Roma and the Question of Ethnic Origin in Romania during the Holocaust

Marius Turda and Adrian-Nicolae Furtună

Marius Turda
mturda@brookes.ac.uk
Professor, Oxford Brookes University, Oxford

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5225-1536

Marius Turda is Professor at Oxford Brookes University and Director of its Centre for Medical Humanities. He published widely on the history of eugenics, race, and racism. He is the general editor of *A Cultural History of Race* (2021) and editor of CEU Series in the History of Medicine. His recent public engagement work includes a travelling exhibition on the legacies of eugenics, "The Eugenics Podcast", and "Confront Eugenics".

Adrian-Nicolae Furtună
furtunaadrian@yahoo.com
PhD candidate, Research Institute for Quality of Life, Romanian Academy

ORCID https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8679-4742

Adrian-Nicolae Furtună has a BA in sociology from the University of Bucharest and an MA in Advanced Sociological Research from the same university. Currently enrolled in a PhD programme at the Research Institute for Quality of Life of the Romanian Academy, his dissertation focuses on the social memory of Romani slavery in Romania. He is the author of a number of studies on collective memory and Romani history.

CRS Critical Romani Studies

Vol. 4. No. 2. 2021, 8–33 • DOI: 10.29098/crs.v4i2.143

Abstract

This article suggests that the arguments used to justify the deportation of Roma to Transnistria in 1942 were racial and eugenic. As a self-styled scientific theory of human betterment, eugenics aimed to sanitize Romania's population, proposing a new vision of the national community, one biologically purged of those individuals believed to be "defective", "unfit", and "unworthy" of reproduction. Based on new archival material we suggest that the racial definition of Romanianness that prevailed at the time aimed to remove not just Jews but also Roma from the dominant ethnic nation ("*neamul românesc*"). To define Romanianness according to blood, ethnic origin, and cultural affiliation had been an essential component of Romania's biopolitical programme since the 1920s. During the early 1940s, it served as the political foundation upon which the transformation of Romania into an ethnically homogeneous state was carried out. At the time, the "Roma problem", similar to the "Jewish Question", was undeniably premised on eugenics and racism.

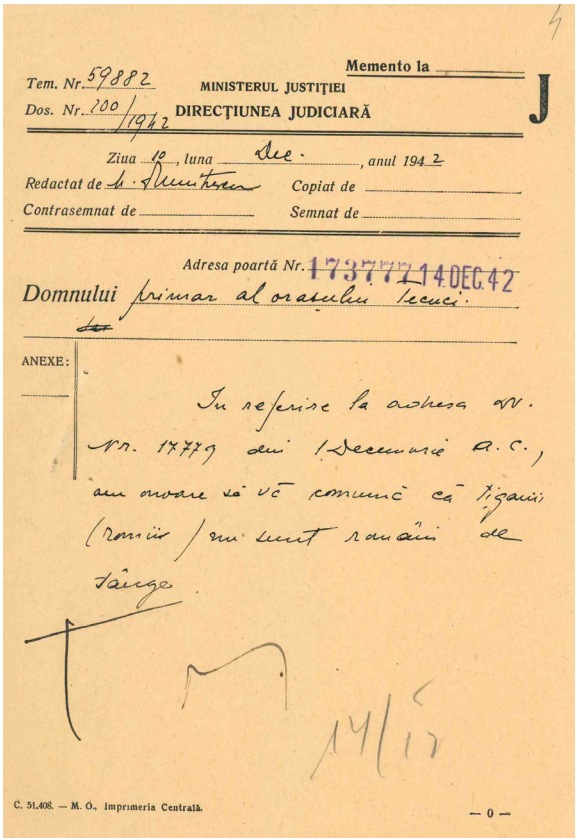
Keywords

- Biopolitics
- Eugenics
- Holocaust
- Nationalism
- Roma

"Let's separate the wheat from the chaff."
– Holocaust survivor Lucreția Cârjobanu, Pietriș village, Iași county, interviewed in 2012

Introduction

Barely a month had passed since Mihai Antonescu announced in the Council of Ministers the end of deportations to Transnistria, when an official request was sent from Tecuci, a small town in eastern Romania, to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dimitrie I. Popescu, asking him to clarify whether the Roma could be issued "Romanian ethnic certificates" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naţionalităţii Române, 1 Nov. 1942). Nine days later, on 10 November 1942, hoping to disentangle the confusion about this issue, the Ministry of Internal Affairs re-transmitted the request to the Ministry of Justice. Several days later, the Ministry of Justice provided an answer, explaining to the Ministry of Internal Affairs that "Gypsies are not of Romanian ethnic origin. They can, however, possess Romanian citizenship." An equally simple and straightforward answer was given to the Mayor of Tecuci on 10 December: "Gypsies (Roma) are not Romanians by blood" – the original Romanian reads: "*țiganii (romii) nu sunt români de sânge*").


Memento la

Tem. Nr. 59882 MINISTERUL JUSTIȚIEI

Dos. Nr. 200/1942 DIRECȚIUNEA JUDICIARĂ

J

Ziua 12, luna Dec., anul 1942

Redactat de [illegible] Copiat de

Contrasemnat de Semnat de

Adresa poartă Nr. 173777 14 DEC. 42

Domnului primar al orașului Tecuci.

ANEXE:

În referire la adresa dv. nr. 17779 din 1 Decembrie a.c., am onoare să vă comunic că țiganii (romii) nu sunt români de sânge.

14/12

C. 51.408. — M. O., Imprimeria Centrală. — 0 —

Figure 1. Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, file 4, dos. 34, 1942, Fond 2383, Ministerul Justiției, Arhivele Naționale ale României.

What is the meaning of this statement? Why were the Roma not considered fully "Romanian"? And what can this example tell us about the broader perception of the Roma in Romania in a period during which many of them were deported to Transnistria and left to die there in inhumane conditions? These are the questions we aim to answer in this article. As the letter from Tecuci demonstrates, official language and the presumption of who was considered ethnically Romanian was predicated on race rather than citizenship. As elsewhere at the time, in Romania, too, blood – understood as the biological, inheritable connection between current generations and preceding generations of Romanians – was appropriated to perform a political function: that of ethnic cleansing, and its corollary, the transformation of Romania into a racial state. Simply put, to be considered "Romanian by blood" in 1942 meant that you belonged to the dominant ethnic nation.

1. Law and Race

This racial sophistry was initially directed at the Romanian Jews who, since 1938, had been subjected to a string of anti-Semitic legislation aimed at their dispossession and the deprivation of their rights (Ioanid 2000; Benjamin, 2004, 237–251). On 8 August 1940 two new legislative measures were signed into law by King Carol II, the President of the Council of Ministers, Ion Gigurtu, and the Minister of Justice, Ion V. Gruia. The first outlined the legal and religious criteria according to which one was "defined" as Jewish; the second prohibited the marriage of Jews with "Romanians by blood" (Noua legislaţiune cu privire la evrei, vol. 1, 1940, 3–9 and 21–22).

In a report prepared for the Council of Ministers a day earlier, Gruia explained the racial and nationalist underpinnings of these laws. According to Gruia, with these laws a "biological conception of the Nation" was introduced in Romania, separating those citizens who had "Romanian blood" and were Christians from those who had not and were not, such as Jews. They were described as a "foreign race" whose further assimilation in the Romanian nation had to be stopped immediately. Romania, Gruia also argued, was a country of ethnic Romanians, and did not belong to those who only held Romanian citizenship. To be considered ethnically Romanian, an individual had to be "true-blooded Romanian" for at least three generations. Only these Romanians were allowed to hold high office in the state and only these Romanians formed the nation. As Gruia noted: "We considered Romanian blood as constituting a key component of the Nation." In this way, Gruia, using race as a criterion of national belonging, announced the onset of Romania's long anticipated ethnic regeneration, similar to what Nazi Germany and fascist Italy had experienced throughout the 1930s. This new legal framework, Gruia concluded in his report, aimed to "promote the organic and creative elements of the Nation" while, at the same time, to "purify it of its miscegenate and parasitic elements" (Gruia 1940, 22–26).

These laws were both racial and eugenic. Their purpose was not only to limit the complete access to economic resources and public functions to ethnic Romanians but equally to ensure the eugenic protection of their racial qualities. As pointed out by Mihai Manoilescu on 30 July 1940, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, the time had come to create a "Romania for the Romanians and only for them" (Benjamin 1996, 51–53). On another level, the issue of blood and Romanian identity was much more complex, as explained by Eugen Petit, a legal expert and advisor to the High Court of Cassation and Justice. On 28 July 1940 Petit published a short article in the legal publication *Dreptul* (The law) in which he attempted to unpack the problems of "ethnic origin" and miscegenation. Petit was not interested in the obvious cases of individuals with unquestionable racial identity, whose "blood was Romanian". But what happened, he asked, if the father and the mother belonged to different ethnic groups? Which ethnic origin would be attributed to the offspring, that of the father or of the mother? Could, for instance, a child born of a Romanian mother and a Jewish father be considered Romanian? And how about a child whose mother was Roma?

According to Petit, "ethnic origin" was inherited from the mother and could not be acquired through legislation, education, or acculturation. Therefore, one could not become Romanian by acquiring Romanian citizenship. "Ethnic origin," he pointed out, was the matrix in which the individual was stamped

and within which the individual operated (Petit 1940a, 117–119). It was thus essential to consider the eugenic connections between female bodies, reproduction, and race when describing the member of a political community. What Petit wanted to do, in fact, was return the idea of Romanian ethnic origins to where, he believed, it belonged, namely in the realm of nature and biology. He did not introduce a legal distinction between nation and race; the two terms overlapped to a significant degree. Jews and Roma were racially different from Romanians, and their place in the Romanian national community was questioned as a result.

Petit elaborated further on this point in the second part of the article dealing with the "ethnic origin" of the Romanians, published in September 1940 (Petit 1940b, 133–135). In a totalitarian state – as Romania aspired to be – the aims were to "keep the race pure" and to prevent miscegenation; otherwise, its prospects were bleak. In support of his argument Petit quoted Adolf Hitler who, in *Mein Kampf*, described the non-Aryans as "enemies of the human species" and "bacteria" (*Ibid.*, 134) Another reference for Petit was Romania's foremost anti-Semite, A. C. Cuza, who notoriously described the Jews as "a 'bastardised and degenerate" race (Turda 2003, 336–348; Turda 2008, 437–453). Both authors asserted that the "vigorous Romanian race" needed to be liberated from its "Jewish influences" so that it could reclaim its Aryanism. The Aryan race, according to Petit, grouped together Celts, Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and Germans. As Latins, ethnic Romanians were, therefore, Aryans, and as such, they too needed to be kept separate from non-Aryan races such as Jews and Roma. And how about the identity of mixed-race children? Petit's answer was categorical. If an Aryan woman had a child with a non-Aryan man then that child had "mixed blood" and was thus racially "suspicious". A "drop of non-Aryan blood," he pointed out was "enough to contaminate the blood of the offspring" (Petit 1940b, 135). What, then, could be done? Petit's recommendations were education and legislation. All Romanians should be taught to love their nation ("*neam*") and country and be encouraged to marry within their ethnic group. At the same time, Petit suggested that those who had sexual relations with non-Aryans should be punished harshly. The eugenic control of reproduction was meant to enhance the regenerative capabilities of the Romanian race.

Petit's message was clearly pessimistic but perhaps with good reason. For decades, Romanian eugenicists and demographers had painted the practice of mixed marriages, particularly in Transylvania and the Banat, in dark terms. For instance, in a report prepared for the Council of the Orthodox Diocese of Cluj published in May 1925 it was noted that out of 2784 religious marriages recorded in the diocese in 1924, 450 were between Romanians and non-Romanians (Renașterea 1925, 4). Keeping the "race pure" also meant not just banning interethnic marriages but also the introduction of demographic and eugenic incentives for Romanians to marry other Romanians.

Although not involved with the formulation of the anti-Semitic laws introduced in 1940, in a short note accompanying the article, Petit mentioned both approvingly. In a book published a year later, also entitled *Originea etnică* (Ethnic origin) he discussed Gruia's report from 8 August 1940 in detail, adding new reflections on the relevance of blood and race for the definition of the Romanian nation. This time he finally explained which racial components constituted so-called "Romanian blood", attributing significance to the three main groups which had contributed to the Romanian ethnogenesis: Dacians, Romans, and Slavs. "Dacian-Roman blood" was, for him, the fundamental racial factor, uniting Romanians with Italians, French, and Spanish in the large family of the "Aryan Latin race."

Petit's perspective echoed recurrent themes in Romanian nationalism, connecting a dominant ethnic culture with an autochthonous population. Race was, in this context, about biology, lineage, and family but also about historical continuity and authenticity. Only "true" Romanians were considered to be the "creators of the national culture". As a legal expert, however, Petit recast these cultural and historical themes in ways that were consistent with the eugenic programme of ethnic purification promoted at the time in and outside Romania. In so doing, he mirrored, at the level of the legal system, the same shift observed at the level of culture, science, and politics. The laws of the country, Petit concluded, needed to reflect these new racial realities.

These were not just theoretical reflections on the importance of race for the definition of the nation but actual racial guidelines. In a country like Romania, and in a period in which race, family, motherhood, and nation were interlinked, the question of the "ethnic origin" was of paramount importance. After decades of debates about how to define the Romanian nation, race had finally gained prominence in the political performance of the state. The eugenic and racist fixation with the "blood" of the Romanian nation, thus came to share the performative function of ethnic identification with language and religion.

Eugenics and the Biological Protection of the Nation

How did educated Romanians define eugenics and race at the time? "Eugenics," according to one of them, was "the science which studied the hereditary and environmental factors able to improve the biological characteristics of future generations." Further, "eugenics constituted the basis and the starting point for all measures that aimed to increase the biological quality of our people" (Banu 1941, 342–343). "Race" was understood as "a biological and hereditary notion" (Râmneanțu 1939a, 164). In Romanian eugenic and nationalist literature, race was often used as a synonym for people, nation, and ethnicity ("*etnicul românesc*"). As pointed out by another eugenicist, "the term race can easily be replaced with ethnic body, the body of the nation or, simply, the nation" (Făcăoaru 1935a, 3). The discussion about the "Romanian race" and its "blood" was therefore always in flux, rarely working with stable meanings. Certainly, race and nation often overlapped during the interwar period, and the two terms were used interchangeably in public and political debates on ethnic specificity; yet it is also clear that by the early 1940s attempts were made to align categories of national affiliation such as language and religion with racial attributes, along with such corollary binaries as autochthonous versus foreign, rural versus urban, civilised versus primitive, and European versus non-European. These stereotypes abound in representations of Romani people, from anthropological diagnoses of their "intellectual inferiority" to medicalised interpretations of their hygienic "backwardness" and predisposition to disease and infection. Throughout the interwar period, their characterisation as racially inferior and culturally backward shifted consistently towards a eugenic concern with the health of the Romanian nation. As aptly put by Shannon Woodcock: "It is important to note, however, that the *Țigan* identity to which Roma remained tethered in discourse was also increasingly located in biology with the popularization of eugenic discourse. The strengthened perception of ethnic characteristics as biologically inalienable played an important role when Romanians decided who to persecute in the Holocaust – as even those Roma who did not display the symptoms of stereotypical *Țigan* identity could be deported as biologically *Țigan*" (Woodcock 2010, 36).

Eugenics grew in popularity in Romania after 1920, but it was in 1940 that the interlocking network of nationalism, eugenics, racism, and anti-Semitism infused the biopolitical project of building a modern Romanian nation with its damaging predisposition towards ethnic purification. Far from constituting a theory about human breeding shared by specialised biologists and physicians only, eugenics revealed, expressed, and conditioned narratives of national belonging articulated by individuals holding leading positions in the state administration and government. As Iosif Stoichiță, Secretary General in the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance, announced in his radio broadcast on 30 May 1941, "the biological recovery of our nation […] requires the adoption of a broad biopolitical programme". The aim was to preserve the racial quality of the Romanian family and safeguard its future (Stoichiță 1941, 413). It is important to understand that this is exactly what Romania's highest state officials had set out to accomplish.

On 6 September 1940, General (later Marshall) Ion Antonescu became Romania's head of state. The racial and eugenic programme of ethnic purification received a new impetus. New antisemitic legislation was introduced, covering all aspects of cultural, economic, and social Jewish life. The centrality of race in the crafting of these laws is undeniable. As Mihai A. Antonescu, who succeeded Gruia as Minister of Justice, underlined in a letter to Ion Antonescu dated 27 March 1941: "The Romanian nation must be protected and rebuilt. The structure of Romanian society," he continued, "must be cleansed" (Antonescu 1941a, 20). To this effect, on 3 May 1941 the National Centre for Romanianization (*Centrul Național de Românizare*) was established with the purpose of eliminating Jewish and "foreign" economic influences from Romania. Then in a cabinet meeting on 17 June, the same Antonescu, now Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced the beginning of the "the purification of the population; […] not only in respect of the Jews, but of all nationalities; we will implement a policy of total and violent expulsion of foreign elements" (Ciucă, Ignat, and Teodorescu 1999, 570). And on 6 October, Ion Antonescu himself made it clear that his aim, as the country's head of state, was "to purify the Romanian race", and that no obstacle will deter him from "achieving this historical objective of our people". Regaining the "lost territories" of Transylvania and Bessarabia, which were lost in the summer of 1940, would mean nothing, he added, without "the purification of the Romanian people; after all, what made a people strong was not borders but the purity and the homogeneity of its race" (Benjamin 1996, 326–327). Antonescu may not have used the word eugenics, but his reference to race was clear enough to anyone willing to listen and act accordingly.

What this meant in practice was the transformation of Romania into a "functional biological state" (Antonescu 1941b, 85–86). The embrace of biopolitics, a much-cherished eugenic goal, finally occurred. The state became guardian of the biological qualities of the nation, which was to be fortified not merely under the banner of a new cultural and political ideology, but through a synthesis of racist and eugenic morality. As the journalist and literary historian Dan Smântănescu underlined in an article on the "question of race" published in 1941: "A new destiny awaits mankind. Each race will be returned to its blood rights!" According to Smântănescu, to "strengthen the quality of blood within its ethnic framework" it was required that in Romania "reproduction was only allowed for the members of the race" (Smântănescu 1941, 307–308). This intense biologisation of the national belonging constituted a "defensive response to forms of collective and cultural fragmentation" (Turda 2007, 437) brought about by the generalised perception of a national tragedy unfolding in the context of the world war.

The deportation of the Roma to Transnistria should rightly be seen as integral to the process of ethnic purification attempted by Ion Antonescu and his regime after 6 September 1940. It is discussed together with the state-coordinated elimination of Romania's Jews in the Holocaust. Scholars have made exertions to document the profusion of antisemitism in Romania, before and after 1918, and drawn out its enabling role in the orchestration of pogroms, deportations, killings, and ultimately the Holocaust. Yet a different interpretation of the reasons behind Ion Antonescu's decision to deport the Roma currently predominates in Romanian historiography. The official narrative is that there was "no Gypsy problem" in Romania prior to 1942, when the deportations of Roma to Transnistria began. One prominent historian perpetuating this argument even goes as far as to suggest that "Racism […] didn't count for much in Romanian political thinking in the interwar years or even during the Second World War. Its importance was marginal even among supporters of eugenics" (Achim 2007, 167). This argument about the lack of official anti-Romani eugenics and racism was also adopted by the International Commission for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania under Elie Wiesel's chairmanship and was included in its "Final Report" published in 2004. Antonescu, the argument goes, was a Romanian nationalist and antisemite. He was also obsessive about order. As a military man, he loathed disruption and insubordination. Antonescu ordered the deportation of Roma because he perceived them to be disruptors of the social order.

This historiographic tradition accepts that Romanians were antisemites during the early 1940s but considers that their anti-Roma attitudes were not motivated by racism and eugenics (Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu, 2004, 223–241). This reticence to discuss anti-Romani racism reflects another illusion purported by historians of science and medicine in Romania, which sought to negate, or at least soften, the impact of eugenics. Celebrated medical historian Gheorghe Brătescu, for instance, described the Romanian eugenic movement as "frail" without having any broad cultural and political significance (Brătescu 1999, 406–411). The general historical knowledge about Romania's eugenic past remains sketchy at best, with many significant gaps.

These arguments are inherently flawed, revealing no attempt to understand the broader Romanian racist and eugenic movement during the 1930s and 1940s. As Lya Benjamin, Jean Ancel, Radu Ioanid, Maria Bucur, Vladimir Solonari, Michelle Kelso, Benjamin Thorne, Roland Clark, Chris Davis, and Ştefan C. Ionescu have demonstrated abundantly, after 1920 Romanian culture and politics were both imbricated with and undercut by repeated racist theorisations and exemplifications of what it meant to be Romanian. Prominent Romanian eugenicists, including Iuliu Moldovan, Aurel Voina, Grigore I. Odobescu, Gheorghe Marinescu, Gheorghe Banu, and Sabin Manuilă, asserted the individuality of the nation ("neam") and devised strategies to protect its biological qualities. In their writings they placed the Romanian peasant family at the centre of the eugenic and biopolitical transformation of the country. Crucially, this eugenic exultation of the family did not include Roma. As the ideology of ethnic nationalism was popularised and disseminated through official publications, literary and scientific journals, books, public lectures, and the entire school system, the Romanian peasant family became synonymous with the Romanian nation ("*neamul românesc*") (Turda 2016, 29–58).

In his oft-quoted *Igiena naţiunii: eugenia* (The hygiene of the nation: Eugenics), published in 1925, Iuliu Moldovan, a professor at the University of Cluj and director of its Institute of Hygiene and Social Hygiene, made it clear that what defined the Romanians was not "language, religion and common interests" but a

"biological relation of blood" ("*legatura biologică de sânge*") connecting each one of them across time and space (Moldovan 1925). Romanian "blood" was thus transformed into a symbol of ethnic hegemony and national normativity, biologizing individual and collective identity.

Moldovan and his students repeatedly insisted that the Romanian nation was not an abstract category, "imagined" and inclusive, but a "real" entity, based on "blood", racial affiliation, and tradition. Above all, they valued the Romanian peasant family seen as the embodiment of the nation's racial strength (Marinescu 1935, 7–8). The nomadic Roma was contrasted racially and eugenically with the Romanian peasant. Celebrated historian Nicolae Iorga, for instance, spoke of the "Gypsy, [being] in all its expressions, a human monkey" in contrast to the "dignified figure of our peasant" (Iorga 1929, 4). The de-humanization of the Roma dovetailed with the eugenic and racist rationalization of so-called Romani "backwardness" and of their irremediable delinquency, indolence, and cultural inferiority. In this way, unworthiness and a deceptive social performativity characterized the representation of the Roma Romanians as national subjects.

Roma Enslavement and Romanian Racism

Slaves for almost five centuries, the racialisation of Roma loomed large in the Romanian debate about the nation during the early 1940s. The following view put forward by prominent social hygienist and eugenicist and former Minister of Health, Gheorghe Banu, in one of his articles published in the late 1941 was widely shared by other physicians, anthropologists, sociologists, and ethnographers. According to Banu, "Due to their hereditary and constitutional inheritance, to which the degenerative action of the environment and conditions of labour had also contributed, the Gypsies are an inferior group, physically and psychologically, in comparison to the autochthonous population. Irrespective whether they were state-, church-, or private-owned slaves, these elements had always been dysgenic" (Banu 1941, 366). Slavery was thus used to explain why the Romani population had developed racial traits unwanted in modern society. Their perceived inferiority was validated by such interpretations that proclaimed a connection between race and deviance and justified the eugenic intervention of the modern state.

Sabin Manuilă, Romania's foremost demographer, equally believed that it was Roma, not Jews, who had caused the greatest racial and eugenic damage in Romania. In an article published in 1940 he described the "Gypsies" thus:

> The Gypsies constitute a rather numerous ethnic group in Romania. Their exact number is not known, because of the assimilation of a great number of sedentary Gypsies. They have no social value. On the contrary, based on what we know from expert studies we can assert that the Gypsy ethnic group is the most inferior, socially, and especially, morally. The cause of this should not be looked for in their anatomical structure but in their intellectual one, which is below mediocre, and particularly in their unstable character. […] Gypsies are emotional, temperamental, irrational, and thus incapable of sustained effort.

Given these views, it is not surprising that Manuilă believed "the Gypsies" to be Romania's most important, sensitive and serious racial problem." The situation was both tragic and "catastrophic", requiring immediate state intervention. Otherwise, Manuilă warned, the racial miscegenation caused by the assimilation of the Roma into Romanian society and the "new hybrid type, the Gypsy-Romanian" which had emerged as a result would lead to a further weakening of the racial texture of the nation. "There is no field of activity [in Romania]," he suggested, "left untouched by the Gypsy racial element" ("*elementul rassial ţigănesc*"). Similar to Iorga, Manuilă opposed the "Gypsy anthropological type" to "our Dacian-Romanian type, which [was] sombre, rationalist, scrupulous and resolute". The contrast between these racial types was meant to reveal specific Roma "hereditary characteristics" and their racial difference.

Manuilă hoped that the new political leadership would take his warning seriously and adopt practical measures to defend the Romanian nation against Roma. As one might expect in the highly charged atmosphere of the summer of 1940, when Romania lost major territories – Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union, northern Transylvania to Hungary, southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria – the "Gypsy problem" may have seemed of secondary importance. Manuilă nevertheless remained undeterred, concluding:

> These facts oblige us to consider the Gypsy problem as Romania's most important racial problem. [. . .] It is true that there are other ethnic problems [in Romania], some of high priority due to international politics. But these problems should not obfuscate our major problem with the continuous and unwanted mixing between Gypsies and Romanians, a mixture which degrades the Romanian race. The mixing of Gypsy and Romanian blood is the most dysgenic factor affecting our race (Manuilă 1940, 5).

The "Roma problem" was thus racialised and involved eradicating their presence in Romania. The Orthodox theologian, Liviu Stan, echoed these views when he declared in 1941 that:

> Gypsy blood had penetrated Romanian blood and it […] changed our spirit and damaged our moral values. […] From a biological point of view, Gypsies have damaged our ethnic essence more than Jews. When we think that the purity of the blood conditions the purity of the spirit, then here too the Gypsies have surpassed the Jews, causing greater moral and spiritual damage than these (Stan 1941, 1–2).

To protect the Romanian race from further biological weakening, Stan advocated eugenic "prophylactic measures", including their "segregation" and the "prohibition of marriage between Gypsies and Romanians" (*Ibid.*). Stan saw Roma essentially as "dysgenic monsters" populating Romania and did not hesitate to describe them publicly as such in a book published a year later, aptly called *Race and Religion* (Rasă şi religiune) (Stan 1942, 144). Given the advancement of the assimilation of Roma into Romanian society, the eugenic diagnosis was bleak. What, then, could be done to prevent further degeneration of the race? Sociologist Traian Herseni readily offered his advice: "Dysgenic individuals must not be allowed to reproduce; inferior races should be completely isolated from the [Romanian] ethnic group. The sterilization of certain categories of individuals must not be conceived stupidly as a violation of human dignity but as a tribute to beauty, morality, and perfection" (Herseni 1941, 7).

Here, then, was one of the major sources of concern for proponents of eugenics in Romania: nomadic Roma were quickly distinguishable from other ethnic groups, but the sedentary, assimilated Roma required additional strategies of racial identification (Manuilă 1941, 2). According to these authors, for almost a century, Roma had mixed with the Romanians in urban slums, creating a new racial type. Yet to identify this type in the population was exceedingly difficult, Manuilă pointed out. According to the national census carried out by the National Institute of Statistics in 1930 under Manuilă's supervision, ethnic Romanians constituted 71.9 per cent of the population; a significant 28.1 per cent were minorities, some numerous, such as Hungarians (7.9 per cent), others, such as Turks, a mere 0.9 per cent. But numbers only did not make an internal enemy. After all, Jews amounted to 4 per cent of the total population and Roma to just slightly over 1.0 per cent. Only 262,501 individuals identified themselves as ethnically Roma, but this number was considered questionable. As Manuilă and his collaborator Dumitru C. Georgescu explained, because the word "Gypsy" was considered insulting, "a significant number of Gypsies and those with Gypsy origin – in particular those who had assimilated into other ethnic groups – did not declare themselves Gypsy but identified themselves with the ethnic group into which they had assimilated" (Manuilă and Georgescu 1938, 59).

The difficulties encountered in trying to provide accurate and reliable information about the numbers of Roma living in Romania were again highlighted in a report Manuilă and Georgescu prepared for and submitted to Ion Antonescu on 7 September 1942. Relying on the data collected in 1930 by the Central Institute of Statistics, the two statisticians pointed out that the demographic trends they had identified among Roma at the time, particularly their "tendency to spread out and blend with the majority of the population," had only gotten worse (Achim 2004, 163). In the so-called Old Kingdom, the territories constituting Romania before 1918, the situation was particularly worrying. In these regions, Roma had been slaves for centuries and after their emancipation they had extensively mixed with Romanians. In this part of Romania, it was noted, the term "Gypsy" was a derogatory term applied hesitatingly rather than "a real bio-ethnic description, applied to the actual Gypsy". As a result, existing statistics were not sufficiently accurate. "Not all Gypsies were counted," Manuilă and Georgescu admitted, and certainly they did not count those of "Romanian-Gypsy heritage". To "determine precisely which were the contaminated regions, the exact number [of Roma], as well as the degree of mixing with Gypsy blood," required "substantial and sustained study of historical sources, statistical data, as well as detailed anthropological and serological research" (*Ibid*., 165).

Manuilă was familiar with anthropological and serological research on Roma. He was impressed by the serological study carried out by the Polish immunologist Ludwig Hirszfeld (Hirschfeld) and his wife Hanka in Salonika in 1918 and the subsequent publication of their paper in *The Lancet* (Hirschfeld and Hirschfeld 1919, 675–679). What the Hirszfelds had discovered was that a correlation existed between the frequency of human blood groups (A, B, AB, and O) and the geographical distribution of races. For instance, blood group A predominated among European peoples, while blood group B was most common among those people originating from Asia and India. The relationship between blood groups was mathematically expressed in a "biochemical race index" and calculated for each of the individuals studied. As blood groups were inherited in Mendelian fashion, the predominance of one over the others could reveal the bio-geographical origin of an individual. A year later, two Hungarian physicians, Oszkár Weszeczky and Frigyes Verzár applied a similar methodology to three ethnic groups from and around

the Debrecen area: Hungarians, Germans, and nomadic Roma, confirming Hirszfeld's results. The high percentages of blood groups B (38.9 per cent) and O (34.2 per cent), found in Roma subjects – while their "biochemical race index" was 0.6, very close to that of the Indians, whose index was established by Hirszfeld at 0.5 – testified to their non-European origin (Verzár and Weszeczky 1921, 33–39).

This Hungarian study immediately attracted the attention of Manuilă and another Romanian physician, Gheorghe Popovici. In 1922, together and individually, they undertook the first Romanian serological examinations of the "races" living in Transylvania, the Banat, and Maramureș (Manuilă 1924, 1071–1073; Manuilă and Popoviciu 1924, 542–543). Serology, Manuilă believed, allowed for a clearer understanding of Romania's ethnic life, and it permitted the researcher to measure the degree of racial mixing within the Romanian population. Although he spent most of the 1930s working in biostatistics and demography, Manuilă remained a committed sero-anthropologist. It was to this branch of race science that he returned whenever he discussed the issue of race in Romania, as for instance, in 1935, when he participated in a symposium organised by the Society of Urbanism devoted to "the history of races and civilisations in the Bucharest region" (Manuilă 1935, 3–14). Once the country's capital was thoroughly investigated anthropologically, it could provide a template for a broader national project: mapping the ethnic structure of the Romanian nation.

It was believed that no other anthropological method was as "accurate" and "scientific" as blood group analysis in determining the ethnic origins of the individual (Dumitrescu 1927; Kernbach 1927, 102–106;). Serology, therefore, continued to be used in eugenic and anthropological research in Romania during the 1930s and early 1940s (Dumitrescu 1934, 141–142, 144; Rainer 1937, 696–701; Manuilă and Veștemeanu 1943, 121–125). Ethnic minorities, such as Hungarians and Szeklers in Transylvania and Csángós in Moldova were often investigated (Birău 1936). Petru Râmneanţu was one physician and anthropologist who devoted much of his time and effort to create a "serological map" of these ethnic groups (Râmneanțu 1937, 143–145; Râmneanțu 1941, 137–159; Râmneanțu and Luștrea 1942, 503–511; Râmneanțu 1943, 51–65). "Blood," he argued in a study published in 1935, was "the real, perhaps the unique, [biological] element which remains unchanged by the passing of time" (Râmneanțu and David 1935, 40). All the other physical characteristics of a race, such as skin colour or the shape of the head, were inadequate and often misleading. But the investigations of blood groups in a population allowed the scientist to determine the boundaries of each ethnic group; equally important, according to Râmneanţu, was that the "distribution of blood groups" provided a better indication of the nation's territorial dispersion "than language, culture, and customs" (Râmneanțu 1939b, 325–332). The serological geometry of each individual examined reflected their ethnic affiliation, regardless of geographical vicinity and historical proximity of other individuals from similar or different racial backgrounds.

Roma, too, were included in these serological examinations. With respect to Roma communities living in the south east of Transylvania, for instance, Râmneanţu established that "their blood composition resembled that of peoples from the Far East" and that "their Indian race had mixed with European blood" (Râmneanțu and David 1935, 66). The same argument that Roma in Romania had lost some of their racial specificity due to their interaction with other ethnic groups resurfaced in other studies as well (P. Ionescu and E. Ionescu 1930, 91–98). Of more importance to the argument being pursued here was the expansion of serology outside the medical and scientific community and into the texture of Romanian society and politics.

A good example of the versatility of serology and of its impact on the lives of common Romanians is the anthropological examination of military conscripts (Turda 2013, 1–21). Here is an example from the city of Craiova where in the spring of 1942 the local Laboratory of Hygiene was asked by the First Territorial Army Corps to carry out the serological examination of all conscripts from the Craiova and Oltenia regions about to be sent to the Eastern front. The blood of 8,060 individuals was sampled and then examined using Hirszfeld's methodology. According to the physician supervising this survey, blood group O represented 34.13 per cent, blood group A 43.22 per cent, blood group B 17.27 per cent and, finally, blood group AB was 3.37 per cent. Based on the dominance of blood group A (the "European"), the physician thus established that – apart from a few German minority individuals – the conscripts were "ethnically Romanian". To confirm the ethnicity of the conscripts was vital not only for the national cohesion of the army, its allegiance to the country and its patriotism but, as the physician pointed out, the data he collected "could provide researchers interested in the ethno-anthropological and racial issues with precious information". Blood was an essential element of "the hereditary endowment" of both individual and race (Șchiopu 1943, 563–656). Blood, therefore, was not just a metaphor for identity but also an observable and demonstrable reality. Serology, in turn, provided the much-coveted evidence that a particular individual was "certifiably Romanian".

Throughout the interwar period, Romanian anthropologists, ethnologists, demographers, and physicians observed and studied a wide range of individuals from various regions of Romania. Their research reinforced cultural stereotypes about Romania's ethnic diversity while, at the same time, providing the scientific foundation for the political goal of gradually purifying the country of its unwanted racial and eugenic elements. One prominent eugenicist, Iordache Făcăoaru pointed directly at Roma as one of the main causes of racial degeneration. He described them as "non-European," and "of inferior origin," constituting "a foreign body, parasitic and harmful" to the Romanian nation (Făcăoaru 1935b, 169–183). Judged by Făcăoaru's eugenic and anthropological arguments, Roma were "unwanted minorities of the most inferior quality" (Făcăoaru 1938, 276–287).

The sterilisation of the Roma was also encouraged. For instance, Gheorghe Făcăoaru, Iordache's brother, suggested in 1941 that:

> Nomadic and semi-nomadic Gypsies [will] be interned in camps. There their clothes will be changed; they will be shaved, receive a haircut and sterilised. To cover the costs of their maintenance, they should do forced labour. We will be rid of them from the first generation. Their place will be taken by national elements, capable of disciplined and creative work. Sedentary Gypsies will be sterilised at home, so that within a generation the place will be cleansed of them (Făcăoaru 1941, 17).

Arguments favouring the sterilisation of "undesired" individuals, asocials, and "degenerates" were not new (Sterian 1910, 113–114). Debates in other countries on the benefits of eugenic sterilisation really captured the attention of Romanian physicians after the First World War (Turda 2009, 77–104). In 1921, the deputy director of the Social Insurance Central Bank in Bucharest and a future founding member of the Romanian Society of Eugenics and the Study of Heredity, physician Ioan Manliu, published *Crâmpeie de eugenie și igienă socială* (Fragments of eugenics and social hygiene). Manliu was an enthusiastic

supporter of sterilisation. "It is in this direction," he argued, "that we must orient our efforts to protect superior elements and prohibit without mercy inferior elements from producing children and incurring family responsibilities." The only way to control the eugenic health of the nation, he concluded, was the "mass sterilisation of degenerates" (Manliu 1921, 21).

During the 1920s and 1930s, many medical and legal experts considered the matter. The eugenic gaze moved across Romanian society, aiming to see beyond it. A wide range of individuals were thus stigmatised and proposed for sterilisation, including psychopaths, epileptics, criminals, and alcoholics as well as the so called asocials, and those contributing to the "the degeneration and Asiatization of our race" (Manliu 1931, 382–383). The conviction that sterilisation could prevent the future degeneration of the race while serving as deterrent to anti-social behaviour also appeared in the articles published by Ion Vasilescu-Bucium, president of the Court of Cassation in Craiova, in which he argued for the adaptation of the Romanian Penal Code to reflect modern advances in the study of eugenics and heredity (Vasilescu-Bucium 1935, 41–42, 363-365).

Manliu's view that Romania was a country crippled by social and biological degeneration was perhaps extreme, but there was consensus among the eugenicists that Roma represented a dysgenic threat to Romanian national community. Some complained that the state did not do enough to promote quantitative population policies and was stuck in its glorification of natalism (Trifu 1940, 9–12). The example provided by states which legalised compulsory sterilization, such as Nazi Germany, was used in this context to gain political support for the adoption of negative eugenic policies in Romania. The neuropathologist I. V. Bistriceanu, for instance, argued that the legalisation of "sterilisation and castration would herald a new era for Romanian racism" (Bistriceanu 1941, 429).

Others, such as hygienist Gheorghe Banu, while opposing compulsory sterilisation, nevertheless advocated for the introduction of marriage certificates and the strict supervision of asocial individuals. His approach to eugenics was broad, however, as it included social hygiene – between 1931 and 1944 Banu edited Romania's leading journal of social hygiene, *Revista de Igienă Socială* – and social medicine. He explained it in detail on 19 November 1942 in his inaugural lecture as the first chair in social medicine at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest. For Banu, social medicine was an all-encompassing discipline, which required different methodologies, including demography, statistics, public health, anthropology, and eugenics. He brought them together under one scientific arrangement, at the centre of which he placed the "ethnic development of the nation" (Banu 1942, 686–694).

Banu's approach expanded on the eugenic description of Romani anti-social behaviour, reflecting the gradual intensification of racism in Romanian public life. The following example helps illustrate how official rhetoric intersected with wider public interest in this issue. Writing in the official publication of the Romanian gendarmerie, Captain Ştefan Popescu explained why it was important for the police to monitor and control the activities of nomadic Roma (Popescu 1942, 21–28). Interestingly, this article was published in May 1942, coinciding with a request from Ion Antonescu and the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the gendarmerie identify and register nomadic Roma as well as those sedentary Roma who "were convicted of crime or were habitual criminals, and those who had no means of subsistence or a proper job, allowing them to make a decent living. They were thus a burden and constituted a danger

for public order." All these individuals were listed together with their families, children, and possessions (Achim 2004, 5–8) A month later, the Romanian authorities began deporting them. Evidently, the eugenic arguments about the need to protect the Romanian nation from the racial and social threat represented by Roma had worked.

The Roma's assumed unhygienic and promiscuous living was noted repeatedly, and measures such as their "evacuation" from the cities continued to be proposed by sanitary and hygienic authorities even after the deportation to Transnistria was officially ended. For instance, on 12 August 1942 the mayor of Odobești, a town in Putna County, was advised by the county's Council of Hygiene to ask local notables (chief of police, head physician, and so on) to end the "Gypsy-like" ("*țigănie*") situation in town. The "Gypsy-like" living conditions in Bucharest were also noted by the city's Council of Hygiene, which proposed the eviction of Roma from the "affected" neighbourhoods (*Evenimentul Zilei* 12 October 1943, 3). With strong intent, the eugenic contempt of the Romanian authorities was written into every encounter with the Romani population.

The salient theme emerging from these eugenic discussions remains miscegenation. Banu quoted approvingly the Nazi anthropologist Adolf Würth's view that the "Gypsy problem was first and foremost a problem of racial mixing" (Banu 1944, 294). Banu accepted that within the confines of their family and community life, some Romani people had tried to remain "pure" but many of them settled into permanent marriages and built families with Romanians. As suggested by the ethnologist Ion Chelcea who researched the "origin" of the Boyash (Rudari) Roma, these were former mining slaves who later became woodcutters and woodcarvers. They not only abandoned mining for gold in the rivers of Central Europe and the Balkans, but they had also lost their "Gypsy language". Following the Swiss anthropologist Eugène Pittard (1921), Chelcea postulated that the Romanianised Roma, compared to those in Bosnia or Turkey, were mostly brachycephalic (anatomically, a broad, short skull). This, Chelcea explained, was because many of them were descendants from unions between slaves and their Romanian masters who, he claimed "were brachycephalic". During their slavery the Rudari had mixed with the Romanians; yet, they had retained some of their original racial features, including "their platyrrhine nose, the sign of their racial primitivity" (Chelcea 1931, 312).

Other instances of ethnic mixing between Roma and Romanians were less noticeable if no less damaging. While during period of enslavement there were special laws that prevented the mixing of "Gypsies" with the Romanians (Petcuț 2015), no such prevention was taken after their emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, Chelcea remarked, the process of ethnic mixing continued uninterrupted. Could it be ended, however? Possibly! Chelcea suggested that "the Romanians had always despised the Roma, for whom they only had biting, sarcastic remarks", including the description of "the Gypsy outside the category of man," as was the case with several Romanian proverbs. Most Romanians, Chelcea believed, were in favour of establishing clearer boundaries between themselves and Roma. And he called on the state to intervene to prevent further ethnic mixing. "It has been a while," Chelcea remarked, "since the last piece of legislation regarding the Gypsies had been introduced by the Romanian state" (Chelcea 1944, 20–21). If such legislation was introduced, however, it would have to consider the difference between nomadic and sedentary Roma. The assimilation of the former, according to Chelcea, "would produce a severe damage to the structure of the Romanian blood." What he recommended instead was their

"complete isolation" from the Romanians. Some of them should be kept in "a park in nature," so that "this rare human species" did not disappear entirely but could be studied and exhibited as part of the country's flora and fauna. The *unfortunate* ones not to be selected for this *human zoo* were, according to Chelcea, to be "completely eliminated from the life of our people". They could, for instance, be "moved somewhere in Transnistria or beyond the Bug [river]". And a similar fate was predicted for most of the sedentary Roma. Chelcea *spared* the talented musicians and a few specialised craftsmen among them, but otherwise he recommended deportation and in some cases sterilisation so that "their race will die out" (Ibid., 100–101). Such suggestions reflect not only Chelcea's mindset – influenced by an enduring ethnographic tradition which created a binary of developed, rational, European people and hence superior versus the underdeveloped, primitive, non-European people – but also his endorsement of Romania's programme of ethnic purification.

The Dysgenic Roma

The "contamination" of Romanian "blood" by Roma was highlighted not only by anthropologists and eugenicists but also by state officials. One example is provided in the words of Major Ioan Peşchir, commander of the Timiş-Torontal Gendarmerie, in western Romania, on 21 April 1942. In an official report entitled the "Gypsy Problem" he described the anxieties derived from the presence of Romani families. According to Peşchir, 2,057 Roma lived in the county. They provided "a bad example of morality, laziness, filth and drunkenness". Romani families had large numbers of children compared to Romanian families, the report continued, underlining the negative demographic consequences of high Romani fertility. This was a particularly sensitive issue in the Banat due to the stagnation and even decline of the Romanian birth-rate in many villages and towns (Pocrean 1943, 137–142). Another problem was that some Romanian men married Romani women, revealing not only their "lack of racial dignity" but also the further "contamination of their morality". From this racial danger nothing short of a eugenic programme was proposed, including the adoption of "legislation to regulate the relations between Romanians and Gypsies; their isolation; the prohibition against Gypsies buying Romanian land" and, finally, the application of "measures to prevent their reproduction" (Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Timiş-Torontal, 21 April 1942).

This report was sent only a month before Ion Antonescu instructed the Minister of Internal Affairs to carry out a census of all nomadic Roma, of those sedentary Roma who were "convicted or had [a] criminal record", and of those considered useless elements, "without a job and constituted a burden [on society] and a threat for public order" (Achim 2004, 5–6). Following this census, the deportation of nomadic Roma began on 1 June 1942 and continued throughout the summer. In a document dated 9 October 1942, the general inspectorate of the gendarmerie informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the deportation to Transnistria of "all nomadic Roma" living in Romania, some 11,441 individuals (2,352 men; 2,375 women; and 6,714 children), had been completed by 15 August. Sedentary Roma, who were a "threat to public order," in particular "criminals and lawbreakers, thieves and robbers" were targeted next. In September 1942, 13,176 such individuals (3,187 men; 3,780 women; and 6,209 children) were deported to Transnistria. By the time the mayor of Tecuci sent his letter in November 1942, over 24,000 Roma had already been "evacuated" from Romania (Şandru 1997, 23–30).

Such drastic measures, while aiming to solve the "Gypsy problem" in Romania, constituted only one aspect of the broader programme of ethnic purification announced in 1940. Sporadic deportations of Roma to Transnistria continued in 1943, but the problem of "ethnic origin" persisted, as conveyed by Colonel Dumitru Craiu, prefect of Brașov County, in a letter he sent to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in April 1943. Did the Romanian law, the prefect asked, recognise a category such as "Gypsy ethnic origin" and, if it did, which residents should be considered "Gypsy"? The mayors' offices in several villages in the county, he continued, were experiencing difficulties in issuing "certificates of [Romanian] ethnic origin" to some of their residents who were presumed "Gypsy", although "they spoke Romanian and were Orthodox". Judging from their physical appearance, it was difficult to differentiate them from the rest of the villagers, it was also noted. Besides, "some were agricultural workers and merchants, [others] very hard working and even wealthy." Without a law to spell out the ethnic origin of the Roma, it was difficult to decide whether some of those requesting certificates were "Romanians by blood" or not (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 11). Craiu had placed the problem of identifying Roma by race front and centre.

Turning Roma into Romanians

As it did with the letter from the mayor of Tecuci a year earlier, the Ministry of Internal Affairs forwarded the letter to the Ministry of Justice, which received it on 1 May 1943. It became clear that proper laws were needed to clarify the ethnic differences between the Romanians and Roma, similar to those introduced for Jews in 1940–1941. The Legislative Council, and its legal experts, took it upon itself to draft such laws. On 12 March 1943, one of them, Mihail Măgureanu, president of Section I of the Council, informed the Minister of Justice, Ion C. Marinescu, that he and two of his colleagues had prepared drafts for a law which should clarify what was meant by "Romanian ethnic origin" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 21). One of them, submitted on 24 July 1943, survived, and gives us a glimpse into what kind of life was envisioned for Roma and Jews who were spared deportation.

According to its first article, citizens of Romanian ethnic origin were those born in Romania or in the "the old Romanian territories" (Bessarabia, Bukovina, Dobrudja, Macedonia, Moldova, Muntenia, Oltenia, the Timoc Valley, and Transylvania), whose parents and grandparents were Romanian; who had Romanian names and spoke Romanian, and who belonged to a Christian religion, ether Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic.

The second article outlined who could not be of "Romanian ethnic origin," namely: Jews, those who were citizens of other countries, Muslims and, finally, Roma. The third article clarified that those whose father and grandfather were ethnically Romanian were considered Romanian, even if their mother or grandmother were Romanian born, but were Christian and "related by blood" to Romanians. And who were those "related by blood" to the Romanians? The fourth article further explained that those were the "European people belonging to the Latin, German, Slavic and Greek races". This article, with its emphasis on the bond existing between Romanians and other European races echoed directly the argument put forward by Petit in his 1941 book on ethnic origin.

The draft of the law also specified which Romanian citizens were accepted as "assimilated" – for example, some Jews were included here if they were the descendants of soldiers fallen in one of Romania's previous wars – and as "minorities". The latter category referred to "Romanian citizens of different ethnic origin who preserved their race, language and religion" as well as those who were not ethnically Romanian, as defined by this law. The draft concluded with banning marriages between ethnic Romanians and foreigners and minorities (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, files 12–15).

But the draft was not turned into a law and the requests continued to be sent to the ministries of internal affairs and of justice. In February 1944, the new prefect of Brașov County, Manole Enescu, also raised his concerns about Roma who requested to be issued certificates of Romanian ethnic origin. The existing law only clarified that Jews could not be "Romanians by blood", Enescu complained. Many Roma requests for ethnic certificates used the fact that they were baptised Orthodox but, Enescu pointed out, "religion could not be the only criteria for determining ethnic origin!" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 19).

Indeed, it was not! According to one Roma survivor, Lucreția Cârjobanu, from Pietriș village, Iași County, when the gendarmes came to her village in 1942, they asked the Orthodox priest to "certify" the Romanians and identify the "Gypsies". Lucreția was only six years old at that time, but she remembers the name of the priest, Busuioc. When asked by the gendarmes: "What do you say if we take away the Gypsies; we separate the wheat from the chaff?" Busuioc replied: "Yes, separate all the chaff, take it away from Petriș" (Furtună 2018, 278). This example captures how anti-Romani racism worked in practice by effectively removing the residual "Gypsy chaff" from the Romanian majority. The state, through its police forces, acted as a gardener ridding Romanian society of its "human weeds." As the physician Demetru E. Paulian remarked in this sympathetic book on the history of Roma in Europe published in 1944: "when our government decided to send to Transnistria the wandering, nomadic [Roma], the order was misinterpreted and all of them were sent [there], those who were good with those who were bad" (Paulian 1944, 30–31).

Following Enescu's letter another report was prepared by the Legislative Council in February 1944. The significance of this document cannot be underestimated. It focused specifically on Roma. "The ethnic origin of an individual" was defined at the outset as "his hereditary ethnicity, namely what he acquired naturally from his parents who in turn acquired it from their parents. In this way, going back from generation to generation, we arrive at the foundation of a big family, the ethnic community." Establishing a much-needed legal framework for the question of ethnic origin was a matter of national importance. But this was easier said than done. One of the major problems was "the investigation of the blood relation across generations in order to identify the ethnic origin of all ancestors". This was deemed impossible.

Another problem was that the "constituting elements of the ethnic community such as common soul, a common worldview and life, common ideals, were all subjective elements" which could not be assessed objectively and through scientific methods. Finally, the Romanian people occupied a territory which was situated for centuries at the confluence of three empires, Austrian, Ottoman, and Russian. Intense racial mixing had occurred as result. Romanians, in other words, were not a "pure" race.

The German racial laws, the report continued, used a very broad definition of the nation, allowing all those with "German blood and with related German blood" to become members of the national community. The only ones excluded, due to their non-European blood, were "the Jews and the Gypsies". In Romania, it was noted, "such broad definition could not be adopted because the political, social, and historical realities were different" and because "religion [was] a determining factor". Race, as a result, could not be easily applied to restrict admission into "the Romanian ethnic community," although attempts were made to legislate the categories of "Romanian ethnic origin" and "Romanian by blood". These categories were introduced in 1940 and 1941 and were still in use, but there has been much confusion over these terms. A lack of legal clarity made it very difficult to apply these principles to Roma. As a result, "to determine the ethnic origin of the Gypsies in Romania, in particular, could not be done until there was a law clarifying Romanian ethnic origin in general" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 22).

A letter sent by Sabin Manuilă to the Minister of Justice, I. Marinescu, on 6 March 1944 did not clarify much either. Manuilă reiterated the frustration felt by legal experts regarding the difficulty to clarify "ethnic origin, in anthropological and racial sense," adding that "science has not offered yet a satisfactory method of ethnic identification." Manuilă suggested "the establishment of a committee of experts, including judges, historians, anthropologists, ethnologists, demographers, politicians, sociologists, linguists who could examine the entire documentary material in existence and then formulate an acceptable definition of ethnic origin." It was very helpful, he added that this committee would be able to refer to signposts such as "existing racial research, the indirect legislation applied to various ethnic problems and, overall, the racial policy of our time". Yet with respect to Roma, specifically, Manuilă was not able to provide a method "to establish their ethnic origin" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 29).

Such a method and an accompanying law were needed, they all agreed, but until the former was developed, and the latter was adopted in Romania, a compromise was suggested. Writing in May 1944, Judge Mănciulescu from the Ministry of Justice proposed the following: "Considering that the elements constituting the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of the Romanian state are not fixed, and therefore are unknown, we propose that Gypsies who request certificates of nationality to be issued certificates with the following inscription about their [ethnic] origin: Gypsy-Romanian ('țigan-român')" (Comisia pentru Constatarea Naționalității Române, 1942, dos. 34, file 27).

A new ethno-national matrix was thus proposed, within which Roma and Romanian could coexist. After four years of relentless political work to "purify the race", it became obvious that drawing the boundaries of the Romanian ethnic community according to strict eugenic and racist guidelines was more difficult than anticipated. Was the realisation of a shared life a practical possibility? After the demise of Ion Antonescu on 23 August 1944, and with the institution of a new political regime, it appeared so. But the reality soon turned out to be more complicated than expected. The assimilation of Roma into Romanian society may have already created its own social, cultural, and urban hybridity in the south of Romania, particularly in Bucharest, but their acceptance, both as Romanians and as equal citizens, remained difficult for decades to come (Marica 1945, 217–269).

Conclusion

Ion Antonescu is directly responsible for the Holocaust, but the racial dream of a homogenous Romania had started long before Antonescu became the country's dictator. Antonescu was not the only Romanian official of his time with thoughts of protecting the Romanian nation from internal and external enemies. The entire Romanian culture was by then dominated by the refinement of ethnic nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Roma racism, and eugenics. Emboldened by the spectacular expansion of Nazi Germany in Europe and by decades of debates about Romania's ethnic character, Ion Antonescu and Mihai A. Antonescu – alongside the country's foremost intellectuals and scientists – believed that the time finally had come to purify Romania of all its undesired ethnic minorities. None of the major books currently defining the historiographic debate on Romanian history explore the influence of eugenic theories of racialized difference between Romanians and others during the interwar period and beyond.

Racism biologised Romanian identity while also aiming to prevent ethnic minorities such as Roma from causing more eugenic damage to the nation. We argued in this article that Roma were not seen as "fully" Romanian, and that their deportation to Transnistria in the early 1940s was as much a preventive, eugenic measure, aimed at ensuring the protection of Romanian majority, as a political one, designed to bring about social order. The Romanian government's description of Roma was infused with negativity, and deep-seated beliefs in their "inferiority" and backwardness.

The criteria used to justify their deportation to Transnistria, often interpreted as social in nature, have their real origins in the eugenic, biopolitical, and nationalist thinking and ideology developed in Romania during the 1930s and early 1940s. Nomadic Roma were considered outside the Romanian national body, while in the case of sedentary Roma the measures against them were selective. They were singled out as a threat to the social order, their body was racialised as inferior, and their behaviour characterised as dysgenic.

Regrettably, such racist tropes have since become ingrained in the overall perception of Roma in Romania, tangled up in the ways this ethnic group continues to be described to this day. The idea that the Roma overall do not belong to the Romanian nation is woven into the fabric of everyday racism, as can be seen in the current treatment of Roma during the Covid-19 pandemic. Once again, the Roma have been ascribed a specific ethnic pathology derived from their assumed racial specificity, which reinforces their stigmatization as vectors of disease and contamination. Reinvented as much as nostalgically remembered, the period of the Antonescu regime when the Roma were dealt with "properly" is now reinvested with a new power whose purpose is, once again, to protect the Romanian nation from its internal "dysgenic" and "asocial" elements.

References

Archival Material

Ciucă, Marcel-Dumitru, Maria Ignat, and Aurelian Teodorescu, eds. 1999. *Stenogramele şedinţelor Consiliului de Miniştri. Guvernarea Ion Antonescu*, vol. 3, aprilie-iunie [Transcripts of the meetings of the Council of Ministers. Ion Antonescu's Government]. Bucharest: Arhivele Naţionale ale României.

Comisia pentru Constatarea Naţionalităţii Române, dos. 34, 1942, Fond 2383, Ministerul Justiţiei, Arhivele Naţionale ale României.

Notă informativă. No. 183. Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Timiş-Torontal, dos. 27, doc. 1 (21 April 1942). Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei. Arhivele Naţionale ale României.

Fond P.C.M, dos. 327, 1940, files 31–32, Arhivele Naţionale ale României. In *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, vol. 2 [The Jews of Romania between 1940–1944], edited by Lya Benjamin, 51–53. Bucharest: Hasefer. 1996.

Fond P.C.M., Cabinet, dos. 484, 1941, files 1, 16. Romanian National Archives. In *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, vol. 2 [The Jews of Romania between 1940–1944], edited by Lya Benjamin, 326–327. Bucharest: Hasefer. 1996.

1925. "Dela Sinod." *Renaşterea*, 3, 31 May 1925.

1940. "Decret-lege privitor la starea juridică a locuitorilor evrei din România" [Decree-law regarding the legal status of the Jewish inhabitants of Romania]. In *Noua legislaţiune cu privire la evrei*, vol. 1, 3–9. Bucharest: Ed. Curierul Judiciar.

1940. "Decret-lege pentru oprirea căsătoriei între Românii de sânge şi Evrei" [Decree-law preventing the marriage between Romanians by blood and the Jews]. In *Noua legislaţiune cu privire la evrei*, vol. 1, 21–22. Bucharest: Ed. Curierul Judiciar.

1943. "Dărâmarea caselor insalubre şi a 'bombelor'" [Demolition of unhygienic houses and huts]. *Evenimentul Zilei* 5, 1586, October 12: 3.

Primary Sources

Antonescu, Mihai A. 1941a. "Raportul d-lui Ministru de Stat către Conducătorul Statului Român şi Preşedintele Consiliului de Miniştri" [The report of the Minister of State to the Head of the Romanian State and the President of the Council of Ministers]. In *Noua legislaţiune cu privire la evrei*, vol. 1. Bucharest: Ed. Curierul Judiciar.

———. 1941b. "Principiile nouei reforme a statului roman" [The new principles of the Romanian state]. *Societatea de Mâine* 19: 85–86.

Banu, Gheorghe. 1941. "Eugenia poporului românesc" [Eugenics for the Romanian people]. *Revista de igienă socială* 11 (11–12): 341–391.

———. 1942. "Deschiderea cursului de medicină socială. Lecţie inaugurală" [Opening of the course on social medicine. Inaugural lecture]. *Mişcarea Medicală Română* 15 (11–12): 686–694.

———. 1944. *Tratat de medicină socială. vol. 3. Asistenţa socială*. [Treatise on social medicine. vol. 3. Social assistance]. Bucharest: Casa Şcoalelor.

Birău, Ioan. 1936. *Grupele sanghine la românii și ungurii din Ardeal* [The blood groups of Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania]. Cluj: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Ardealul".

Bistriceanu, I. 1941. "Sterilizarea și castrația ca factori biologici de protecție a rasei" [Sterilization and castration as biological factors of the protection of the race]. *Mișcarea Medicală Română* 14 (5–6): 424–429.

Chelcea, Ion. 1931. "Originea rudarilor" [The origin of the Rudars]. *Societatea de Mâine* 8: 311–313.

———. 1944. *Țiganii din România: monografie etnografică* [The Gypsies in Romania: An ethnographic analysis]. Bucharest: Institutul Central de Statistică.

Dumitrescu, Maria H. 1927. *Contribuțiuni la studiul grupelor sanguine în România* [Contributions to the study of blood groups in Romania]. Bucharest: Tipografia Cartea Medicală.

———. 1934. "Cercetări asupra grupelor sanguine in România" [Research on blood groups in Romania]. *România medicală* 12 (10): 141–142 and 144.

Făcăoaru, Gheorghe. 1941. *Familia și statul biopolitic* [The family and the biopolitical state]. Bucharest: Ed. "Bucovina".

Făcăoaru, Iordache. 1935a. *Curs de eugenie* [Textbook on eugenics]. Cluj: Institutul de Igienă și Igienă Socială.

———. 1935b. "Înmulțirea disgenicilor și costul lor pentru societate și stat" [The proliferation of dysgenics and their cost for society and state]. *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* 6: 169–183.

———. 1938. "Amestecul rasial și etnic în România" [Racial and ethnic mixture in Romania]. *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* 9: 276–287.

Gruia, Ion V. 1940. "Referat către Consiliul de Miniștri" [Report to the Council of Ministers]. In *Noua legislațiune cu privire la evrei*, vol. 1, 22–26. Bucharest: Ed. Curierul Judiciar.

Herseni, Traian. 1941. "Rasă și destin national." [Race and national destiny]. *Cuvântul* 18 (92): 1–7.

Hirschfeld, L., and H. Hirschfeld. 1919. "Serological Differences between the Blood of Different Races". *The Lancet* 194 (5016): 675–679.

Ionescu, P., and E. Ionescu. 1930. "Beiträge zum Studium der Blutgruppen in Rumänien" [Contributions to the study of blood groups in Romania]. *Folia Haematologica* 42 (1): 91–98.

Iorga, Nicolae. 1929. *Istoria românilor prin călători*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. [The history of Romanians through travelling]. Bucharest: Casa Școalelor.

Kernbach, M. 1927. "*Grupuri sangvine*" [Blood groups]. *Buletin eugenic și biopolitic* 1: 102–106.

Manliu, I. 1921. C*râmpeie de eugenie și igienă socială*. [Commentaries on eugenics and social hygiene]. Bucharest: Tipografia 'Jockey-Club'.

———. 1931. "Sterilizarea degeneraților" [The sterilization of degenerates]. *Revista de Igienă Socială* 1: 374–385.

Manuilă, Alexandru, and Maria Veștemeanu. 1943. "Constatări cu privire la aplicarea metodei sero-antropologice pe teren" [Comment on the application of the sero-anthropological method in the field]. *Buletin eugenic și biopolitic* 14: 121–125.

Manuilă, Sabin. 1924. "Recherches séro-anthropologiques sur les races en Roumanie par la méthode de l'isohémagglutination" [Sero-anthropological research on the races in Romania using the isohemagglutination method]. *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances et mémoires de la Société de Biologie et ses filiales* 76 (90): 1071–1073.

———. 1935. "Evoluția rasselor din regiunea București." [The evolution of races in the Bucharest area]. In *Istoria rasselor și civilizațiilor din regiunea București*, 3–14. Bucharest: Edilitară.

———. 1940. "Problema rassială a României." [Romania's racial problem]. *România Nouă* 7 (41): 5.

———. 1941. "Acțiunea eugenică ca factor de politică de populație." [Eugenics as a factor of population policy]. *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* 12: 1–4.

Manuilă, Sabin, and D. C. Georgescu. 1938. *Populația României*. [The population of Romania]. Bucharest: Institutul de Statistică.

Manuilă, Sabin, and Gheorghe Popoviciu. 1924. "Recherches sur les races roumaine et hongroise en Roumanie par l'isohémagglutination." [Research on Romanian and Hungarian races in Romania by isohemagglutination]. *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances et mémoires de la Société de Biologie et ses filiales* 76 (90): 542–543.

Marica, George Em. 1945. "Psihosociologia mahalalei" [The psychosociology of 'mahala']. *Revista de Psihologie, Teoretică și Aplicată* 8: 217–269.

Marinescu, Gheorghe. 1935. "Eugenia și românismul" [Eugenics and Romanianness]. *Revista Sănătatea și Viața Fericită* 35: 7–8.

Moldovan, Iuliu. 1925. *Igiena națiunii: Eugenia* [The hygiene of the nation: eugenics]. Cluj: Institutul de Igienă și Igienă Socială și Subsecția Eugenică și Biopolitică a 'ASTREI'.

Paulian, D. E. 1944. *Țiganii în Europa* [The gypsies in Europe]. Bucharest: Imp. Curentul.

Petit, Eugen. 1940a. "Originea etnică, I" [Ethnic origin, I]. *Dreptul* 68, 18: 117–119.

———. 1940b. "Originea etnică, II" [Ethnic origin, II]. *Dreptul* 68, 20: 133–135.

Petit, Eugen Dimitrie. 1941. *Originea etnică* [Ethnic origin]. Bucharest: Universul.

Pocrean, E. 1943. "Metode de eugenie, aplicabile în Banat" [Methods of eugenics, applicable in the Banat]. *Revista Institutului Social Banat-Crișana* 11: 137–142.

Popescu, Ștefan. 1942. "Supravegherea și controlul țiganilor nomazi." [The surveillance and control of nomadic Gypsies]. *Revista Jandarmeriei* 20 (5): 21–28.

Pittard, E. 1921. *Les peuples des Balkans: esquisses anthropologiques* [Peoples of the Balkans: An anthropological outline]. Paris: Attinger.

Rainer, Francisc. 1937. "Există corelație intre grupele sanguine umane și celelalțe caractere antropologice?" [Is there a relation between human blood groups and other anthropological characteristics?]. In *Omagiu lui Constantin Kirițescu*, 696–701. Bucharest: "Cartea Românească".

Râmneanțu, Petru. 1937. "Die Blutgruppenverteilung in Siebenbürgen und Banat auf Grund von 18.675 Bestimmungen" [The blood group distribution in Transylvania and Banat based on 18,675 examinations]. *Zeitschrift für Rassenphysiologie* 9: 143–145.

———. 1939a. *Elemente de biometrie medicală și statistică vitală* [Treatise on medical biometrics and vital statistics]. Bucharest: Institutul Central de Statistică.

———. 1939b. The Classical Blood Groups and the M, N and M, N properties in the Nations from Transylvania". In *XVIIe Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistorique*, 325–332. Bucharest: Socec.

———. 1941. "Distribuția grupelor de sânge la populația din Transilvania." [The distribution of blood groups amongst the population of Transylvania] *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* 12: 137–159.

———. 1943. "Grupele de sânge la Ciangăii din Moldova" [The blood groups of the Csángós in Moldova]. *Buletin Eugenic și Biopolitic* 14: 51–65.

Râmneanţu, Petru, and Petre David. 1935. "Cercetări asupra originii etnice a populaţiei din sud-estul Transilvaniei pe baza compoziţiei serologice a sângelui" [Research on the ethnic origin of the population in southeastern Transylvania based on the serological composition of the blood]. *Buletin eugenic şi biopolitic* 6: 36–66.

Râmneanţu, Petru, and V. Luştrea. 1942. "Contribuţii noi la studiul seroetnic al populaţiei din România" [New contributions to the seroethnic study of the Romanian population]. *Ardealul Medical* 2: 503–511.

Smântănescu, Dan. 1941. "Problema rasei" [The question of race]. *Pandectele Românizării* 1: 307–308.

Stan, Liviu. 1941. "Rasism faţă de ţigani" [Racism against the Gypsies]. *Cuvântul* 18, 92: 1–2.

———. 1942. *Rasă şi religiune* [Race and religion]. Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografie Arhidiecezane.

Sterian, E. 1910. "Sterilizarea nebunilor şi criminalilor" [The sterilization of lunatics and criminals]. *Medicul Poporului* 1: 113–114.

Stoichiţă, Iosif. 1941. "Ocrotirea familiei" [The protection of the family]. *Mişcarea Medicală Română* 14: 413.

Şchiopu, N. 1943. "Determinarea grupurilor sanghine în armată" [The identification of blood groups in the army]. *Mişcarea Medicală Română* 16: 563–656.

Trifu, L. 1940. "Lupta contra natalităţii" [The fight against natalism]. *Parlamentul Românesc* 11: 9–12.

Vasilescu-Bucium, I. 1935. "Conceptul eugenic în legislaţia modernă." [Eugenics and modern legislation]. *Justiţia Olteniei* 16 (6–7): 41–42.

———. 1935. "Eugenia şi înoirile codului penal" [Eugenics and the amendments of the Penal Code]. *Mişcarea Medicală Română* 8: 363–365.

Verzár, F., and O. Weszeczky. 1921. "Rassenbiologische Untersuchungen mittels Isohämagglutininen." [Racial biological studies using isohaemagglutinins]. *Biochemische Zeitschrift* 126 (1–4): 33–39.

Secondary Sources

Achim, Viorel. 2007. "Gypsy Research and Gypsy Policy in Romania, 1920–1950". In *Erziehung und Vernichtung. Zigeunerpolitik und Zigeunerforschung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Michael Zimmermann, 157–174. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Achim, Viorel, ed. 2004. *Documente privind deportarea ţiganilor în Transnistria, vol. I* [Documents regarding the deportation of Gypsies to Transnistria]. Bucharest: Enciclopedică Publishing House.

Ancel, Jean. 1998. "Certificatele de origine etnică" [Certificates of ethnic origin]. In *Transnistria*. Vol. III. Bucharest: Atlas, 194–201.

———. 2006. "Prefaţă" [Preface]. In *Lacrimi Rome. Romane iasfa* [Roma tears], 3–32. Bucharest: Ro Media.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1989. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Benjamin, Lya, 2004. "Bazele doctrinare ale antisemitismului antonescian" [The ideological bases of Antonescu's anti-semitism]. In *România şi Transnistria: Problema Holocaustului: Perspective istorice şi comparative*, edited by Viorel Achim and Constantin Iordachi, 237–251. Bucharest: Curtea Veche.

Brătescu, Gheorghe. 1999. *Către sănătatea perfectă. O istorie a utopismului medical* [Towards the perfect health. A history of medical utopianism]. Bucharest: Humanitas.

Bucur, Maria. 2002. *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Clark, Roland. 2012. "New Models, New Questions: Historiographical Approaches to the Romanian Holocaust". *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire* 19: 303–320.

Davis, Chris, R. 2019. *Hungarian Religion, Romanian Blood: A Minority's Struggle for National Belonging, 1920–1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Friling, Tuvia, Radu Ioanid, and Mihail E. Ionescu, eds. 2005. "The Deportation of the Roma and Their Treatment in Transnistria". In *Final Report. International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania*, edited by Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid, and Mihail E. Ionescu, 223–241. Iași: Polirom.

Furtună, Adrian Nicolae. 2018. *Rromii din România și Holocaustul: istorie, teorie, cultură* [The Roma in Romania and the Holocaust: History, theory, culture]. Bucharest: Dykhta! Publishing House.

Ionescu, Ștefan Cristian. 2015. *Jewish Resistance to "Romanianization", 1940–44*. New York: Palgrave.

Ioanid, Radu. 2000. *The Holocaust in România: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.

Kelso, Michelle. 1999. "Gypsy Deportations from Romania to Transnistria: 1942–44". In *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, vol. 2, edited by Donald Kenrick, 95–129. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Petcuț, Petre. 2015. *Rromii. Sclavie și libertate. Constituirea și emanciparea unei noi categorii etnice și sociale la nord de Dunăre (1370–1914)"* [The Rroma: Slavery and freedom. The formation and the emancipation of a new ethnic and social category at the north of Danube. 1370–1914]. Bucharest: Centrul Național de Cultură a Romilor.

Solonari, Vladimir. 2010. *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center.

Șandru, Dumitru. 1997. "Deportarea țiganilor în Transnistria, 1942" [The deportation of the Gypsies to Transnistria, 1942]. *Arhivele Totalitarismului* 5: 23–30.

Thorne, M. Benjamin. 2011. "Assimilation, invisibility, and the eugenic turn in the "Gypsy question" in Romanian society, 1938–1942". *Romani Studies*. 21 (2): 177–205.

Turda, Marius. 2003. "Fantasies of Degeneration: Some remarks on Racial Anti-Semitism in Interwar Romania". *Studia Hebraica* 3: 336–348.

———. 2007. "The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania". *Slavic Review* 66 (3): 413–441.

———. 2008. "Conservative Palingenesis and Cultural Modernism in Early Twentieth-century Romania". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 9 (4): 437–453.

———. 2009. ""To End the Degeneration of a Nation": Debates on Eugenic Sterilization in Inter-war Romania." *Medical History* 53(1): 77–104.

———. 2010. *Modernism and Eugenics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

———. 2013. "In Search of Racial Types: Soldiers and the Anthropological Mapping of the Romanian Nation, 1914–44". *Patterns of Prejudice* 47 (1): 1–21.

———. 2016. "Romanian Eugenic Sub-Culture and the Allure of Biopolitics, 1918–39". *Acta Poloniae Historica* 114: 29–58.

———. 2018. "Romania". In *The History of East-Central European Eugenics, 1900–1945: Sources and Commentaries*, edited by Marius Turda, 271–361. London: Bloomsbury.

Woodcock, Shannon. 2010. "What's in a name? How Romanian Romani were persecuted by Romanians as Ţigani in the Holocaust, and how they Resisted". *Interstitio. East European Review of Historical and Cultural Anthropology* 2 (2): 29–50.