



German Studies Association

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Source: *German Studies Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May, 2000), pp. 317-331

Published by: [The Johns Hopkins University Press](#) on behalf of the [German Studies Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1432677>

Accessed: 14/07/2013 21:20

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Sinti and Roma in Twentieth-Century Austria and Germany

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On April 16th of this year, *The New York Times* published a relatively small advertisement containing an “Appeal” to the Bavarian and German governments opposing “racist databases” assembled by the Bavarian police on Sinti and Roma. The protest was signed by Simon Wiesenthal, Ignatz Bubis, Gregory Peck, Armin Müller-Stahl, Klaus Staeck, Siegfried Lenz, Ralph Giordanno, Michael Verhoeven, Vanessa Redgrave, and many other German and international cultural luminaries and human rights activists.¹

Although *The New York Times* was willing to print this paid advertisement, the “newspaper of record” was not prepared to cover this story about Sinti and Roma as news. A news story would have had to report that during the 1990s the Bavarian police registered Sinti and Roma on special police forms without reason or legal basis, justifying this practice as *vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung*, because they believed that “Gypsies” could become a public danger. Parenthetically, this is the exact language used by the police in the Nazi period.² Such a news story would also have to explain that registration files created during the Nazi era had been transferred to postwar successor agencies and that police surveillance extended from the Third Reich to the Federal Republic.³

This advertisement was not carried in any German newspaper, not even by *Spiegel* or *Stern*, nor was it covered as a news story on television. I suppose that for both the German elite and the German public the idea of registering “Gypsies” was too obvious to be news. For sensitive Germans and concerned outsiders, however, the recurrence of traditional Bavarian registration practices, enduring from their onset in 1899 to the post-1945 period, only proves that stereotyping, scapegoating, and persecution had not ceased with the collapse of the Nazi regime and were still endemic in the German political landscape. Such continuities reflect the persistence of a pernicious *Antiziganismus*, dating back to the early modern era, later used by the Nazi regime to define Sinti and Roma as racially inferior social pariahs.⁴

Before proceeding, it might be best to talk about the use of language. The traditional term “Gypsy,” in German *Zigeuner*, is usually used only by outsiders from the majority society and has pejorative connotations. The term Roma connotes ethnic self-description and refers to the language, Romani, spoken by the group. In Germany, the largest population group is called Sinti (Sintezza for females and Sinto for males), a term based on their linguistic origins in the Sind region of India. In Austria, Roma are the larger group, whereas in Germany, Sinti are more numerous. There are also linguistic subgroups, such as the Lalleri, generally considered as Sinti. Moreover, some Sinti and Roma have designated themselves by their profession although they belong to one of the two main language groups. For example, Roma in Austria involved in itinerant horse trading were known as Lowara.

Although the Sinti and Roma minority in Germany and Austria represented less than one percent of the general population—a maximum of 35,000 in Germany and a maximum of 11,000 in Austria (8,000 of them in the Burgenland)—they were stigmatized by the Nazi government and majority society as nomadic, socially marginal, economically unproductive, sexually licentious, criminally “inclined,” and racially inferior. These stereotypes were not gender differentiated and applied equally to women and men, to infants and the elderly; they defined Sinti and Roma as social outsiders, thereby facilitating their persecution by health, welfare, and police bureaucracies and, finally, providing the rationale for their exclusion, concentration, and annihilation.

These stereotypes predated the twentieth century; they were rampant in classical German literature, including traditional fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm and Brentano. Even Goethe presents pejorative clichés of Gypsies with his symbolic Gypsy in “Götz” and Mignon in “Wilhelm Meister,” focusing on theft and deceit, including the abduction of children, and casting female Gypsy fortunetellers as witches.

Wilhelm Solms, professor of Germanistik at Marburg, has traced these invidious racial images of “the Gypsy” from nineteenth-century German romantic literature to the postwar era. His study covers much of the classics that contain contemptuous as well as exotic stereotypes and include works by Goethe, Kleist, Hoffmann, Mörike, Stifter, Liliencron, Trakl, (the young) Rilke, Hermann Hesse (“Narziß und Goldmund,” 1930), and Werner Bergengrün (“Der Zigeuner und das Wiesel” 1950).⁵ So imbedded had the negative stereotypes become in the German lands, that Otto Pankok’s positive lithograph portrait of a young Düsseldorf Sintezza, “Hoto II,” was stigmatized in the 1937 exhibition of “Degenerate Art.”⁶

The negative image of Sinti and Roma may be changing, at least in literature, if not in politics. Since the 1980s, Luise Rinser and Erich Hackl have introduced a new and more differentiated representation of Sinti and Roma into German and Austrian literature.⁷ Moreover, recent autobiographical narratives by German Sinti and Austrian Roma survivors have presented literary self-portraits that recast our understanding of this German-speaking minority.⁸

It is clear that the persecution of Sinti and Roma on racial grounds preceded the Nazi assumption of power. Under the Second Empire and the Weimar Republic, the states of Prussia and Bavaria, as well as Baden, Bremen, and non-Prussian Hesse, had issued laws discriminating against Gypsies, thus creating a legal basis for stereotypes defining them as vagabonds, criminals, and racially inferior aliens. Bavaria had in 1899 already established an "Information Agency about Gypsies"; it collected genealogical data, photographs, and fingerprints of Gypsies above the age of six. During the Weimar Republic, Sinti and Roma continued to be vulnerable to discriminatory legislation, thus violating the Weimar constitution's Art. 108, which guaranteed full and equal rights to all citizens, and Art. 151, which secured *Berufsfreiheit*. The 1926 Bavarian law for "Combating Gypsies, Vagabonds, and the Work Shy" mandated registration of all domiciled and migratory Gypsies with the police, local registry offices, and labor exchanges.⁹ A similar 1927 Prussian decree resulted in the creation of special Gypsy identity cards with fingerprints and photographs for 8,000 Sinti and Roma above the age of six.¹⁰ During the last years of the Weimar Republic, arbitrary arrests and preventive detention of itinerant Gypsies—ostensibly for crime prevention—became routine. In April 1929, a national police commission adopted the 1926 Bavarian law as the federal norm and established a "Center for the Fight against Gypsies in Germany" with headquarters in Munich. The "Cooperative Interstate Agreement to Combat the Gypsy Plague" was renewed on 18 March 1933 with the proviso that any state could issue additional regulations.¹¹

After Hitler's assumption of power on 30 January 1933, the German civil service moved rapidly to implement the racial legislation championed by the Nazi leadership already in their 1920 party platform. This involved the expansion of laws imposed in several states (*Länder*) during the Second Empire and Weimar Republic that had allowed arbitrary arrest, preventive detention, and registration of domiciled and migratory German "Gypsies," as well as the expulsion of foreign and stateless "Gypsies."

High unemployment in interwar Austria and Germany led to economic restrictions imposed on Sinti and Roma, and such exclusionary legislation escalated under the Nazi regime. In April 1933, Sinti and Roma thus lost their civil service jobs in the state railways and postal system, after supplemental provisions to the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" provided for the dismissal of non-Aryans.¹² Furthermore, the March 1933 "Cooperative Interstate Agreement to Combat the Gypsy Plague" included provisions limiting the issuance and renewal of licenses for Sinti and Roma in itinerant trades. In addition, this agreement limited their freedom of movement by restricting them to trade routes designated by the police; it also enabled the police to remand Gypsies without proof of employment to work houses and forced labor camps. This was a Catch 22 situation: itinerant trades had been their employment. The agreement also stipulated that any state could issue additional regulations. The states did not hesitate long. Although states and provinces had lost their original autonomy under Nazi rule, they

were retained as administrative units and could implement policies on their own initiative as long as they did not contravene national policy. Thus, these local measures cumulatively imposed greater police surveillance and arbitrary economic intimidation on German Sinti and Roma.

The Nazi regime's expulsion of Sinti and Roma from the German economy escalated with their exclusion from trade and professional organizations. In Bavaria, many "Gypsies" had worked as musicians during the Weimar Republic.¹³ But these Gypsy musicians lost their jobs after September 1933, when the Reich Music Chamber purged them from the chamber's membership rolls. A Sinti musician in Cologne was thus told that "music is not a job" as the Reich Music Chamber canceled his membership.¹⁴

The expulsion of Sinti and Roma from professional athletics paralleled their exclusion from the arts. For example, the Sinto boxer Johann Trollmann lost both his German middle-weight title and his job because he was a "Gypsy." Trollmann's predecessor had been the Jewish middle-weight boxer Erich Seelig, whose title had been rescinded in March 1933. In early June 1933, Trollmann won the middle-weight championship only to have his title annulled eight days later. The German magazine *Boxsport* carried caricatures stressing Trollmann's alleged negroid features, thus conspicuously pointing to Trollmann's non-Caucasian pigmentation.¹⁵ The interlocking series of prohibitions and confiscations created a pattern of lost jobs, lost incomes, lost properties, and, ultimately, impoverishment, resulting in even greater vulnerability to escalating persecution.

These measures, applied against racial outsiders in Nazi Germany and, later, in incorporated Austria, impacted the flow and timing of emigration for racial "enemies." Accelerating destitution decreased prospects for flight and survival outside the Nazi Reich. Between 1933 and 1937, an increasing number of German Sinti and Roma thus attempted to enter Austria, especially Salzburg and the Tyrol. The police in several Austrian provinces complained about the "increasing appearance of Gypsies... resulting from extremely harsh measures against Gypsies in Germany."¹⁶ Tyrolian officials ejected German Sinti across the Salzburg border and, in Salzburg, local police expelled them back to the Tyrol or to Styria.¹⁷ This ended with *Anschluß* in March 1938 and the intensification of Austrian police measures against Sinti and Roma. Restrictionism was also the norm in Switzerland. Swiss borders were closed to "Gypsies" as early as 1906. And in 1913, the Swiss police followed the Bavarian model by creating a central register of "Gypsies." Finally, during the mid-1930s, the German, Austrian, and Swiss police cooperated within the International Criminal Police Commission (today Interpol) to press for the international registration of all "Gypsies."¹⁸

Foll-wing passage of the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws, the commentaries on these laws classified Gypsies, along with Jews and Blacks, as racially distinctive minorities with "alien blood" (*† fremdes Blut*). The passage of the so-called marriage law, promulgated in October 1935, only one month after the Nuremberg

racial laws, had broader ramifications. The final aim was a comprehensive system of registration to provide eugenic information on all individuals. The state wanted to establish an inventory on race and heredity (*erbbiologische Bestandsaufnahme*). In any event, in November 1935 an advisory circular from the Reich Ministry of Interior to all local registry offices for vital statistics prohibited racially mixed marriages between those of German blood and "Gypsies, Negroes, or their bastard offspring."¹⁹

In the ever escalating series of interlocking Nazi regulations implementing the Nuremberg racial laws, both Gypsies and Jews were slowly deprived of their rights as citizens. Thus both Jews and Gypsies lost the right to vote in Reichstag elections on 7 March 1936. Similarly, neither Jews nor Gypsies were permitted to vote in the April 1938 plebiscite on Austria's incorporation into the German Reich.²⁰

By 1938, in addition to the police, various government and party agencies had created overlapping data-bases containing registration files of "Gypsies." For example, such files were maintained by the party's Racial Policy Office (*Rassenpolitisches Amt*), which assembled a so-called asocials catalog in cooperation with the Gestapo, and by Robert Ritter, who constructed a genealogical registry of all "Gypsies" in the Racial Hygiene and Demographic Biology Research Unit of the Reich Department of Health.²¹

After 1935, several municipal governments and local welfare offices pressured the German police to confine a growing number of German Gypsies in newly created municipal Gypsy camps. These camps were in essence *SS-Sonderlager*: special internment camps combining elements of concentration camps and embryonic ghettos; they held entire families, including women and young children. Usually located on the outskirts of cities, these camps were guarded by the SS, the gendarmerie, or the uniformed city police. They became reserve depots for forced labor, genealogical registration, and compulsory sterilization. Between 1933 and 1939, Gypsy camps were created in Berlin-Marzahn, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Essen, Frankfurt, Fulda, Gelsenkirchen, Hamburg, Königsberg, Lackenbach, Magdeburg, Pölitz near Stettin, Salzburg, and other German and Austrian cities. After 1939, these camps served as assembly centers for the systematic deportation of Sinti and Roma to concentration camps, ghettos, and killing centers. In addition to confinement in separate municipal *Zigeunerlager*, German and Austrian Sinti and Roma were sent in increasing numbers to the Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, and Ravensbrück concentration camps.²²

The deportation of German Sinti and Roma began shortly after the outbreak of war. On 17 October 1939, Reinhard Heydrich issued his so-called *Festsetzungserlaß*, prohibiting all Gypsies and part-Gypsies not already interned in camps from changing their registered domiciles; this measure was essential for implementing deportations.²³

In the second half of October, Arthur Nebe, chief of the *Reichskriminalpolizeiamt* (RSHA Department V), tried to expedite the deportation of Berlin Gypsies by

requesting that Eichmann “add three or four train cars of Gypsies” to the Nisko Jewish transports departing from Vienna. Eichmann cabled Berlin that the Nisko transport would include “a train car of Gypsies to be added to the first Jewish deportation from Vienna.”²⁴ However, the failure of the Nisko resettlement scheme at the end of 1939 precluded the early expulsion of 30,000 Gypsies from the Greater German Reich to the General Government. The aborted October 1939 deportation belatedly took place in May 1940, when 2,800 German Gypsies were deported from seven assembly centers in the Old Reich to Lublin and Warsaw.²⁵ In Austria, the deportations to Poland were planned for the second half of August 1940.²⁶ The rules concerning inclusion and exemption for Gypsies paralleled regulations used in 1941-42 for the deportation of German Jews. Heydrich’s guidelines for Gypsy deportations exempted those above the age of seventy, pregnant women in the seventh month or later, and those physically unable to travel. Gypsies married to German non-Gypsies and close Gypsy relatives of soldiers were also temporarily relieved from the transports. Gypsies able to prove that they were foreign nationals were also exempted. Each Gypsy deportee was allowed to take only 50 kilograms of luggage and Polish currency worth 10 Reichsmark. All other money and jewelry (except for wedding rings) were to be left behind. They were also required to turn in all personal and identity papers, for which they would receive a receipt. At the assembly points, the Sinti and Roma were photographed and fingerprinted and consecutive numbers painted on their forearms. Finally, to assure accuracy, Ritter’s team checked all Gypsies slated for deportation at the assembly points, a job similar to that of the physicians who checked the medical records of those to be killed in the so-called euthanasia centers.²⁷

The property and possessions of the deported Gypsies were seized and the deportees were compelled to sign release forms acknowledging the transfer of their possessions as *volks- und staatsfeindliches Vermögen*; to assure that these confiscations would be considered legal, the authorities applied the 1933 Law for the Confiscation of Subversive and Enemy Property, initially used for the seizure of assets of proscribed and denaturalized political opponents. The same confiscatory procedures were also employed during the earliest deportations of Jews, prior to the passage of the 11th Ordinance. The 11th Ordinance, promulgated on 25 November 1941, provided for automatic loss of citizenship, including property rights, for Jews who moved from the Reich, even if the move was involuntary.²⁸

In October 1940, the deportation of Sinti and Roma from Germany and incorporated Austria was again suspended, because the General Government had protested the potential dumping of 35,000 Gypsies, as well as the impending arrival of large numbers of German Jews.²⁹ In July 1941, the RSHA halted the deportation of East Prussian Sinti and Roma, probably because of the invasion of the Soviet Union, noting that “a general and final solution of the Gypsy question cannot be achieved at this time.”³⁰

The patterns of both Gypsy and Jewish deportations reveal the evolving system of killings. Thus, as with the Jewish deportations to Lodz, the deportation of 5,000

Austrian Gypsies from transit camps at Hartburg, Fürstenfeld, Mattersburg, Roten Thurm, Lackenbach, and Oberwart to the Lodz ghetto in early November 1941, dovetailed with the establishment of the Chelmno killing center, where these Gypsies were killed in mobile gas vans in December 1941 and January 1942.³¹ Similarly, the Gypsies incarcerated in the Warsaw ghetto were deported to Treblinka in the summer of 1942.³² By that time, the SS Einsatzgruppen operating in the Soviet Union and the Baltic region had already killed several thousand Gypsies alongside Jews. Thus the RSHA reported in its "Situation Report USSR No. 153" that "the Gypsy problem in Simferopol [had been] settled" in December 1941.³³ Otto Ohlendorf, who had headed the Einsatzgruppe that operated in southern Russia and the Crimea, later testified at Nuremberg that the basis for killing Gypsies and Jews in Russia had been the same.³⁴

Until 1942, Nazi measures in Germany and Austria, but not in the East, were directed primarily against Gypsy *Mischlinge*, since Ritter's racial research estimated that 90 percent of the German Sinti and Roma were of mixed ancestry. This was the direct opposite to the treatment of German Jews: there the Jewish *Mischlinge*, a minority among Jews, were exempted from deportation. In 1942, the regime dropped the distinction between part and pure Gypsies, and subjected all Gypsies to the same treatment. In 1942 and 1943, the period during which most Gypsy deportations from the Reich occurred, the Nazis also eliminated all distinctions between the treatment of Gypsies and Jews. Thus, on 13 March 1942, new regulations placed Jews and Gypsies on equal footing for welfare payments and compulsory labor.³⁵

On 26 September 1942, three months before Himmler's Auschwitz decree, 200 Gypsies were transferred from Buchenwald to Auschwitz and assigned to build the new Gypsy enclosure BIIe at Birkenau.³⁶ On 26 February 1943, the first transport of German Gypsies arrived at the newly erected Gypsy "family camp" in Birkenau; Gypsies from occupied Europe arrived at Auschwitz-Birkenau after 7 March 1943.³⁷ The pattern of deporting Gypsies as a family unit was first established during the May 1940 Hohenasperg deportations to Lublin and this model continued to be used in the deportations to Auschwitz. The history and fate of the Gypsies in the Birkenau *Zigeunerlager* paralleled the creation and later destruction of the so-called *Familienlager* for Theresienstadt deportees in Birkenau BIIb. On 2 August 1944, the Gypsy camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau was liquidated.³⁸

Finally, on 25 April 1943, both Jews and Gypsies were denaturalized and placed on an equal footing under the provisions of the 12th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law³⁹ and on 10 March 1944 a circular letter from Heinrich Himmler directed that the publication of restrictive decrees against Jews and Gypsies be discontinued as their "evacuation and isolation" had already been largely completed.⁴⁰

After 1945, Germany refused to acknowledge the genocidal crimes committed against Sinti and Roma. Not unlike the Turks in the case of the Armenians, the Germans attempted to minimize these crimes by finding rationalizations in the supposedly antisocial danger represented by this small minority. Historians have

tended to legitimize these denials.⁴¹ Some historians focusing on the fate of Sinti and Roma during the Nazi period have accepted the arguments advanced by the Nazi regime that “Gypsies” were an antisocial and criminal group to question their status as legitimate victims of Nazi genocide. Historians of the Holocaust, both in Germany and elsewhere, have also tended to reject the claims of Sinti and Roma. These historians, most prominently Yehuda Bauer, have echoed the German rejectionist position, adding that, in any event the regime never intended to kill all members of this persecuted minority.⁴² To be fair, I must admit that today, fifty years after the event, this rejectionism is beginning to fade. The German elite is slowly accepting that Sinti and Roma were also victims of Nazi genocide.

Discrimination against Sinti and Roma did not cease with the defeat of Nazi Germany. During the immediate postwar years, harassment by German and Austrian police, housing, health, and welfare authorities was common. In Germany, Gypsy registration files created during the Nazi era were transferred to postwar successor agencies, and there usually administered by the men who had created them; these compromising files disappeared when public disclosure of their existence proved embarrassing.

Equally important, German postwar restitution legislation and its implementation excluded most Sinti and Roma survivors, subjecting them to arbitrary and repetitive bureaucratic humiliations. Most Gypsy survivors were initially disqualified from receiving compensation as racial victims for imprisonment prior to the March 1943 *Auschwitz* decree. Although this date was later changed to December 1938, both dates excluded restitution for incarceration in early internment camps such as Marzahn or Lackenbach, ignored deportation to ghettos such as Radom or Bialystok after 1940, restricted claims for health disabilities caused by involuntary sterilization and medical experiments, and required minimum periods of involuntary detention in certain officially recognized camps and ghettos to qualify for meager settlements. Claims filed by Gypsy survivors for homes and businesses impounded at deportation were invariably disallowed, often after investigation by the same police officials who had arrested and deported the claimants during the Nazi era. Health claims for physical and psychological trauma were similarly disregarded. This failure of empathy with Gypsy survivors was rationalized through the use of stereotypical Nazi language that defined the victims as “asocial and criminal.” Despite minor improvements in both legislation and court rulings by the 1980s, hostile practices, such as the denaturalization of many German Sinti survivors or the reduction of modest restitution settlements through the deduction of prior welfare assistance, established a flagrant pattern of official dissembling and hostility.⁴³

Continuing anti-Gypsy prejudices revealed themselves again in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Of course, the increased stream of asylum seekers from the ravaged lands of the former Soviet block met with rejection—except for those of “Germanic stock.” But this rejection assumed greater intensity with the arrival of “Gypsy” refugees escaping murderous hostility in eastern and southern

Europe. Although Germany undoubtedly had a moral responsibility for the survivors of Nazi-inspired Gypsy genocide in the German occupation zones and satellite states of World War II, the newly unified nation abdicated responsibility. Those few who were accepted as refugees, or slipped through the porous borders, were met with official rejection, popular violence, and eventual expulsion. In the case of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union, Germany exhibited an unusual sensitivity—I shall leave it to others to decide whether this was sincere or governed by foreign policy considerations. In the case of Gypsies, Germany's actions were governed by neither guilt nor concern for foreign opinion. The Austrian response, however, has been somewhat better.

Despite democratization and economic recovery, denazification in postwar Germany and Austria remained incomplete. West German political culture included widespread amnesia to the continuities of personnel in government and the academy. This continuity applied especially to the men and agencies that had been involved in the destruction of the Sinti and Roma minority. The collapse of the Soviet Union and German unification have altered the political map of Europe. In Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, popular hostility toward foreigners has expressed itself in violence against non-Germans, including Sinti and Roma. At this point, there is only a small indication that the nation will consciously move toward a multi-ethnic society. A yardstick of such change is, first of all, the way both government and populace treat their own minorities. Alongside Jews, now only a tiny remnant of its prewar presence, Sinti and Roma represent the only indigenous minority long native to the German lands. Their treatment will be the touchstone by which we can judge German democracy in the next century.

* This is a slightly revised version of a luncheon address delivered at the annual meeting of the German Studies Association, Atlanta, 9 October 1999.

¹*The New York Times*, 16 Apr. 1999, A6.

²The December 1937 unpublished decree on "crime prevention" (*vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung*) extended the use of preventive arrest to all persons whose asocial behavior supposedly threatened the common good, irrespective of whether the individual had a criminal record. It was applied to migrant and unemployed Gypsies, so-called asocials, the unemployed, habitual criminals, homeless panhandlers, beggars, and Jews previously sentenced to jail for more than 30 days (including traffic violations). See Decree of the Reich and Prussian Ministry of the Interior concerning "Vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung durch die Polizei," 14 Dec. 1937 (Pol. S-Kr. 3 No. 1682/37-2098), and "Richtlinien des Reichskriminalpolizeiamtes über die Durchführung der vorbeugenden Verbrechensbekämpfung," 4 Apr. 1938, reprinted in Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, Berlin, *Vorbeugende Verbrechensbekämpfung: Erlaßsammlung*, Schriftenreihe des

Reichskriminalpolizeiamtes Berlin, no. 15 (Berlin: Reichskriminalpolizeiamt, 1941), unpaginated. This book is stamped "vertraulich"; copy courtesy Katrin Seybold, Munich, who also provided a copy to the library of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz [hereafter BAK]; a copy of these decrees is also in Staatsanwaltschaft (StA) Hamburg, 2200 Js 2/84. See also Gerhard Werle, *Justiz-Strafrecht und polizeiliche Verbrechenbekämpfung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), 461-62, 481ff.

³See Sybil Milton, "Persecuting the Survivors: The Continuity of 'Antigypsyism' in Postwar Germany and Austria," in Susan Tebbutt, ed., *Antigypsyism in Postwar Germany* (Providence, R.I.: Berghahn, 1998), 36; Ludwig Eiber, ed., *"Ich wußte, es wird schlimm": Die Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in München 1933-1945* (Munich: Buchendorfer, 1993), 132-36; and Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, "Vertuscht, verleugnet, versteckt: Akten zur NS-Verfolgung von Sinti und Roma," *Beiträge zur nationalsozialistischen Gesundheits- und Sozialpolitik* 12 (1995), 187-94, 198-201.

⁴Daniel Strauß, "Anti-Gypsyism in German Society and Literature," in Tebbutt, ed., *Sinti and Roma*, 81-90; Michael Jäger, "'Gemeinschaftsfremd' im Nationalsozialismus: 'Zigeuner' und 'Asoziale,'" in *Feindbilder in der deutschen Geschichte*, ed. Christoph Jahr, Uwe Mai, and Kathrin Roller (Berlin: Metropol, 1994), 173-200; Franz Maciejewski, "Elemente des Antiziganismus," in Jacqueline Giere, ed., *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion des Zigeuners: Zur Genese eines Vorurteils* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1996), 9-28; Christoph Ortmeier, Elke Peters, and Daniel Strauß, *Antiziganismus: Geschichte und Gegenwart deutscher Sinti und Roma*, Heft 135 Gesellschaftslehre/Geschichte, Materialien zum Unterricht, Sekundarstufe 1 (Wiesbaden: Hessisches Landesinstitut für Pädagogik, 1998), 117-39; and Wolfgang Wippermann, *Wie die Zigeuner: Antisemitismus und Antiziganismus im Vergleich* (Berlin: Elefanten, 1997).

⁵Excerpts from Wilhelm Solms, "Zigeunerbilder deutscher Dichter," in Ortmeier, Peters, and Strauß, *Antiziganismus*, 128-33; and idem, "On the Demonising of Jews and Gypsies in Fairy Tales," in Tebbutt, ed., *Antigypsyism*, 91-106.

⁶Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, eds., *Otto Pankok und die Düsseldorfer Sinti* (Düsseldorf: Stadtdruckerei und Mahn- und Gedenkstätte Düsseldorf, 1993), 1; and Stephanie Barron, ed., *"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 325.

⁷Luise Rinser, *Wer wirft den Stein? Zigeuner sein in Deutschland. Eine Anklage* (Stuttgart: Weitbrecht, 1985) and Erich Hackl, *Abschied von Sidonie* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1989).

⁸See Philomena Franz, *Zwischen Liebe und Haß: Ein Zigeunerleben* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1985); Alfred Lessing, *Mein Leben im Versteck: Wie ein deutscher Sinti den Holocaust überlebte* (Düsseldorf: Zebulon, 1993); Ceija Stojka, *Wir leben im Verborgenen: Erinnerungen einer Rom-Zigeunerin*, ed. Karin Berger (Vienna: Picus, 1988); Karl Stojka and Reinhard Pohanka, *Auf der ganzen Welt zu Hause: Das Leben und Wandern des Zigeuners Karl Stojka* (Vienna: Picus, 1994); and Otto Rosenberg, *Das Brennglas*, aufgezeichnet von Ulrich Enzensberger (Berlin: Eichborn, 1998).

⁹Gesetz zur Bekämpfung von Zigeunern, Landfahrern und Arbeitsscheuen (16 July 1926), in *Gesetz und Verordnungsblatt für den Freistaat Bayern*, no. 17 (22 July 1926), 359-72. See also Eiber, ed., *"Ich wußte, es wird schlimm,"* 40-45.

¹⁰Runderlaß des Preußischen Ministeriums des Innern vom 3. November 1927, *Ministerialblatt für die preußische innere Verwaltung* [hereafter *MBliV*] (1927), 1045ff. For analogous concurrent legislation in Hesse, see Herbert Heuß, *"Hornhaut auf der Seele": Darmstadt, Auschwitz; Die Verfolgung der Sinti in Darmstadt* (Darmstadt: Verband Deutscher Sinti und

Roma - Landesverband Hessen, 1995), 32-46; and Michael Schenk, *Rassismus gegen Sinti und Roma: Zur Kontinuität der Zigeunerverfolgung innerhalb der deutschen Gesellschaft von der Weimarer Republik bis in die Gegenwart* (Frankfurt, Berlin, Bern, and New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 221-39.

¹¹Inge MarBolek and René Ott, *Bremen im Dritten Reich: Anpassung, Widerstand, Verfolgung* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1986), 335; Rainer Hehemann, *Die "Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens" im wilhelmischen Deutschland und in der Weimarer Republik 1871-1933* (Frankfurt: Haag & Herchen, 1987), and Schenk, *Rassismus gegen Sinti und Roma*, 232-37. The first attempt at a national "Gypsy" law failed in 1926. On 18 November 1929, the German Association of Cities sent a questionnaire attempting to coordinate its members' assorted local measures and to explore "ob eine reichsrechtliche Regelung des Zigeunerunwesens erforderlich ist." (Quoted *ibid.*, 237) This unsuccessful attempt at coordination was the precursor of the March 1936 memorandum prepared for State Secretary Hans Pfundtner of the Reich Ministry of Interior, containing the first references to the preparation of a national Gypsy law (*Reichszigeunergesetz*) and to the difficulties of achieving a "total solution of the Gypsy problem on either a national or international level." The interim recommendations in this memorandum included expulsion of stateless and foreign Gypsies, restrictions on freedom of movement, and on issuing licenses for Gypsies with itinerant trades (*Wandergewerbe*), increased police surveillance, sterilization of Gypsies of mixed German and Gypsy ancestry (so-called *Mischlinge*), complete registration of all Gypsies in the Reich, and confinement in a special Gypsy reservation. The abortive attempt to create a national policy was successful only with the consolidation of police authority and in the growing coordination of municipal Gypsy camps through the German Association of Cities. See BAK, R18/5644, pp. 215-27, containing cover letter and six-page memorandum from Oberregierungsrat Zindel to Staatssekretär Pfundtner, "Gedanken über den Aufbau des Reichszigeunergesetzes," 4 Mar. 1936. See Sybil Milton, "Antechamber to Birkenau: The Zigeunerlager after 1933," in *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed and the Reexamined*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 392; and Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 256-57.

¹²Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1933, I, 175-77; see also Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1979), 51-64; and Romani Rose, ed., *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord an den Sinti und Roma* (Heidelberg: Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma, 1995), 17.

¹³Hermann Scharfentag, "Die Zigeuner organisieren sich," 7 June 1931, newspaper clipping in Eiber, "Ich wußte, es wird schlimm," 29-30.

¹⁴Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, eds., *Nur wenige kamen zurück: Sinti und Roma im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: EL-DE-Haus and Rom e.V., 1990), 10.

¹⁵Johann Wilhelm Trollmann, b. 1906 - d. 9 Feb. 1943; killed in Neuengamme concentration camp. See Ortmeier, Peters, and Strauß, *Antiziganismus*, 20-31; Rose, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 22; and Michael Krausnick, *Wo sind sie hingekommen? Der unterschlagene Völkermord an den Sinti und Roma* (Gerlingen: Bleicher Verlag, 1995), 73-79.

¹⁶Elisabeth Klamper, "Persecution and Annihilation of Roma and Sinti in Austria, 1938-1945," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 3, no. 2 (Aug. 1993), 56.

¹⁷Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes [hereafter DÖW], Vienna: files 11143 and E18518.

¹⁸Thomas Huonker, *Fahrendes Volk: Verfolgt und verfemt; Jenische Lebensläufe* (Zürich: Limmat, 1987), 62ff.

¹⁹Runderlaß of 26 Nov. 1935 issued by the Reich and Prussian Ministry of Interior, *MBliV* (1935): 1429ff. See also Rundschreiben No. 1/43 in: *Mitteilungsblatt des Gauess Niederdonau der NSDAP*, 5, no. 1 (1 Feb. 1943), re: "Ehegenehmigungsanträge von Zigeunermischlingen auf Grund des § 6 der 1. Ausführungsverordnung zum Blutschutzgesetz." See also [Wilhelm] Frick, "Die Reichsbürgergesetze und das Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15. September 1935," in *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung* (Berlin), 40, no. 23 (1. Dec. 1935): col. 1389-1394, esp. 1391; and Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, vertrauliche Ausführungsverordnung des Blutschutzgesetzes betr. Eheschließungen und "artfremden Blutes," 3 Jan. 1936, No. 1 B (1 B 3 429), stipulated "zu den artfremden Rassen gehören alle anderen Rassen, das sind in Europa außer den Juden regelmäßig nur die Zigeuner." Copies of the latter two documents courtesy Dr. Frank Reuter of the Dokumentations- und Kulturzentrum der Deutschen Sinti und Roma, Heidelberg.

²⁰Rose, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 37-40; DÖW, file 11151, letter from Tobias Portschy, Provincial Governor of the Burgenland to all communal offices in Burgenland, Eisenstadt, 17 Mar. 1938; and Supplement to the Implementation Decree of the Federal Chancellor's Office, sent to all district administrative offices, including those in Vienna, 23 Mar. 1938, concerning the exclusion of both Gypsies and Jews from the plebiscite of 10 Apr. 1938; the latter document reproduced in facsimile in Elisabeth Klamper, ed., *Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes, Vienna*, v. 19 of the series *Archives of the Holocaust* (New York and London: Garland, 1991), 1-6.

²¹Robert Ritter, "Die Bestandsaufnahme der Zigeuner und Zigeunermischlinge in Deutschland," *Der öffentliche Gesundheitsdienst*, 6, no. 21 (5 Feb. 1941): 477-89; Karl Heinz Roth, *Die restlose Erfassung: Volkszählen, Identifizieren, Aussondern im Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin: Rotbuch, 1984), 71. On Ritter see Joachim Hohmann, *Robert Ritter und die Erben der Kriminalbiologie: "Zigeunerforschung" im Nationalsozialismus und in Westdeutschland im Zeichen des Rassismus* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991). On the parallels between racial classification of Jews and Roma, see the semi-official commentary on the Nuremberg Race Laws by their original framers: Wilhelm Stuckart and Hans Globke, *Reichsbürgergesetz vom 15. September 1935, Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15. September 1935, Gesetz zum Schutze der Erbgesundheit des deutschen Volkes (Ehegesundheitsgesetz) vom 18. Oktober 1935 nebst allen Ausführungsvorschriften und den einschlägigen Gesetzen und Verordnungen, erläutert* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936). According to Stuckart and Globke, the Nuremberg Race Laws applied in full to Roma as well as Jews, a conclusion reflected in a 26 Nov. 1935 ban against intermarriage between "Aryans" and Roma, Blacks, or their respective racial "hybrids" (*Mischlinge*); see "Runderlaß des RMDI über das Verbot von Mischehen vom 26. November 1935," *MBliV* 1935: 1429-34.

²²Henrietta Asséo, Karola Fings, Herbert Heuß, and Frank Sparing, *Sinti und Roma unter dem Nazi-Regime: Von der "Rassenforschung" zu den Lagern* (Berlin: Parabolis, 1996). For Cologne, see Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, "Das Zigeuner-Lager in Köln-Bickendorf, 1935-1958," 1999: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 6, no. 3 (July 1991): 11-40. For Düsseldorf, see Angela Genger, ed., *Verfolgung und Widerstand in Düsseldorf, 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, 1990), 126-33; and Karola Fings and Frank Sparing, "z. Zt. Zigeunerlager": *Die Verfolgung der Düsseldorfer Sinti und Roma im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne: Volksblatt Verlag, 1992). For Essen and

Gelsenkirchen, see Michael Zimmermann, "Von der Diskriminierung zum 'Familienlager' Auschwitz: Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung," *Dachauer Hefte* 5 (1989): 87-114; and idem, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet: Die nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik gegen Sinti und Roma* (Essen: Klartext, 1989), 18-22. For Frankfurt, see Wolfgang Wippermann, *Die nationalsozialistische Zigeunerverfolgung*, vol. 2 of the four part study *Leben in Frankfurt zur NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt: Stadt Frankfurt am Main - Amt für Volksbildung/Volkshochschule, 1986); Die Grünen im Landtag Hessen, Lothar Bembenek, and Frank Schwalba-Hoth, eds., *Hessen hinter Stacheldraht; Verdrängt und Vergessen: KZs, Lager, Außenkommandos* (Frankfurt: Eichborn Verlag, 1984), 153-68; Eva von Hase-Mihalik and Doris Kreuzkamp, "*Du kriegst auch einen schönen Wohnwagen*": *Zwangslager für Sinti und Roma während des Nationalsozialismus in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Brandes und Apsel, 1990); and Peter Sandner, *Frankfurt - Auschwitz: Die nationalsozialistische Verfolgung der Sinti und Roma in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Brandes und Apsel, 1998). For Hamburg, see Rudko Kawczynski, "Hamburg soll 'zigeunerfrei' werden," in *Heilen und Vernichten im Mustergau Hamburg: Bevölkerungs- und Gesundheitspolitik im Drittem Reich*, ed. Angelika Ebbinghaus, Heidrun Kaupen-Haas, and Karl Heinz Roth (Hamburg: Konkret Literatur Verlag, 1984), 45-53.

²³StA Hamburg, Akten des Verfahren gegen Dr. Ruth Kellermann u.A., 2200 Js 2/84: RSHA Schnellbrief zu Kripo(leit)stellen, 17 Oct. 1939.

²⁴Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg [hereafter ZStL], Slg. C SSR, Bd. 148, pp. 55-57, and Bd. 332, pp. 289-300, 306.

²⁵Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden [hereafter HHStA], 407/863. See also Sybil Milton, "Gypsies and the Holocaust," *History Teacher* 24, no. 4 (Aug. 1991), 380-81; Zimmermann, *Verfolgt, vertrieben, vernichtet*, 43-50; Hans Buchheim, "Die Zigeunerdeportation vom Mai 1940," in *Gutachten des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Munich: Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 1958), 1: 51ff.; and Michael Krausnick, *Abfahrt Karlsruhe 16.5.1940: Die Deportation der Karlsruher Sinti und Roma; ein unterschlagenes Kapitel aus der Geschichte unserer Stadt* (Karlsruhe: Verband der Sinti und Roma Karlsruhe e.V., 1991). The May 1940 deportation was linked to Reinhard Heydrich's instructions to chiefs of police and district governors in Germany in the so-called *Umsiedlungserlaß* of 27 Apr. 1940 for the "resettlement, arrest, and deportation of Gypsies above the age of seventeen from western and northwestern border zones." See BAK, R58/473: Richtlinien für die Umsiedlung von Zigeunern, Berlin, 27 Apr. 1940.

²⁶DÖW, file E18518: letter from Kripostelle Salzburg to the Reichsstatthalter Dr. Reitter, Salzburg, 5 July 1940. The Gypsies were to be imprisoned in a special camp until deportation; there they would be registered and given medical examinations.

²⁷Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide*, 260-62; Rose, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 88-97.

²⁸United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., Fojn-Felczer Collection, Ruling (*Feststellung*) of the Reich Ministry of the Interior, Berlin, 26 Jan. 1943, that Gypsies transferred to concentration camps on orders of the Reich Leader SS were defined as enemies of the Reich and, consequently, their property and possessions could be seized. On the 11th Ordinance, see Henry Friedlander, "The Deportation of German Jews: Postwar German Trials of Nazi Criminals," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 29 (1984), 212.

²⁹Werner Präg and Wolfgang Jakobmeyer, eds., *Das Dienstagebuch des deutschen Generalgouverneurs in Polen, 1939-1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 93, 146-47 (4 Mar. 1940), 158 (5 Apr. 1940), and 262 (31 July 1940). See also Friedlander,

“Deportation of German Jews,” 209.

³⁰StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: RSHA Rundschreiben to Kripoleitstelle Königsberg, 22 July 1941.

³¹See Jerzy Ficowski, *Cyganie na Polskich Drogach* (Cracow and Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), 129-51; Lucjan Dobroszycki, ed., *The Chronicles of the Lodz Ghetto, 1941-1944* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 82, 85, 96, 101, and 107; Antoni Galinski, “Nazi Camp for Gypsies,” 16 pp. mimeographed paper presented at a conference of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi and Stalinist Crimes in Poland (Warsaw, Apr. 1983); and DÖW, files 11293, 11477, and 18518. See also, Hanno Loewy and Gerhard Schoenberner, “*Unser einziger Weg ist Arbeit*”: *Das Getto in Lodz, 1940-1944* (Frankfurt and Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1990), 186-87.

³²Yad Vashem, Jerusalem: E39, Elias Rosenberg, “Tatsachenbericht: Das Todeslager Treblinka,” memoir written en route to Palestine in the late 1940s, 11 pages typed. Rosenberg describes the arrival of two Roma transports in Treblinka in late November 1942 and records their defiance on the way to the gas chambers, thus necessitating the use of additional German SS and Ukrainian guards.

³³Nuremberg Doc. NO-3278: “Ereignismeldungen UdSSR 153,” 9 Jan. 1942. See, for example, the judgment against SS Lieutenant Colonel (*Obersturmbannführer*) Albert Rapp, chief of Sonderkommando 7a of Einsatzgruppe B, for killing Jews, Gypsies, and the handicapped: Landgericht Essen, 29 Mar. 1965, 29 Ks 1/64, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, ed. Adelheid L. Rüter-Ehlermann and C. F. Rüter, 22 vols. (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1968-81), 20: no. 588, pp. 732 and 754ff. See also, ZStL, Slg. UdSSR, Bd. 245 Ac, p. 318: Extract from a 1945 Soviet report concerning the town of Elgawa, occupied on 30 June 1941, which notes that 6,000 Jews were killed; 44 institutionalized psychiatric patients were shot on 2 Sept. 1941 and an additional 440 psychiatric patients were shot and buried in a nearby forest on 8 Jan. 1942; and 280 Gypsies were shot and killed on 27-28 May 1942.

³⁴*Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10* [Green series], 15 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1950-52), 4: 286.

³⁵StA Hamburg, Verfahren 2200 Js 2/84: Anordnung des Reichsarbeitsministers betr: die Beschäftigung von Zigeuner, 13 Mar. 1942. These regulations took effect on 1 Apr. 1942. The parallel law for Jews was “die Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden,” 3 Oct. 1941, *Reichsgesetzblatt I*, 675, and “die Verordnung zur Durchführung der Verordnung über die Beschäftigung von Juden,” 31 Oct. 1941, *ibid.* I, 681.

³⁶Gudrun Schwarz, “Sinti und Roma in den nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern: Ein allgemeiner Überblick,” in Waclaw Dlugoborski, ed., *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau 1943-44: Vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Verfolgung unter der Naziherrschaft* (Oswiecim: Verlag Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1998), 237.

³⁷Danuta Czech, *Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939-1945* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1989), 423.

³⁸Dlugoborski, *Sinti und Roma im KL Auschwitz-Birkenau*, 229-341; Sybil Milton, “The Context of the Holocaust,” *German Studies Review* 13 (1990), 275; and HHStA, 407/863: Richtlinien für die Umsiedlung von Zigeunern, Berlin, 27 Apr. 1940. See Sybil Milton, “Holocaust: The Gypsies,” in *Genocide in the Twentieth Century: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, ed. William S. Parsons, Israel W. Charny, and Samuel Totten (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 221-23.

³⁹*Reichsgesetzblatt* 1943, I, 268f.; facsimile reproduced in Rose, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord*, 36.

⁴⁰See *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals*, 3: 713 (Nuremberg Doc. PS 664). See also National Archives, RG 238, box 70, Nuremberg Doc. NO 3719.

⁴¹Sybil Milton, "Der Weg zur 'Endlösung der Zigeunerfrage': Von der Ausgrenzung zur Ermordung der Sinti und Roma," in Edgar Bamberger and Annegret Ehmann, ed., *Kinder und Jugendliche als Opfer des Holocaust* (Heidelberg: Dokumentationszentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma and Gedenkstätte Haus der Wannseekonferenz, 1995), 30-31.

⁴²Milton, "Gypsies and the Holocaust," 375-87. See also Correspondence Bauer and Milton, *The History Teacher* 25, no. 4 (Aug. 1992): 515-21.

⁴³Milton, "Persecuting the Survivors," 35-47.