the soul of things

memoir of a youth interrupted

Éva Fahidi
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Introduction to the English Edition

The Storyteller of the Shoah: Éva Fahidi and *Anima Rerum*

ÉVA KOVÁCS and JUDITH SZAPOR

There you stand, A HUMAN BEING, on the Appelplatz, naked as the day you were born, with nothing on Earth to call your own. For what do you have? The impression of your personality and your dignity sheltered in your subconscious mind, and in your conscious mind the hope that what you are now going through will soon be over, that you will get five more spoonfuls of inedible slop, and that they will motion you to the right side.

...

Neighbours come with photographs ...

Before long you, A HUMAN BEING, begin your feverish search for anything, anything at all that might serve as tangible proof of your memories, your childhood years, vanished into thin air, your pre-Auschwitz life that was perhaps never really your own to begin with.

Objects accumulate around you. Their value cannot be appraised. Once, a long time ago, my father, my mother, my little sister had touched them.

Every object speaks volumes about the unrecoverable past.

Every object has a soul. They speak to us.

The opening lines of Éva Fahidi's memoir, from the bold allusion to Primo Levi to her characteristic tone, shifting between

the nostalgic and the wry, summarize the traditions in which she grounded her own book. At once speaking to the personal and universal Holocaust experience, demarcating the before and after, and conjuring up the minutiae of her childhood, the memoir fits into multiple European and Hungarian strands of egodocuments and, more specifically, Holocaust memoirs. By frequently shifting in its tone and perspective between the confessional, the observational, and the analytical, it captures the author's unique voice. The end of the second quote helps explain the book's somewhat enigmatic original title: *Anima Rerum*, in this edition changed to "the soul of things." What could be the significance of the few possessions, salvaged from a lost upper middle-class household, for the author's unlikely survival and return? (The usually futile attempt to recover one's property and possessions is a common trope of Holocaust survivor memoirs.) It is certainly not their material value but what these randomly preserved objects represent: the everyday domestic rituals, traditions of hospitality, a life of authenticity and integrity, and the author's lifelong effort to keep the memory of her murdered family alive.

Anima Rerum: The Soul of Things, a chronicle of life before and during the Holocaust, was published in Hungarian in 2004;[1] it became an unexpected bestseller, reaching an unusually wide readership – and in the process made the author an important public figure. A survivor of Auschwitz and Nazi slave labour camps, Éva Fahidi is a veritable phenomenon: a Holocaust educator, a bestselling memoirist, a media personality, and a frequent participant in the Hungarian cultural scene. Since 2004 the memoir has sold out three printings and is into the fourth; the German edition sold approximately eight thousand copies in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.[2] (It is a reflection of Fahidi's stature as a public figure in Germany that the 2011 German edition's cover has her photo in front of an Auschwitz barrack.) An Italian edition appeared in early 2020.

Since the publication of the memoir, Éva Fahidi has become a regular speaker at major events of Holocaust commemoration, such as the anniversaries of the liberation of Auschwitz and Buchenwald. At the former's seventieth anniversary in January 2015, she was

the guest of honour of then German President Joachim Gauck. She is a member of the International Auschwitz Committee and the recipient of Hungarian and international awards for her community work against racism and for an authentic memory culture. For the last decade and a half, in addition to her regular media appearances and interviews in Hungarian and German, she has held four to five talks yearly in both Hungarian and German high schools and has made at least two appearances a year in Hungarian Roma organizations, commemorating the genocide of the Roma during the Second World War. A widely known and beloved public figure in Hungary, she has become revered in Germany, and has appeared at events and been featured in countless newspaper and TV interviews and portraits in Austria, Switzerland, Serbia, and the United States as well.[3]

Every Shoah survivor's story is unique, and this is also true for every testimony. Part of the uniqueness of Fahidi's writings comes from their delayed arrival in the German and Hungarian Holocaust literature. Initially, she seemed to join the line of single-book Holocaust survivors who record their memories late in life, to pass them on to their own family's next generations – yet she is unique in that she has continued to write and has just completed her second autobiographical book, about her life in the postwar decades. Titled *The Subject and Object of Love*, it chronicles the author's faith, then disillusionment, in Marxism and her decades of living an ordinary working life after the Shoah, all the while obeying the unwritten social consensus of keeping silent.[4]

In 2015, at an age when most people would be long retired or resting on their laurels, Éva Fahidi embarked on a new adventure: she joined the Budapest dance company "Symptoms" to create a unique performance titled *Sea Lavender or The Euphoria of Being*.[5] In this play, through a combination of dance and texts, ninety-year old Fahidi and her young professional dancer partner, Emese Cuhorka, who personifies a young Éva, developed yet another language to convey her life story to the audience: the language of the body. Originally planned as a one-off, to be performed as a characteristically unconventional celebration of Éva Fahidi's ninetieth birthday, the play became a sellout success. Since 2015, *Sea Lavender* has

been regularly mounted at Vígszínház, one of the most renowned theatres in Budapest, as well as at many other theatres and dance festivals in Europe. At last count, it was performed seventy-seven times, including in venues in Berlin and other German cities, in Vienna, and in Serbia, in front of audiences totalling an estimated ten thousand. At the writing of this Introduction, in late January 2019, Fahidi is attending and speaking at a series of commemorations in Germany, returning to Budapest in time for the premiere of a new documentary film on her life with the title *The Euphoria of Being*.[6]

Her path from retiree to full-time witness, author, and performer has also been unique: as she describes in the introductory chapter of the memoir, it began in 1989 with an invitation from the municipal council of Stadtallendorf, the German town in the province of Hessen and Thüringia (then in West Germany) that grew up in place of the village of Allendorf and the neighbouring former concentration camp, Münchmühle. The following year, the town hosted Éva Fahidi and her fellow former inmates and asked for their forgiveness. This first visit was followed by many more, resulting in close personal connections with local leaders and high-school students, as well as a short memoir, at the request of the Documentation and Information Centre opened at the site of the former camp.[7] This much shorter text, all of eighty-four pages, was Fahidi's first attempt to articulate her memories in writing. It is highly meaningful that it was written in German, the language of Fahidi's captivity but also of her childhood, which she learned from an Austrian governess and still speaks with native fluency. The positive reaction and success, for an inexpensively produced little book, eventually led to the writing of the fuller, Hungarian version of the memoir.

The other impetus came from Fahidi's first – and this time voluntary – return visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau in 2003, after fifty-nine years. Once there, her fruitless attempt to find her former barrack prompted the overwhelming feeling that the physical site of the camp was vastly inadequate as a place of commemoration, that "nobody else but she knows the truth," and that it was her obligation to "shout it as loudly as possible for everyone to hear."[8]

Importantly, the first commemorative event in 1990, initiated by a German community atoning for crimes in which it had no part – as Fahidi carefully notes, "our hosts were not even born there, were themselves newcomers, and had nothing to do with what had happened to us" – represented her first encounter with the (West) German memory culture, an unexpected surprise in the best possible sense. The yearly return visits to Stadtallendorf led to invitations to talk to other German local and school communities, resulting, in the last fifteen years, in a total of approximately fifty "Zeitzeugengespräche" – roughly translated as "conversations with witnesses," held with groups of high-school and university students. Fahidi's flawless spoken and written German and expert delivery made her a frequent, favourite speaker at German Holocaust memorial sites and events – one of her proudest moments, posted on her Facebook page, was sitting next to German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Berlin at the opening of the seventieth-anniversary commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz.[9]

Keen on introducing this format into the Hungarian context, Éva Fahidi has also become an observer and commentator on the halting and largely unfinished process in Hungary of dealing with the memory of the Shoah, including the responsibility of the Hungarian authorities, perpetrators, and bystanders. In the Preface to her memoir, she briefly reflects on the decades of state socialism during which "it was, to put it mildly, not 'polite' to mention the deportations." Writing in 2004, she laments that the fourteen years following the regime change were not sufficient to produce a permanent exhibition about the Holocaust in Hungary. The Holocaust Memorial Centre in Budapest's ninth district opened its doors later in that year, 2004, with a temporary photo exhibition of the so-called Auschwitz album, and mounted a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust in Hungary two years later.[10]

In her countless interviews and in private conversation, Fahidi has expressed special pride over her visits to virtually every leading high school in Hungary, including, prominently, those operated by the churches. Frequently, she hosts smaller groups of students at her home and – as is the wont of the professional

storyteller – she is always ready to share her stories with anyone who will listen. Yet a recurring theme of her interviews is the sharp difference between Germany and Hungary when it comes to memory culture, and she is highly critical of the reluctance, at times even refusal, of Hungarian political and religious leaders to acknowledge, let alone atone for, the crimes of the past.

The two authors of this Introduction are long-time admirers of Éva Fahidi, the Holocaust witness and activist, but also have personal connections to her: Éva Kovács facilitated Fahidi's introduction to Austrian audiences and arranged for performances of the play *Sea Lavender* to be mounted at Vienna's famed Volkstheater. Judith Szapor is the mother of two of the young adults to whom Fahidi dedicated her book, "so that they should never forget where they belong." Thus she knew Fahidi before she became an author and activist, and watched with awe how she forged, post-retirement, an entirely new career. But with our respective personal connections to Éva Fahidi, we are not all that different from her other readers, listeners, and admirers. For much of her appeal comes from her irresistible personality. She has an almost regal bearing, owing to a lifelong habit of daily exercise, impeccable manners, an absolute lack of prejudice, and a rare common touch and ability to make connections with people from all nationalities and walks of life. Her manner of speaking Hungarian is a vanishing art: rich in idioms that reflect her roots in the Southeastern Plains and Debrecen, enriched by a deep knowledge of Hungarian and world literature. Her ability with languages contributed to the ease with which she moved between countries during her decades as an export-import agent of a state-owned trading company, selling socialist Hungary's steel products abroad – and in interviews she never fails to mention this glorious part of her life, tongue firmly in cheek.

In order to assess the book's significance, we should briefly survey the Hungarian literature on the Holocaust – both the existing body of testimonies and the relevant scholarly literature. The commemoration and narration of the horrific experience of the Shoah and the remembrance of its victims had created their own practices from the beginning – at times requiring superhuman efforts

on the part of those remembering. Suffice it to mention such examples as the documents collected, preserved, and hidden in the Warsaw Ghetto by the group known under the code name *Oyneg Shabbos*, today known as the Ringelblum Archives, or the hidden and surviving writings of Załmen Gradowski, published under the title *From the Heart of Hell: Manuscripts of a Sonderkommando Prisoner, Found in Auschwitz*, a shattering testimony of the extermination of Jews at Auschwitz. The surviving Hungarian Jewry also established a remarkable, massive collection of testimonies, recorded immediately after liberation, as well as a number of often self-published, individual testimonies.[11] Of these, the memoir of Miklós Nyiszli, the Hungarian Jewish physician who as an inmate worked under Mengele at Auschwitz, was self-published in 1946 after his return to Nagyvárad/Oradea in Romania and consequently has become one of the earliest standard primary sources of Holocaust scholarship outside of Hungary.[12] We are aware of commemorative events held by the surviving religious communities;[13] as well, historians have benefited immensely from the documents of postwar war-crime trials and the committees charged with vetting public servants in Hungary. These documentary collections contain testimonies of many survivors describing both the atrocities suffered and the occasional assistance rendered.[14] The early wave of memoirs included those of a number of female survivors who published their experiences shortly after the war but whose memoirs have not become known to the broader public either in Hungary or abroad.[15]

By the 1950s, however, this first wave of personal recollections and testimonies had come to an end. It would be an exaggeration to say that the survivors had completely retreated into silence, as references to the Holocaust in Hungary have kept appearing, mainly in coded form and in traces, in film and television.[16] Nevertheless, we can state with certainty that women's testimonies have not earned their rightful place in the mainstream of either the historical scholarship of the Holocaust or the memoir literature and literature at large – at least not until the second half of the 1970s.[17] To explain this phenomenon in greater detail would go beyond the scope of this Introduction – suffice it to say that

the post-1945 trajectory of Éva Fahidi, described at the beginning of her book, illustrates the decades historians today often call the "decades of silence." During these years, between the early 1950s and the mid- to late 1970s, the personal memory of the Shoah, as of a stream running underground, remained confined to private and familial spheres.[18]

The exceptions,[19] the books on the Holocaust in Hungary whose publication or reissue (in cases of an already existing, earlier postwar edition) can be grouped around the mid- to late 1970s, a period known for its capricious cultural politics, also represent some of the peaks of the genre in Hungary. Their authors were leading popular writers and journalists whose books in some cases germinated during decades of silence. It is indicative of the winding path of Holocaust memory in Hungary that the writers who published their books immediately after the war were clear about their documentary nature. In contrast, the writers whose books were published for the first time in the 1970s invariably designated them as novels and used fictive names instead of their own, thus blurring the line between memoir and fiction. According to the period's practice, the print run was not indicated, and we can only guess these books' impact. But it is safe to assume that the number of copies remained in the low hundreds – considered very low at the time but frequently assigned to publications considered to fall into the tolerated, as opposed to the supported, category; and we can presume that their readers consisted mainly of fellow survivors and their families. All this resulted in the books' failure to make a significant impact on mainstream public discourse.

In the aftermath of the 1989–90 regime change in Hungary, along with books on previously suppressed political and historical subjects, a slew of Holocaust testimonies was published.[20] Éva Fahidi's book was published in 2004, at the tail end of this memoir production when interest in the topic was already on the wane. But despite its author's status as a newly minted writer, the book was more firmly grounded in the pre-1989 strands of fictionalized testimony and literary memoir, criss-crossing the lines between the two genres with ease. What distinguished the book among the rich memoir production of the post-1989 period was the close attention

it paid to the period before the Shoah, covering it on half of its pages. When describing its wide appeal, readers often mention the vivid description of the author's close-knit, extended family, scattered among the far corners of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, from Northern Hungary to the Great Plains. A richly textured family history, it depicts the local social and household customs, with their rituals of hosting friends, exchanging favours and produce with neighbours, practising charity, and making preserves. It pays tender tribute to the author's extended family, whose over fifty members, with the exception of two cousins, were all killed. As such, it offers a rare description of the way of life of upper middle-class Hungarian Jews of the countryside, a world destroyed almost without a trace, as a result of the deportation to Auschwitz-Birkenau and the murder of Hungarian Jews, affecting disproportionally those outside of the capital.

Over the last few decades, Holocaust memoirs have come to occupy a significant place in North American university curricula. Outstanding examples of the genre, such as the works of Primo Levi and Elie Wiesel, regularly figure on the reading lists of specialized courses on the history of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, but also on those of general courses on Eastern, East Central European, and European history in the twentieth century, or the history of modern Germany and Nazism. Lately, memoirs have gained an even more significant role, owing to the growing interest of historians in oral history and testimonies and the need to offer new cohorts of students material that they can relate to on an intellectual but also on an emotional level. A prime example is the exquisitely written 1985 memoir of Heda Margolius Kovály, a Czech-Jewish survivor of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen.[21] A popular addition to courses on the twentieth-century history of East Central Europe, this first memoir was recently followed by *Hitler, Stalin and I, An Oral History*.[22] The latter is a transcript of a conversation with Margolius and, in contrast with the first memoir, is much more detailed account of her life during the Holocaust. Her clear-eyed perspective is especially revelatory on the specific female experience, such as the significance for survival of family-like ties between inmates. The book, in many ways reminiscent of

Fahidi's, has proven to be a great success with students in modern European and women's history courses – and it well illustrates the potential, in higher education, of oral histories and memoirs, and their ability to resonate on both an intellectual and emotional level with young readers. Judging from the reactions of readers of all ages to Fahidi's book in its German and Hungarian editions, we are confident that it will reach and touch a similarly wide readership in English.

For, it seems, the need to remind people of the Holocaust, by the very people who were its victims and witnesses, has never been greater. On January 27, 2019, designated as the date of Holocaust Memorial Day, a British poll found that one in twenty British adults do not believe the Holocaust happened.[23] These findings are far from being unique to Great Britain: another recent poll conducted to gauge anti-Semitism and awareness of the Holocaust in seven European countries found not only a stubborn persistence of anti-Semitic prejudices but also that the memory of the Holocaust is fading.[24] To counter these trends, the leading American organizations of Holocaust research and commemoration with vast holdings, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, and the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, as well as the Centropa Foundation, based in Central Europe, have all been increasingly posting testimonies recorded with survivors on their web sites.[25] Among other efforts, these organizations have recently begun to develop teaching materials for college- and university-level courses. One of the units the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum offers to instructors highlights the previously neglected perspectives of gender and sexuality and more generally the gendered experience of the Holocaust.[26] The prominent place of testimonies recorded with women survivors helps fill out a previously missing dimension of the memory of the Holocaust;[27] and the interview subjects' warm and frank discussion of their own experiences seems to create a special bond with the viewers – albeit one that, increasingly, is possible only in digital form.

We close on a personal note, citing the words of the grandson of Éva Fahidi. They illustrate the power of the written and oral

testimony of an authentic personality and a now inevitably passing generation – and demonstrate their tremendous potential to build a lasting connection with the following generations. We believe it requires no commentary.

"At the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp in 2005, the great Spanish writer Jorge Semprun gave a keynote address in Weimar's national theatre. When he began lamenting how there likely would not be any survivors there for the seventieth anniversary, a woman's arm shot up to interrupt him. 'I will!' she cried out. It was my grandmother. She told me this story a few years ago, sitting at her kitchen table in Budapest, and we decided that I would join her when the date arrived. I never doubted her. This weekend, as one of the keynote speakers at the commemorative events of the seventieth anniversary, she related that story to loud applause in the same theatre in Weimar. In the afternoon, we stood together on the grounds of Buchenwald, under a warm spring sun and giant beech trees, beneath a watchtower whose clock is frozen now at 3:15 pm, the moment of liberation. In several languages, the attendees reaffirmed a Buchenwald oath written by the camp's survivors in the days after the liberation in April 1945. Among its final lines, it proclaims that 'the building of a new world of peace and freedom is our goal.' And how much work there is still to be done, one survivor remarked that afternoon."[28]

NOTES

1 Éva Fahidi, *Anima Rerum; A Dolgok Lelke* (Budapest: Tudomány, 2004).
2 Éva Fahidi-Pusztai, *Die Seele der Dinge*, transl. Doris Fischer (Berlin: Herausgegeben im Auftrag des Internationalen Auschwitz Komitees und der Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand, 2011).
3 Among others, Alison Smale, "A Holocaust Survivor Tells of Auschwitz at 18 and, Again, at 90," *New York Times*, March 13, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/14/world/europe/a-holocaust-survivor-tells-of-auschwitz-at-18-and-again-at-90.html?login=email&auth=login-email, accessed January 25, 2019; "Auschwitz Survivor Eva Fahidi Captivates Audiences with Her Life Story in Dance," Euronews, January 27, 2016.

https://www.euronews.com/2016/01/27/90-year-old-auschwitz-survivor-eva-fahidi-captivates-audiences-with-her-life, accessed January 25, 2019; https://www.dw.com/en/92-year-old-holocaust-survivor-eva-fahidi-dances-for-remembrance/a-41311829, accessed January 25, 2019.

4 *A szerelem alanya és tárgya* (Budapest: Ariel International, 2019).

5 The performance has been widely reviewed. See, among others, "Auschwitz Survivor Eva Fahidi Captivates Audiences with Her Life Story in Dance." The "sea lavender" of the title is a reference to a childhood memory, described in the memoir.

6 *A létezés eufóriája*, directed by Réka Szabó, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OYe7of4FFcg

7 Éva Fahidi, *Anima rerum, meine Münchmühle in Allendorf und meine wahren Geschichten* (Stadtallendorf: Magistrat der Stadt Stadtallendorf, 2004).

8 Personal communication of Éva Fahidi, January 2019.

9 "Assignment for the Future." https://www.auschwitz.info/en/commemoration/commemoration-2015/70th-anniversary-of-the-liberation-of-auschwitz-2015.html, accessed January 29, 2019.

10 For more information, see the web page of the Holocaust Memorial Centre of Budapest, available only in Hungarian: http://hdke.hu/rolunk/tenyek-adatok. See also Regina Fritz, *Nach Krieg und Judenmord: Ungarns Geschichtspolitik seit 1944* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2012).

11 Rita Horváth, "Jews in Hungary after the Holocaust: The National Relief Committee for Deportees, 1945–1950," *Journal of Israeli History* 19.2 (1998): 69–91.

12 In English: Miklós Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2011).

13 Judit Kónya, "Pusztulás és gyász: vallásjogi problémák (1945–1949)" [Destruction and Mourning: Problems of Religious Law (1945–1949)], *REGIO* 24.2 (2016): 7–21.

14 László Karsai, "The Hungarian Holocaust As Reflected in the People's Court Trials in Budapest," *Yad Vashem Studies* 32 (2004): 59–96 and "The People's Courts and Revolutionary Justice in Hungary," in István Deák, Jan Gross, and Tony Judt, eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath 1939–1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 137–51.

15 Erzsébet Frank, *365 nap. Versben írt vallomás a poklok tüzéből* [365 Days. Testimony in Verse from the Fire of Hells] (Miskolc: Munkaszolgálatosok Szövetségének Felsőmagyarországi Csoportja, 1946); Teri Gács, *A mélységből kiáltunk hozzád* [De Profundis], (Budapest: Tábor Kiadás, 1946); Teréz Rudnoy, *Szabaduló asszonyok. A szabadság első 24 órája* [Liberated

Women. The First 24 Hours of Freedom] (Budapest: Dante Kiadó 1947); Gisella Perl, *I Was a Doctor in Auschwitz* (New York: International Universities Press, 1948).

16 András Lénárt, "Perek: A holokauszt tematizálásának példái a hatvanas évek magyarországi nyilvánosságában" [Trials: Examples of the Holocaust in Public Discourses of 1960s Hungary], in Tibor Bónus, Csongor Lőrincz, and Péter Szirák, eds., *A forradalom ígérete? Történelmi és nyelvi események kereszteződései* [The Promise of Revolution? Crossings of Historical and Linguistic Events] (Budapest: Ráció, 2014), 511–37; Vera Surányi, ed., *Minarik, Sonnenschein és a többiek: Zsidó sorsok magyar filmen* [Minarik, Sonnenschein, and the Others: Jewish Fates in Hungarian Films] (Budapest: MZSKE/Szombat, 2001).

17 The handful of exceptions include Edith Bruck, *Ki téged úgy szeret* [She Who Loves You So] (Budapest: Európa, 1964) – first published in Italy, where the author moved after the war, the book's Hungarian publication was considered a minor miracle; Ágnes Gergely, *Ajtófélfámon jel vagy* [You Are a Marking on My Door Frame] (Budapest: Magvető, 1963); Magda Székely, *Kőtábla* [The tablets] (Budapest: Magvető 1962).

18 Ferenc Erős, Éva Kovács, and Júlia Vajda, "Intergenerational Responses to Social and Political Changes: Transformation of Jewish Identity in Hungary," in Yael Danieli, ed., *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* (New York and London: Plenum, 1998), 315–24.

19 Mária Ember, *Hajtűkanyar* [Hairpin Bend] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1974); Ernő Szép, *Emberszag* (Budapest: Keresztes, 1945, and Szépirodalmi, 1984), in English: *The Smell of Humans: A Memoir of the Holocaust in Hungary*, transl. John Bátki, introduction Dezső Tandori (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 1994); Béla Zsolt, *Kilenc koffer* (*Haladás*, in instalments, 1946, and Budapest: Magvető, 1980), in English: *Nine Suitcases*, transl. Ladislaus Löb (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004); György Moldova, *A Szent Imre induló* [The March of St Emerich] (Budapest: Magvető, 1975). Despite their tremendous deprivations, neither of these authors was deported to Auschwitz. They survived, respectively, forced labour service (Szép), the Budapest (Moldova) and Oradea/Nagyvárad (Zsolt) ghettos, and, in Ember's case, a so-called family camp in Vienna.

20 For a more complete bibliography, see Louise O. Vasvári, "Lefordított traumák, lefordított életek" [Translated Traumas, Translated Lives], *Múlt és Jövő* 1 (2009): 35–62. Katalin Pécsi, ed., *Sós kávé; Elmeséletlen női történetek* [Salty Coffee: Untold Stories by Jewish Women] (Budapest: Novella, 2007) is an anthology of short memoirs. A late, valuable addition

to the genre, Judith Magyar Isaacson, *Seed of Sarah: Memoirs of a Girlhood* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), was published in the United States.

21 Heda Margolius Kovály, *Under a Cruel Star – A Life in Prague 1941–1968* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).

22 Heda Margolius Kovály and Helena Třeštíková, *Hitler, Stalin and I: An Oral History* (Los Angeles: Doppel House Press, 2018).

23 Harriet Sherwood, "One in 20 Britons Does Not Believe Holocaust Took Place, Poll Finds," *Guardian online*, January 27, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jan/27/one-in-20-britons-does-not-believe-holocaust-happened, accessed January 29, 2019.

24 Richard Allan Greene, "A Shadow over Europe," CNN, November 2019, http://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2018/11/europe/antisemitism-poll-2018-intl/, accessed January 29, 2019.

25 https://www.ushmm.org/online/oral-history/; https://sfi.usc.edu/vha; http://www.centropa.org/, all accessed January 30, 2019.

26 https://perspectives.ushmm.org/collection/gender-sexuality-and-the-holocaust, accessed January 29, 2019.

27 For Hungarian women's testimonies, see Louise O. Vasvári, "En-gendering Memory through Holocaust Alimentary Life Writing," *Comparative Literature and Culture* 17.3 (2015): https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2721; "Hungarian Women's Holocaust Life Writing in the Context of the Nation's Divided Social Memory, 1944–2014," *Hungarian Cultural Studies, e-Journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association* 7 (2014): http://ahea.pitt.edu DOI: 10.5195/ahea.2014.139. For a general discussion of women, gender, and the Holocaust, see, among others, Dalia Ofer and Lenore J. Weitzman, eds., *Women in the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Carol Rittner and John Roth, eds., *Different Voices: Women and the Holocaust*, Mazal Holocaust Collection (New York: Paragon House, 1993); Zoe Waxman, *Women in the Holocaust: A Feminist History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

28 Personal communication of Martin Lukacs.