story of (not only eastern) Slovakia during World War II.

This article may be read as a continuation of where I left my presentation, returning to eastern Slovakia to explore the separate removal of Jews and Roma from what was historically a shared space and place. I focus on two processes that for me exemplify the racialisation of borderlands: the segregation of Roma, which culminated in their being barred from towns and villages from 1941, and the 1942 deportations of Jews most often to the Lublin district of occupied Poland. I take the references Romani witnesses made to the persecution of Jews – as Lacková did through the figure Anton – as speaking to the entanglement of Jewish and Romani suffering under Slovak persecution. World War II spurred on the machinery of death and destruction, it was driven by Hitler’s Germany and it cannot be explained without pointing to the terror that accompanied the Nazi reign. Yet, as elsewhere, the transfer of racial hierarchies was not straightforward in Slovakia. War contributed to a process that was already in motion. Moreover, the speed and direction in which the machinery would move depended on local actors, including neighbours.

I do not want to imply here that the persecution of the Roma is not a story worth writing on its own.¹¹ Rather, by exposing how Jews and Roma were expelled from the towns and villages of eastern Slovakia and how their removal was presented and ac-

10 See, for example: Ctibor Nečas, “Pronásledování Cikánů v období slovenského státu” [The Persecution of Roma During the Period of the Slovak State], *Slovenský národopis* 36 (1988): 126–136; Ctibor Nečas, “Pracovní útvary tzv. asociálů a Cikánů na východním Slovensku v roce 1942” [Work Units of So-called ‘Asocials’ and Roma in Eastern Slovakia in 1942], *Nové obzory* 17 (1988): 126–136; Ctibor Nečas, “Štatistické výsledky o cigánskej populácii na východnom Slovensku” [Statistical Results on the Romani Population in Eastern Slovakia], in *Historica carpatica* (1989), 213–224; Milena Hübschmannová, “Vztahy mezi Romy a Židy na východním Slovensku před druhou světovou válkou” [Relationships Between Roma and Jews in Eastern Slovakia before World War II], *Romano Džaniben* 7, no. 1–2 (2000): 17–51; Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* [Czechoslovak Roma During the Years 1938–1945], (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1994); Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni*; Anna Jurová, “Historický vývoj rómských osád na Slovensku a problematika vlastnických vztahov k pôde (‘nelegálne osady’)” [Historical Development of Roma Settlements in Slovakia and Issues of Land Ownership (‘Illegal Settlements’)], *Človek a spoločnosť* 5, no. 2 (2002): 13–43; Karol Janas, “Pracovní útvary v Dubnici nad Váhom” [The Work Unit in Dubnica nad Váhom], *Bulletin Muzea romské kultury Brno* 1–2 (2003): 81–83; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory: Premeny hospodárskeho a sociálneho postavenia slovenských Rómov s osobitným zameraním na tábory perzekučného a internačného charakteru na severozápadnom Slovensku* [Forgotten Camps: Transformations of the Economic and Social Status of Slovak Roma with a Special Focus on Persecution and Internment Camps in Northwestern Slovakia] (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* [The Persecution of Roma in the Slovak Republic] (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Martin Pékár, “Výber dokumentov k rómskej otázke na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1945” [Selection of Documents on the Romani Issue in Eastern Slovakia During 1942–1945], *Annales historici Presovienses* 6 (2006): 309–331.

11 See Ari Joskowicz, “Separate Suffering, Shared Archives: Jewish and Romani Histories of Nazi Persecution”, *History and Memory* 28, no. 1 (2016): 130.

knowledge as connected, my aim here is to expand on the enactment of racial hierarchies in a local setting.¹² I take four steps in making my argument heard. I begin by expanding on my text's aims but also its restrictions, outlining the larger framework of my thinking and the sources I lean on. I then turn to the village as the playground for my analysis and expand on the role that the "backward" borderlands played for the regime. In this context, I examine Jewish-Romani encounters in eastern Slovakia up until 1942, when there still was a sizable presence of both groups. I discuss how the largely separate processes were also connected in the racial imaginings of the fascist Slovak state.

Before proceeding, I wish to acknowledge something the reader will already know, namely how messy ethnic categories are. So why do I then continue to use the problematic categories of "Slovaks", "Jews", and "Roma" here? One answer is for the brevity of the text and for its scope – this is not a work on how or to what extent the Jews or Roma of Slovakia were also Slovak Jews or Slovak Roma. With my language choices, though, I also wish to articulate my understanding that the inclusion of Jews and Roma in the Slovak national group was always limited. The war experiences were also ethnically conditioned in wartime Slovakia. And so is also how this past has been remembered.

Which Encounters, Whose Experiences, Why Slovakia

The title of my article sets the broader framework of my thinking here and calls for clarification. I shall begin with the term "encounters". My work here is influenced by the understanding of the Holocaust as a communal or intimate genocide, to paraphrase historians Omer Bartov and Natalia Aleksiu.¹³ What this also means is that I am particularly interested in the proximity of life and death in genocides, in the paradoxical normality of violence that took place in the historically multiethnic regions of eastern Europe during World War II. Annihilation was far from a bureaucratic process in the east. Violence had a familiar face here, with beatings, rape, and murder often taking place on streets, main squares, and in the nearby forests. This made it difficult, if not impossible, for neighbours to stand by the events, as the category of bystanders or onlookers would perhaps suggest.¹⁴ There are undoubtedly important factors that differentiate the ways in which both the war and the Holocaust played out in Slovakia and eastern Galicia, for instance. My aim here is not to make general strikes. On the contrary, thinking about the shared aspects of genocides is a means for me to integrate voices and experiences otherwise excluded from official or dominant narratives. The Holocaust, as I see it, was not something that happened to Slovakia by a group of anonymous fascists. It happened *in* Slovakia, and *in* the towns and villages of the eastern peripheries.

12 Jan Ort, *Facets of a Harmony: The Roma and Their Locatedness in Eastern Slovakia* (Prague: Karolinum, 2022), 158.

13 See especially: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–44", in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, eds. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420; Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018); Natalia Aleksiu, "Intimate Violence: Jewish Testimonies on Victims and Perpetrators in Eastern Galicia", *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23, no. 1–2 (2017): 17–33.

14 For my take on the concept of bystanders, and why I think there is analytical value in the term, if used properly, see Hana Kubátová and Michal Kubát, "Were There 'Bystanders' in Topoľčany? On Concept Formation and the 'Ladder of Abstraction'", *Contemporary European History* 27, no. 4 (2018): 528–581.

There is another reason why I find the term “encounters” helpful. It prompts me to think about cleansing the borderlands as a means rather than an end. I build here on works that look at multiethnic borderlands as spaces where nations are made, considering outlying regions as crucial for the imaginings of the people, placing conceptions of nationalism, civilisation, and hierarchies tightly together. As historian Kate Brown so eloquently showed on the example of *kresy*, the Polish eastern borderlands, “it was this quixotic, hard-to-pin-down quality of the borderland which inspired state officials to try to alter it radically by making it comprehensible as ethnically pure nationspace”.¹⁵ As she argued, it was not the “sheer desire for annihilation” but the “need for cultural and economic elevation” that dictated destruction in the borderlands.¹⁶ To some extent, her words apply to Šariš Zemplín County as well, and I show this by inviting readers to scrutinise sources against each other. I rely on national and regional modernising plans for eastern Slovakia, as captured in the institutional collections of various ministries and regional offices. I confront these with witness testimonies, especially with late affidavits provided by Jews, Roma, and Slovaks. When listening closely to the witnesses, we can dissect how intertwined progress and civilisation were with ethnic purification in wartime Slovakia.

My second note necessarily relates to “Jewish and Romani” in the title. I take seriously the words of historian Ari Joskowicz who warns

against uncritical comparisons between Jewish and Romani experiences. Comparative history implies an exploration of the similarities and dissimilarities between distinct communities with their separate histories. Yet even the most straightforward histories of the Roma genocide tend to use the Jewish Holocaust as a foil.¹⁷

Late witness testimonies that I have relied on here, but much more also in my other works, and that are part of the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Oral History Documentation Project “Crimes Against Civilian Populations during WW2: Victims, Witnesses, Collaborators and Perpetrators”, as well as the collections at the Milan Šimečka Foundation, very much treat the Jewish experiences “as the model case of racial persecution”.¹⁸ Romani witnesses were typically explicitly questioned about their encounters with the Jews before and during the war. This was not the case the other way around. Interviewers rarely asked Jewish witnesses anything about their Roma neighbours, and Slovak witnesses were usually directed to speak about the Jews but not the Roma. In short, there are significant methodological constraints concerning how these testimonies were collected, constraints that cannot be easily avoided. So, is there even any point in addressing the persecution of Jews and Roma jointly? And what do Roma witnesses say when they relate their suffering to that of the Jews? Romani responses about the Jews were very much about their own experiences and projections of the future. As Joskowicz wrote, “Jews and Roma both gauged their position in the camps through the presence of the other, believing that the demise of another victim group and its treatment spoke directly to their own chances of survival.”¹⁹ Yet, while separate, the persecution of Jews

¹⁵ See Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 2. For the Polish side of the border, see also the nuanced account on nation-building and modernisation in Kathryn Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge: A Polish Borderland in the Interwar World* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

¹⁶ Brown, *A Biography of No Place*, 2.

¹⁷ Joskowicz, “Separate Suffering, Shared Archives”, 130.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 119.

and Roma were also not disconnected, even before entering the camps. The removal of Jews and Roma exposed not only ties that existed between the two groups but also ties with the Slovaks, and even more so the asymmetries in the inclusion of Jews and Roma in the towns and villages of eastern Slovakia. Studying Jewish and Romani persecution in parallel while being mindful of their specificities may help us uncover the mechanism by which social hierarchies were turned into racial hierarchies.

This brings me to my third point, captured in the term “Slovak persecution”. I am aware of the timeframe and geopolitical conditions we are speaking of here. I am also familiar with the influence Nazi Germany had on politics in Europe, with the formal but also informal ties that existed between Berlin and Bratislava. Slovakia was, in many ways, a model satellite, its existence was the outcome of Nazi Germany’s plans with the region. Acknowledging its subordinate position, the Bratislava government aligned its foreign, military, and economic policies with that of Germany.²⁰ This said, the national government retained many of its powers until 1944, with the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising and the German occupation. The radicalisation of nationality politics in Slovakia was very much a consequence of power struggles on the domestic scene, especially as measures against the Jews were often proposed to outdo political competitors. As I see it, though, the responsibility of the national and local actors in establishing a racial system in Slovakia is sometimes minimised – deliberately or not – by references to “chaos” in its rule. “Chaos” became almost an explanatory factor for scholars when confronted with policies that were introduced but later reversed, policies that were announced but never followed up on, and policies that were implemented differently across counties and even towns and villages.²¹ “Chaos” and “mismanagement” is what many point to when trying to make sense of conflicting directives taken against the Jews, and certainly also the Roma in the east. My perspective is slightly different. The strength of the fascist Slovak regime lay in its dependence on indirect rule. Allowing different actors to enter politics meant a somewhat organic rule, yet it also enabled the regime to build a diverse group of perpetrators. In short, while the regime certainly wanted to have this “chaos” under control, it also relied on what seemed like pandemonium in its everyday reign.

20 For different views on the extent of this influence, see, for example: Valerián Bystrický, “Nacistické Nemecko a vznik Slovenského štátu” [Nazi Germany and the Establishment of the Slovak State], *Vojenská história: Časopis pre vojenskú históriu, múzejníctvo a archívniectvo* 5, no. 1 (2001): 41–60; Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003); Tatjana Tönsmeier, “Kollaboration als handlungsleitendes Motiv? Die slowakische Elite und das NS-Regime”, in *Kooperation und Verbrechen: Formen der “Kollaboration” im östlichen Europa 1939–1945*, eds. Christoph Dieckmann, Babette Quinkert, and Tatjana Tönsmeier (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 25–54; Ludovít Hallon, *Die Slowakei und NS-Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2021).

21 See, for instance, the references to “chaos” in explaining anti-Jewish measures: Ivan Kameneč, *Po stopách tragédie [On the Trail of Tragedy]* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991), 94–99; Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredo európskom kontexte* [The Jewish Community in Slovakia Between Czechoslovak Parliamentary Democracy and the Slovak State in a Central European Context] (Prešov: Universum, 1999), 64–76; Eduard Nižňanský, *Nacizmus, holokaust, slovenský štát* [Nazism, Holocaust, and the Slovak State], (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2010), 35; Michal Frankl, “Cast Out of Civilized Society: Refugees in the No Man’s Land Between Slovakia and Hungary in 1938”, in *Places, Spaces, and Voids in the Holocaust*, eds. Natalia Aleksion and Hana Kubátová, vol. 3 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021), 58–61.

Civilising the Village

The cleansing of eastern Slovakia of Jews and Roma differed in scale, urgency, and the degree of governmental regulation. Yet, many of the measures that went into it were carried out in the name of civilisation and progress.²² Pointing to social programmes, the government promised to elevate the social conditions of the “little people”, to feed them, and to invest in the region to construct roads and railroad lines. Much of this meant also getting rid of all the signs of backwardness: whether it was the muddy pavements, the lack of public toilets, or consistently low literacy rates, but also the presence of non-nationals.²³ Steps quickly followed plans. Excluded from military service, Jews and Roma were drafted into separate labour detachments early on. Jews, especially the Roma, constructed pavements and roads, rebuilt squares and office houses, and worked as cheap labour wherever needed. Local politicians were rather honest about the usefulness of the Jews and Roma in remaking eastern Slovakia. With Nazi Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, Slovakia declared a state of alert. This also meant putting all men on active duty. The new head of Šariš Zemplín County, Andrej Dudáš, seemed upset that while the central organs recruited Slovaks, Jews would “stay at home and most continue to live a comfortable life”.²⁴ District offices were given the green light to make the Jews – and Roma – serviceable to the state, especially considering the new situation. Many local administrators took matters into their own hands. Boasting about his initiative, the district chief of Michalovce reported the following:

I arranged everything necessary so that the course of agricultural work was properly ensured, in such a way that where there are no Aryan workers, Gypsies and Jews are assigned there. In addition, free Jews – as needed – are assigned to improve sidewalks, municipal and vicinal roads, and other necessary manual work at individual state and notary offices.²⁵

The complaint of the county chief Dudáš about the lack of centralised action was only partly true. Earlier that year, the Ministry of Interior ordered the expulsion of all non-domiciled Roma and the relocation of all “local” Roma to “isolated” sites.²⁶ Most Slovak Roma were settled, and their segregation from towns and villages had devastating consequences, as Lacková also showed. The first act of *The Burning Gypsy Camp* takes place as the Romani family is forbidden from entering their village. The prohibition of Roma from entering towns and villages was also strictly enforced. In her autobiographical book, Lacková recalled a police car, called “Eržička” after a known prostitute, that was regularly dispatched to capture Roma who violated the provision in Prešov, the new metropolis of the east. When caught, women had their hair shaved as punishment, and men were sent to slave labour camps.²⁷ Most of the

22 My argument here builds on Hana Kubátová, “Topológia holokaustu na východoslovenskom vidieku” [Topologies of the Holocaust in the Eastern Slovak Countryside], *Historický časopis* 69, no. 4 (2021): 601–625.

23 See also, for example, Peter Kovaľ, “Zdravotno-hygienické pomery mesta Prešov v medzivojnovom období” [Health and Hygiene Conditions in the City of Prešov During the Interwar Period], *Forum Historiae* 10, no. 2 (2016): 48–61.

24 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archive (USHMMA), RG-57.013 Štátobezpečnostné oddelenie, Šariško-zemplínska župa, S0001403, Confidential report of the Presidium of the Šariš Zemplín County Office, 27 June 1941.

25 USHMMA, RG-57.013 Štátobezpečnostné oddelenie, Šariško-zemplínska župa, S0001403, Initiative of the Medzilaborce District Office, 3 July 1941.

26 Milena Hübschmannová, “Roma in the So-Called Slovak State (1939–1945)”, in *Gypsies During the Second World War*, ed. Donald Kenrick, Vol 3: The Final Chapter (Paris and Hatfeld: Centre de recherches tsiganes, University of Hertfordshire, 2006), 24–26.

27 Lacková, *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou*, 108.

Romani men of eastern Slovakia were incarnated in one or more of the eleven forced labor camps established in Slovakia between 1941 and 1944. In 1942, the manifold camps in eastern Slovakia were reorganised into what were called “the eastern Slovak labour units”. What characterised these was a mass concentration of recruits, with numbers constantly changing and conditions quickly deteriorating.²⁸ The vast majority of men incarcerated there were Roma. According to official and unreliable statistics, there were at least eleven fatal injuries in the Roma slave labour units between July 1942 and August 1943. Another 620 Roma workers reportedly suffered minor injuries, and 260 suffered serious injuries, during their work there. Hundreds of conscripts described stomach, intestinal, skin, cardiovascular, and other diseases as a result of their incarnation here.²⁹ What many Romani witnesses recall about their time in one of the incarceration camps was violence: “[t]he worst thing was that they beat us. This was the worst. I worked, and they beat us.”³⁰

Most Romani men from eastern Slovakia worked on the already mentioned railroad line between Prešov and Strážske.³¹ The connection was meant to improve the movement of not only people, but also goods, and ideology, between Bratislava and the eastern edges, and hence was awaited with much anticipation.³² This was meant to be proof that the new regime had not forgotten about the outlying eastern provinces. After many delays, the work on the railroad line was finally launched in 1942 and was concluded with fifty kilometres of newly constructed tracks and twelve kilometres of reconstructed ones the year after. This premier industrial project of the state was largely built by the Roma.³³ Because of its importance, the work on the railroad line was closely followed by the national authorities. President Jozef Tiso, who enjoyed popular authority as a political leader and a Roman Catholic Priest, visited the Hanušovice nad Topľou camp in June 1942. Several Roma witnesses remember him claiming the state would not “extradite” them because the Roma were Christians. They “must work at ninety percent, though”.³⁴ Progress was directly inspected also by Minister of Interior Alexander Mach, one of the feared radicals in the regime and whose office was responsible for cleansing the state of all “foreign elements”. Mach took his role seriously, and often visited eastern Slovakia, either making promises of a “good life” and threatening to get rid of the Jews and the Roma, or typically combining these two action points. We know from the party press that during one of his visits in August 1942, Mach made remarks about the need to conduct “a sociographic analysis of municipalities, a statistical report on the number of Gypsies, on the number of notorious alcoholics” in eastern Slovakia. When Mach asked a local representative about the number of Roma in his village, the individual was not able to say so precisely. The official propaganda was sure to

28 Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945*, 118.

29 *Pamätný spis: Hlavná železnica Strážske–Prešov* [Memorial Document: Main Railway Line Strážske-Prešov] (Bratislava 1943), 62–63, as quoted in René Lužica, “Vylúčenie Cigánov/Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)” [The Exclusion of Roma in the Slovak Republic (1939–1945)], *Pamät národa 2*, no. 2 (2005): 9.

30 Milan Šimečka Foundation Oral History Archive (MŠFOHA), Fates of Those who Survived the Holocaust – Romani Testimonies; testimony no. 36. The release form for testimonies that are part of the Milan Šimečka Foundation collection does not allow for the release of full names.

31 Nečas, “Pracovní útvary tzv. asociálů a Cikánů na východním Slovensku v roce 1942”. See also Eva Davidová, *Bez kolíb a šiatrov* [Without Cradles and Quilts], (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1965), 29.

32 “Niet rozdielu medzi našim východom a západom” [There Is No Difference Between Our East and West], *Slovák*, 30 August 1939, 10.

33 “Otázka asociálnych živlov a Cigánov: Naliehavá potreba jej riešenia” [The Question of Asocial Elements and Roma: The Urgent Need for Its Resolution], *Gardista*, 26 August 1942, 3.

34 The statement of Tiso is repeated in numerous Romani testimonies. See, for example, Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni*, 174. See also the testimony of Josef Horváth, as quoted in Hübschmannová, “Roma in the So-Called Slovak State (1939–1945)”, 9.

report his answer simply: “[a] lot!” Hearing this, Mach promised action. The context of his words is important. They words came at a time when the regime’s terror against the Jews reached its peak. Between March and October 1942, approximately 58,000 of the country’s approximately 90,000 Jews were sent to imminent death. The first in line were Jews of eastern Slovakia, including from the towns and villages that Mach was visiting. Drawing attention to what was happening, Mach promised that an

all-Slovak solution to the issue of anti-social elements and Gypsies is already ready. The only thing expected is the end of the emigration of Jews. A special department has been established in the Ministry of the Interior. This will be the headquarters for the systematic and fundamental processing of the issue of anti-social elements and for solving this issue.³⁵

Encounters into Hierarchies

There is an interesting pattern noticeable across various witness accounts. Slovak, Romani, and Jewish witnesses primarily speak of “good” relationships between the different groups residing in eastern Slovakia before World War II. “How did you get along?”, an interviewer asked Anna Alžbeta Gulovichová, who was an eleven-year-old girl when the war started. Gulovichová was born in 1928 in Jakubovany, a small town near the Tatra Mountains, to a local Greek Catholic priest. “Well. With whom?” she replied, partly with a question. “With the Jewish children,” the interviewer responded. “Well,” Gulovichová answered. “At school, for example?”: the interviewer kept pressing for more. “Well.”³⁶ For Ferdinand B., a Jew from Sečovce, a small town in Šariš Zemplín County, life was “good” for Jews before the war: “I always had a good feeling because I was liked in Sečovce.”³⁷ Michal Konček, a Roma from central Slovakia, remembered playing at village festivities from an early age and made sure to mention that he performed mostly for “peasants. At peasant entertainments, at balls – then it was not like now.”³⁸ Irena (Danvaľi) Tomášová, a Roma from eastern Slovakia, was explicit about how music bonded people of various backgrounds:

[w]e had a beautiful childhood. We grew up among people, among the gadje. Where we lived, people did not differentiate who was who. We were used to each other. We had a big yard; we played music every Sunday. Peasants came, we danced, we sang, we had fun.³⁹

This is not to deny the existence of conflicts, tensions, and even acts of violence, very often driven by prejudices against either Roma or Jews, or typically both. The Roma served as a scapegoat for every health crisis. Whether it was the mysterious rise of syphilis cases in the Medzilaborce district in 1931 or the outbreak of a typhus epidemic in 1944 in much of eastern Slovakia, the response was that the Roma were barred from entering villages and towns.⁴⁰ In the case of the typhus epidemic of

35 “Otázka asociálnych živlov a Cigánov”, 3.

36 USHMMA, RG-50.688.0058, oral history interview with Anna Alžbeta Gulovichová, accession number 2011.438.58.

37 Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Ferdinand. B, HVT-3936, Orbis 4528142.

38 See the testimony of Michal Konček in Hübschmannová, *Po Židochi Cigáni*, 135.

39 Irena (Danvaľi) Tomášová in Jana Kramářová, ed., *(Ne)bolí: Vzpomínky Romů na válku a život po válce* [(Un)healing Wounds: Memories of Roma on War and Life After the War] (Prague: Člověk v tísni, společnost při České televizi, o.p.s., 2005), 27.

40 Hynek Pelc and Josef Hynie, “O příjici v okrese medzilaborském na Slovensku” [About Syphilis in the Medzilaborce District in Slovakia], *Česká dermatologie* 12, no. 6 (1931): 295.

1944, Romani inhabitants needed a medical certificate testifying that they were free from typhus in order to enter trains, buses, and trams.⁴¹ We know the Jews were the subject of popular fear and anger for centuries, a process that in Slovakia was fuelled by religious figures and which became an integral part of the national movement.⁴² “The Jew” then became a state target under the Tiso regime.⁴³ This said, even those witnesses who did not have fond memories of interethnic relations still testified that these were largely interdependent communities.⁴⁴ Sources of various provenience testify to the inclusion of Jews and Roma in the life of the villages and towns. The Roma typically depended on work in the villages, often working alongside the villagers, providing an essential labour force for the peasants, and playing at weddings and funerals. The Jews, especially the Orthodox, often provided the Roma with additional livelihood. On Shabbat, Romani women went to Jewish families to heat, and Roma performed important tasks for Jewish holidays. Romani women often carried water for the mikveh ritual bath. Romani men also helped Jewish traders as carriers of goods. In some places, Romani women served in families and worked as nannies for children, and some even nursed them.⁴⁵

Perhaps the best concept to capture the inclusion of Jews and Roma would be “tolerance”, most often defined as the “willingness to accept behaviour and beliefs that are different from your own”.⁴⁶ While the different groups lived side by side in the towns and villages, as they had done for generations, the inclusion of Jews and Roma in the Slovak national project was always conditional, tolerated at best. Social hierarchies were strong and were drawn around ethnic lines. Everyone knew who belonged to which group in the village, and while groupness would not necessarily matter in peaceful times, it for sure played an important role in times of conflict or crisis. Jews and Roma were subjugated to the Slovaks in the hierarchy. Who stood where on the power ladder showed itself also in everyday rituals:

[t]he Jews seem to have maintained a smaller caste distance towards the Roma than the gadje. For example, the Jews invited a Gypsy servant girl into the apartment and let her eat at the table while the peasant woman served her food outside on the stove.⁴⁷

The asymmetries in relationships may be further demonstrated by the fact that the Roma were typically paid in kind by Slovak villagers. As the mouthpiece of the regime put it in one of its reportages on life in eastern Slovakia, “groups of gypsy musicians go through the village and play in the courtyards, for which they are rewarded in money,

41 See especially Nečas, “Pronásledování Cikánů v období slovenského státu”. Paradoxically, Romani witnesses link their contracting of the infectious disease to relocation from their settlements, when they were often without access to clean water. See, for example, MŠFOHA, *Fates of Those who Survived the Holocaust – Romani Testimonies*; testimony no. 42.

42 Petra Rybářová, *Antisemitizmus v Uhorsku v 80. rokoch 19. storočia* [Antisemitism in Hungary in the 1880s] (Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2010); Miloslav Szabó, *Od slov k činom: Slovenské národné hnutie a antisemitizmus (1875–1922)* [From Words to Actions: The Slovak National Movement and Antisemitism (1875–1922)] (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2014).

43 Hana Kubátová, *Nepokradeš! Náklady a postoje slovenské spoločnosti k židovské otázke, 1938–1945* [You Shall Not Steal! Moods and Attitudes of Slovak Society Towards the Jewish Question, 1938–1945] (Prague: Academia, 2013).

44 See, e.g., Yehoshua Robert Büchler, “Reconstruction Efforts in Hostile Surroundings – Slovaks and Jews after World War II”, in *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after WWII*, ed. David Bankier (New York and Jerusalem: Berghahn Books; Yad Vashem, 2005), 264.

45 See the testimonies of Jolanka Kurejová and Aladár Kurej, or Maxmilián Špíra, for example. Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni. Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska 1939–1945*, 704–710, 720–722. See also Donert, *The Rights of the Roma*, 93.

46 “Tolerance”, Cambridge Dictionary, accessed 28 October 2022, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/tolerance>.

47 Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni*, 679.

in kind or in hospitality”.⁴⁸ This was not the case with the Jews, who typically paid their Roma workers in money, and we also know that some Jewish traders allowed the Roma to take goods on credit as well.⁴⁹ Jolanka Kurejová, a Romani witness from the eastern Slovak town of Humenné, remembered being paid “five crowns, three crowns, four crowns, and I would give these to mummy at home”.⁵⁰ Hübschmannová concludes that virtually all Romani witnesses agree that “the Jews treated the Roma with more respect than the gadje. They did not mock them.”⁵¹

The tightening limit of this “toleration” may be manifested by how both Slovak officials and locals distinguished between “our” and “other” Roma, that is, between largely settled “local Roma” and “Gypsies” from other towns and villages. A similar distinction was often made between “our Jews”, typically those who lived close-by and were employed or otherwise needed by the villagers, and “the Jews”.⁵² As ethnographer Jan Ort has demonstrated in his account of eastern Slovakia,

the historically based designation ‘our Roma/Gypsies’ acknowledges that the Roma belonged to the local community (thanks to the modifier ‘our’), while attributing a particular, inferior status to them as Gypsies (confirmed by the highly patronizing possessive mode of speech). It should be noted that within the context of eastern Slovakia, such a categorization method had concrete impacts on the fate of the Roma in individual villages.⁵³

We know the implications of such designations. The modifier “our” often decided on which Roma or Jew could stay in the village, and hence also secure food and at least some form of safety, whether for themselves or their immediate family. Many Roma and Jews understood that while they were “locals” of the towns and villages, they were now very much *first* Roma and Jews. Both victim groups also experienced the participation of some of their neighbours in the racial project of the new establishment. Indeed, a number of Romani witnesses point to what happened in 1941 in the places they called their home as a break of communal trust – and the reason why they moved westwards, especially to the Czech lands, after the war’s end.⁵⁴

As also argued earlier, a vision of prosperity became inevitably linked to destruction, violence, and genocide in wartime Slovakia. This connection becomes particularly visible when scaling down to the level of squares, streets, markets, churches, and borders, as I have also done with ethnographer and sociologist Monika Vrzgulová.⁵⁵ Public spaces were places of encounters; through these encounters, a sense of community was fostered and repealed. Looking at who formed the “locals” in a multiethnic setting, we have worked mostly with (non-Jewish and non-Romani) Slovak witnesses of the Holocaust and observed how they often simultaneously placed themselves and removed themselves from the stage of the events, especially the deportations.⁵⁶ The

48 František Kupka, “Tradicia odpustov v Zemplíne: Odpusty v Zemplíne, prehliadkou národných krojov a ľudových obyčajov” [Tradition of Indulgence in Zemplín: Indulgence in Zemplín: Showcasing National Costumes and Folk Customs], *Slovák*, 18 August 1939, 2.

49 Hübschmannová, “Vztahy mezi Romy a Židy na východním Slovensku před druhou světovou válkou”.

50 Jolanka Kurejová’s testimony, Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni*, 705.

51 Hübschmannová, *Po Židoch Cigáni*, 679.

52 Ort, *Facets of a Harmony*, 62. See also Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie*, 49.

53 Ort, *Facets of a Harmony*, 62.

54 Vasil Fendič, *Východoslovenskí Rómovia a II. svetová vojna* [Eastern Slovak Roma and World War II] (Humenné: Redos, 2001), 19.

55 Hana Kubátová and Monika Vrzgulová, “Being ‘Local’ in Eastern Slovakia: Belonging in a Multiethnic Periphery”, *East European Politics & Societies* 37, no. 1–2 (2023): 249–271.

56 Kubátová and Vrzgulová. We worked mostly with testimonies that are part of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Oral History Documentation Project “Crimes Against Civilian Populations During WW2: Victims, Witnesses, Collaborators and Perpetrators”.

public reactions were varied, of course – watching the removal of their neighbours from behind the curtains, from windows of their houses, children climbing on things to see better, and few witnesses recalling that they accompanied Jews to the station, saying their heartfelt goodbyes. Yet, only rarely did Slovak witnesses describe observing the deportations of Jews in 1942 for themselves, let alone having participated in the auctions of Jewish belongings which often followed. There is also an interesting language dynamic in some of these testimonies, especially as the witnesses often described the deportations and lootings in the passive voice.⁵⁷

The removal of Jews is often remembered in detail in the testimonies of Romani witnesses. In the words of one Roma witness from eastern Slovakia, when

they were taking the Jews, we had to go there. They called us to take the furniture they had acquired from them. They were taking them, first the young and now the old. They were already selling that furniture there. They already sold it to gadje [...] the gadje took most of it. [...] So we went there, he took us there, there was already one piece of furniture outside, and he shouted: 'This furniture costs this much. This one so much.'⁵⁸

The communal character of deportations shows in other testimonies as well: "[h]ow did the people react when the Jews were taken away from the village on those wagons?" was the question an interviewer asked another Romani witness from eastern Slovakia. "They were happy. They were happy, and some were, some were ... were just waiting to take them and the Gypsies too. They were very happy."⁵⁹

What seems telling is the fact that, in some of the interviews, Romani witnesses seemed to differentiate time not so much into months and years but whether the Jews were still present in the village or whether they were already "taken". As one Romani witness recalled, at

that time, Jews were still home, they were not taken, they took only the young ones, and the old ones stayed. They came here with wagons from [...] to Čermený, and the wagons were already prepared there. There was a warehouse there, and they put them in that warehouse.⁶⁰

It becomes clear from the interviews and testimonies that the 1942 deportations were also a form of encounters that were physical and emotional and spoke to the new reality of things. For the Romani witnesses, observing the removal of deportations was a lens through which they would interpret their future in the Slovak state. However separate their suffering was, there was no place for either in the racialised order. They knew. One Romani witness from eastern Slovakia testified to a local Jew crying as he was being deported, saying to him:

'[y]ou are still here, but you will follow us.' He told me this. I told him: 'It can, it can happen, because you and us, Gypsies, we are of one root.' 'But after you, the Lutherans will go, too,' he said. 'The Jews are going, the Gypsies are going, and the Lutherans are going.'⁶¹

This was what Anton in Lacková's play was warning the Roma about.

57 Monika Vrzgulová, *Nevyroprávane susedské histórie: holokaust na Slovensku z dvoch perspektív* [Untold Neighborly Histories: The Holocaust in Slovakia from Two Perspectives] (Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2016), 90–94.

58 MŠFOHA, *Fates of Those who Survived the Holocaust – Romani Testimonies*; testimony no. 36.

59 *Ibid.*, no. 25.

60 *Ibid.*, no. 58.

61 *Ibid.*, no. 36.

Conclusion

Most Jews of eastern Slovakia were deported by the winter of 1942, and the few who held on to an exemption feared this could become invalid at any moment. Their release from the various anti-Jewish provisions was temporary and depended on whether the individual Jew was needed, measured largely in economic terms. For Jews to even have a chance to avoid the 1942 deportations, they needed to be “our” Jews, typically converts to Christianity, but more importantly Jews perceived as serviceable to the authorities or the nation now redrawn along racial lines.⁶² The segregation of Roma was ongoing then but clearly not completed, as the Ministry of Interior reissued its order to remove the Roma from Slovak towns and villages in 1943. Mach seemed furious that “Gypsy dwellings were not isolated from busy roads, Gypsies continue to wander, avoid work and live by stealing”, and asked all district offices to compile lists of “those gypsies who must be removed from the villages in the first place”.⁶³ As became a typical mark of Slovak rule, not all district offices obliged. The district chief in Humenné replied by making his point why “his” Roma needed to stay:

[r]egarding the regulation in question, I respectfully report that there are no nomadic Gypsies in the local district, and the settled Gypsies are in the overwhelming majority hardworking and make a living by working mainly on side roads, where they are currently needed due to the lack of other workers.⁶⁴

Facing some reluctance from the local authorities, the segregation of Roma continued and culminated in renewed discussions about the need to adopt more radical measures. The head of Šariš Zemplín County Dudáš contemplated that there would be time to solve the Roma question, but not just yet:

raising the Gypsy question cannot and must not serve to divert the attention and interest of our national community from those questions, the solution of which are much more vitally important for us, such as the Jewish and Czech questions, for example. First, let us deal with these and other similarly burning issues – radically and not ‘compromisingly’ – and then let us get rid of the others.⁶⁵

The time came with the Slovak National Uprising and the Nazi German occupation of the country. It was at this critical juncture that Lacková’s play reached its climax, depicting the harrowing event of the violent resettlement of over 600 Roma individuals from Veľký Šariš to Korpáš Hill.⁶⁶ The Nazi occupiers were not lenient towards any exemption holders, as they were not interested in making any distinctions between “our” and “the” Jews or Roma. The brutality that followed may have overshadowed earlier policies towards Jews and Roma, and it also made it easier to shift the responsibility from the regime and the national community to the more anonymous Nazis, fascists, and radicals. The only Slovak-language monograph on the persecution of Roma in the Slovak state remains Karol Janas’s highly problematic book. The monograph was panned by reviews yet has remained a highly quoted

62 On the exemptions provided to Jews, which Jews and why, see James Mace Ward, “People Who Deserve It: Jozef Tiso and the Presidential Exemption”, *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 4 (2002): 571–601.

63 State Archive Prešov, Šariš Zemplín County, b. 78, f. 1922–44, Gypsies – adjustment of certain relationships, 21 July 1943.

64 State Archive Prešov, Šariš Zemplín County, b. 78, f. 1922–44, official communication of Minister Mach addressed to all district and police offices, 7 September 1943.

65 State Archive Prešov, Šariš Zemplín County – presidential files, b. 78, 1922–44, on the solution of the Roma Question, Andrej Dudáš, 5 June 1944.

66 Lacková, *Cigánsky tábor*, 40.

text.⁶⁷ The author presents the brutal Nazi policies towards Roma in Slovakia following the squashing of the uprising almost as a surprise, and certainly unconnected to their prior discrimination.⁶⁸ I disagree. Based on the period leading up to 1942, I believe that the Tiso regime laid the groundwork for what was to come here. In this sense, the persecutions of Jews and Roma are very much a part of the Slovak story.

Bibliography

- Aleksiu, Natalia. "Intimate Violence: Jewish Testimonies on Victims and Perpetrators in Eastern Galicia". *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23, no. 1–2 (2017): 17–33.
- Bartov, Omer. *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018.
- Bartov, Omer. "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–44". In *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, edited by Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, 399–420. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Bernatt-Reszczyńska, Markéta. "Před sto lety se narodila romská spisovatelka Elena Lacková" [A Hundred Years Ago, Romani Writer Elena Lacková Was Born]. *Paměť národa*, 21 March 2021. <https://www.pametnaroda.cz/cs/magazin/pribehy/pred-sto-lety-se-narodila-romska-spisovatelka-elena-lackova>.
- Brown, Kate. *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Büchler, Yehoshua Robert. "Reconstruction Efforts in Hostile Surroundings – Slovaks and Jews after World War II". In *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after WWII*, edited by David Bankier, 257–276. New York and Jerusalem: Berghahn Books; Yad Vashem, 2005.
- Bystrický, Valerián. "Nacistické Nemecko a vznik Slovenského štátu" [Nazi Germany and the Establishment of the Slovak State]. *Vojenská história: Časopis pre vojenskú históriu, múzejníctvo a archívniectvo* 5, no. 1 (2001): 41–60.
- Cambridge Dictionary. "Tolerance". Accessed 28 October 2022. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/tolerance>.
- Ciancia, Kathryn. *On Civilization's Edge: A Polish Borderland in the Interwar World*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Davidová, Eva. *Bez kolíb a šiatrov* [Without Cradles and Quilts]. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1965.
- Donert, Celia. *The Rights of the Roma: The Struggle for Citizenship in Postwar Czechoslovakia*. Human Rights in History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Fendič, Vasil. *Východoslovenskí Rómovia a II. svetová vojna* [Eastern Slovak Roma and World War II]. Humenné: Redos, 2001.
- Frankl, Michal. "Cast Out of Civilized Society: Refugees in the No Man's Land Between Slovakia and Hungary in 1938". In *Places, Spaces, and Voids in the Holocaust*, edited by Natalia Aleksiu and Hana Kubátová, 55–86. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2021.

⁶⁷ Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)*; Anna Jurová, "JANAS, Karol. Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) [Persecution of Roma in the Slovak Republic]. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010", *Človek a spoločnosť* 13 (2010): 45–58.

⁶⁸ Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)*, 99–101.

- Hallon, Ludovit. *Die Slowakei und NS-Deutschland*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2021.
- Hübschmannová, Milena. *Po Židoch Cigáni. Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska 1939–1945* [After the Jews, the Gypsies: Testimonies of Roma from Slovakia 1939–1945]. Vol. I (1939–August 1944). Praha: Triáda, 2005.
- Hübschmannová, Milena. “Roma in the So-Called Slovak State (1939–1945)”. In *Gypsies During the Second World War*, edited by Donald Kenrick, 3–45. Vol 3: The Final Chapter. Paris and Hatfeld: Centre de recherches tsiganes and University of Hertfordshire, 2006.
- Hübschmannová, Milena. “Vztahy mezi Romy a Židy na východním Slovensku před druhou světovou válkou” [Relationships Between Roma and Jews in Eastern Slovakia before World War II]. *Romano Džaniben* 7, no. 1–2 (2000): 17–51.
- Janas, Karol. *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* [The Persecution of Roma in the Slovak Republic]. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010.
- Janas, Karol. “Pracovný útvar v Dubnici nad Váhom [The Work Unit in Dubnica nad Váhom]”. *Bulletin Muzea romské kultury Brno* 1–2 (2003): 81–83.
- Janas, Karol. *Zabudnuté tábory: Premeny hospodárskeho a sociálneho postavenia slovenských Rómov s osobitným zameraním na tábory perzekučného a internačného charakteru na severozápadnom Slovensku* [Forgotten Camps: Transformations of the Economic and Social Status of Slovak Roma with a Special Focus on Persecution and Internment Camps in Northwestern Slovakia]. Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008.
- Joskowicz, Ari. “Separate Suffering, Shared Archives: Jewish and Romani Histories of Nazi Persecution”. *History and Memory* 28, no. 1 (2016): 110–140.
- Jurová, Anna. “Historický vývoj rómskych osád na Slovensku a problematika vlastníckych vzťahov k pôde (‘nelegálne osady’)” [The Historical Development of Roma Settlements in Slovakia and Issues of Land Ownership (‘Illegal Settlements’)]. *Človek a spoločnosť* 5, no. 2 (2002): 13–43.
- Jurová, Anna. “JANAS, Karol. Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) [Persecution of Roma in the Slovak Republic]. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010”. *Človek a spoločnosť* 13 (2010): 45–58.
- Kamenec, Ivan. *Po stopách tragédie* [On the Trail of Tragedy]. Bratislava: Archa, 1991.
- Kováč, Peter. “Zdravotno-hygienické pomery mesta Prešov v medzivojnovom období” [Health and Hygiene Conditions in the City of Prešov During the Interwar Period]. *Forum Historiae* 10, no. 2 (2016): 48–61.
- Kramářová, Jana, ed. *(Ne)bolí: Vzpomínky Romů na válku a život po válce [(Un)healing Wounds: Memories of Roma on War and Life After the War]*. Prague: Člověk v tísní, společnost při České televizi, o.p.s., 2005.
- Kubátová, Hana. *Nepokradeš! Nálady a postoje slovenské spoločnosti k židovské otázce, 1938–1945* [You Shall Not Steal! Moods and Attitudes of Slovak Society Towards the Jewish Question, 1938–1945]. Prague: Academia, 2013.
- Kubátová, Hana. “Topologie holokaustu na východoslovenskom vidieku” [Topologies of the Holocaust in the Eastern Slovak Countryside]. *Historický časopis* 69, no. 4 (2021): 601–625.
- Kubátová, Hana, and Michal Kubát. “Were There ‘Bystanders’ in Topolčany? On Concept Formation and the ‘Ladder of Abstraction’”. *Contemporary European History* 27, no. 4 (2018): 528–581.
- Kubátová, Hana, and Monika Vrzgulová. “Being ‘Local’ in Eastern Slovakia: Belonging in a Multiethnic Periphery”. *East European Politics & Societies* 37, no. 1–2 (2023): 249–271.
- Kupka, František. “Tradicia odpustov v Zemplíne: Odpusty v Zemplíne, prehliadkou národných krojov a ľudových obyčajov” [The Tradition of Indulgence in Zemplín: Indulgence in Zemplín: Showcasing National Costumes and Folk Customs]. *Slovák*, 18 August 1939.

- Lacková, Elena. *Cigánsky tábor: Hra o troch dejstvách (štyroch obrazoch)* [Gypsy Camp: A Play in Three Acts (Four Scenes)]. Prague: Československé divadelní a literární jednatelství, 1956.
- Lacková, Elena. *Narodila jsem se pod šťastnou hvězdou* [I Was Born Under a Lucky Star]. Edited by Milena Hübschmannová. Prague: Triáda, 1997.
- Lužica, René. "Vylúčenie Cigánov/Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)" [The Exclusion of Roma in the Slovak Republic (1939–1945)]. *Pamäť národa* 2, no. 2 (2005): 6–12.
- Moje mesto Veľký Šariš* [My Town Veľký Šariš]. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Anna Nagyová, 2013.
- Nečas, Ctibor. *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* [Czechoslovak Roma During the years 1938–1945]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1994.
- Nečas, Ctibor. "Pracovní útvary tzv. asociálů a Cikánů na východním Slovensku v roce 1942" [Work Units of So-called 'Asocials' and Roma in Eastern Slovakia in 1942]. *Nové obzory* 17 (1988): 126–136.
- Nečas, Ctibor. "Pronásledování Cikánů v období slovenského státu" [The Persecution of Roma During the Period of the Slovak State]. *Slovenský národopis* 36 (1988): 126–136.
- Nečas, Ctibor. "Štatistické výsledky o cigánskej populácii na východnom Slovensku" [Statistical Results on the Romani Population in Eastern Slovakia]. In *Historica carpatica* (1989): 213–224.
- Nižňanský, Eduard. *Nacizmus, holokaust, slovenský štát* [Nazism, the Holocaust, and the Slovak State]. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2010.
- Nižňanský, Eduard. *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* [The Jewish Community in Slovakia Between Czechoslovak Parliamentary Democracy and the Slovak State in a Central European Context]. Prešov: Universum, 1999.
- Paměť národa. "Milan Lacko (1941)". Accessed 1 October 2022. <https://www.pametnaroda.cz/sk/lacko-milan-20170512-0>.
- Ort, Jan. *Facets of a Harmony: The Roma and Their Locatedness in Eastern Slovakia*. Prague: Karolinum, 2022.
- "Otázka asociálnych živlov a Cigánov: Naliehavá potreba jej riešenia" [The Question of Asocial Elements and Roma: The Urgent Need for Its Resolution]. *Gardista*, 26 August 1942, 3.
- Pekár, Martin. "Výber dokumentov k rómskej otázke na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1945" [A Selection of Documents on the Romani Issue in Eastern Slovakia During 1942–1945]. *Annales historici Presovienses* 6 (2006): 309–331.
- Pelc, Hynek, and Josef Hynie. "O příjici v okresu medzilaborském na Slovensku" [About Syphilis in the Medzilaborce District in Slovakia]. *Česká dermatologie* 12, no. 6 (1931): 291–302.
- Radiožurnál. "Rómské divadlo" [Roma Theatre], 1 June 2017. <https://radiozurnal.rozhlas.cz/romske-divadlo-8106654>.
- Rybářová, Petra. *Antisemitizmus v Uhorsku v 80. rokoch 19. storočia* [Antisemitism in Hungary in the 1880s]. Bratislava: Pro Historia, 2010.
- Scheffel, David. "Belonging and Domesticated Ethnicity in Veľký Šariš, Slovakia". *Romani Studies* 25 (2015): 115–149.
- Slovák. "Niet rozdielu medzi našim východom a západom" [There Is No Difference Between Our East and West], 30 August 1939.
- Szabó, Miloslav. *Od slov k činom: Slovenské národné hnutie a antisemitizmus (1875–1922)* [From Words to Actions: The Slovak National Movement and Antisemitism (1875–1922)]. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2014.

- Tönsmeier, Tatjana. *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei, 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003.
- Tönsmeier, Tatjana. “Kollaboration als handlungsleitendes Motiv? Die slowakische Elite und das NS-Regime”. In *Kooperation und Verbrechen: Formen der “Kollaboration” im östlichen Europa 1939–1945*, edited by Christoph Dieckmann, Babette Quinkert, and Tatjana Tönsmeier, 25–54. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003.
- Vrzgulová, Monika. *Nevyrožprávané susedské histórie: holokaust na Slovensku z dvoch perspektív* [Untold Neighborly Histories: The Holocaust in Slovakia from Two Perspectives]. Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV, 2016.
- Ward, James Mace. “People Who Deserve It: Jozef Tiso and the Presidential Exemption”. *Nationalities Papers* 30, no. 4 (2002): 571–601.

Hana Kubátová is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University. She has headed the university’s Center for the Transdisciplinary Research of Violence, Trauma and Justice (VITRI). She is the recipient of numerous fellowships, including the Marie Curie Fellowship for Early Research Training, Charles H. Revson Foundation Fellowship, Felix Posen Fellowship, Gisela Fleischmann Scholarship, and, more recently, the Junior Core Fellowship from the Institute of Advanced Study at the Central European University, Budapest. Her research interests include majority–minority relations in wartime and post-war Slovakia, identity construction, and the microdynamics of (ethnic) violence. She has published in Slovak, Czech, English, German, and Hungarian, and her contributions have appeared in journals including *Nations & Nationalism*, *Contemporary European History*, and *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*. She has recently co-edited, with Natalia Aleksion, *Places, Spaces, and Voids in the Holocaust* (Wallstein, 2021).
Email: hana.kubatova@fsv.cuni.cz

Quotation: Hana Kubátová, Jewish and Romani Encounters under Slovak Persecution, in S:I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation. 10 (2023) 1, 95–111.

https://doi.org/10.23777/sn.0123/swl_hkub01

S:I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. DocumentatiON. is the semi-annual open access e-journal of the Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies (VWI) in English and German.

ISSN 2408-9192 | 10 (2023) 1 | <https://doi.org/10.23777/sn.0123>

This article is licensed under the following Creative Commons License: CC-BY-NC-ND (Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives)