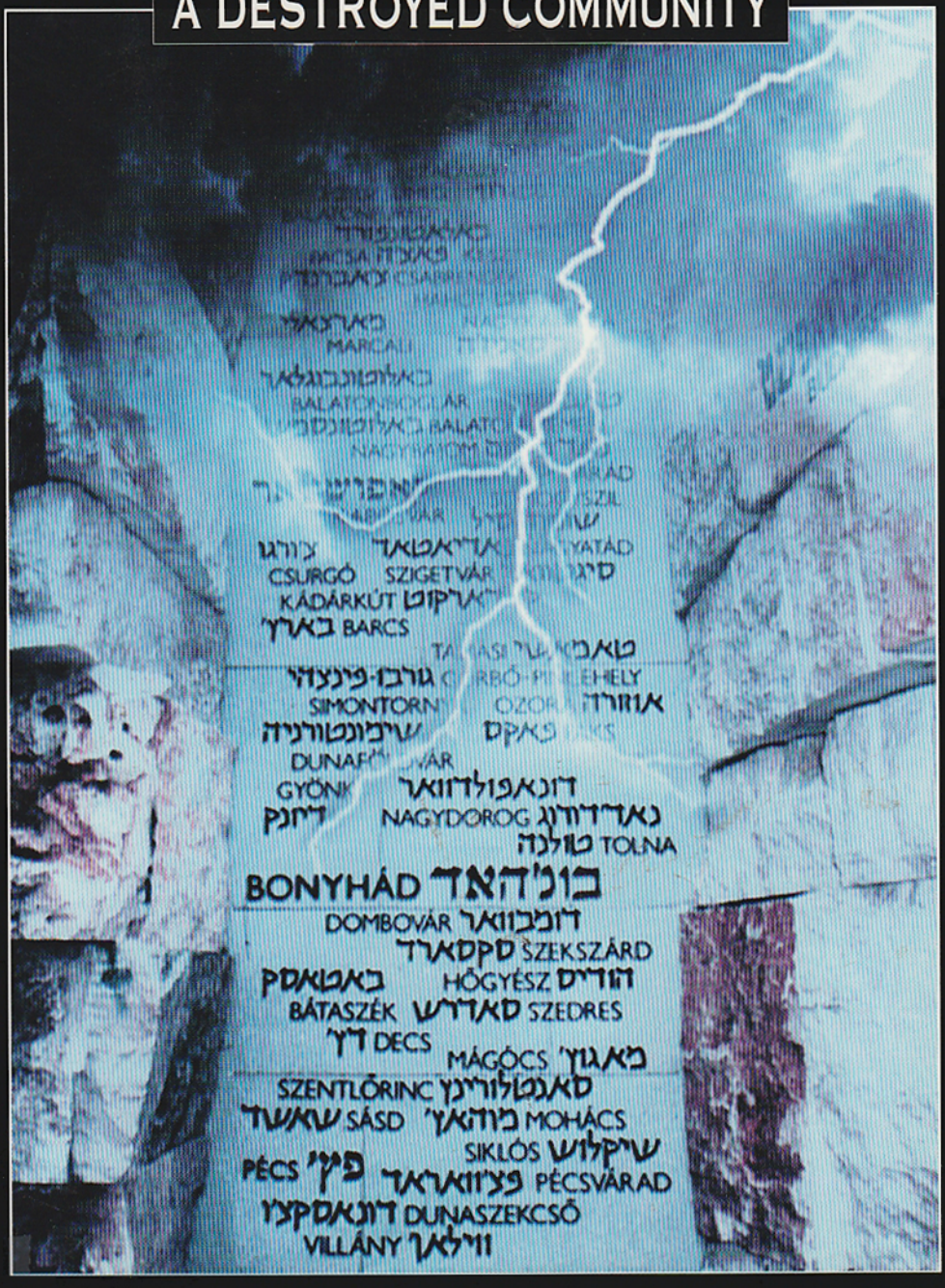
BONYHAD

A DESTROYED COMMUNITY



LESLIE BLAU

INTRODUCTION BY PROF. RANDOLPH L. BRAHAM

BONYHAD

A Destroyed Community

by

Leslie Blau

1994 marks the 50th anniversary of the Holocaust in Hungary, an event observed world-wide at annual commemorations. To coincide with this occasion, the book, *Bonyhad, A Destroyed Community*, examines the story of the Jews of a small, but well known, Hungarian community known as Bonyhad.

Based on personal recollections, historical documents and interviews with survivors, the book details the vibrant and traditional life of the Jewish community in Bonyhad before the Holocaust, between the World Wars. The book includes an early history of Bonyhad, describing the spiritual leaders, as well as the postwar Bonyhad where the few survivors tried to rebuild their shattered lives and failing that, where they settled after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The book concludes with the Yizkor list of the Bonyhad Jews who perished during the Holocaust.

Although the book details what happened in a particular town, in reality it represents the events as they unfolded in the whole Hungarian countryside, which led to the destruction of Hungarian Jewry.

The introduction has been written by Randolph L. Braham, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the City University of New York.

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Bonyhád: A Destroyed Community

The Jews of Bonyhád, Hungary

by Leslie Blau

Introduction
by
Professor Randolph L. Braham

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The Jews of Bonyhád, Hungary

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I'd like to dedicate this book to my Bonyhád family of ten who perished in the Holocaust and to my wife's family: her beloved father, Miksa Kuttner, the renowned Orthodox teacher, and his martyred family, and to all those *Kedoshim* of Bonyhád, Hungary, men, women, and children, who died for *Kiddush Hashem*. . .

Introduction

It is generally recognized that the destruction of Hungarian Jewry during World War II represents a unique chapter in the history of the Holocaust. The 800,000 Jews of Hungary (including approximately 100,000 converts identified as Jews under the racial laws in effect) survived the first four and a half years of the war only to be virtually liquidated on the eve of Allied victory. In contrast to Poland and other countries in Nazi-dominated Europe, in Hungary the Final Solution was implemented with lightning speed. Within four months after the German occupation on March 19, 1944, all of Hungary (with the notable exception of Budapest) had been made *Judenrein*, The wartime losses of Hungarian Jewry came close to 600,000, representing ten percent of the losses of European Jewry.

The catastrophe that befell the Hungarian Jews is reflected not only in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, but also in the destruction of hundreds of once vibrant and flourishing Jewish communities. Although these communities varied in origin, level of development, and congregational life, they all consisted largely of Hungarian-speaking, highly patriotic members. In many parts of the country, especially in Trianon Hungary, the Jews considered themselves "Magyars of the Israelite faith." A typical example of such a community was that of Bonyhád, a relatively small town northeast of Pécs in Tolna County. Before the Holocaust it had close to 1,200 Jews, who shared the fate of all other provincial Jews in the country. Placed in a local ghetto in May 1944, they were transferred to Pécs, the entrainment center for most of the Jews in the county, and deported on July 1-2. Although the community was virtually destroyed—only a few Jews survived the ordeal—its history, organizational structure, communal life, and tragic end are now well documented thanks to the dedication and commitment of Leslie Blau, one of the survivors.

Mr. Blau reviews the history of the Jewish community of Bonyhád within the framework of the general interwar history of Hungary. Based on personal recollection, archival documents, and interviews, he provides details about the community life before the Holocaust, the

anti-Semitic drive that preceded the German occupation, and finally the processes of destruction in 1944. He devotes a separate chapter to the murderers, collaborators, bystanders, and the few righteous in the community.

A separate part of the book deals with the postwar attempts at reconstructing the community. Despite strenuous efforts, it was all but impossible to recreate the past by reestablishing the prewar communal organizations and institutions. As elsewhere in Hungary and the Soviet-bloc as a whole, the pitiful remnant of the community had to subordinate its aspirations to the dictates of the Communist regime. Within a short period, the Holocaust itself was sunk in the Orwellian memory hole of history. Like many other Jews in Hungary, many of the Bonyhád survivors, including the author, took advantage of the opportunities offered by the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and left the country. Mr. Blau settled in New York; others migrated to other parts of the world. In America, Mr. Blau dedicated himself to preserving the historical record of the Jews of Bonyhád and to pass on the legacy of the once vibrant community. He kept his wartime commitment to bear witness. For this he has earned the indebtedness of the survivors in general and those of Bonyhád in particular.

Randolph L. Braham
August 1994

Preface and Acknowledgements

As a Hungarian-born Holocaust survivor who lived half of his years over there, the year of 1989 was an emotional watershed for me. With my wife and daughter, a New York City public school teacher, we set out on a sentimental trip to our native country, to see our family roots.

We revisited our town of Bonyhád in southwestern Hungary and found a changed place. It was hard to recognize the village where I had lived for a couple of years in the 1930's and where I spent my summer vacations for a decade with my close relatives. This observation was shared by my wife too. She was born and raised here and she lived in Bonyhád until Auschwitz. She survived and came back to Bonyhád. We got married and lived there until 1956, when we left the country.

We tried to show our daughter the sites of Jewish historical significance. We found the large old synagogue, a holy place for 200 years, in a desolate condition. Its surrounding area is called Martyr's Square. In the old Jewish cemetery, which was fully overgrown, we were unable to locate the old family graves. Here and there, some traces of Jewish names could still be seen above some stores, but in reality, nothing left to remind us of the rich heritage, the traditional, beautiful Jewish life, which used to be the trade mark of the pious congregation, the Kehila Kodesh Bonyhád.

When we returned to the United States, our home now, I felt a burning desire, a must, to tell the story of the vanished Bonyhád Jews—how they lived and how they died. What follows is an honest attempt to bring back the glorious past of a small Jewish community in the Hungarian countryside.

A Destroyed Community! The Holocaust in Bonyhád

The Holocaust in Hungary was practically the last chapter in the destruction of European Jewry. Close to 500,000 Hungarian Jews were sent to annihilation camps. One of the last trains to Auschwitz carried the Bonyhád Jews.

It happened in the summer of 1944. . . . Almost 50 years have passed and we still have many questions. How did it happen? And

why? If the leaders of the whole world knew about Auschwitz, how come they did not do anything about it? How come they did not bomb the rail lines leading to the camps? And if they knew it, how come they did not warn us? Oh yes, there are so many questions, but there are no answers to explain "the most horrendous crime in human history." (Winston Churchill)

Hundreds of books have been published on the topic and just recently in the last year, two major memorials were opened.

In the United States, in the nation's capital in Washington D.C., on April 22, 1993, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum was dedicated. "For the dead and the living, we must bear witness," the words of Elie Wiesel, is engraved on the door as we enter. Designed by the architect James I. Freed, a refugee from Nazi Germany, the museum is located on the Federal Mall near the Lincoln Memorial, site of the Jefferson Memorial and close to the Washington Monument. (This writer was present at the first assembly of the American Survivors on April 13, 1983, at the Capitol in Washington, D.C., when Vice President George Bush gave over the symbolic key to Elie Wiesel to the future building of this Holocaust Museum.)

In Israel, "The Valley of the Destroyed Communities" opened in October 1992. Its construction started in 1983. This memorial is located in Jerusalem and has been built on the hills surrounding Yad Vashem and made to resemble the map of Europe. The stones here stand like rock formations and on them are the names of villages, towns and cities where Jews lived in more than twenty countries destroyed by Nazi Germany. These two events, during the course of writing this book, gave me the determination to tell the story of the Jewish Community of Bonyhád and to try and recreate their now "vanished world" in order to show how life was in Bonyhád before it became one of the destroyed Jewish communities.

"Arma virumque cano" wrote the classical Roman poet 2,000 years ago. Armor and men, weapons, soldiers, heroes were his topic. Mine is an entirely different subject: a story of a Jewish community in a small Hungarian town, called Bonyhád.

It is the story of what happened there after 150 years of Turkish domination of a desolate land, how life started all over again, how it

became repopulated and how the Jews helped with their modest means—talent and hard work—through two and one half centuries, to make it a vibrant community, a town of 8,000 people. Bonyhád achieved its status as a blooming business center and became the envy of much larger industrial and commercial cities.

It will be interesting to see how the first Jews entered Bonyhád, how they lived and how they worked. The reader will observe how barely a century later, this small rural area became one of the most important Jewish communities in Hungary, one of the eleven locations, where the number of Jews reached or exceeded the 1,000 mark. The study will examine how this community became the center of the traditional Jewish life. Its spiritual leaders were the most famous and revered rabbis of their time who left their imprint with their work. In other words, this community became known as the "Kehila Kodesh, Bonyhád," the holy community.

This book will show how they meshed into the diverse population of the Hungarian and German people and how they became a part of them. We will examine the golden age of their history, the time between the two world wars.

The story will recall those terror filled days which followed the Nazi occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Shoa period, and see its devastating effect on the Jewish community of Bonyhád. The book will explain the discrepancies in the numbers after the liberation, as Wiesenthal said: "From the 1,200 Jews of Bonyhád sent to Auschwitz, 70 will survive" and compare this to the account in the Encyclopedia Judaica: "After liberation 170 came back." The story will continue telling how the Jews tried to rebuild again after the Churban (destruction).

Then came 1956, the time of the Hungarian Revolution and the crack in the Iron Curtain. This book will trace the lives of the survivors all around the globe.

Through our journey, the study will show photographs of the past and the present.

Years of research and hard work went into writing this book. The road was not easy; but after each obstacle, some powers propelled me to continue.

Let me thank those people who helped, encouraged, and contributed to my task.

First and foremost, my thanks goes to Randolph L. Braham, distinguished professor at City University of New York, the author of the definitive work on the Holocaust in Hungary. Through his efforts, much material is available at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research here in New York City. There are many microfilms and a well stocked library and archives pertaining to the Hungarian Jewish tragedy. Here I came to know my professional historians and researchers. It was interesting to meet here a young lady, a professor at the University of Munich, Cornelia Wilhelm, a German scholar of the Holocaust. At YIVO, I was greatly helped by Dina Abramowitz, chief librarian, and Fruma Mohrer, associate archivist. My thanks also go to Yad Vashem for providing photographs and other research material.

My gratitude to my best friend, Dr. George Vidor in Pecs, Hungary. He was truly a partner in research and continued with his tireless help. Many pictures and documents from the past are a result of his efforts. His twenty-three pages of valuable recollections gave me a much needed moral boost. His interviews with the Lobels in Israel and with Ivan Fried in Hungary are indeed appreciated.

Imre Solymar, a local historian of Bonyhád deserves a great deal of credit for supplying numerous source materials and books, some from the Documentary Center of Tolna County, Hungary. As a researcher, he understood the importance of finding those documents. Without his tireless efforts they would have been unavailable to me. My sincere thanks goes to Dr. Gyula Dobos, the director of the Documentary Center of Tolna County and his assistant, Mrs. Andras Karpathy, for opening up the files marked "Jewish Matters."* I'd like to acknowledge the cooperation of the Volgysegi

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* From the Sheriff's office (Volgysegi jaras foszolgabiraja)
a) Documents—Box 258
b) Confidential papers, 1943-1944—Box 310

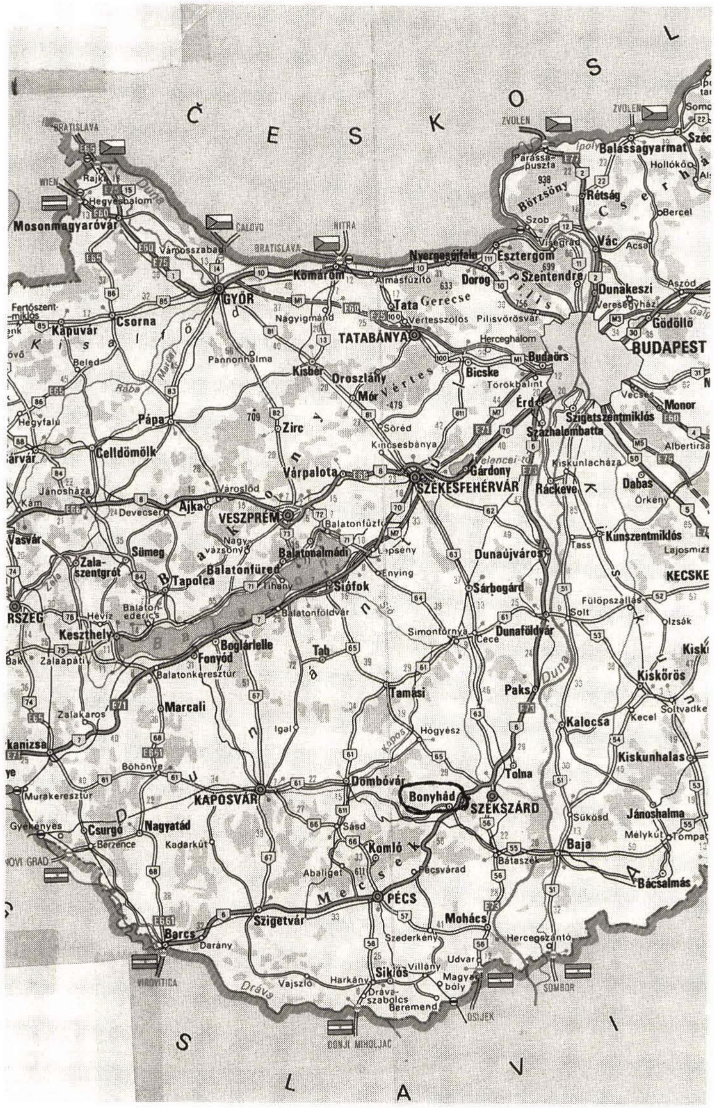
From Bonyhád Township
a) Administrative documents—Box 276 & 277
b) Box of confidential papers

Museum, Mr. Zoltan Szots, the director, for providing postcards of the old Bonyhád.

My appreciation goes to another friend, Mr. Samuel Feldman of Borough Park. He is a living encyclopedia of everything concerning Bonyhád. His tremendous knowledge of Talmud and religious learning parallels his worldly wisdom. He was an inexhaustible source of ready information relating to everything about the old Bonyhád.

And, above all, I have to thank my family. First my wife, who put up with me as I was "digging" into the "depressing" past. Thanks also to my daughter, a New York City public high school teacher of English and the Holocaust, for her encouragement, typing and editing, and to my son-in-law for his computer assistance. Thanks go also to my son, who helped me by bringing back the past to the present, with his special talent and knowledge in video technology. Special thanks to my nephew, Leslie Bárány, an accomplished New York graphic artist, who designed the cover art, a symbolic representation of the fate of Bonyhád, and who, in the eleventh hour, eliminated the worst of my Hungarian syntax from the manuscript. Lastly, my thanks, and acknowledgment to Donald Pasinkoff, a close family friend, editor and adviser, without whom this book could not have reached its final stages.

Map of Hungary



Part I:
Bonyhád in the Holocaust

Chapter 1

Bonyhád

Annual Commemoration—Yahrzeit for the Kedoshim

It is June 30, 1991—a Sunday in Borough Park, Brooklyn, New York. The day of fasting, Shivo Osor B'Tamuz is observed today on Chay Tamuz, because on the Sabbath, Jews are not allowed to fast. We remember the beginning of the Roman siege of the sacred Temple in Jerusalem, but my own thoughts center on the tragedy that befell our people in our own day: the fate of our own families 47 years ago. Tonight, as every year, we the survivors of the Shoa from Bonyhád, a small town in southwestern Hungary, come together and remember. We gather in a small synagogue called Poale Agudath Yisroel. We daven *Maariv*, say the evening prayers, and recite the *Kaddish*, the prayer for the dead, together, remembering our loved ones: parents, brothers and sisters, wives and children, all victims of the Holocaust.

We break the fast. Then one of us, our friend, Samuel Feldman, learns with us mishnayoth. In the past years, we used to listen to the remembrance speech of Smule (Alexander) Herman, the last president of the *Kehila Kodesh* Bonyhád. This year, his seat is empty. Mr. Feldman sadly recalls the names of the Bonyhád survivors who became nifter, passed away, this year: Alexander Herman, Amrem (Imre) Goldring, Mrs. Szorika Kaff in Israel, and Mrs. Yitty Weiss (Gestattner) in Australia. This is always a solemn moment. We have to realize that our small group of survivors is getting smaller and smaller as time goes by. We look around the table and ask the younger ones—the second generation—who are here today in increasing numbers, which is a hopeful sign, to carry on and lift the torch of memory. . . .

It's getting late, so I choose not to speak tonight, but my thoughts bring me to a decision: to speak up and tell the story, the story of the



"Greetings from Bonyhád." Budai-ut before 1930.
On the left: "Pecsvaradi" Kohn's textile store, Schonberger haberdashery, Kohn Brothers' seltzer, Roth's bakery. On the right: Hotel Walter, Berkovits's shoe repair, Orthodox Jewish school building.

Courtesy of Museum of Bonyhád

Bonyhád Jews, so that our children and grandchildren and their future generations won't forget what happened to our families in the summer of 1944.

I know that a similar yearly memorial takes place in Israel, where even the women gather to remember. I know also that all around the globe, *Yahrzeit*, memorial, candles are lit. But all these alone are not enough. It is crucial to remember the rich heritage of more than two centuries of history of the Bonyhád Jews. To show it in a proper focus, one must go far back in history and recall the "good old days" as the lives of the Bonyhád Jews are known between the world wars.

Bonyhád—Our First Meeting. . .

Bonyhád, a big village, one of many similar places, is located in Transdanubia, in southwestern Hungary. I had heard a great deal about the rich traditions of Jewish life there. For me it meant more. My father was born there. His sister and her family lived there, and as a young man of twelve, I was really excited to learn that I was going to spend the summer of 1933 in Bonyhád.

My parents took me to the main train station of Budapest. As I was about to start out on my own, I was reminded again and again to be



The Shul ca. 1910.

Courtesy of Museum of Bonyhád

careful, to remember, that I was to get off at a station called Szakaly-Hogyesz, about a three-hour ride. From there I was to take a bus to Bonyhád.

On the train, everything went smoothly. My fellow riders in third class were mostly peasants. They dressed differently from the citizens of the capital city of Budapest. As soon as the train pulled out, they took out a nice piece of bacon, called szalonna, and bread and some onion from their shoulder bags—a special Hungarian delicacy, with a sharp odor. Looking out the window, I noticed the green colors of the fields, tended by many working hands. The name of the station Sarbogard brought to mind the hit song of the day, "Sarbogard-Dombovar." I was excited and filled with anticipation about spending the warm months of summer with my close relatives. There was Aunt Rozsi, my father's sister. Her husband, Uncle Simon, was a successful businessman, with a big black mustache. They had three children. The oldest, Erno or Ernest, finished his schooling at the commercial high school, in Baja on the Danube. Then came Ilonka, a good looking growing girl of about seventeen, and then Laci or Les, my good friend, who was three years older than me. He attended the Bonyhád Gymnasium or high school. This was not a common practice among the Orthodox kids. They mostly studied in the famous yeshivah of Bonyhád. My relatives were religious Jews, but in a sense modern. My uncle realized that his children had to have a secular education in addition to their Jewish studies. Laci tried to look older by using all kinds of gimmicks in order to show off, even using a sharp pencil, to show he is

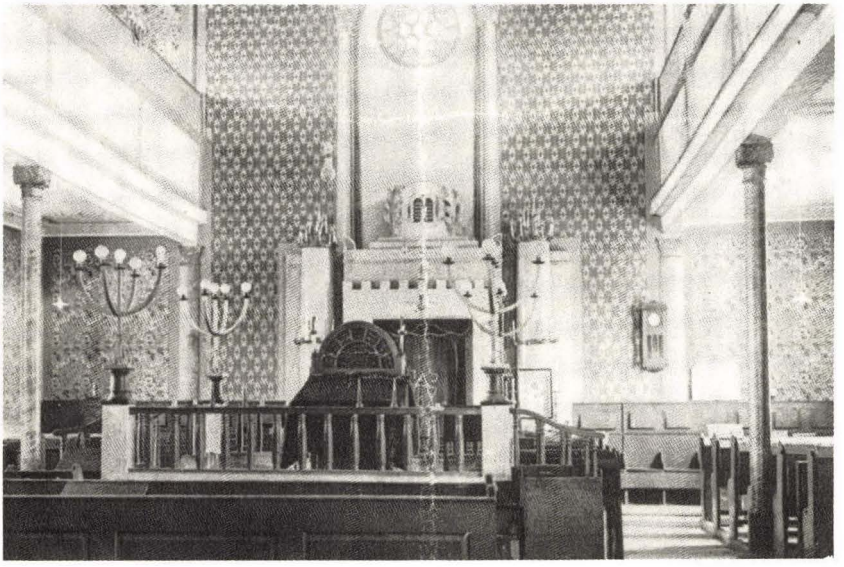


Part of the interior of the old temple of Bonyhád.

sporting a mustache a la Clark Gable, the most worshipped screen idol at the new movie house.

As we approached the station, quite a few passengers began to collect their luggage, some of them were obviously Jewish merchants returning to Bonyhád from a business trip to Budapest. Now we stopped, and the *bakter* or conductor, announced "Szakaly-Hogyesz." I climbed down and looked around for my bus. In a short time, I was sitting in a shabby, dusty vehicle, owned and operated by Klim and Singer, the latter, the Jewish partner in the firm. They owned the Strand, a special outdoor swimming pool, and the movie house too. Their enterprise was something new and pointed towards the coming age of technology. The bus driver tried to start the engine from the outside, using a special crank called the "kurbli." On the third attempt, he succeeded and after two sudden turns, we were on our way to Bonyhád.

Traffic on the road meant encounters with horse drawn buggies and carriages. Many horses were afraid of the strange noises of the bus and started to jump in panic. We raised a lot of dust passing the various small communities and villages. Peasants tended to their work in the fields. After an hour or so, the bus started to cough and make ominous sounding noises as it tried to climb the moderate heights of the Borzsony Hills. We finally made it to the top and were able to grasp the beauty of Bonyhád which lay in the valley. We were about fifteen to twenty minutes away, but already able to spot the Main Square where the church tower stood out and nearby the Statue of the Trinity could be well distinguished.



The Orthodox Shul (built in 1924).

As we made the final approach to Bonyhád, we observed on the bridge over the Huttengraben, on the edge of town, the statue of Saint John of Nepomuk, standing like the guardian of the town.

Entering Bonyhád, we saw the "Small Station," where the industrial wares and supplies reach the village. On the other side was a grocery, owned by Mr. Vilmos Singer, a Jewish veteran of World War I. He was a highly decorated soldier and was allowed to sell tobacco too, which was a privilege granted to only a few in Hungary. We passed the post office, which was also the telephone center, with a one lady operation, Mrs. Gyorkonyi. Another bump, and we had arrived. My cousin Laci waited for me, and soon we were on our way to their home.

The life of the Bonyhád Jews, as I remember it in the 1930's, was a comfortable, middle class life, more or less a simple one, without any complications. There were a couple of physicians, some dentists, some lawyers, but most were active in business. Krauss and Ausch owned brick factories, the Kohns were owners of the cooking oil factory. Many families were shopkeepers. Some were busy in the wholesale and retail trade. In the printing industry, the well established Izor Raubitscheck and the Weiss Printing were excellent representatives of their trade. Many Jews, however, were not so lucky in business. Some worked extremely hard, going to neighboring villages to sell their



Brick's "Rags & Waste" Zrinyi-u, in the 30's.

Courtesy of Museum of Bonyhád

wares in markets. Some went to peddle or travelled on carriages to collect food and provisions. Some Jews were laborers. A few worked as white collar workers in offices and others were blue collar workers.

My uncle, Simon Barany, established his store in the first decade of the century (1906). His became one of the best known commercial establishments in Bonyhád, a well stocked wholesale and retail ladies' and men's store. My older cousin Erno, Mr. Lowenbein, and Mr. Rothmuller travelled into neighboring counties as representatives of their firm and sold to retailers. Coming home from their tour on Thursday nights, they brought back many orders. The whole store worked until the early morning hours to complete these orders, and the shipments were sent out over the next couple of days. This was handled similarly by their friendly competitors, the Hirschfeld Brothers. The Engelman Brothers ruled the glass and porcelain line and covered the larger part of Transdanubia. The Davidovits Brothers and Denes Farago were unique sources for technical and mechanical articles.

Illustrating the high level of development in industry and commerce in Bonyhád between the world wars, there is a comprehensive list in the Sabbath Almanac which was published in Budapest and contains the names of Hungary's Sabbath keeping merchants for the years 1926–1927. Here under the heading of BONYHAD, first listed are the officers of the Orthodox Congregation:

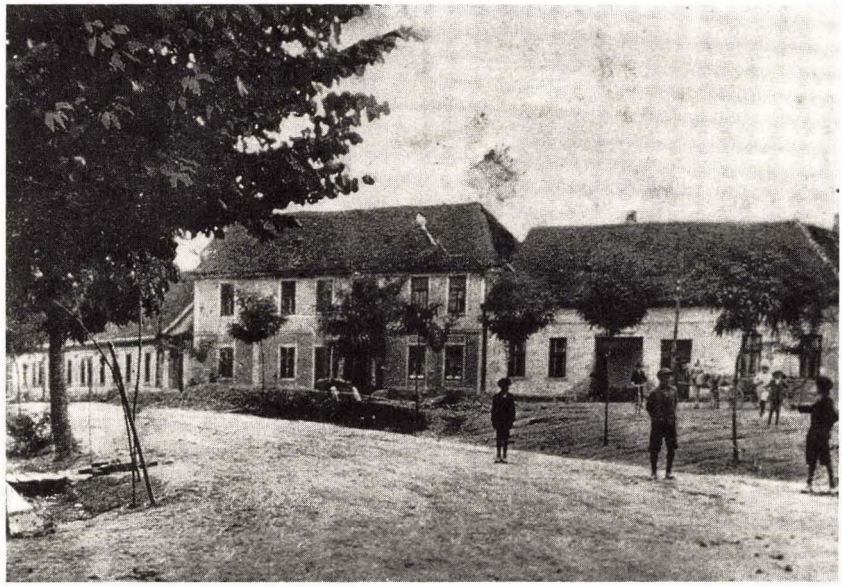
Rabbi: Aron Pressburger
Deputy: Abraham Pollak
President: Ignac Galandauer
Vice President: Vilmos Guttman
Guardians (officers): Antal Engelman, Lazar Steiner
Chevra Kadisha: Aron Kohn, Moses Kraus, Lazar Steiner
Talmud Torah: Isaac Ausch, Josef Markus, M. Schick
Elementary school: Miksa Brick

Then follows a long list of the different type of businesses our Sabbath observer Jews were involved in:
Poultry wholesaler: Lipot Ullman
Wine and beer: Ignac Galandauer, Lipot Kritzler & Son
Leather: Jeno Hesser, David Straus
Shoe makers: Mihaly Berkovits, Gyula Erbs, Samuel Frohlich, Gyula Zeif
Sign painter: S. Bárány



The tobacco and general store of Vilmos Singer.

Courtesy of Museum of Bonyhád



Vörösmarthy Square in the 30's. "The Lumber market Place."

Haberdashery: Josef Schonberger
Vinegar factory: Solomon Singer
Lumber yard: Isaac Ausch, Samuel Ausch, Solomon Kraus
Charcoal: Moses Herman
Grocery, colonial & general: Davidovits Bros., Hirschfeld Bros.
Corn trade: Adolf Deutsch, Samu Friedenthal, Josef M. Kohn
Sandor Markus & Son, Abraham Schwartz, Herman N. Schwartz
Blue Dye factory: Ignac Lowy, Kaiser & Rosenfeld
Printing: Mrs. Jacob Weiss
Stone cutter: Josef Schonberger
Mechanic: J. Kohn
Oil factory: A. Kohn & Son, J. Moses Kohn
Jeweler: Mor Berman
Stationery: Mrs. Jacob Weiss
Textile: Miksa Bárány, Adolf Engelman, Samu Grosz, Ferenc Kun, Arthur Hesser, Miksa Hirschfeld, Szeren Kohn, Miksa Litzman, Sandor Kraus, Roza Pelczer, Herman Rosenfeld, Jeno Sajo
Department Store: Simon Bárány, Hirschfeld Bros.
Clothing: Gyula Schaffer
Distillery: Ferenc Stern
Brick works (factory): Isaac Ausch, Samuel Ausch, Solomon Kraus
Raw produce: Miksa Brick, Simon Frohlich & Sons, Vilmos Guttman, Moses Kraus

Egg wholesalers: Feldman & Sauber, Mor Kaff
Glass & Porcelain: Josef Ausch, Antal Engelman
Vegetables: Ignac Glattstein & Gyula Pollak

To the above listed names we should add the following names, listed as customers of the Bonyhád Telephone Company:

Ferenc Bokor, miller (water mill)
Bela Kalnai, miller (steam mill)
Jeno Hesser, leather goods
Ferenc Hollander, haberdasher (hats, ties)
Aurel Fleischman, coal wholesaler (Salgotarjan)
Marcell Fleischman, commercial establishment, Agent of Adria Ins. Co.
Sandor Eisner, coal wholesaler (and Agent of Elso Magyar Biztosito)
Denes Farago, grocery and mechanical products wholesaler
Strasser & Konig, corn traders
Abraham Schwartz, corn trader
Jacob Schwartz, corn trader
Moses Schwartz, corn trader

Additional sources, such as Janos Szilagyi's *Mindentudo konyv, Kalauz Tolna Varmegyerol*, Kaposvar, 1929, *Dunantuli cim es Lakjegyzek*, 1929–1930, Sopron, Gy. Szeghalmy: *Dunantuli varmegyek*, Budapest, 1940, give a more complete record, so that we can fully ap-



The Davidovits Family.

preciate the involvement of our people in the creation of the high quality of commerce in Bonyhád:

Poultry: Abraham Kaff, Moses Herman
Haberdashery: Mrs. Ferenc Hollander, Mrs. Samuel Fein, Ferenc Kun
Textile: Kaiser & Rosenfeld, Samu Kraus
Beer: Ignac Frank
Furniture: Josef Preis
Shoe makers: Armin Bárány, Samu Frohlich, Bernat Reich
Shopkeepers (szatocs): Helene Galandauer, Mrs. Sandor Fuchs, Henrik Koralek, Mor Kostelitz, Moses Kraus, Gizella Pollak, Josef Schon, Imre Schwartz, Ignac Singer, Vilmos Singer, David Steiner, Simon Steiner
Grocery: Ferenc Muller, Mrs. Stern
General store (at the market place): Maria Bárány, Samuel Dick, Mrs. David Fried, Mor Fried, Mor Heller, Josephine Pollak, Henrik Salamon
Seltzer: Ignac Frank, Mor Rosenfeld
Coal–Wood: Moses Herman, Salomon Kraus
Butter: Mrs. Siegmund Breuer, Dezso Gros
Sewing machines, bikes: Mor Berman, Jacob Kohn
Machinery renters: Albert Honig, Bela Kalnai (Transdanubia), Jacob Schwartz
Tailors: Samu Frohlich, Lipot Leichner
Hatter: Adolf Bein
Millinery: Rose Reich
Bookbinder: Izor Raubitscheck
Knitter: Regina Rotmuller
Locksmith: Illes Klinenberg, Jacob Kohn
Hairdresser (ladies): Mrs. Ignac Rosenfeld, Mrs. Bela Schon
Printer: Pannonia (Arthur Sonnenschein), Izor Raubitscheck, Mrs. Jakob Weiss
Watch repairers: Mor Berman, Fulop Eibenschutz
Bakery: Mrs. Josef Deutsch, Jacob Eibenschutz
Innkeepers: Mrs. Sandor Zucker, Siegmund Erdos, Henrik Koralek
Needlework: Seren Fischer, Mrs. Mor Reiter



The Barany family.

An interesting picture emerges in Szeghalmy's *Transdanubian Counties.* For example, the oil factory of the Kohn brothers was founded in 1847 and remained always a family run business. Abraham Kohn, the founder of this business, was born here and lived here for many years, as did his parents and grandparents. It is likely that the Kohn family was one of the earliest in the Jewish community in Bonyhád. In 1906, the mill was modernized, namely steam crafted. From 1926, Sandor Freund became the manager.

The firm of Hirschfeld Brothers was established by their father, Lipot Hirschfeld, in 1878. The present owners, in 1940, were Bela and Dezso Hirschfeld. The company had nine employees and did wholesale business in Tolna and Baranya Counties.

The textile firm of Sandor Kraus was founded in 1899, with five employees. His son Erno was a Budapest businessman. His daughter Ella married Miklos Kuruc. She died young, and their son, Jancsi, was reared by the grandparents. In 1934–35, Janos Kuruc and I attended the Bonyhád High School. I had lost track of him during the Shoa period. As a Labor Serviceman, he had survived, and in 1993 I located

him in Florida. Today, he is Dr. Janos Kuruc, psychiatrist, who teaches at a university.

The lumberyard and brick factory of Samuel Ausch was founded by his father Isaac in 1888. During World War I, he fought on the Russian Front. Later, as a counter-revolutionary, he was seized by the Communists and perished with his wife Roza and his children, Mihaly and Moses, during the Shoa; only Ilona and Piri survived.

Adolf Deutsch established his corn trade business in 1897. He served in the Hungarian army in World War I. He perished in the Shoa, along with his large family, including his wife, Sarolta, and his children, Gizella, Jeno, Miklos, Hedwig, Zoltan and Esther. Only Josef survived.

In 1942, during the time of the persecution, another work, by Dr. Laszlo Voros, states that the trade in Bonyhád was still almost completely in Jewish hands, with 136 Jewish trade licenses still in effect. The number of non-Jewish businessmen is much lower. He notes further, that the numbers alone do not reflect on the real differences, but rather the fact that in the more profitable fields, like the flour, corn and produce, trade is handled by twenty-six Jewish businessmen and only four non-Jews are involved in the same line. The non-Jewish tradesmen lack the proper capital! On the other hand, to the credit of the Jewish businessmen, the book acknowledges, the Jewish trade of Bonyhád was not only significant locally, but throughout the whole of Hungary. Moreover, on the international level, up until 1942, Jews had excellent foreign trade connections and did business not only with our friendly states, but also had extensive business connections in Switzerland and Sweden. Apparently, the volume of trade in Bonyhád, in comparison to other similar towns, was outstanding and unmatched in the country.

Chapter 2

Early History

Looking back to the 1700's, there is an excellent article by Dr. M. Szilagyi, entitled, "The Merchants of Bonyhád,"* (Bonyhád, 1975), in which he describes how the first Jewish merchants began to appear in Bonyhád after the 150 years of Turkish rule had ended. Other sources also tell about the four Jewish men, Solomon, Marcus, Wolf, and Paul, who could be regarded as the pioneers of commerce in Bonyhád, in 1741. Soon others followed.

Two rich land owners, the Perczels and the Kliegels, gave them shelter and concessions at a time when in neighboring places it was forbidden for Jews to settle. However, here in Bonyhád, the picture was different. The life for the Jews was not easy. They had to pay their dues in many ways, such as the so called "tolerance taxes" to the government, and taxes toward their immediate benefactors, the local landowners. A 1759 document records that forty-one Jewish families paid four different type of taxes: landowner, county, tolerance, and extraordinary dues. However, the Jews worked very hard and were able to lay the foundation for a remarkable future.

In growing numbers, Jews arrived from Moravia, Austria, and Germany. Thus, the Jewish community became a solid, integral part of Bonyhád. We know from the work of Antal Egyed,** a local priest and a fine historian, published by the Academy of Sciences in Budapest in 1823, that Bonyhád had a population of 4,709 people, made up of a mixture of Germans, Hungarians and Jews. Their religious affiliation shows that there were 1586 Catholics, 1132 Evangelicals, 360 Reformed Church goers, and 1631 Jews. Egyed says, "The Jews lived in harmony with the rest of the population." He describes the way the Jewish people conducted their own affairs. They

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* Dr. Mihaly Szilagyi: *A Bonyhádi kereskedok*, Bonyhád, 1975.

**Antal Egyed: *Bonyhád mezö-városnak rovid leirása*, Budapest, 1823.

have special judges, notaries, and night watchmen. Mostly they are store owners but some of the poorer ones went out of town to the surrounding villages as peddlers. He talks highly of their moral standards and religious practices. The synagogue is a big "four cornered" building, he writes, and they hold their spiritual leader, the rabbinus, in high esteem. The rabbi's duties were to speak in the temple, to teach the Talmud, and to conduct marriage ceremonies. Egyed even notes the significance of the ritual bathhouse, the only bathhouse in Bonyhád for the last 150 years.

Another historian, Elek Fényes (1841) says in his geographical work, that Bonyhád has a well built Jewish community, with its own judges, jury and other officials.

In 1787, some important changes took place in Jewish related matters. Emperor Josef II ordered the Jews to add a second name, the family name to their names. It was also decreed, that in the Jewish schools, the language should change from the Yiddish to German, Hungarian or Latin. He ordered that all Jewish distinctions, which earlier separated Jews from others, should be abolished. Jews could settle where they pleased, attend any schools, and even universities would be open to them. His well meant reforms were supposed to tear down the real or imagined ghetto walls that separated our people from the rest of the population.

As usual in a case like this, some Jews were happy at the prospect of freedom and understandably others were afraid of the future, wondering what would happen to the strict religious traditions once Jews mingled with others. But in 1790, the Emperor died, and the Hungarian Parliament in Pozsony (Pressburg, now Bratislava, Slovakia) did not enforce the emperor's orders, as he had never been officially crowned with Hungarian parliamentary endorsement and was ironically nicknamed "the King with the hat" or "Kalapos Király."

There are some other factors, which point to the importance of this time period, 1790–1840. It is safe to say, that these fifty years are the most remarkable and productive years in the 250 year life span of the Bonyhád Jewish community. The number of Bonyhád Jews had well surpassed the 1,000 mark and according to the data of the World Jewish Congress, edited by Zsigmond Pál Pach, there were only eleven

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This report was written by ~~Dr~~ Professor A. S. SHEIBER (Budapest) after his visit to my library in 1968

J. Reich
Dec '93

XXIII. ÉVF. 18. SZÁM
1968. SZEPTEMBER 15.
ÚJ ÉLET.

4 Judah Reich (Manchester) gyűjteményében láttam egy jiddis „Techinna"-kéziratot, amelyet Bonyhádon másoltak 1828-ban egy bonyhádi nő számára.

Téglák ezek, amelyekre szükség van, ha épületet emelünk. Távlati terveink egyike, hogy a Magyar Zsidó Oklevéltár egyik kötetét a magyar zsidóság története héber kútfőinek szenteljük (Kohn Sámuel az általa ismerteknek csak magyar fordítását adta, az eredeti szöveg nélkül.) Ezek a kéziratok — legalábbis a koraiak — akkor szerephez jutnak majd.

other Jewish communities between 1783–1840 where the number of Jews exceeded the 1,000 mark with the exception of Pest. On this list are: Abaujszánto, Bonyhád, Hejöcsaba, Lovasberény, Mako, Miskolc, Nagykanizsa, Obuda, Pápa, Sátoraljaujhely and Tata. With the excep-



The famous "Techina" written in Bonyhád in 1828, as noted in Budapest in 1968. (Uj Elet, the official Hungarian Jewish newspaper)

tion of Bonyhád, a small town, all the rest were cities. To understand these numbers, note that in 1785, during the period of the Emperor Joseph II, the number of Jews living in Hungary was only 75,000. This figure had grown by 1842 to 241,632, according to the historian Elek Fényes. An astounding find from 1828 sheds light on the quality of Jewish life in Bonyhád. It shows the religious and moral aspect of a vibrant community. In the collection of J.J. Reich, Manchester England, survives a special prayer, a so called Techina, composed and written in Bonyhád for a fine local woman, an *aishes chayil.* It is designed very artistically, in a colorful calligraphy.

To highlight their economic activity, there is an official document, a petition dated 1833, (3244/1833), which states: "We, especially the first two, are those Bonyhád individuals, who paid taxes from the beginning of times." It is signed by Mihály Engel, Marcus Sauervein, Farkas Engel and Lazar Freund, "Jewish taxpayers from Bonyhád."

It is also interesting to look at the numbers of Jews living in Bonyhád during their 250 year history. From their small beginnings, when the four Jews came to Bonyhád, in the census of 1750, there is a list containing 400 names. But from 1820 on, the census was done regularly and reveals a remarkable picture.

Year	*Population of Bonyhád*	*Jews*	*%*
1820	4709	1631	34.6
1826	4639	1662	35.8
1869	5832	1209	20.7
1881	5970	1154	19.3
1890	6295	1274	20.2
1900	5749	1143	19.9
1910	6452	1147	17.8
1920	6379	1058	16.6
1930	6861	1022	14.9
1941	8333	1159	13.9

When comparing these numbers, there is a 25% drop in the period between 1826 and 1869. Eisner explains it by saying that after the

Revolution of 1848, after which Jews were no longer restricted in their movements and were allowed to settle where they pleased, some Bonyhád Jews tried to establish a livelihood in other places, where they hoped to make a better, or rather an easier living.

Chapter 3

Spiritual Leaders

Eminent Rabbis. . . The Spiritual Leaders of the Jewish Community

The main reason that Bonyhád became such an important Jewish center was the religious aspect of its life. It seems from the very beginning, that the Jewish community of Bonyhád had the good fortune to secure well learned, respected and esteemed *Rabbonim*, well known scholars, *Talmidei Chachomim*. Under their spiritual guidance, Bonyhád followed a strict moral path which became the foundation of *Kehilah Kodesh Bonyhád*, the saintly congregation of Bonyhád.



Left: Rav Boskowitz's kever in the old cemetery.
Above: The side of this 175 year old tombstone.

In 1810, Bonyhád had a well known, and extremely talented rabbi, Rav Zeev Boskowitz, who became the first Rabbi of Pest in 1793. He was an outstanding scholar whose *Comments on the Babylonian Talmud* was published in Vienna in 1830, his study on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* was published in Prague in 1820, and his *Hilchot Sabbath* was published in Jerusalem in 1902. He served as rabbi of Bonyhád until his death in 1818. He is buried in the Bonyhád Cemetery. For the past 175 years visitors have come to pray at his grave and to place "*quittels*" on his *matzevoh*, or tombstone. His grave is revered to this day.

One of Rav Boskowitz's predecessors, the Rav Yitzhak Halevi Spitz, came with his followers from Moravia (Nickolsburg) in 1750 and built a fine yeshivah in Bonyhád. Many *bachurim*, or students, came from faraway places to study here. According to Janos Eisner's excellent monograph on Bonyhád, *The History of Bonyhád Jews* (Tel-Aviv, 1965), this large building would later house the high school, the Gymnasium of Bonyhád. As my classmate and friend, Dr. L. Kolta, notes in his book, *The Bonyhád Alexander Petofi Gymnasium* (Budapest, 1991), the Jewish Congregation sold a large plot, with the Chevra Kadisha Charitative Organization building and in 1870 the new Gymnasium was moved to this location. At the opening ceremony, many of the population attended without regard to religious affiliation.

After the death of Rabbi Spitz, Yisrael Bizenc became the rabbi, followed by the distinguished Rav, Rabbi Avraham Jehuda Low who served as the spiritual leader from 1780 until his death in 1808. In the year 1794, a terrible fire destroyed the Jewish Quarter with the Bet Midrash temple and its Torahs and *sephorim*. A sadly beautiful elegy was composed by the Rav and was recited yearly by the Bonyhád Jews on the *Yahrzeit* of the fire, on the first Sabbath after Pesach.

In the year 1795, work on a new synagogue began, constructed entirely by Jewish manual labor. When the new temple was finished in 1796, it became the center of Jewish life in Bonyhád. It still stands today, officially accorded "landmark" status. Despite this, it is unfortunately used as a commercial warehouse!

After the death of Rav Boskowitz, another giant scholar came to Bonyhád, the Rav Zvi ben Aryeh Leibisch Heller. He had been well

known in Moravia, and when he came to Hungary in 1819, many communities offered him a position, but he picked Bonyhád, and this too shows the importance of the Bonyhád Jewish community. In 1833, he left Bonyhád for Altofen (Obuda), the most important rabbinic position in the country in those days, and because of that, his Bonyhád congregants were very upset. He died one year later, in 1834.

Another prominent rabbi, Rabbi Yitzhak Moshe Perles came to Bonyhád in 1841, and this was a time when Bonyhád too was affected by the new "modern" way of thinking which swept through the Jewish congregations in Hungary. Many of the new ideas aimed to curtail the rigidness of the inner rules. This movement wanted to make changes in the ways the "*khila*" was conducted. The language of the "*droshas*" and in the Jewish schools should be changed from the Yiddish to the native Hungarian, the *almemor* or *bima* should be moved from the middle of the shul to the front and the hupah at weddings should be in the temple and not outside under the sky.

These reforms were really powerful ideas and coincided with the political trends of the times in 1848, when the National Revolution of the Hungarian nation under Lajos Kossuth, rose against the Habsburgs. Rabbi Perles endorsed the national aspirations and many Jewish soldiers fought against the Austrian armies, but in religious matters, the Rabbi was firmly conservative and refused to make any changes in the daily life of the congregation and insisted on conducting the religious affairs according to the tradition. In other words, no changes took place in the religious life in the Bonyhád community. According to an article in the Bonyhád newspaper of May 9, 1914 titled "The Bonyhád Jews and the Hungarian Revolution of 1848," *Bonyhádi Zsidók és a Szabadságharc*, after the Revolution of 1848 was crushed, the Austrian government taxed the Jews of Tolna County, who paid 44,500 golden florins, and these taxes were collected by two Bonyhád Jews, Adler and Solomon Singer as war indemnity.

A meaningful change took place a few years earlier, after 1840. The Hungarian Parliament passed a law, that religious leaders had to register every birth in their respective congregations in the proper book supplied by the state. They had to record all the appropriate changes of personal life—birth, marriage, death. These books of census—there



Left: Rabbi Judah Grunwald, stayed only two years in Bonyhád. Right: Rabbi Eliezer Deutsch, a well known scholar and author of Responsa.

were four heavy volumes—became extremely important documents of the Bonyhád Jewish Community, especially 100 years later during the time of the persecution, when Jews had to prove that they were born in Hungary.

Reform ideas swept through the land and in 1868 finally reached Bonyhád. Seven families left the congregation and established the Orthodox Congregation. These seven founders were Mordechai Engelman, Lipot Engelman, Samson Engelman, Yochanan Galandauer, Meir Kohn, Wolf Kritzler and Moshe Pollák. The original congregation or *kehilah* became known after the secession as the Congressional or



Fron the left: Rabbi Aaron Pressburger, the last Orthodox rabbi; taken to Auschwitz with his fellow congregants. Rav Avraham Polack, his deputy, perished in Auschwitz. Rabbi Zekel Polack. Rabbi Lajos Schwartz, the last Neolog rabbi, died in Auschwitz.

Neolog Congregation. From then on, the history of the Bonyhád Jewish community continued on separate but parallel roads. Before long, the initial difficulties of the seven founding families came to an end, as other families joined them and the Orthodox Congregation became a strong and viable organization.

In 1871, they invited Rav Moshe Halevi Pollák, who followed the path of his great predecessors, while in the original congregation, Dr. Chayim Yehuda Reich became the rabbi. His brother was the renowned Koppel Reich, the Orthodox rabbi of Budapest, who became a member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament in 1927, when he was almost ninety years old. They were both born in Verbo, in Upper Hungary, into a rabbinical family. Dr. Reich, a truly religious rabbi lead the Neolog Congregation in a very pious way and the old *ruach* was observed in this community, even in our days, as observed in the 1930's. Their members were almost 100% G-d fearing, *shomer Shabbos* Jews. Five years later, Dr. Reich became the spiritual leader of a Vienna congregation in Austria.

His successor in Bonyhád was Rabbi Tobias Rosenthal, who addressed his congregation in Hungarian. He was a talented representative of the modern Neolog direction, but stood firmly on the solid basis of the law, the Shulhan Aruch. He opened up new vistas for Jewish youth, combining traditional Jewish life with worldly knowledge, opening the gate toward the study of law, medicine and engineering. Today, we would call it the Young Israel type of Jewish life-style.

Under the leadership of Rabbi Rosenthal, a remarkable feat was accomplished. The aging structure of the temple was completely renovated. On August 18, 1896, Rabbi Rosenthal inaugurated that beautiful Roman style synagogue in the presence of representatives of the government and the prominent leaders of Hungarian Jewry. Rabbi Rosenthal continued his legendary rabbinical work until his death in 1921.

At the turn of the century, the Orthodox Congregation already had sixty to seventy members and in 1897, Rabbi Eliezer Chayim Deutsch became the spiritual leader. A well-respected scholar and author of the twenty-two volume *Responsa*, his works are prominently displayed in

the Ashkenazi communities of Europe. He was an excellent leader of his congregation. In his yeshiva, thousands of pious students learned the Talmud during his tenure. An outstanding scholar, researcher and writer, he was surely missed after his death in 1916.

Meanwhile in the Neolog Congregation, turbulent times followed the passing of Rabbi Rosenthal. The Rabbi's post was not filled. During a winter night in 1923, many members entered the shul and moved the bima from the front to the middle of the synagogue where it had always been before 1868. After much debate, the leadership decided that with the help of a professional builder they would place the bima permanently in the middle of the synagogue. Thus it would no longer be an issue or an "issur" for the Orthodox to enter the synagogue and soon after they invited Rav Lajos Schwartz, an extremely fine and pious man from a Hasidic family to become the new rabbi in 1924. He was a learned and modest man, an excellent speaker and a fine teacher for the youth at the high school. He was the last rabbi of his congregation before the Shoa and went with his congregation to Auschwitz.

In the same year, 1924, Rav Aron Pressburger became the Orthodox Rabbi of Bonyhád. During this time, the Orthodox community built a modern synagogue from the contributions of its wealthier members. To serve the ritual needs, they built a new bathhouse too. This mikvah was one of the most modern in the country. Rav Pressburger had approximately a hundred students living and studying at his yeshiva. The congregation was responsible for feeding the students and this was called "eating days" so families took turns having students invited to their homes for meals.

The rabbi made sure that all institutions were in proper order. The Orthodox elementary school enjoyed an excellent reputation. The principal, Mr. Miksa, Mayer, Kuttner and Miss Cecilia Spitz and later Miss Marsha Fisher, were fine educators, whose excellent work was recognized by the county's newspapers and more importantly by their grateful pupils. Many survivors of the Holocaust, wherever they may be found today, have stories to tell their children and grandchildren about those good old days that they had spent in their elementary school in Bonyhád.



The Neolog elementary school in the years 1928-1930. Kramer Zoltan, the principal, is in the middle

In addition, a similarly good education was provided by the other Jewish school, the so called Neolog elementary school. Its principal-teacher was Zoltan Kramer, an innovative educator. Both schools had many non-Jewish pupils because their parents recognized the high scholastic standard of these Jewish schools. In the *cheder* the students got their first and basic knowledge of their religious education. Their experienced *melamdim* made certain that the foundation for later biblical and Talmudic studies were well established. From here the students proceeded to the proper yeshiva learning.



Mayer-Miksa Kuttner, the principal of the Orthodox elementary school, and his wife, Mrs. Deborah Kuttner.



The six children of the Kuttners.

Each congregation had a separate "hazan" and ritual slaughterhouse with a "shochet" and butcher shops. The Orthodox Youth Organization, the *Tiferet Bachurim, davened* and studied together in the Shas Chevra. In 1935, they celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its operation and posed for a group picture. This was a special occasion and showed so much promise for the future, but in retrospect, looking at the picture now, it is a sad reminder of the Shoa period when so many of these young people disappeared forever.

Both congregations had a very active Chevra Kadisha and a Ladies Auxiliary, whose benevolent undertakings encompassed charities and at times fund raising, producing religious plays, like the Purim Spiels, and other shows.

The last two decades were well known to me, as I spent the summers there in Bonyhád with my close relatives. I also lived there for two years, in 1934–1935, with my parents, and attended the high school there.

Secular education was available in the non-Jewish high schools. There was the gymnasium managed by the Evangelical Church, where some Jewish boys learned. The girls attended the Catholic girls' school, where nuns were the educators. Both schools avoided any anti-

Semitic distinctions, though in their yearbooks always noted students' religious affiliation. In 1943, for example, the following Jewish students attended:

Grade 1. Sugár András

Grade 2. Duschensky Pál, Königsbaum Tamás, Kraus György, Ronai Tamás

Grade 3. Löwy Iván, Löwenbein Pál, Sas András

Grade 4. No Jewish students

Grade 5. Ronai Károly

Grade 6. Dick István (outstanding student), Kuttner Marcel (outstanding), Sas János

Grade 7. Dénes György (outstanding), Vidor Judit

Grade 8. No Jewish students

Private students: Sajo Judit (1938, good), Krámer Éva (1928, good), Viola György (1925, outstanding)

Jewish students are listed even in the 1943/44 school year, as in other normal years. Even in the most virulent anti-Semitic era, 1940–44, Jewish students received scholarships and awards according to their academic achievements. Generally, Jewish children attended school on Saturdays as



Tiferes Bachurim—In 1935, on the 50th anniversary of its founding. Sitting (from left to right): Arthur Stern, Mozes Ullman, J. Weisz, Vilmos Glattstein, Zoltan Moskovics, Zoltan Fuchs, Miklos Deutsch, Lipot Pfeifer, Zoltan Welber, Pal Fein, Otto Krausz, Ede Heller. Standing, first row: Samuel Frohlich, Salamon Weisz, Mor Glattstein, Zsigmond Pressburger, Antal Glattstein, Samu Feldmann, Vilmos Kritzler, Mihaly Ausch, Zoltan Hermann, Laszlo Barany, Meir Kohn, Bernat Galandauer, Zoltan Deutsch. Standing, second row: Dezso Sauber, Ignac Goldring, Pinchasz Pressburger, Ignac Markusz, Jakab Feldmann, Pinchasz Braun, Izrael Weisz, Lazar Hermann, Jozsef Allweisz, Samuel Heller, Kalman Stern. Standing, top row: Erno Leitmann, Sandor Frohlich, Henrik Kritzler, B. Weisz, Miklos Frohlich, Vilmos Zeif, Mordechaj Schon, S. Heller, Mozes Schon, Hilel Hersch.

well, but were excused from doing anything contrary to their religious beliefs. Teachers were careful not to allow Jewish students to write on the Sabbath, even for those who were not observant. On Jewish holidays, Jewish students were exempt from attending school.

There was a public collection in 1906/07 for the building fund for the enlarged secular high school. It was natural that the roster of contributors included many Jewish names, among them: Raubitscheck, Izor; Fein, Lajos; Fleischman, Lipot; Hirschman Bros.; Honig, Albert; Dr. Pick, Morne; Barabás, Imre; Dr. Berde, Mozes; Brick, Jakab; Davidovits, Jakab; Eisner, Sándor; Engelman, Adolf; Engelman, Herman; Engelman, Ignác; Erdös, Zsigmond; Frank, Ignác; Galandauer, Gyula; Galandauer, Ignác; Galandauer, Jakab; Hirschfeld Bros.; Hollander, Ármin; Hollander, Ferenc; Kaiser, Ede; Kohn, Aron; Kohn, Mayer; Kraus, Ignác; Kraus, Moses; Kraus, Salamon; Kritzler, Lipot; Kun, Mor; Laufer, Marcus; Litzman, Miksa; Lowy, Ignác; Dr. Rákos, Miksa; Reich, Samuel; Rosenthal, Tobias; Singer, Salamon; Spitz, Celia; Spitzer, Mor; Stern, Miksa; Schaffer, Gyula; Schwartz, Bernat; Dr. Vámosi, Ernö; Dr. Vámosi, Ernöné; Weber, György; and Weber, Jakab.

More images from the past include the arrival of the Sabbath which was announced in a traditional way. Walder Bácsi, the beadle or shamash of the Orthodox community, was a remarkable character. With a wooden hammer in his hand, he knocked on the doors on Friday afternoons, noting the arrival time of the Sabbath.

As for that matter, on those fearful days, before the High Holidays, he used the same method, when in the pitch dark cold dawn, early before daybreak, he would wake the Jews and hurry them to *shul* for *Selichot.*

And who could forget *Tishah Be'av* at summer-time, when reciting the *Kinnoth,* mourning the loss of the Holy Temple in our sacred city of Jerusalem? It was traditional for youngsters to throw those sticking thistles and if they stuck to the clothing it was not pleasant, but if they happened to settle in the beards—and as a sign of mourning during this period of three weeks, most of the congregants had beards—to remove those thistles was a painful experience!

In the domestic affairs, most families had a maid, to help around the

house. This was a practical solution on Holidays and on the Sabbath for opening and closing the lights and for tending the fires in the winter time. Even the poorer folk, who could not afford the Kathys and the Marys, had a help, or *Shabbos goy* to take care of the holiday chores.

There were some problems, even in this simple lifestyle. In a remarkable episode, the poor fellow Ludi Deutsch just could not afford a *nedan* or dowry, to marry off his beloved daughter. This became the case of a non affordable promise. . . It happened in the '30's. What does a pious Jew in Bonyhád do in a case like this?

Ludi went to see his rabbi. "You know, Rabbi," he said. "I have a terrible problem." The rabbi tried to calm him down and said, "Before the Lord, there are no major difficulties," and asked the reason for Ludi's concern. Then Ludi opened up and said, "The problem is caused by the Sidduch of my beloved daughter. Matter of fact," he continued, "I found a decent *hosson* for her. The trouble is, that we have to raise 5,000 pengoes, as a nedan (dowry). What can we do?" he asked sadly. The rabbi, immersing himself deeply in his thoughts, after some moments of hesitation said, " So why don't you promise something?" to which the father replied, "I did the utmost and promised 2,500 pengoes already and it is not enough." Upon which the wise rabbi replied, "Can't you promise him 5,000?" The father, thinking for a while, then said, "No, Rabbi, I can't afford it." And he meant the promise.

Chapter 4

Before Disaster Struck

The peasants worked hard during the depression years and so did the bluecollar workers. It was not easy for the white collar workers, the pap, tanar, tanito,teachers, the small office holders, the state, county and village administrators, the educators in the schools and even less

so for the workers of the two factories, Peterman & Glaser's Shoes and Perczel's Enamel plant. Those working at the stores did not have it any better but more or less, they were all content. They all made a living.

As times worsened, economic hardship hit the Jewish community as well. Many could only make a meager living, going out early mornings to the neighboring villages, peddling and buying eggs, poultry, walnuts and leathers. Many went to other small towns and villages, to attend fairs and to try to sell their wares in those local markets. It was not rare to find families, for whom preparing prepare a Sabbath became a problem. We know there were helping hands—organizations and private ones—who helped in a discreet way all those in need.

The Bárány family, my aunt and her children, lived at the beginning of Marhauser Street, also known as Gymnasium Street as some called it, and across the street was a peculiar permanent mirror, which showed the dangerous curve toward Vorosmarty Square. Four times a year, the firewood markets took place here. The animal fair was held in an open field after one passed the gymnasium. From the other end of Vorosmarty Square, one entered Zárda Street, named after the Catholic girls' school located there. Here many Jewish girls were educated by nuns.

Zárda Utca was a small street, where the main stores were located. A big sign reaching out over the sidewalk read: "TO THE LAMB," depicting the head of a lamb, made by the local enamel factory. The name "Bárány" means lamb in English. Here stood my relatives' big store. In my early days in Bonyhád, I remember seeing Aunt Rose, my father's sister, here, sitting at the "kassza," the cashier's desk. Recently widowed, she was a no-nonsense woman who oversaw everything that was going on in the establishment.

The store was well stocked with the latest trends in fashion and in the adjoining room was the warehouse, where they placed the orders for the wholesale department. They used to call it "angro" (engross). In a small separated part of the store was the office, where Mr. Ronai, the administrator, had a modern "Underwood" typewriter and a Swedish adding machine. Behind the counter were the young salesladies, Hedi Deutsch, Flora Pötyi Kaff, and the male clerks, Denes Rosenthal, Josef Deutsch, and Lajos Rothberger, as well as the trainees, the German

Svab boys of sixteen or seventeen. I recall one of them, Heini, or Heinrich, in his naiveté, asking once for a raise and warning Aunt Rose, "If you don't give me a raise, I will quit and take a job as an assistant to "Dr. Schreck," a well known local physician.

Business was steady and good, especially twice a week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, the Market days. On these occasions, from the whole Völgység, neighboring communities, peasants would come in their carriages and horse-drawn buggies to sell their precious produce: geese and chickens, eggs, nuts, all kinds of fruits and assorted milk products in large quantities. I always wondered, how these peasant women managed to walk, carrying heavy loads on their head. I learned that a little ring, called a kriegel, on their heads, under the basket, was a big help!

On the other side of Vorosmarty Square was the School Path or "iskola koz," between the modest grocery of the Widow Stern and the large department store of Sándor Kraus. At the grocery end of the School Path was an opening to the entrance of the imposing large building of the synagogue. What a majestic synagogue it was! Built in 1795, and renovated 100 years later, this was the focal point of the religious life in Bonyhád. Above the entrance to the synagogue were the two stone tablets of the ten commandments. The Báránys still have the water color depicting the synagogue, by the local master painter Jeno Kollman.

Across from the entrance to the synagogue was a modest house, owned by the congregation, which was the residence of the rabbi. In my years, it was occupied by Rabbi Schwartz and his family. A humble man, although he was the Rav of the Neolog *kehilah*, he only ate from the Orthodox shehita or slaughter. He also held classes for the Jewish children in the Gymnasium. As one followed the narrow road of the School Path, one could see old, dilapidated buildings, that housed the cantor's home, the matzo bakery, the yeshiva and the old elementary school.

At the other end of the School Path, Rákoczi Street crossed Fürdö Street. It used to be called Fröhlich Street perhaps because of the many families with the name of Fröhlich who lived there. Here stood the new Orthodox shul, built in 1924, not quite not as large as the old one. This

was a simple, modern building, the home of the Orthodox community.

Members of both congregations were religious, pious, truly G-d fearing people, whose basic adherence to Judaism was traditional, but members of the Orthodox community were more strict and conservative, and most of them knew how to study the Talmud. On the other hand, the Neolog community did not mind if their children went outside the yeshiva world to pursue secular learning. Many of them sent their youngsters to public high schools, and sometimes even to the universities if the political climate allowed it. The Orthodox tendency was to shelter the youth and not to permit them to get familiar with "modern" ideas and worldly knowledge.

Dr. Kolta states in his book about the local high school: "The anti-Semitism did not make any progress in this school even after the introduction of anti-Jewish laws. The policy was to teach the youth to respect the religion of all students. (1939) The principal excused the Jewish pupils from writing on the Sabbath day. And even in 1944, some Jewish children received scholarships and awards based upon their learning progress."

On the lighter side, the 1930's, I remember how my cousin Laci Bárány loved to play the piano. Many times he would open the Bosendorfer to play, by ear, the hit tunes of the day. I felt a little uneasy as he opened the windows toward the street and I had to sing the latest "slagers" or hit tunes, such as "I Would Love to Be Twenty Again," or "On the Road of the Acacias," or the colorful melodies of the Kalman and Lehar operettas.

Quite often, Otto Gross, one of my cousin's friends came over to sing. He thought of himself as an accomplished opera singer. Otto's repertory was always the same: "Yours is My Heart Alone" by Franz Lehar. On the radio, only one station in those days, the most popular singers were Sebo, Szedo and Vig—all of them Miklos and all of them Jewish. The Hungarian folk songs were always sung by a non-Jewish singer, Josef Cselenyi. We also enjoyed listening to the outstanding international stars, Richard Tauber and Jan Kiepura, whose wife was the popular Hungarian singer Martha Egerth.

Joseph Schmidt was the most beloved singer of stage and screen in those days, a Jew who would soon fall a tragic victim to the Nazis.

Gitta Alpar was a Jewess, who became the wife of Gustav Fröhlich, the German film idol of the 1920's and 1930's. Their child was "An aria from La Juive," *Egy arja a Zsidono-bol.*

On Friday afternoons, most of the young Jews of Bonyhád went to the barbershop of Mr. Hirth, a Svab barber, for a close shave in honor of the Sabbath, and this was really extraordinary. Religious Jews are not allowed to use razor blades to shave their faces and there were no electric shavers in those days. So these young men used Rasol, a chemical, that Mr. Hirth smeared on their faces. After ten minutes or so, when one felt the burning, the barber scraped it off with a wooden knife. Oh how I remember, that distinct smell, like a rotten egg! Meanwhile, the line of customers grew, but they waited patiently and "shmoozed" until it was their turn.

Then the young men proceeded to the local ritual bath, called the mikvah. To be sure, in the homes there was no running water. People used water taken from their well. If they wanted to wash their hair, in good quality water, they had two choices. Either they collected rain-water from their cisterns called *hordo*, or they had to go to the artesian well which was located on the Main Square, near the church. Another household problem was the toilet facilities. Most houses had an out-house, in the backyard and every couple of months a special wagon carted it away at night. If you happened to pass by that carriage on the street, it smelled, oh, how it smelled!

After the Friday afternoon immersion at the *mikvah*, the young men went home to change, to put on clean shirts and the one suit most of them owned, for the Sabbath. Then they all went to the synagogues to pray, to *daven.* When they returned home from the synagogue, they forgot all the hardships of the past week. Those Friday nights, being together with the family was a unique treat. . . The warmth and festive atmosphere of the Sabbath table with its candles and the delicate aroma of those *halloth* called "*barches*" is an unforgettable memory of a simple but unforgettable era which was the center of the traditional Jewish life through centuries of European Jewish history. . . .

On Sabbath morning the men went to *shul* again. After *davening* and learning, they would have a festive meal. The main dish was *cholent.* We called it "*solet,*" and to pick it up from the Jewish bakery



Guttman Vilmos, vice president of the Orthodox congregation for more than four decades

was, again, a special experience. There was a set time for the occasion, as people came to pick up their own pots. Of course there was an "*eruv*," its wire structure always checked carefully before the Sabbath so that one could carry on the Sabbath. As families arrived home with the *cholent*, they went down to the cellars to fetch the meat, the wine for the kiddush and the seltzer called soda, secured on the previous day from the donkey driven carriage of the Kohn brothers. These cold delicacies had been stored in the cellars, as there were no refrigerators as yet, but it was deliciously cold, nevertheless. The family, sometimes with their neighboring friends, enjoyed these memorable festive meals. We sang *zmiroth* and *benched*, thanking G-d for the meal. After the meal, we went out to the promenade for a long walk. To see crowds of strolling Jews on the Main Street was a special delight!

The young and the young at heart were always there. I still remember seeing Mr. Kuttner, the principal of the Orthodox school, a fine educator, and his wife, walking along, followed by their six children. I certainly had no idea then, that their second daughter, Sara, a dozen years later, would become my partner for life. . . In our lovely strolls,

we enjoyed the refreshing scent of the acacia trees and met other carefree walkers, Jews and non-Jews alike.

In later years, these walks opened up other, until then unknown, vistas of life, as my cousin introduced me to the local and visiting girls, but of course, these were innocent happenings, pointing to another phase of growing up.

Later in the afternoon, we went to *daven* again at the synagogue, mostly to the special minyan called *Tifereth Bachurim*, where the yet unmarried youth gathered to pray. Many of them stayed in the *bet-hamidrash* to learn, and eat the "*shalosh seudath*" until the time of *Motzai Sabbath*, when the Sabbath would end. We then often left for yet another walk and joined a minyan at one of our neighbor's homes, the Guttmans. Theirs was a huge corner house, the entrance of which was on Marhauser Street and another part of which extended onto Vorosmarty Square. Here was that famous window, where one of their daughters, a lovely young lady named Boriska, always sat. It puzzled me: Was she really reading a book at the window like Coppelia, or rather was she paying attention to the ongoing happenings on Vorosmarty Square?

The prayers at the Guttmans holds for me another jewel of memory. The way the time was established to start the evening services when heralding the end of the Sabbath was determined by the appearance of the first three stars in the sky. We then started to sing the two psalms of King David, *L'dovid Mizmor* and *L'amnatzeach Mizmor*. These were unforgettable moments, unforgettable memories. . . .

The head of the household, Mr. Vilmos Guttman, was a prominent leader of the Orthodox *kehilah* for many years. Surrounded by his sons Marci, Laci, Ali, Kari, and Bandi, and other *balbatim* from the neighboring houses, made a nice "*aylom*" and with the recitation of the "havdalah" we parted from the Sabbath to start the new week.

The educational system of the Jews in Bonyhád was conducted in the following manner. The young children went to the *Cheder* where they literally learned the *Aleph-Bet* or their A-B-C of Judaism. They also learned Torah, translated into Yiddish, in a special sing-song way, from their teachers called *melamdim*. Then followed their study in the elementary school. There were two excellent ones. Some of the



The good old days—
ca. 1938
(Lobl, Barany and I. Suss).

students went to the high school. I attended the third and fourth grade in the Bonyhád Gymnasium. Three other classmates of mine were Jewish, Éva Gyöngyi, a pretty girl, Pista Zucker and Dénes Pártos, a lawyer's son from Paks.

In all honesty, I did not find any anti-Semitism in this school, generally. It's true, that one time in the summer, we saw Éva Gyongyi at the Bonyhád outdoor swimming pool, called the Strand, sitting on a lounge chair,with a gentile classmate of ours, Marci Klement, talking to her intently. We were jealous. Marci was talking about his future plans, and during the conversation, he said matter of factly, "When I grow up, I will kill those lousy Jews." He immediately realized, what he said, and to whom he said it. He apologized to Éva and said that he did not mean it, but of course, the romance was destroyed right there. As it turned out, years later, Éva survived the Holocaust and became the wife of a Hungarian film director. Our friend, Klement, died in the war on the eastern front. Other stories—concerning life in Bonyhád, as they flash upon that inner eye called memory. . . .

The Parsha of the week, when I arrived in Bonyhád in the summertime, was *Korach.* This was the time when the kids were no longer allowed to eat those delicious cherries, because little worms had started to appear in them which were considered *tref* or non-kosher. In the same time, I remember that my cousin Laci had learned the *Parsha* with his private tutor, Jankel Alweiss, "*Vayikach Korach, Korach hat*

genommen," in that familiar sing-song tune. At the same time, I recall the other, non-biblical popular tunes of the day, Linke's "The Dance of the John-Beetle" or Janos Bogarkak Tanca, and "Zwei Herzen in ¾ Takt" sung by Joseph Schmidt.

The simple routines of our small town sometimes changed for special enjoyments. Plays and often popular musicals were performed by talented local amateur players or *mukedvelok* and produced and directed mostly by my older cousin, Erno Bárány. Everybody remembers his many, excellent, semiprofessional productions. One of them, the really outstanding "Countess Maritza" by Emmerich Kalman, was shown in 1937 at the outdoor pool of the Bonyhád Strand. It was a tremendous success and it was performed many times to sold-out audiences. The orchestra performed on a special platform over the water. Those gorgeous melodies were composed by Kalman, a Hungarian Jew, who uniquely blended the Hungarian elements with the Viennese tunes. Kalman, as a world famous composer, was later allowed, by Horthy, to leave the country. Carriages came over from many far-away places to see for themselves what the rave reviews in all the newspapers called an unforgettable production. Erno indeed did an outstanding job. He always produced these shows for charity. The beneficiaries were the Jewish Ladies Auxiliary, the local sports club, and others. He did it for more than two decades with a tremendous suc-



A musical produced by Ernest Barany (he is in the middle of the second row.

cess, and the public appreciated it. Unfortunately, people tend to forget and Bonyhád never named a street or the House of Culture after him, even though he established the first permanent puppet theater in Bonyhád and was active in many other cultural programs as well.

Chapter 5

The Shoa Appears on the Horizon

But 1938 meant a turning point in the lives of the Jewish community in Hungary. More fearsome clouds gathered on the horizon and its repercussions engulfed the lives of the Bonyhád Jews too. The first Anti-Jewish laws were passed by the Hungarian Parliament, followed by another with more restrictions the next year. These "laws" started to curtail our everyday life more and more including in the economic, political and academic arenas. From 1938, the year after Nazi-Germany expanded her "Lebensraum" and occupied Austria, which meant practically a common border with Germany, the government of Hungary increased the speed in imitation of the savage acts of Germany. This resulted politically in the Anti-Jewish legislation. In addition to restrictions, the Public Labor System was introduced.

This was a special Hungarian invention. From 1939, the Jews were unable to serve in the national army anymore. In the beginning, Jews were placed in units of 200–250 men, and were under Jewish reserve officers. Their standard equipment was the shovel. They worked in their civilian clothing, wore an armband of the national colors and had a plain military cap.

After 1941, Jews were ordered to change their armband, as from now on, they had the distinction of wearing a yellow armband. As the second and third Anti-Jewish Laws were introduced, the situation became worse in the Labor Service as well. After Hungary declared war on the Soviet Union in 1941, and entered the war on the German side,



The Feldman children in 1916.

thousands of Labor Servicemen were ordered to the Eastern Front into the Ukraine. Now under hostile Hungarian officers, the Jews were subjected to extremely harsh work. Nature was their enemy as well. They had to work in their mostly light summer clothing and face the rough Russian winter.

These servicemen faced terrible odds which threatened their survival, serving under these conditions as well as under the command of their sadistic, anti-Semitic officers. No wonder, that under these deplorable conditions, many Jews died in the winter of 1942–43 at the Don-Curve and Voronezh. Their tragedy became complete as a direct result of the Soviet Army's breakthrough at Voronezh. The Red Army broke through the Hungarian held line, and the Second Hungarian Army, as they were called, suffered a devastating defeat. In the following panic, leading Hungarian military observers, even Gustav Jany, the commander, noted how brave the Jewish servicemen tried to rescue the dead and wounded Honveds under the greatest fire.

However, all this did not make any difference, as the Jewish servicemen were mistreated and humiliated by the retreating German and



Dezso Hirschfeld and family at the 25th wedding anniversary.

Hungarian armies. It should be noted that the Hungarian Defense Minister at this time, Vilmos Nagy, an exceptionally courageous humanitarian, upon receiving reports about the terrible ordeal of the servicemen, did everything possible to improve their deplorable conditions. Unfortunately, his orders were blocked by pro-Nazi subordinates. From the 50,000 servicemen, only 6,000 to 7,000 returned to Hungary.

On the other hand, it's interesting to note, that in the worst days of Nazi terror in 1944, the Labor Service meant some relief, or to put it in another way, it gave some men a chance to survive. In many instances, men were called into the Labor Service even from the Ghettos, which virtually saved them from the inevitability of Auschwitz. The dual wrongs of the political and military measures made it impossible to avert the fate of the Jews in Hungary in general and in Bonyhád in particular.

In 1939, World War II broke out. Hitler's Wehrmacht invaded Poland. The atrocities against Jews became known from some newspaper reports. . . but our Jews said, "that happened over there." Though the Hungarians were allies of Germany, Hungarian Jews became nervous, but for the time being did not feel threatened. Yes, my cousin Laci was called in for military duty, and soon became a member of the Labor Service, because Jews were not trusted by the State to serve as soldiers and be a part of the regular military unit.



Sander and Nettie Marcus, the grandparents of the Feldman children.

Laci was called up for service. . . since he was of military age. . . . By 1940, all Jewish males, between the ages of 20–45, were mobilized for "public interest" related forced labor. . . . Although they wore military caps, they all served in their own civilian clothing, marked with yellow arm bands.



The Marcus family—S. and N. Marcus at their granddaughter's wedding in 1942.



The Great Grandma—The nutcracker in her 90s, taken for work to Auschwitz.

In the beginning it was not too bad. I remember getting mail regularly from Laci Bárány, and in it he said, "Another sixty-five days until I come home." Then thirty-six more days, then eight more days until freedom, and then a long pause, and nothing more. . . The war became nasty, and in June 27, 1941, the Hungarian Army joined the Wehrmacht and fought on the Eastern Front against the Russians. More than 50,000 Jews in the Labor Battalions were ordered to the Ukraine and many of them, like cousin Laci, ended up on the Russian Front near the Don-Curve at Voronezh. This was the tragic end of my Laci and thousands of his comrades in 1943, but we did not know it then. His family did not know these facts until long afterwards.

Half a century later, my good friend and associate in research for this book, Dr. George Vidor remembered a poignant incident that took place in May 1944 in Bonyhád: "At the time we were moving to the Ghetto," he writes, "we youngsters helped family and friends. Among others, I helped to move Mrs. Bárány. She asked me to put a set of fine porcelain dishes in a box. 'Be careful, please' she said. 'My son Laci, will marry a poor girl and if this set gets broken, then this "jewel" can't be replaced.' " Poor Laci was already long since dead. The "poor" girl survived Auschwitz, got married and is living today in Brooklyn, New York, with her family—husband, children and grandchildren.

So it was. . . the way the fortunes of the Bonyhád Jews turned from bad to worse in those fateful days of March 1944. . .

Chapter 6

A Brief History of Hungary Between the Two World Wars

As a result of the lost war, 1914–1918, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy broke up. The victorious Allies truncated Hungary. The territorial losses showed that historic Hungary had a territory of 325,000 square kilometers and residual Hungary 93,000 square kilometers. The population shrunk from approximately 21,000,000 to 8,000,000. The Treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920, resulted in a ⅔ loss of the previous state and meant tremendous difficulties for the mutilated country. The northern part, Slovakia,was awarded to the Czechs and became known as Czechoslovakia. Transylvania, on the east, Erdely, became part of Romania. The southern part, Croatia, went to Yugoslavia. On the west, the narrow corridor, called Burgenland, became part of Austria.

The short lived radical governments of the immediate postwar months were followed by the Counterrevolution and the White Terror with its leaders Ivan Hejas, Pal Pronay and Tibor Eckhardt. Miklos Horthy became the Commander-in-Chief of the National Army and as Regent, he became the Head of State of the Hungarian Kingdom. The ideology of his ruling party was the "Szeged Idea" or *Szegedi gondolat.* In many localities, the right wing units of the White Terror massacred thousands of leftists and Jews in Siofok, Szekszard, Papa, Kecskemet, Orgovany.

Hungarian domestic and foreign policy between the two world wars was directed to alleviate the terrible pain of Trianon with the constant idea of revisionism. To the country's misfortune, as so many times in the past, they found a scapegoat, the Jews. One of its manifestations was the so called Numerus Clausus, introduced to curb Jewish enrollment in the universities. This, practically became the first Anti-Jewish Law in the post World War I Europe era.

Then came the Bethlen-Era of Consolidation, 1921–1932, the period when the government tried to curb the over zealousness of the right

wing elements and to reach some kind of understanding with the Jewish community of the country. They concentrated on the improvement of the economy in order to strengthen its resources. Despite the tolerant trend, the Jewish question was not removed completely from the agenda and soon, Gyula Gombos, a fervent anti-Semite, became Prime Minister from 1932 to 1936. He was a radical and during this same time, Hitler rose to power in Germany. Gombos ensured that the Hungarian government would swing totally to the right.

Gombos was followed by Kalman Daranyi, who came to power on October 10, 1936. He was a conservative member of the ruling party, but he was influenced by the early successes of the Third Reich. Daranyi soon announced that he was about to curb the Jewish influence in the Hungarian economy, and the first Anti-Jewish Law was passed by the Parliament in 1938.

The next premier, Bela Imredy, made more advances toward the radical right. Raul Hillberg points out the list of Hungarian Prime Ministers before the Holocaust: Imredy—pro-German; Teleki—reluctant collaborator; Bardossy—pro-German; Kallay—reluctant collaborator. Actually, according to Randolph Braham, Imredy prepared the way for the next Anti-Jewish law, but he had to resign before the Parliament was able to enforce the Second Anti-Jewish Law prohibiting the restriction of the Jews in public and economic life on May 4, 1939.

Count Teleki made a friendship treaty with Yugoslavia in 1940, but he was unable to resist the Germans as they came through Hungary to attack Yugoslavia. In protest, he took his own life and in April of 1941, Laszlo Bardossy became the new Hungarian Premier. On June 27, 1941, Bardossy used his influence, and Hungary became an ally of Germany in its war against Russia. Under his tenure, the Kamenets–Podolsk Massacre occurred, when the "alien" Jews of Hungary, mostly of Polish origin, were machine gunned on August 27–28, 1941.

Another manifestation of terror followed in the beginning of 1942, with the Ujvidek Massacre. In the unusual cold, when the temperature plunged to -30°C, the Army units of the infamous General Feketehalmy-Czeidner and the combined attachments of Szekszard gendarmes under Captain Marton Zoldi machine gunned thousands of Serbs and Jews, between January 20–23, 1942. The excuse for these terrible kill-



The Labor Battalion of Bonyhád Jews—Palankpuszta, 1941.

ings was to get rid of the partisans. After the terror stopped, more than 550 Jewish people were dead and according to Eisner, four Jewish families were sitting *shiva* in Bonyhád, to mourn their brothers in Ujvidek.

Soon Bardossy was dismissed, on March 7, 1942, and Horthy appointed Miklos Kallay to be Prime Minister. He was under tremendous pressure by the Germans and the Hungarian right wingers to put into effect the Final Solution in Hungary. Kallay was not a friend of the Jews either. He was a conservative politician, who was the head of the Hungarian Government through two rough years, until the German army marched into Hungary. He claims in his book, written after the war in New York, entitled, *Hungarian Premier—Nicholas Kallay, A Personal Account*, that all his anti-Jewish statements were to appease the radical right of Hungary. He states, that he was working for a "human" solution, but opposed a "physical" solution. For as long as the country was independent, he says, the Jewish survival was assured.

All of this shows, that the political situation resulted in a roller-coaster ride as far as the Jews were concerned in the period between the two world wars. As prime ministers changed, so Jewish emotions shifted between temporary hope and gloomy despair.

Conditions for the Jews became more difficult after 1933 as the Nazi regime came into power in Germany. The right-wing pressure was always on the increase and it reached such a proportion in 1938 and 1939, as the first anti-Jewish laws were introduced by the Hungarian parliament, that it could explode any time. This is exactly what happened on March 19, 1944.

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Chapter 7

The Shoa Period

On March 19, 1944, the German Wehrmacht invaded her ally Hungary. In the next 100 days, the tragedy of the Jewish population became complete. Close to half a millon Hungarian Jews were killed.

Here are some quotations from four books, written 35–45 years later, to show the enormous impact of the consequences of the tragic turn of events of March 19, 1944.

In *Every Day: Remembrance Day* by Simon Wiesenthal (New York, 1987), Bonyhád is mentioned three times in this book under three different dates:

May 12, 1944: "About 1,2000 Jews from the town of Bonyhád, Hungary, where they settled in the middle of the eighteenth century, are forced into a Ghetto."

July 1, 1944: "The Jews from Bonyhád, are deported to Pecs, an intermediate station, on the way to their next or final deportation."

July 6, 1944: "From Bonyhád, in southern Hungary, 1,200 Jews taken to Pecs on July 1, are deported to Auschwitz. Only 70 people will survive."

These few lines tell the whole tragic story of the destruction of the Jewish community of Bonyhád.

From the ever growing numbers of books, in which historians, scholars and writers try to comprehend the Holocaust, here are a few which help shed some light on the story of the Bonyhád Jews.

In *Less Than Slaves*, Benjamin B. Ferenc says, "In September 1944, Rivka was moved (from Auschwitz) to Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. A few weeks later, she became part of a shipment of 200 women, sent to a camp, which was about 90 minutes march away at Thorn (Torun). The barracks were unheated, the food was inedible and there was a long walk in the cold and darkness. As the Russian Army approached, the women were herded out in the direction of a con-

centration camp at Bromberg, where they were abandoned to their fate." (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1979)

This happened to be the story of the Bonyhád women and girls who survived the initial selection by "The Angel of Death," Mengele, in Auschwitz, who were then sent to the labor camps. Among them were my future wife, Sara and her sisters Gyongyi and Rozsi, the Kuttner girls, as well as the two daughters of Rabbi Low, Edit and Magda, from Bataszek, Marta Muller, Juci Strasser, Sari Weiss, Debora Pfeifer, Dudi Feher, Cipi and Chani Berkovits, and others.

The author of the above quoted book, Ferenc, is a famous American military officer who later served as a Judge at the Nuremberg Trial. Ferenc does not go into the terrible nightmares, the many long hours of Zel-Appel, the standing to be counted in the freezing cold, or the heavy physical work putting cables under the frozen ground at Thorn.

John Lukacs, a Hungarian born Professor of History at La Salle College in Philadelphia, and a writer of thirteen books, says in *Budapest, 1900*, that prior to March 19, 1944, "a duality in the lives of the Jewish population (in Hungary) existed. On the one hand the government passed legislation, restricting their freedom. On the other hand the lives of the majority of Jews in Hungary were still relatively safe, more so than in any other German occupied or allied state in Europe." (New York, p. 216).

To further shed light on the circumstances, Raul Hillberg in his comprehensive three volume opus, *The Destruction of the European Jews* says, "If and when a German official looked at his map in Berlin, he could see, that everywhere the 'Jewish problem' had been 'solved,' except in one relatively small area: Hungary. And when he looked at Hungary, he could see the largest concentration of Jews, who survived in the German sphere of influence. In March 1944 this changed completely. . . . we should keep in mind, that the Jews of Hungary *had* survived until the middle of 1944. Their destruction came in the last year of the war. The whole world saw Hitler's Army in retreat,going down in defeat. Hungary was the only country, in which the Nazis already knew, that the war was lost, when they started to implement the Final Solution. In the days from the middle of May, till July 7, of 1944, the Hungarian mass deportation took place and close to 500,000 Jews

were sent to Auschwitz openly—in full view of the whole world. The success of this operation in the twilight of the Axis powers, should tell us much about the Germans, who began the venture, about the Hungarians, who were drawn into it, about the Jews, who suffered it and about the outside powers, who stood by and watched it come to pass."

With the various selections above, the reader can see the atmosphere in which the Jewish tragedy unfolded in Hungary.

The historic backdrop to this infamous date is March 19, 1944. The Hungarian leader Horthy was invited to an urgent visit with Hitler under the pretext to discuss withdrawal of the Hungarian Army from Russia. When he arrived, Horthy was subjected to an ultimatum from Hitler: Hungary has to change its cabinet to a German approved one and has to put into effect the Final Solution, the immediate liquidation of the Jews. Horthy had no choice; he agreed. After twenty-four hours of detention, he returned to Hungary on March 19, 1944. By that time, the German Army took over Budapest, the radio station and the most important government buildings. Prime Minister Kallay fled to Turkey, and Hungary, the ally of Germany until now, became an occupied country. Ironically, March 19, 1944 was Adolf Eichmann's 38th birthday.

On the 15th of March, Eichmann went to Mauthausen and there he assembled all the specialists that he would use in the Final Solution of the Hungarian Jews, namely SS Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny from Slovakia, SS Hauptsturmführer Anton Alois Brunner from Paris, SS Obersturmbannführer Alois Herman Krumey from Vienna and SS Sturmbannführer Siegfried Seidl from Bergen-Belsen. They all came to Budapest and became part of Eichmann's Special Operation Unit. Their work was finished elsewhere in Europe. Now all their experience could be concentrated on the Hungarian Jews. And they, with the devoted help of their Hungarian associates, did just that. In the beginning of May, in Vienna, a conference on deportation was attended by the representatives of Eichmann, the Hungarian and Slovak railway agencies and the Hungarian police. They agreed on a schedule of four transports a day of 3,000 Jews to Auschwitz. On May 15, the operation of massive deportations began. In seven weeks, with the end of the war in sight, the Nazi death machine worked at full speed in Hungary

deporting close to a half a million Hungarian Jews, to paraphrase Elie Wiesel, "the whole world was silent."

On July 7th, Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, after being bombarded with protest from the neutral states like Sweden, Switzerland, plus the International Red Cross, and the representative of the Vatican, Angelo Rotta, as well, and threatened by the Western Powers, finally stopped the deportations. One of the last trains going to Auschwitz was the one which carried the Bonyhád Jews to their death. Now with the exception of the Jews of Budapest, all the Jews of Hungary were dead or in concentration camps.

Chapter 8

The Shoa In Bonyhád

The tragedy of the Bonyhád Jews took 100 days to accomplish. Fifteen days after the German occupation, on April 3, 1944, it was announced through the public drummer:* "All Jewish stores have to be marked with a Magen Dovid on a yellow ten by ten inch material. Above the star, the insignia: Juden Geschaft, Jewish Store. Jews are not permitted to leave their homes between 6 p.m. and 7 a.m. Jews can't leave Bonyhád. All radios, cameras, and phones have to be given to village officials. All the possessions given by Jews to non-Jews for safekeeping, should be returned." On April 5, 1944, it was announced that from this day forward, Jews were to wear a yellow star on their clothing.

All these orders foreshadowed the future. At the same time, other anti-Jewish restrictions followed. Non-Jews were forbidden to work in Jewish households. Jews could not work anymore in the press. Jewish actors were dismissed from their organizations, and Jews could not be active as lawyers either.

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* This was the way the village's administration informed the public about the latest regulations.

On April 20, 1944, fifteen local Jews, who could carry arms until now, had their licenses revoked and had to surrender their firearms to the authorities. On this list were the following Bonyhád Jews: Miklos Brick, Dezso Sajo, Dr. Miksa Lowy, Arthur Hesser, Dr. Miklos Szabo, Tivadar Berenyi, Istvan Farago, Gyula Foti, Isidor Engel, Pal Davidovits, Andor Farago, plus four Jews from neighboring villages: Oszkar Lehner (Tevel), Erno Honig (Kisvejke), Jeno Foldes (Zomba), and Tibor Ziener (Moragy).

On April 22, 1944, the gendarmerie made a *razzia*, or surprise inspection, to see if any "foreign Jews" or non-Hungarian Jews stayed in Bonyhád. According to the Sheriff's, *foszolgabiro*, report dated May 26, 1944, no foreign Jews were found.

Still in April, under #2167/1944, the sheriff respectfully notes, in the matter of checking the special Jewish badges, the yellow star, that for the month of April, his report is negative. This document was addressed to the office of the Deputy Prefect, who ordered it under #6636/1944.

On May 5, 1944, the dissolution of all Jewish organizations were ordered. Dr. Krasznay, the Sheriff, *jarasi foszolgabiro*, says in his report #2402, on July 15, 1944, "I report, that because the Jews had left for an "unknown destination," there are no more, who would be able to supply the required information. In the previous apartments of the Rabbis and teachers, there are various documents, but *they were left in such a mess* that from them, there is no way to find out anything. According to my knowledge, the local Jewish institutions did not have any real estate possessions and if they would have some money, they most probably dispersed it between the Jews." The Sheriff is reporting to his superiors, that the Jews left to the ghetto and the deportations in such a hurry, that they did not care to leave their documents in proper order!!

Going over again and again the official documents pertaining to the Holocaust in Bonyhád, the most important result of the research is a letter which came from Budapest, dated April 4, 1944, and signed by the Minister of the Interior (#6136/1944) VII Res. It says: "To the District Office of Bonyhád. Instruct the leaders of the local Jewish community to make up a list of all Jewish persons and their families, marking their respective addresses. This roster should be done immedi-

ately and given to the District Administrator. The list should be made in four copies. The first copy goes to the police, the second to the gendarme, the third to the Minister of the Interior and the fourth stays in Bonyhád. On the roster the mother's name should be shown too."

This letter arrived to Bonyhád on April 11, 1944 and was marked #03519/1944. There is a handwritten memo written on the paper acknowledged by Dezso Hirschfeld, President of the Neolog Congregation and Josef Marcus, President of the Orthodox Congregation. On April 14, 1944, the District Administrator noted in an additional memo that the above mentioned list went to the proper places. I heard from a reliable witness that as the two Jewish leaders signed this document, they both broke down and cried. Now they knew for sure; this was the beginning of the end.

On May 11, 1944, the deputy prefect or *alispan*, orders immediate separation of Jews from the population to the Ghettos. In his confidential sixteen paragraph instructions, he orders to place the Jews in cramped rooms of 4 by 4 meter spots with at least 3–4 people in each spot.

On May 12, 1944, all Jewish families received written instructions stating that in three days, they had to leave their homes and move into the Ghetto.

On July 1, 1944, the Bonyhád Jews were transferred to Pecs.

On July 6, 1944, the Bonyhád Jews were deported to Auschwitz.

To feel the panicky atmosphere between April 3 and May 12, 1944, the terror filled days when the Jews were still able to move around in Bonyhád, let me quote from Imre Solymar, an excellent local historian. "After the Germans came in, the Volksbund, a pro-Nazi German organization in Bonyhád, made life for the Jews more frightful. There were daily atrocities."

Even the head of the local gendarmerie indignantly reports: "In connection with the arrival of German troops, there was much money, jewels, clothing, radios, bikes, typewriters, cameras, taken from the Jews. The amount of all these can't be appraised. From Bonyhád, German trucks took away the Jew Samuel Ausch and the Jewess Mrs. Kohn (toward Bataszek) and they did not come back yet."

The non-Jews, related to their fellow Jewish neighbors in a number of ways.

The atmosphere was very tense. In many, better Jewish homes, German officers were quartered.

It happened on an occasion, that Dr. Jeno Kovach, who was working at Dr. Vidor's law firm as a young attorney, came over to see his former boss. Dr. Vidor couldn't function as a lawyer anymore and handed over all his legal papers to his assistant, according to the law. My friend, Dr. George Vidor recalls now in his notes, "Dr. Kovach came into our house, but did not shake hands with me, because of the presence of the German officers living under the same roof."

On the other hand, many neighbors volunteered to safe-keep Jewish valuables. Later unfortunately, a special unit of sadistic gendarmerie were sent from Endre's Department in Budapest to Bonyhád, to interrogate and torture "rich Jews" and to find their hidden "treasures." Dr. Laszlo Endre, a virulent anti-Semite, was Secretary of State and directly in charge of Jewish affairs. Many records testify about these barbaric investigations, where the victims, unable to resist these tortures, soon broke down and confessed to almost anything.

According to one of the records, Maria Megyeri, a decent non-Jewish lady, an office worker from the Sheriff's office, states, "Soon after the German occupation, my neighbor, Simon Kraus and his wife, came over to me and asked to safe-keep some of their used linens and six to seven liter goose fat, just in case, if the Germans should take all their belongings, they should not suffer. . . . I knew these people for 20–25 years; they were diligent, fine people; I felt sorry for them and decided for humanitarian reasons to help them. . ."

There were other similar cases. As a matter of fact, 138 similar episodes were recorded in Bonyhád, the most from the county of Tolna. It shows, that the inhabitants of Bonyhád did not approve of those drastic measures taken against the Jews and if they did not volunteer to hide Jews, at least they definitely sympathized with them.

Another report, #624, from the gendarmerie's office in Bonyhád, dated August 8, 1944, states, " In our investigation in the village of Bonyhád on June 14–18 into the hidden Jewish properties, we found that Dr. Miksa Lowy, born 1895, a Jewish dentist, who lived in

the Ghetto of Bonyhád and now left to unknown destination, admitted that objects, as noted in his 'criminal action,' were transferred to various individuals: a.) Dr. Laszlo Gyimothy, a deputy sheriff of Bonyhád, b.) Dr. Joszef Szentivanyi, an attorney, c.) Jozsef Erdi, tailor, d.) Arthur Hesser, Jew, a merchant. (He later forwarded it to Erdi.) All these mentioned above 'suspects,' did not defend themselves." The gendarmerie did not interrogate Dr. Gyimothy because of his high public position.

Then follows the inventory, stating for example what Dr. Gyimothy took over for safekeeping:

1.) a man's gold watch
2.) thirty-nine pieces of broken gold, for teeth
3.) a silver plate and 6 small cups
4.) a silver plate, large
5.) a silver plate, small
6.) a silver cookie jar

It was signed by the gendarme Toth, by the safe-keeper, and by two Jewish witnesses. It's interesting to note, that Erdi, a tailor, who was working on a suit for the same Dr. Lowy, on June 19, was required to return the fabric and the lining material to his customer. The value of all these represented $60–$65.

Another inventory shows that the local gendarmerie visited the same Dr. Lowy at the early date of April 20, 1944, and took assorted household materials from him, such as: 2½ meter of ladies clothing fabric, 4 men's shirts, some 3 meter bed linens and some 4 meters of silk, 2½ meter batiste, and 9½ meters of chiffon. All these were taken from the doctor's home and it's hard to imagine—why? Maybe this early warning signal alerted the dentist to what was coming and so he decided to hide his valuables with different non-Jewish friends. The case of Dr. Lowy was not the only one, just one of the many which give a better understanding in order to appreciate the atmosphere of those times in Bonyhád.

There were those terror filled daily interrogations and all kinds of beatings and tortures, as evident from the twenty-three page recollections of my good friend Dr. George Vidor. He was drafted from the Bonyhád ghetto to the forced Labor Service, *munkaszolgalat*, on May

15, 1944, and somehow found and kept those historic letters he received from his family from the ghetto.

"I go through again, who knows how many times and reread those already yellow postcards. I know it is not easy, but I try to be objective. The first was dated May 28, 1944, marked, 'Censored.' All family members wrote a few lines: 'We are fine. All is O.K.' My father writes: 'Keep your spirits.' Then next time, they wrote, 'Tomorrow, we will wash our linen, etc.' So I figured, things are not so bad. But then the tone changed and cards from June 17 and 18 said only: 'Under the circumstances, we are still O.K.' I learned much later, that this was the time when the sadistic gendarmerie, the *pribakes* from Budapest, interrogated and tortured my father to confess. . ."

One of these cards, written in the ghetto, had for me too, a meaningful note added by my cousin, a special gentle soul, Igo Susz, to Gyuri (Dr. Vidor): "Regards, and if you happen to meet somewhere Laci Blau, our love. . ." This was the last message I received from my cousin Igo—forty-eight years after his death!

"Another card," recollects my friend Vidor, " records the death of Fulop Eibenschutz, a Bonyhád jeweller, who could no longer stand the tension and impending doom, and took his own life in the ghetto."

"Then another card came, dated June 28, with a few short words only, 'My dear son, remember we love you. . .' This was the day they took all the ghetto inhabitants into the synagogue and soon to the Bonyhád stadium."

"The next card came from Pecs, an intermediary concentration camp, dated July 3, 1944: 'Our dear son. We are in Pecs. We will be taken for work, but please do not worry, because it will be fine and we will be together.' "

"It looks like, " writes my friend Vidor, "that they still did not have the slightest idea of the seriousness of the terrible tragedy which would consume them in the next few days!"

"Then came the last postcard, dated July 5, 1944, Pecs: 'We are still here, but according to some rumors, tomorrow we are moving. We will let you know, through Aunt Margit, Mrs Ritzel, about our new address. With kisses, Mom, Dad. Congratulations on your birthday, your sister,

Judith. We will celebrate my birthday soon together, Marika. Our love, Grandpa (Dr. Mozes Berde) and Grandma.' Yes, they did not forget about my birthday even under those miserable circumstances. . . ."

"Marika's birthday celebration was supposed to be on August 17. . . Then just one more postcard came," writes Dr. Vidor, " 'Moved'. . . . It came back from Bonyhád, postmarked July 5, 1944. . ."

"As a member of the Labor Service," Vidor recollects, "I then tried to send some more postcards to friends to Bonyhád. Dr. Jeno Kovach did not respond. Later he said, that he never received my card. But Tante Ritzel was extremely nice and asked if I knew anything about my family. She questioned me, if I need something. . . 'Well, things are not looking too well for all of us, but we hope for a change. My dear son, take care of yourself, watch out for your health and pray before you go to sleep, because there is someone above us, who won't forget about us. Your Aunt and Uncle.' "

"Another postcard came from Juci Nagy, another gentile lady from Bonyhád. She wrote: 'Dr. Litzman, one of the Jewish doctors of Bonyhád, sent regards from "Waldsee" and said the family is healthy and fine.' She, Juci Nagy, hopes that our families are together with them too."

Who could really imagine then, that "Waldsee" meant Auschwitz and that was the "place" where the Bonyhád Jews went. . . ?

A few weeks preceding the deportation, there were a few courageous individuals, who were not just bystanders but tried to help with their modest means, amongst them the local leaders of the Catholic, Evangelical and Reform Churches, *apat plebanos* Jozsef Bauer, Alfred Lombos and Gusztav Tomka. These three priests were unique in showing their inner feelings toward their persecuted Jewish brothers. Their behavior in the most tragic hours was exceptional as they tried to alleviate the inhuman burden of the suffering Jews.

Some non-Jewish ladies, such as Mici Kolb, Juci Nagy, Till neni, and Mrs. Tomka, did everything possible to help. Even the oppressed gypsies came to the ghetto and threw in, over the fences, freshly baked bread. Others, like Istvan Weininger, Istvan and Sandor Nagy, car mechanics, dared go to the sport stadium, where the Jews were rounded up, and brought warm food to our people, just before the deportation.

Janos Eisner, in *The History of the Bonyhád Jews* (Tel-Aviv, 1965), underlines the importance of how Dr. Gyimothy, the deputy Sheriff, who had to put into effect many of the anti-Jewish orders, did so in an almost human way. We should never forget that there were some human beings, though unfortunately not too many, who had the courage to act and tried to help in those terrible days.

In those last hours in Bonyhád, as our brothers and sisters were herded into the freight cars, they were told not to worry. These orders meant that they would be together, work together, and that everything would be only temporary, and after the war they would be allowed to come back again.

Eisner mentions another emotionally tragic scene that took place just before the boarding of the trains. Behind the segregating walls were a deeply religious Yiddishe Mame with her two adult daughters. On the other side of the wall, outside the ghetto, their sister was crying, begging forgiveness. She became, earlier, the wife of a Christian man, leaving her faith behind. Her parents mourned her as if dead and had nothing to do with her anymore, but now she came by and couldn't leave until her mother told her, "I forgive you, Chava!"

On June 28, 1944, the ghetto inhabitants were ordered to prepare small packages for themselves, containing two sets of underwear, and some food. Then Jews were moved from the ghettos to the two synagogues. Here they spent their last night in Bonyhád "sleeping" on the floor of the temples. To have an idea of how they felt, there is a postcard written by Edith Low and thrown over the fence, picked up and mailed by a passerby. "We are about to start our journey to an unknown destination. God bless you all and may He help us to be able to endure it." The postcard was addressed to a close relative in Budapest. It was stamped by the Bonyhád Post Office, on July 1, 1944.

The Bonyhád Jews were forced into the box cars; seventy or eighty humans, adults and children, were crammed into one compartment; on either side there were two benches and on the floor, a pile of carrots and cabbage. At one end, there were two buckets, one of them contained water to drink, and the other was destined for human discharge. . .

The last rays of the summer sun peeked through the small wired

windows of the wagon, as if to give some comfort for the children, whose questions, "Where are we going, Mommy?" were mostly left unanswered, because there was no simple reply, to explain, to quiet, to console, let alone to reassure, to answer those burning questions. . .

Meanwhile, the train started to move and though somewhere, on one of those small stations it later stopped for many hours during the darkness of the night, the next day it reached Pecs, on July 2, 1944, an intermediary camp, where all the neighboring Jews were concentrated. Here at the main railway station, the freight trains were unloaded, the doors opened, and our brothers directed, on foot, toward the Lakits military barracks. To here, most of the Jews of Baranya and Tolna counties were transferred. The concentration of Jews reached close to 6,000 here.

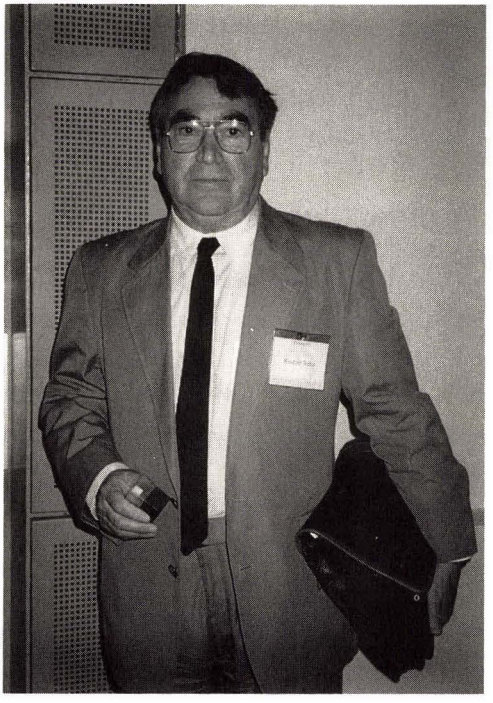
In the courtyard, the authorities set up a camp kitchen and supplied some warm soup and some water to drink and for washing up. However, their tormentors revealed their satanic purposes since there would no longer be any privacy, as the Jews had to use an open air latrine. It was another psychological tool to dehumanize the unfortunate Jews.

On July 6, the Bonyhád Jews were shoved onto the trains once again, for the last time, toward their final destination, Auschwitz. After many stops, just before the train reached the border town of Kassa, Kosice, once more the Hungarians ordered their victims to give up the last of their belongings—which of course they had gotten rid of a long time ago under their captors persuasive and repeated pressures. Now the Hungarian crew left the train and the Germans took over. . .

On July 9, a Sunday, in the early afternoon, the train arrived. Although this might have been said before, I must say it again because this is how my wife recollects it. After a terrible three day journey, without water or food, or sanitary facilities, the doors were opened, and the unbearable ordeal found them on a cold, rough, inclement, unknown location—Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Some men, in striped clothing, ordered the completely exhausted Bonyhád Jews to get out fast, fast, from their crammed quarters. . .

A band played, and a handsome German officer, Dr. Mengele, with a smile, moved his hand from left to right as he directed the selections.



Professor Rudolph Vrba—Escaped from Auschwitz in April 1944, to warn the Hungarian Jews of the impending disaster.
Photo taken by author

Families were separated and sometimes kicked by the striped clothed "kapos," and everything happened in a hurry.

People did not comprehend even then. They could not hug and say good-bye to their loved ones, never to be seen by them again. . .

One side marched toward the barracks of workers, the others went for a bath, to cleanse themselves for all eternity.

Meanwhile, in Hungary, the Minister of the Interior issued an order, 179.922/1944, regarding the Jews, who were no longer residing in the country. If somehow any of them would be able to slip back, *visszaszivarog*, the police should promptly arrest them. This order went to all police headquarters, all counties, all district sheriffs, all border patrols. In Tolna County, this order was stamped: "Arrived July 14, 1944."

Could anyone escape from Auschwitz or from the other death camps? There were double lines of electrically charged high voltage wires, and those watch towers from which guards controlled and monitored the camps, and the probability of fleeing a concentration

camp was nil. Some inmates tried to escape, but were caught and killed by their German captors.

But then the unthinkable occurred. On April 7, 1944, two Slovakian Jews, Walter Rosenberg (Rudolf Vrba) and Alfred Wetzler (Josef Lanik), managed their dramatic escape from Auschwitz. After an adventurous journey of ten days, they reached Slovakia, safely, and four days later they were telling their story at the Zilina headquarters of the Jewish Council, writes Randolph L. Braham in his book, *The Policy of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1981).

Their report, the Auschwitz Protocol, was intended to warn the Hungarian Jews of the impending disaster, but the Jewish leaders mishandled it and kept the matter "confidential" to avoid "creating panic." So we, the simple Jews of the country, did not know about it, and as Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Laureate, noted on many occasions, (the last time I heard it was at the yearly Memorial Assembly for the Six Million *Kedoshim* at New York's Javits Center on April 26, 1992, in the presence of the Vice President of the United States, senators, congressmen, and other state and city dignitaries), " 'Why did you come here—to Auschwitz?' the camp inmates asked?—and we had no answer. . ."

The Jews, 15% of the entire population of Bonyhád, had been "removed" from the village, but the work, the red tape, concerning Jewish properties, had just started. Lists were drawn up of Jewish owned houses. They noted the name of each owner, the location of his property, the number of apartments, stores if they had any, the number of rooms, and the rent collected. In this document, 133 properties are listed and it was signed by Judge H. Lob and by J. Ermenyi, District Administrator.

The first document I found, during my many months of research at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, in N.Y., concerning the Bonyhád Jews, a paper naming a trustee for my aunt, Mrs. S. Bárány, a widow, nee Terez Blau, Jewish person, because said person was moved to the ghetto and was considered unable to take care of her property. The document was dated July 16, 1944, just a week after she "arrived" at the Auschwitz crematorium. Many similar papers name

different trustees, because named Jewish persons "left for unknown destination." Many other documents were issued dealing with Jewish properties, inventories, claims for Jewish apartments, liquidating food and groceries, so it would not spoil, G-d forbid! What a tremendous workload, because of the Jews, yes again, the Jews. . . .

One of the last trains to Auschwitz was the one which carried the Jews of Bonyhád. Their train left Pecs on July 6, 1944, and Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, stopped the deportations on July 7, 1944. By then, close to a half a million Hungarian Jews had been removed from the country. Actually, with the exception of the capital city of Budapest, all the Jews had been deported. Another exception was a part of the Labor Service units who still worked in different parts of Hungary, but most of them were already on the Russian Front or in Germany.

The Allies landed in Normandy on June 6, 1944, and now the Germans were fighting on two fronts. The Russians were approaching rapidly toward Hungary. Horthy decided to get Hungary out of the war, and on October 15, 1944, in his proclamation over the airwaves of Radio Budapest, he told the nation that the war was lost and the Germans were about to be defeated. He added, that the Gestapo took care of the handling of the Jewish question in Hungary, the same way they had done in other places in Europe.

I happened to be in Budapest on that day and saw people coming out of the Jewish houses, marked with those yellow stars. These Jews tore off the yellow stars that were on their clothing and celebrated their freedom and the peace. However, it soon turned out to be a premature hope. Their happiness quickly turned sour when, a couple of hours later, the same radio station reported that the extreme right wing leader, Ferenc Szalasi, took over and formed a new, radical, Nazi, Arrow Cross (Nyilas) government. This was a tragic time for the Jews of Budapest. Terror, death marches on foot toward Germany, and senseless daily killings of thousands of Jews by murderous Arrow Cross gangs followed.

Meanwhile, in November, the Russian Red Army broke through the Danube and approached Bonyhád. The last military units of the German Wehrmacht and their Hungarian Nazi followers were about to leave Bonyhád on November 27–28. The Germans left and the Rus-

sians did not reach Bonyhád as yet, and as a result, a military vacuum was created. From the south came a Hungarian unit of some 150 Jewish Labor Servicemen, forced by their Hungarian officers, to flee before the approaching Russian troops.

Sandor Rozsa, the high school principal, an open-minded, liberal man, and Gustav Tomka, a teacher in the local high school, a reform clergyman, were instrumental in hiding the overworked and exhausted Jewish men in the garret of the school, while their Hungarian masters fled. On November 30, 1944, the Russian Army marched into Bonyhád.

Chapter 9

The Destruction of the Bonyhád Jews: Documentation

Examination of related documents, regular and confidential official papers, make it possible, 50 years later, to have an inside view of the dark period of the persecution of the Jews of Bonyhád.

Earlier in this book, we have seen how the anti-Jewish laws curtailed the rights of the Hungarian Jewry. With the presentation of certain documents, the reader will be able to obtain valuable background information, which of course in those days were not known to the Bonyhád Jews. These were the bare facts as the system tightened its grip on the victims.

A confidential paper (#54/1941) describes the search of the home of Rudolf Gombo, delicatessen owner and fruit dealer. The report said: "R. Gombo has a license for retail and wholesale business. He came to Bonyhád from Mako in 1936, married a local girl, has no criminal record." Gombo was accused of economic crimes and part of his wares were confiscated.

The same document reports another search at the house of Henrik

Rosenfeld, who "comes from an old Bonyhád family, has no previous criminal record." The paper, signed by the district administrator and by the judge, states, "The weekly markets are extremely slow, not because the Jews are paying above the price-controlled amounts, but because the producers won't sell their products at a price controlled level. As we see it, the Jews are extremely careful, at least on the open market, not to pay more than is allowed, because they know that they, as buyers, could face the same penalties as the sellers. In the last six months, there had been many searches at the homes of the Bonyhád Jews, and a lot of products and merchandise were confiscated. In most cases, however, these goods had to be returned on the order of higher-ups, because they were not classified as illegal. It was extremely annoying for the district office, that we had to return all those confiscated goods." (Bonyhád, November 22, 1941.)

Another Confidential Document marked #26/1942 contains a list of "Unreliable Persons." In this roster, there are forty-three persons, among them twenty-eight Jews: one politically and morally unreliable, 17 morally O.K. but lacking loyalty, and ten morally O.K. but politically untrustworthy; three of those accused with left wing connections.

The same document accuses the following people with Zionist ideology: Sandor Herman (from 1908), Josef Preis (1881), Rudolf Gombo (1908), Henrik Rosenfeld (1892), Henrik Konigsbaum (1904), Hugo Straus (1894), Salamon Straus (1897), Jacob Singer (1892), Adolf Abraham Singer (1881).

Another earlier document called "Confidential 1941," names two Zionist Jews, Jacob Krautwirth (1909), born in Bonyhád, *sopher* (scribe), and Josef Schwartz (1917), cantor.

There is a document labelled STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL! URGENT! from the Minister of the Interior, #2234/1943. Subject: The Jews' obligation to report for Labor Service and to find Jewish draft evaders. This document states, "As the Jewish males, ages 18–48, are required by the Proclamation of the Ministry of Defense to report for Auxiliary Public Service and because the Jews *decided themselves* whether they were supposed to report or not, many will be found who did not report. Therefore, I command all police authorities to take all necessary steps which will facilitate these orders."

Furthermore, the document dated February 19, 1943, Budapest, orders the district administrator to list all the names of those who did not report to the proper authorities, *nepmozgalmi nyilvantarto.* The document should list names, date of birth, mother's name, occupation, statehood, address, remarks.

In the follow-up, there is a lengthy report from the Bonyhád administration, Confidential #17/1943, Bonyhád and Confidential #38/1943, sheriff. This extensive roll of names contains 123 persons. The roster lists Jews born between 1/1/1894–12/31/1924, who did not report to the proper administrator for registration. Out of the following list of 123 names, 45 survived and 78 perished.

Confidential List of Jews

No.	Name	Born	Mother's Name	Occupation	Address	Remarks
1	BERKOVITS, Geza	1924	Spielman, Regina	student	Vorosmarty 16	
2	BERKOVITS, Sandor	1921	Heller, Sarolta	laborer	Vorosmarty 16	
3	BRICK, Erno	1921	Markus, Paula	laborer	St.Imre hg.6	Mohacs 4/2
4	GOLDRING, Erno	1921	Berger, Hanna	apprentice	Iskola ter 5	Mohacs 4/2
5	KUN, Marcel	1922	Ausch, Berta	talmudist	Perczel M. 41	
6	LAUBERMAN, Geza	1923	Fried, Sarolta	assistant	Rakoczi 31	
7	ROSENBERG, Bernat	1924	Perlmutter, Jolan	student	Perczel M. 41	
8	RUTTNER, Beno	1922	Weiss, Hani	student	Forberger 8	
9	SAUBER, Salamon	1921	Markus, Gizella	student	Horthy M. 16	Mohacs 4/2
10	SONNENSCHEIN, Erno	1921	Braun, Regina	dental tec.	Horthy M.	5 Bp.
11	SCHON, Sandor	1921	Fischer, Janka	assistant	Gyar u. 17	Mohacs 4/2
12	SCHWARTZ, Samuel	1924	Ungar, Magdolna	student	Perczel M. 40	
13	SCHWARTZ, Bernat	1923	Ungar, Magdolna	student	Perczel M. 40	
14	ALLWEIS, Noer	1913	Krautwirth, Fani	laborer	Perczel M. 39	Pecs
15	BRAUN, Pal	1914	Friedman, Ester	rel.teacher	Rakoczi 12	118/95
16	KALISCH, Samu	1909	Kalisch, Berta	merchant	Ignac 13	104/4 Bp.
17	KATZ, Simon	1922	Tiss, Helga	helper	Iskola ter. 5	
18	KOHN, Matyas	1911	Spiegel, Ester	helper	Rakoczi u. 3	Pecs 104/8
19	KRAUTWIRTH, Jakab	1909	Krautwirth, Fani	sofer	Rakoczi u. 26	
20	MARKUS, Ignac	1914	Sauber, Sarolta	helper	Vorosmarty 26	104/4Bp.
21	PARTOS, Geza	1904		indep.	Perczel, M. 26	II5/107
22	ULLMAN, Kalman	1909	Herman, Rebeka		Tisza u. 3	
23	SOMOGYI, Josef	1914	Reinstein, Ilona	gardner	Istvan major	lab.serv.
24	DAVIDOVITS, Ferenc	1906	Eibenschutz, Regina	optician	Rakoczi u. 5	210/69
25	SINGER, Andor	1909	Schlesinger, Hermin	mechanic	Vorosmarty 24	111/69
26	BENEDIKT, Geza	1906	Bernstein, Johanna	cutter	Horthy ter 8	111/50
27	FEIN, Pal	1911	Rauchman, Regina	trucker	Rakoczi u. 18	Pecs
28	SINGER, Fulop	1905	Bárány, Eugenia	trucker	Gyar u. 5/a	111/69

Confidential List of Jews

No.	Name	Born	Mother's Name	Occupation	Address	Remarks
29	ALLWEIS, Salamon	1915	Krautwirth, Fani	talmudist	Perczel u. 39	220/97
30	BARUCH, Bela	1913	Deutsch, Ester	antiques	Rakoczi u. 31	220/98
31	BARUCH, Lipot	1912	Deutsch, Ester	assistant	Marhauser 18	220/98
32	BAUMGARTEN, Zoltan	1903	Vince, Erzsebet	tailor	Marhauser 5	111/69
33	BARANY, Erno	1911	Blau, Rozsi	merchant	Marhauser 3	104/4 Bp.
34	BLUMENSTOCK, Herman	1909	Jakobovitz, Karolin	laborer	Rakoczi u.31	111/50 Bp.
35	BLUMENSTOCK, Josef	1910	Jakobovitz, Karolin	laborer	Rakoczi u.31	104/470 Bp.
36	BRAUN, Adolf	1909	Friedman, Ester	laborer	Rakoczi 12	Mohacs
37	BRAUNSTEIN, Herman	1918	Godinger, Roza	talmudist	Horthy t.8	Marcali
38	BREUER, Josef	1913	Hollander, Roza	merchant	Zrinyi u. 1	220/98
39	DAVIDOVITS, Jeno	1904	Obenstein, Eva	salesman	Tisza u. 29	111/51
40	DEUTSCH, Josef	1916	Kohn, Sarolta	salesman	Perczel 30	Mohacs IV.
41	DEUTSCH, Miklos	1912	Kohn, Sarolta	salesman	Perczel 30	219/75
42	DONATH, Salamon	1909	Kohn, Maria	salesman	Horthy t. 17	111/50 B.
43	EISNER, Janos	1907	Roth, Olga	insur. agt.	St. Imre 1	111/50 B.
44	FELDMAN, Jakab	1915	Markus, Veronika	salesman	Tisza u. 1	
45	FELDMAN, Lajos	1907	Markus, Veronika	merchant	Tisza u. 1	111/69
46	FISCHER, Sandor	1914	Kohn, Zseni	salesman	Marhauser 48	220/96
47	FLEISCHEL, Josef	1909	Kohn, Szeren	bookkeeper	Zrinyi u. 18	104/4 Bp.
48	FREUND, Sandor	1905	Kohn, Sarolta	oil mill.	Rakoczi 10	111/69
49	FROHLICH, Andor	1912	Polatsek, Rene	talmudist	Forberger 10	233/80
50	FROHLICH, Gyula	1914	Polatsek, Rene	salesman	Forberger 10	233/80
51	FROHLICH, Isac	1903	Konigstein, Borbala	merchant	Forberger 7	111/69
52	FUCHS, Jeno	1910	Guttman, Cecilia	merchant	Rakoczi 2	Bp. post #70
53	GALANDAUER, Herman	1899	Steiner, Cecilia	laborer	Rakoczi 17	
54	GALANDAUER, Mor	1904	Steiner, Cecilia	agent	Tisza u. 2	111/69
55	GOLDBERGER, Dezso	1911	Schlesinger, Gizella	assistant	Rakoczi 12	Mohacs
56	GOLDMAN, Josef	1915	Weiss, Janka	blue dyer	Gyar u. 11	220/97
57	GOLDRING, Abraham	1913	Berger, Hanna	laborer	Iskola t. 5	220/90
58	GONDA, Miklos	1909	Moskovits, Vilma	bank clerk	Horthy t. 2	drafted
59	GUTTMAN, Karoly	1910	Brick, Serafin	merchant	Mathauser 1	exempt
60	HELLER, Ede	1912	Hendler, Roza	laborer	Vorosmarthy 18	222/97
61	HELLER, Henrik	1914	Muller, Regina	assistant	Rakoczi 16	220/97
62	HERMAN, Aladar	1915	Paskes, Cecilia	merchant	Rakoczi 26	220/97
63	HERMAN, Lazar	1917	Tauber, Malvin	assistant	Rakoczi 12	1043 Bp.
64	HERSCH, Sandor	1916	Blum, Ester	assistant	Rakoczi 52	220/97
65	HIRSCHFELD, Josef	1910	Hahn, Roza	trav.sales	St. Imre 2	104/8 Pecs
66	HOFFMAN, Lajos	1910	Gros, Edit	cabinet maker	Jozsef 14	
67	KAFF, Lipot	1910	Pfeifer, Frida	assistant	Zrinyi u. 1	104/1 Palota
68	KOHN, Markus	1901	Friedman, Julia	laborer	Rakoczi 26	111/69
69	KOHN, Jeno	1909	Danziger, Laura	laborer	Vorosmarthy 4	115/107
70	KOHN, Miksa	1910	Spiegel, Ester	manager	Rakoczi u. 3	104/4 Bp.
71	KONIGSBAUM, Andor	1904	Kaiser, Etel	assistant	Rakoczi u. 17	111/50 B.
72	KONIGSTEIN, Samu	1901	Frohlich, Jozsa	peddler	Forberger 8	111/69

Confidential List of Jews

No.	Name	Born	Mother's Name	Occupation	Address	Remarks
73	KRAUS, Gyula	1901	Kraus, Katalin	clerk	Szechenyi 6	110/50 B.
74	KRITZLER, Armin	1915	Gros, Sarolta	assistant	Horthy t. 8	220/96
75	LEITMAN, Erno	1909	Kohn, Paula	laborer	Horthy t. 9	104/4 Bp.
76	LOWY, Pal	1914	Muller, Rozalia	merchant	Rakoczi u. 4	220/98
77	LOBL, Andras	1907	Kramer, Hermin	furnit maker	Jozsef u. 14	111/50 B.
78	MARKUS, Lajos	1906	Rosenberg, Rozalia	merchant	Horthy ter. 17	111/69
79	MULLER, Pal	1913	Steiner, Berta	corn trader	Horthy ter. 10	104/9
80	PFEIFER, Armin	1907	Weis, Roza	pict. framer	Jozsef u.14	115/107
81	PFEIFER, Lipot	1912	Weis, Roza	pict. framer	Rakoczi u. 24	220/96
82	POLLAK, Ignac	1901	Klein, Leontin	produce sal.	Perczel u. 2	111/50 B.
83	PRESSBURGER, Andor	1909	Berger, Gizella	produce sal.	Rakoczi u. 12	111/69
84	REDENSTEIN, David	1913	Lax, Klara	tailor	Rakoczi u. 31	104/1
85	ROSENFELD, Beno	1914	Bein, Malvin	furrier	Horthy ter. 5	220/98
86	ROSENFELD, Sandor	1912	Lederer, Netti	merchant	Vorosmarty 6	220/96
87	ROTHBERGER, Lajos	1913	Spitzer, Fani	salesman	Rakoczi u.52	
88	ROTHMULLER, Zsigmond	1901	Herman, Betti	salesman	Rakoczi u. 40	111/69
89	SALAMON, Gyula	1901	Pollak, Malvin	salesman	Tisza u. 29	111/69
90	SALAMON, Jeno	1911	Pollak, Malvin	salesman	Tisza u. 12	111/69
91	SINGER, Imre Dr.	1913	Shlesinger, Hem.	lawyer	Vorosmarty 2	111/50 B.
92	STEIN, Gaspar	1909	Freund, Janka	cantor	Horthy ter. 9	
93	STERN, Artur	1911	Rosenfeld, Ida	salesman	Vorosmarty 2	111/50 B.
94	STERN, Mozes	1914	Pollak, Terez	talmudist	Zombor u. 2	111/50B
95	STERN, Sandor	1912	Tiegerman, Giz.	salesman	Rakoczi u. 2	104/9
96	SUGAR, Lajos	1901	Kraus, Sidonia	clerk	Rakoczi u. 10	111/69
97	SCHON, Jakab	1902	Schon, Flora	laborer	Szechenyi 12	111/69
98	SCHON, Mozes	1910	Schon, Fani	glaser	Rakoczi u. 9	Pecs 4
99	SCHON, Markus	1914	Schon, Fani	laborer	Rakoczi u. 9	220/97
100	SCHWARTZ, Lajos	1905	Schwartz, Regina	salesman	Winkler u. 16	111/69
101	ULMAN, Lazar	1918	Herman, Rebeka	fam.h.	Tisza u. 3	292/33
102	ULMAN, Mozes	1913	Herman, Rebeka	fam.h.	Tisza u. 3	Pecs 4
103	ULMAN, Sandor	1914	Herman, Rebeka	fam.h.	Tisza u. 3	220/97
104	WEBER, Andor	1907	Laufer, Janka	merchant	Tisza u. 5	Reported
105	WEISS, Andor	1918	Gellisch, Sarolta	printer	Horthy ter.z1	220/96
106	WEISS, Fulop	1913	Jakobovits, Terez	laborer	Rakoczi u. 26	220/96
107	WEISS, Markus	1909	Jakobovits, Terez	laborer	Rakoczi u. 26	104/1
108	WEISS, Salamon	1911	Gellisch, Sarolta	printer	Horthy ter. 1	111/96
109	ZEIF, Vilmos	1914	Engelman, Berta	merchant	Forberger 1	220/97
110	BARUCH, Salamon	1919	Deutsch, Ester	laborer	Rakoczi u. 31	292/35
111	BARANY, Laszlo	1918	Blau, Rozsi	merchant	Marhauser 3	292/35
112	BLUMENSTOCK, Gyula	1920	Jakobovits, Lina	merchant	Rakoczi u. 31	292/34
113	DEUTSCH, Zoltan	1918	Kohn, Sarolta	fam.h.	Perczel u. 30	220/97
114	DICK, Miklos	1917	Goldman, Adel	laborer	Rakoczi u. 18	220/97
115	FROHLICH, Andor	1920	Katz, Aranka	merchant	Rakoczi u. 31	292/34
116	FROHLICH, Sandor	1919	Frohlich, Frida	merchant	Forberger 10	292/35

Confidential List of Jews

No.	Name	Born	Mother's Name	Occupation	Address	Remarks
117	GRUNHUT, Laszlo	1920	Grunhut, Dora	merchant	Zombor u.	292/34
118	GRUNBAUM Ignac	1919	Schlesinger, Bella	fam.h.	Rakoczi u. 12	292/35
119	HELLER, Sandor	1919	Hendler, Roza	laborer	Vorosmarty 13	Szeged
120	KRITZLER, Henrik	1917	Gross, Sarolta	fam.h.	Horthy ter 8	292/35
121	POLLAK, Mor	1917	Klein, Regina	talmudist	Perczel u. 37	
122	SCHON, Ignac	1919	Schon, Fani	talmudist	Rakoczi u. 9	292/35
123	SCHON, Pal	1920	Fischer, Janka	gardner	Gyar u. 17	Szeged 5/1

Interestingly enough, on the actual report, it is clear that all of these people did appear and the accusation of draft evasion, consequently, is a false one. The "Remarks" column was 95% filled with the proper Labor Service unit number, where the concerned party was drafted or marked with the latest military postal number.

Another document, #03978/1944, contains an extensive list of those Bonyhád tradesmen whose stores were taken over by the authorities, *zar ala helyezes.*

No.	Name	Address	Occupation/Remarks
1.	Davidovits, Josef	Rakoczi 6	general store, wholesale
2.	Davidovits, Pal	Rakoczi 6	general store, wholesale
3.	Eibnschutz, Fulop	Rakoczi 5	watch & jewelry
4.	Eisner, Janos	St. Imre hg.1	insurance company
5.	Farago, Denesne, widow	Vorosmarty 22	general store
6.	Gros, Dezso	Perczel M. 15	textile
7.	Gros, Samu	Ignac 4	textile
8.	Hesser, Jenone, widow	Horthy 3	leather goods
9.	Hesser, Arthur	Rakoczi 24	textile
10.	Hirschfeld, Bela	St. Imre hg. 1	department store
11.	Hirschfeld, Dezso	St. Imre hg. 1	department store
12.	Hirschfeld, Miksa	Rakoczi 10	haberdashery, textile
13.	Konigsbaum, Andor	Rakoczi 17	general store
14.	Kraus, Samuel	Ignac 7	textile
15.	Kuhn, Ferenc	Horthy 5	haberdashery
16.	Lowy, Erno	Horthy 8	textile
17.	Kraus, Sandor	St. Imre 8	textile

No.	Name	Address	Occupation/Remarks
18.	Muller, Ferenc	Marhauser 10	general store
19.	Pollak, Gizella	Rakoczi 76	textile
20.	Ronai, Istvan	Kossuth 19	haberdashery
21.	Schwartz, Imre	Marhauser 5	general store
22.	Singer, Vilmos	Szechenyi 17	general store
23.	Weber, Andor	Tisza I. 5	corn trader
24.	Ausch, Josef	Rakoczi 4	glass & porcelain
25.	Ausch, Samuel	Perczel M. 41	lumberyard
26.	Bárány, Simonne	Marhauser 3	department store
27.	Braun, Emil	Iskola ter. 1	corn trader
28.	Engelman, Leo	Horthy 4	glass & porcelain
29.	Engelman, Sandor	Horthy 4	glass & porcelain
30.	Fein, Samune, widow	Rakoczi 19	haberdashery
31.	Flesch, Herman	Forberger 3	haberdashery
32.	Frohlich, Jakab	Nadosi 11	corn trader
33.	Fuchs, Dezso	Rakoczi 1	corn trader
34.	Fuchs, Sandorne	Rakoczi 2	corn trader
35.	Gombo, Rudolf	Rakoczi 2	fruit & delicatessen
36.	Guttman, Marcel	Vorosmarty 5	raw produce
37.	Heller, Mor	Rakoczi 16	haberdashery
38.	Herman, Joachim	Rakoczi 14	grocery
39.	Herman, Sandor	Rakoczi 10	firewood
40.	Kaff, Abraham	Zrinyi 1	egg & poultry
41.	Kaufman, Bela	Rakoczi 16	textile
42.	Klein, Pal	St. Imre 4	textile
43.	Kohn, Markus	Rakoczi 10	secondhand dealer
44.	Kohn, M. Josef	Vorosmarty 4	general store
45.	Kohn, Samu	Nadosi 9	textile
46.	Kraus, J. Moses	Vorosmarty 6	raw produce
47.	Kraus, Salamonne	Perczel 65	lumberyard
48.	Kraus, Simon	Perczel 67	lumberyard & brickwork
49.	Kritzler, David	Vorosmarty 11	wine merchant
50.	Mayer, Lajos	Rakoczi 26	textile
51.	Markus, Josef	Vorosmarty 23	corn trader
52.	Muller, Bela	Horthy 12	corn trader
53.	Muller, Josef	Horthy 13	corn trader
54.	Polak, Gyula	Perczel 37	produce
55.	Polak, Josefin	Rakoczi 15	haberdashery

No.	Name	Address	Occupation/Remarks
56.	Rosenfeld, Hen.	Vorosmar 10	textile
57.	Salamon, Henrik	Rakoczi 10	textile
58.	Sauber, Henrik	Vorosmarty 17	food provisions
59.	Sik, Sandor	St. Imre 6	general store
60.	Schon, Josef	Rakoczi 9	general store
61.	Schonberger, Josef	Rakoczi 9	haberdashery
62.	Schwartz, Abraham	Rakoczi 9	corn trader
63.	Schwartz, Hermanne	Perczel 40	corn trader
64.	Schwartz, Jakab	Perczel 2	corn trader
65.	Schwartz, Karoly	Perczel 40	corn trader
66.	Schwartz, Moshe	Szechenyi 7	corn trader
67.	Singer, Sandor	Rakoczi 13	grocer
68.	Stern, Lipotne	Vorosmarty 2	general store owner
69.	Straus, David	Horthy 13	leather goods
70.	Straus, Hugo	Horthy 12	leather goods
71.	Straus, Salamon	Horthy 7	leather goods
72.	Ullman, Lipotne	Tisza 3	food provisions
73.	Weis, Jakabne, widow	Horthy 1	stationery
74.	Weis, Josef	Tisza 12	general store owner
75.	Weis, Lipotne	Rakoczi 10	general store owner
76.	Zeif, Geza	Deak F. 11	haberdashery
77.	Zeif, Mano	Rakoczi 1	textile

Bonyhád, 1944
District Administrator Judge

The document, #8569/1944, dated September 7, 1944, Bonyhád, addressed to the sheriff, lists 7 commercial establishments which would be needed to reopen to service the needs of the local population: Davidovits Brothers, Hirschfeld Brothers, Bárány Simonne, Engelman Leo & Sandor, Ausch Samuel, Kraus Salamonne, widow and Kohn Brothers.

Another list of the rest of the Jewish owned businesses was signed by the district administrator and the judge of Bonyhád.

An extremely important proclamation in the local newspaper, Tolnamegyei Ujsag, *Tolna County News*, on September 30, 1944,

names 67 different types of businesses which had previously been owned by Jews and which now would have all their merchandise sold by a committee appointed by the higher authorities. All those parties interested in buying the above listed stores have to announce it in the Bonyhád Tax Office no later than October 5, 1944. What happened after this is hard to tell. No documentation could be found about it.

Regarding the local newspaper, it's interesting to note two previous articles concerning the ghettoization of the county's 5,000 Jews which appeared in the May 10, 1944 issue of the same newspaper. Jews who wore the yellow stars had to be enclosed in segregated parts of their localities, in ghettos, to ensure that they would not have any opportunity to have any contact with non-Jews.

On June 3, 1944, the same newspaper reports that the Jews from Szekszard were moved to five different locales. 120 were transported to the Bonyhád Ghetto because Szekszard was the rare exception where the mayor, Mr. Vencel, had the courage to flatly refuse the construction of a ghetto in his town.

From 1941, one document contains an extremely interesting observation, stating, "Here all the Jews have a deep sympathy toward the English and all of them are against the Germans." On the subject of request for assistance for families where the breadwinner was drafted to Labor Service units, there's document #276/1943 where among the applicants, the names of Sandor Goldring, Mihaly Fischer, Andor Weber, Dezso Goldberger, Nathan Ullman, Jeno Oberlander, Lajos Zeif and Erno Lowy are named. The request was flatly refused by the authorities. It was well known, that among the non-Jews, those who needed financial assistance, received it.

Another document, #277, 04917/1944, handles a request from Juhe-Manor to alleviate the acute shortage of manpower. The order assigns 36 persons residing in the ghetto to agricultural related labor. This list was handed over to Henrik Rosenfeld and Karoly Guttman, members of the Ghetto Council. On this list are the following names:

1. Sauber, Bella 1913
2. Sauber, Szeren 1914
3. Sauber, Friderika 1918
4. Sauber, Ibolya 1919
5. Braun, Franciska 1920
6. Feldman, Melinda 1913
7. Leichner, Miksa 1900
8. Leichner, Miksane 1904
9. Leichner, Livia 1925
10. Leichner, Tibor 1926
11. Berkovits, Edit 1924
12. Pollak Sari 1911
13. Lobl, Andorne 1908
14. Lobl Erika 1936
15. Schwartz, Jozsef 1925
16. Herman, Berta 1923
17. Engel, Ferenc 1900
18. Engel, Ferencne 1909
19. Engel, Alice 1932
20. Brick, Jeno 1894
21. Brick, Jenone 1893
22. Brick, Sandor 1932
23. Engelman, Livia 1923
24. Kritzler, Roza 1919
25. Weisz, Ida 1921
26. Banda, Frida 1925
27. Pollak, Olga 1922
28. Banda, Hilda 1923
29. Kaff, Lea 1917
30. Kaff, Julia 1925
31. Braun, Franciska 1920
32. Kaff, Flora 1916
33. Ausch, Piroska 1915
34. Pollak, Lenke 1926
35. Hesser, Arthur 1897
36. Pfeifer, Dora 1911

For similar type of agricultural work, a group of young Bonyhád women were sent to Kapolnas-Manor.

In another document, #277 04784/1944, the local paramilitary commander requests 22 teenage boys from the ghetto for a certain assignment. The boys' service note bears the signature of Dezso Sajo, ghetto commander. The roster of names is as follows:

1. Ronai Karoly
2. Leichner Tibor
3. Fried Ivan
4. Dusenszky Peter
5. Ronai Tamas
6. Schwartz Marton
7. Engelman Imre
8. Brick Nandor
9. Braun Nandor
10. Blum Jeno
11. Herman Miklos
12. Schwartz Beno
13. Denes Gyorgy
14. Frohlich Salamon
15. Herman Jakab
16. Lebovits Izidor
17. Lieberman Sandor
18. Malek Mozes
19. Schwartz Jozsef
20. Berkovits Erno
21. Schwartz Bela
22. Frohlich Sandor

Another document, #8082/1944 from the township of Bonyhád, dated 8/29/44, lists previously owned Jewish houses, stores and offices, which were now empty. The enclosed list contains 133 entries.

No.	Name	Address	Apts.	Stores	Offices	Rent
1.	Orth., Izr.	Forberger L+2	2	–	6	–
2.	Frohlich, Samu	Forberger 10/a	2	–	4	100
3.	Fischer, Mihaly	Gyar 17	2	–	7	100
4.	Blum, Hermann	Rakoczi 52	2	–	8	100
5.	Leichner, Miksa	Tisza 54	2	–	5	100
6.	Reich, Lipot orok.	Vorosmarty 20	2	–	5	100
7.	Susz, Igo	Zrinyi 4	2	–	6	–
8.	o.Deutsch, Lajosne	Zrinyi 8	2	–	4	–
9.	Ausch, Samuel	Zrinyi 20	1	–	1	50
10.	Krausz, Erno	Kalvaria hegy	2	–	4	100
11.	Kritzler, Sara	Eibach 1	3	3	6	400
12.	Zeif, Antal	Forberger 1	6	–	8	534
13.	Frohlich, Janos	Forberger 3	4	–	10	400
14.	Frohlich, Samu	Forberger 5	2	1	6	350
15.	Frohlich, Simon	Forberger 7	3	1	9	520
16.	Orth. Izr. hit.	Forberger 9	2	–	4	160
17.	Schon Ignac orok.	Forberger 6	5	–	6	500
18.	Frohlich, Morne	Forberger 8	3	2	6	420
19.	Frohlich, Gyula	Forberger 10b	4	3	8	500
20.	Lowenbein, Bro.	Forberger 12	3	–	8	480
21.	Singer, Fulopne	Gyar 7b	3	–	6	350
22.	Rosenfeld, Henrik	Gyar 11	2	2	6	240
23.	Zeif, Bro.	Gyar 13	2	3	6	300
24.	Honig, Albert	Horthy 2	15	1	15	2700
25.	o.Erdos, Zigmondne	Horthy 3	11	21	10	7285
26.	Engelman, Leo & Sandor	Horthy 4	8	6	10	4470
27.	Krausz, Simon	Horthy 5	10	3	16	2690
28.	Hesser, Jenone, widow	Horthy 6	5	3	7	1600
29.	Strausz, Hugo	Horthy 12	4	8	17	3630
30.	Strausz, David	Horthy 13	3	3	7	725
31.	Ausch, Samuel	Iglo 1	6	2	2	480
32.	Rosenbaum, Simon	Ignac 5	7	–	11	820
33.	Krausz, Samu	Ignac 7	4	–	12	660
34.	Dr. Deutsch, Odonne	Ignac 13	5	–	8	640
35.	Krausz, Lajos	Ignac 23	12	–	17	1580
36.	Hirschfeld, Bela, Dezso	St. Imre 2	11	7	13	3240
37.	Engelman, Adolf orok.	St. Imre 4	9	5	11	4622
38.	Freund, Sandor	St. Imre 6	14	3	27	3946
39.	Krausz, Sandor	St. Imre 8	5	2	8	1300

No.	Name	Address	Apts.	Stores	Offices	Rent
40.	Reiner, Lajosne	Iskola ter 1	4	–	6	700
41.	Kohn, J. Mozes orok.	Iskola ter 2	1	–	1	60
42.	Stark, Mor	Iskola ter 2	3	–	7	260
43.	Neolog Izr. hit.	Iskola ter 4	4	–	9	360
44.	Orth. Izr. hit.	Iskola ter 5	3	–	5	100
45.	Galandauer, Mano	Iskola ter 6	3	–	5	406
46.	Neolog Izr. hit.	Iskola ter 8	2	–	4	162
47.	Krausz, Simon	Jokai	3	–	6	800
48.	Singer, David	Jozsef 1a	2	1	6	450
49.	Dr. David, Leo	Jozsef 5	8	1	13	1140
50.	Schwartz, Samune	Jozsef 13	4	–	5	600
51.	Krausz, Lajos	Jozsef 23	15	–	21	2469
52.	Konigstein, Imre	Jozsef 10	5	–	9	750
53.	Krausz, Simon	Jozsef 14	9	1	13	1340
54.	o.Schwartz, Hermanne	Jozsef 20	5	–	11	700
55.	Leichner, Bro.	Kassa 2	7	–	9	760
56.	Guttman, Karoly & Jeno	Marhauser 1	6	1	9	900
57.	o.Bárány, Simonne	Marhauser 3	5	–	9	500
58.	Schwarcz, Imre	Marhauser 5	2	2	8	550
59.	Baumgarten, Zoltanne	Marhauser 7	2	1	6	300
60.	Rosenthal, Morno	Marhauser 35	6	–	16	1066
61.	Krausz, Sandor	Marhauser 48	7	–	14	948
62.	Sajo, Dezso	Nadosi 1	4	1	6	1100
63.	Kohn, Samune	Nadosi 9	5	–	6	500
64.	Frohlich, Jakab	Nadosi 11	4	–	7	400
65.	Dr. Litzman, Lajosne	Nadosi 2	5	3	6	1000
66.	Kelemen, Mihaly	Nadosi 6	5	1	7	800
67.	Kelemen, Mihaly	Perczel D. 9	4	–	7	660
68.	Engel, Ferenc	Perczel M. 1	3	3	6	800
69.	o.Hirschmann, Ferencne	Perczel M. 15	8	–	9	1050
70.	Berde, Dr. Mozes	Perczel M. 17	8	–	7	1137
71.	Fleisman, Aurel & M	Perczel M. 27	7	–	8	812
72.	Fleisman, Aurel	Perczel M. 31	6	–	7	1000
73.	Pollak, Gy. & Glattstein	Perczel M. 35	5	1	5	706
74.	Pollak, Gy. & Glattstein	Perczel M. 37	5	–	5	406
75.	Eisner, Sandorne	Perczel M. 39	4	–	7	530
76.	Ausch, Samuel	Perczel M. 41	11	3	12	1720
77.	Eisenberg, Bernat	Perczel M. 49	7	1	8	1100
78.	Krausz, Salamonne	Perczel M. 61	3	3	8	609
79.	Krausz, Simon	Perczel M. 63	5	–	8	700
80.	Kaiser, & Koth	Perczel M. 2	13	4	14	2140
81.	Schlesinger, Erno	Perczel M. 10	5	–	9	800
82.	Dr. Szabo, Viktorne	Perczel M. 20	9	1	11	1190
83.	Krausz, Jakab & J.	Perczel M. 22	8	–	12	800

No.	Name	Address	Apts.	Stores	Offices	Rent
84.	o.Deutsch, Adolfne	Perczel M. 30	3	1	5	806
85.	Kaiser, & Koth	Perczel M. 40	9	2	17	1350
86.	Bárány, Erno	Perczel M. 58	5	–	7	400
87.	Krausz, Salamonne	Perczel M. 74–76	12	–	3	410
88.	Zeif, Manone	Rakoczi F. 1	3	1	4	700
89.	Sonberger, Jozsefne	Rakoczi F. 1	2	1	4	500
90.	Fuchs, Dezsone	Rakoczi F. 1	2	2	4	800
91.	Singer, Fulopne	Rakoczi F. 1	5	–	9	480
92.	Kohn, J. Mozes orok.	Rakoczi F. 3	7	4	19	790
93.	Eibenschutz, Jakab	Rakoczi F. 5	7	3	10	1290
94.	Schwartz, Karolyne & Tiszai	Rakoczi F. 13	7	3	11	960
95.	Konigsbaum, Andor	Rakoczi F. 17	8	1	12	1070
96.	Blum, Sandor	Rakoczi F. 19	7	–	10	800
97.	Freund, Sandor & Kohn	Rakoczi F. 23	10	2	9	1420
98.	Kelemen, Mihaly	Rakoczi F. 27	4	–	6	500
99.	Koralek, Henrik	Rakoczi F. 127	2	2	10	680
100.	Ausch, Jozsef	Rakoczi F. 4	2	2	5	940
101.	Preisz, Mor	Rakoczi F. 4	4	–	6	600
102.	Davidovic, Jakab orok.	Rakoczi F. 6	6	6	7	2100
103.	Engelman, Morne & Brick	Rakoczi F. 10	31	2	53	5930
104.	Orth. Izr. hit.	Rakoczi F. 12	6	3	11	520
105.	Herman, Joachimne orok.	Rakoczi F. 14	4	3	5	600
106.	o.Fein, Samune	Rakoczi F. 18	7	–	15	1033
107.	Hesser, M. & Sidonia	Rakoczi F. 24	9	1	15	1530
108.	Singer, Salamon orok.	Rakoczi F. 26	19	3	23	2012
109.	Lowenbein, Miksa	Rakoczi F. 76	3	1	8	500
110.	Schwartz, Mozes	Sandor 14	4	–	8	680
111.	Krausz, Simon	Szechenyi 7a	–	2	1	600
112.	Krausz, Simon	Szechenyi 7	8	2	7	1250
113.	Feldman, Ignac gr.	Tisza I. 1	4	2	5	360
114.	o.Ullman, Lipotne	Tisza I. 3	2	1	8	560
115.	Weber, Andor	Tisza I. 5	3	–	7	244
116.	Grosz, Salamon	Tisza I. 2	6	–	12	790
117.	Galandauer, Gyulane	Tisza I. 18	4	6	7	580
118.	Neolog Izr. hit.	Vorosmarty t. 1	–	1	–	60
119.	Neolog Izr. hit.	Vorosmarty t. 2	2	2	5	624
120.	Kohn, M. Jozsef	Vorosmarty t. 4	10	3	15	1409
121.	Engelman, Antal orok.	Vorosmarty t. 5	4	–	4	450
122.	Krausz, Mozes	Vorosmarty t. 7	10	3	15	1090
123.	Rosenfeld, Henrik	Vorosmarty t. 10	6	1	8	600
124.	Kurschner, Imrene	Vorosmarty t. 11	4	–	9	1200
125.	Neolog Izr. hit.	V orosmarty t. 13	2	–	6	180
126.	Vidor, Dr. Leo	Vorosmarty t. 16	12	2	12	1810
127.	Reich, Bernat	Vorosmarty t. 21	3	1	8	784

No.	Name	Address	Apts.	Stores	Offices	Rent
128.	o.Farago, Denesne	Vorosmarty t. 22	6	4	7	1350
129.	Markus, Jozsef	Vorosmarty t. 23	6	5	11	2500
130.	Orth. Izr. hit.	Zombo 8	2	–	4	270
131.	Krausz, Sandor	Zrinyi M. 1	8	2	14	1572
132.	Brick, Miksa	Zrinyi M. 3	1	9	5	630
133.	Koth, Elemer	Kulterulet 33	1	–	3	40

Chapter 10

Murderers, Collaborators, Bystanders—and a Few Who Tried to Help

Other groups were also marked for destruction, but only the Jews alone were marked for *complete* destruction, says Nora Levin. In other words, as Elie Wiesel says: "Jews were not the only victims, but all the Jews were victims."

In Germany proper, as evident from the mass rallies, "*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Fuhrer*," the impression given was of total and enthusiastic adoration toward the Fuhrer. In reality, there was some opposition, which was crushed by the secret police, the Gestapo.

Until his arrest, in June 1937, Martin Niemoller had been a pastor of the Protestant congregation in Dahlem, a suburb of Berlin. His opposition to the Nazis resulted in his deportation to Sachsenhausen and Dachau, until the end of the war.

He wrote: "In Germany, they first came for the communists and I did not speak up, because I wasn't a communist. Then they came for the Jews and I didn't speak up, because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I didn't speak up, because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I did not speak up, because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me and by that time no one was left to speak up."

Randolph L. Braham points out various factors when investigating the perplexing question of whom to blame for the catastrophe of the destruction of Hungarian Jewry. The leadership of the Jewish community, he says, "was aware of the dimensions of the 'Final Solution,' but failed to prepare any plans for rescue or possible resistance."

As the war continued and the Nazis invaded, and the Jewish communities were systematically destroyed, the Hungarian Jews believed in an unfounded expectation of safety. It lulled the whole of the Jewish people into a false sense of security. What happened over there, can't happen over here. Until March 1944, the Hungarian Jews had to put up with the anti-Jewish laws which restricted their freedom, but their life was still relatively safe and they thought that somehow they would survive the war. After the Germans occupied Hungary, they finally realized that their hope was based on groundless illusion, like a castle built in the air, *kartyavar.* By then it was of course too late. They were trapped as the ghettoization, concentration and deportation followed with an amazingly accelerated speed.

Observing the position of the rest of the population, the non-Jews in Hungary were mostly passive bystanders, partly hostile toward the Jews. Their behavior was a direct result of decades of anti-Semitic right wing propaganda. A very limited number of Jews were able to hide in the countryside. There was much more of a chance available in Budapest where courageous individuals, organizations and religious institutions helped to provide safe havens for Jews.

All these could be really appreciated especially when someone recalls the stern warnings of government authorities not to assist Jews in any way. In view of these constant threats, it is remarkable indeed, that humanitarian help was forthcoming during this time of horror. As of 1978, Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem, recognized twenty-seven Righteous Gentiles, and in the new Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., there too are many names of Hungarians listed, whose exceptional help rescued Jews.

However, the puppet Sztojay cabinet and especially the infamous "deportation trio" of Jaross,* Endre and Baky, outdid their German

* Andor Jaross was the Minister of Interior in Hungary. Laszlo Endre and Laszlo Baky were close associates of Jaross.

masters and with the devoted collaboration of the Hungarian gendarmerie speedily accomplished the Final Solution in Hungary. The Germans "were practically unable even to supervise the deportations, let alone to carry them out. It was made possible only by the Jaross, Endre, Baky ordered 20,000 men army Gendarmerie." (Jeno Levai, *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry.*)

Otto Winkelmann, the German Chief of Police in Hungary, and Edmund Veesenmayer, the Reich Plenipotentiary, in Hungary, both agreed with the previous analyses when they spoke as witnesses in the postwar trial of Hungarian war criminals. Winkelman testified on 12/22/1945, "The Germans did not have the proper manpower in Hungary in that time. For this reason, I believe, that the anti-Jewish measures would not have been carried out, had the Hungarian government opposed them."

Edmund Veesenmayer spoke, 12/21/1945, almost in the same manner. "The deportations were in fact a German demand, but as 1944 was already a critical year for the Germans and by that time Germany no longer had sufficient forces to enforce its demand. This is adequately proven by the fact, that when Horthy took a vigorous stand, the deportation of the Jews of Budapest did not happen, which allows me to conclude, that if the Hungarian government had intervened earlier, with the same amount of energy, the Germans would have desisted from the deportation."

These high ranking German witnesses obviously tried to cover up their own guilty roles in Hungary, placing all responsibility for the deportation on the Hungarian authorities, but as Professor Braham concludes, the currently available evidence shows, that without the wholehearted cooperation of the puppet Sztojay regime and the passivity of the non-Jewish population, the Eichmann *Sonderkommando* could not have achieved the Final Solution in Hungary.

All of these tragic events took place with extraordinary speed, in fewer than fifty days. The whole world saw it and did nothing. This was really the conspiracy of silence.

On November 30, 1944, the Russian Army marched into Bonyhád. The war was over for this village. But for its Jews, it was an entirely different story. For the old, for the children and for all those who did

not pass at the selection, the tragic end came on the very day their transport arrived to Auschwitz, on July 9, 1944. However, for those who had been selected for work, death took a longer time, until starvation, overwork, filth, harsh weather, and deliberate torture had done their job. They were doomed by the inhumane working conditions, by the extreme cruelty of their torturers, the S.S., by the harshness of nature and the inclemency of the weather or, simply, because they were unable to get used to the "routine." The Bonyhád Jews perished at different times in the hell of Auschwitz, Stutthof, Buchenwald and in other camps, or as Labor Servicemen in the Ukraine and, for that matter, all over Nazi infested Europe. As for the small number of survivors, it took a year or sometimes even more, until they were able to trickle back to the place they used to call their hometown. This happened during the year of 1945.

Chapter 11

After the Shoa

Before we go into the description of how Jewish life returned to Bonyhád after Auschwitz, let's take a look at the numbers of the survivors, as it appears in two competent sources.

Simon Wiesenthal says as previously quoted, "From the deportees, only 70 will survive." However, in the Encyclopedia Judaica, it says, "After the war, 170 returned, mainly from the forced labor service."

The difference between the two statistical quotes must be in the numbers of the surviving Labor Servicemen. We don't have space here to study in great detail the Hungarian Labor Service structure. It's true, many of them were ordered to the Ukraine, to the front, to work for the Hungarian Army units, where the enemy was not always on the other side, but nature itself. The cruel Russian winter, and quite often the

brutal behavior of their sadistic officers and the vicious killings made it almost impossible to survive.

Another part of the Labor Servicemen ended up in Germany or in Poland in assorted concentration camps and became victims of the German death machine. On the other hand, all those units, who worked in Hungary proper, had the best chance to survive. Their fate depended mostly on individual commanders and officers. For example, Marcel Kuttner, one of the son's of the Kuttners (Miksa Kuttner was the principal of the Jewish elementary school in Bonyhád), was stationed around Tata in Hungary and when diagnosed with appendicitis was not allowed to transfer to a hospital for surgery becase he was a Jew. He died, a day before liberation. On the other hand, Dr. Vidor, when diagnosed with diphtheria, was transferred to a hospital, cured and kept there for a long time to recuperate, because his doctors and superiors there were decent human beings who were instrumental in saving Jewish lives.

Although, unfortunately, there are no exact figures available concerning the numbers of Bonyhád Jews who were drafted to the Labor Service, the numbers must be more than 300, because after the war, over 100 survived and came back to Bonyhád.

To reconstruct a list of survivors' names, there's a helpful book by Zsadanyi-Por, entitled, *Te Vagy A Tanu, Ukrajnatol Auschwitzig*, published in Budapest in 1946 which lists forty-eight names of Bonyhád Jews. It lists the survivors' names and where they served, listing the units' particular designation, number and location, and compiles the loss of the families of the survivor. In this book,the following Bonyhád Jewish survivors are listed:

Barany, Erno
Braun, Leo
Breuer, David (Balatonszemes)
Brick, Erno
Donath, Salamon
Eisner, Janos
Feldman, Samu
Feldman, Lazar
Franzos, Israel
Freund, Fulop
Freund, Sandor
Fuchs, Jeno
Fuchs, Dezso
Fuchs, Zoltan
Galandauer, Jeno
Galandauer, Josef
Galandauer, Mano
Goldring, Imre

Gonda, Miklos
Guttman, Aladar
Guttman, Marcel
Halasz, Ignac
Herman, Jakab
Herman, Mayer
Herman, Lazar
Herman, Sandor
Herman, Zoltan
Hirschfeld, Josef
Hollander, Odon
Honig, Albert
Kaff, Lipot
Kohn, Matyas
Kraus, Lazar
Kraus, Vilmos
Kreisman, Armin
Kreisman, Sandor
Lobl, Andras
Lowy, Erno
Moskovits, David (Rabbi)
Salamon, Jeno
Salamon, Marcel
Schwartz, Bela
Schwartz, Karoly
Somogyi, Josef
Stern, Jakab
Ullman, Henrik
Ullman, Moses
Winkler, Andor (Vac)

Actually, the number of surviving Labor Servicemen is more than twice the above listed roll. According to my recollections, they are as follows:

Barany, Erno
Baruch, Sandor
Baumgarten, Zoltan
Berkovits, Erno
Berkovits, Jankev, Leser
Berkovits, Mihaly
Blum, Jeno
Blumenstock, Herman
Blumenstock, Josef
Braun, Leo
Braun, Naftali
Braun, Pal
Braun, Yisroel
Brick, Erno
Chlebovits, Dezso
Denes, Gyorgy
Deutsch, Josef
Donath, Salamon
Eisner, Janos
Engel, Ferenc
Engelman, Imre
Farago, Andor
Farago, Istvan
Fein, Pal
Feldman, Lajos, Lazar
Feldman, Samu
Fischer, Mano
Fleischel, Josef
Fleischel, Laszlo
Freund, Fulop
Freund, Sandor
Fried, Ivan
Fothy, Gyula
Frohlich, Samu
Frohlich, Tibor
Fuchs, Dezso
Fuchs, Jeno
Fuchs, Zoltan
Galandauer, Jeno
Galandauer, Josef

Galandauer, Mano
Goldring, Imre
Goldring, Yohausua (Sie)
Gonda, Miklos
Grunbaum, Gyorgy
Guttman, Aladar
Guttman, Laszlo
Herman, Bery
Herman, Jakab
Herman, Lazar
Herman, Sandor
Herman, Zoltan
Hersch, Sandor
Hollander, Arthur
Hirschfeld, Josef
Hollander, Odon
Honig, Albert
Kaff, Hasi
Kaff, Lipot
Kaff, Yohashua (Sie)
Katz, Jeno
Kalish, Mihaly
Klinenberg, Illes
Kohn, Abraham
Kohn, Matyas
Kohn, Mery
Kohn, Salamon
Kohn, Salamon fia
Kohn, Selig
Kraus, Lazar
Kraus, Otto
Kraus, Vilmos
Kreisman, Armin
Kreisman, Sandor
Kritzler, Mesulem
Kun, Istvan
Leichner, Tibor
Lobl, Andras
Lowy, Erno
Marcus, Eliezer (died shortly)
Marcus, Ignac
Moskovits, David
Pfeifer, David
Pfeifer, Egon
Pollak, Sandor
Rosenbaum, Gyula
Rosenberg, Ignac
Rosenberg, Lajos
Salamon, Arthur
Salamon, Gyula
Salamon, Jeno
Salamon, Arthur
Sauber, Samuel
Schon, Hassy
Schon, Moses
Schwartz, Bela
Schwartz, Bernat
Schwartz, Bery
Schwartz, Karoly
Singer, Jacob (Berlin)
Singer, Laszlo
Singer, Miklos
Somogyi, Josef
Sonnenschein, Arthur
Sonnenschein, Erno
Sonnenschein, Fulop
Stein, Gaspar
Stern, Arthur
Stern, Jakab
Strauss, Hugo
Ullman, Henrik
Ullman, Moses
Vidor, Gyorgy
Warum, Ignac
Weiss, Lazar
Weiss, Salamon
Weiss, Yisroel

Survivors of the Camps:

Women:

Ausch, Ilona
Ausch, Piroska
Banda, Frida
Banda, Hilda
Banda, Ilona
Banda, Szeren
Baruch, Sara
Bein, Esther
Berkovits, Chani
Berkovits, Cipora
Fisher
Frohlich, Alice
Frohlich, Klara
Frohlich
Galandauer, Jolan
Guttman, Boris
Hersch, Malvin
Kaff, Blume
Kaff, Flora
Kaff, Lea
Kaff, Yitti
Kalnai, Edit
Kalnai, Ibolya
Kaufman, Paula
Kaufman, Sara
Koralek, Rozsa
Kuttner, Gyongyi
Kuttner, Rozsa
Kuttner, Sara
Low, Edit
Low, Magda
Muller, Marta
Muller, Vera (Sweden)
Pfeifer, Debora
Pollak, Dobi
Pollak, Lenke
Pollak, Margit
Pollak, Sendi
Rosenberg, Medy
Rosenfeld, Agnes
Rosenfeld, Ibolya
Salamon Baby
Salamon Judith
Salamon Lenke
Schon Bella
Singer Jolan
Singer Valeria
Somogyi Boris (Sweden)
Waldher Kato

Survivors of the Camps:

Men:

Franzos, Yisroel
Guttman, Karoly
Guttman, Marcel
Gluck, Izso
Halasz, Ignac
Litzman, Dr. Lajos



The second generation boys in the Talmud Torah, ca. 1953.



The second generations girls, ca. 1954.

Part II: Bonyhád in the Postwar World

Chapter 12

Rebuilding Shattered Lives

I am not sure when the first Jewish survivors—men from the Labor Service units came back to Bonyhád. It happened most probably in the first half of December, 1944. We know that on February 5, 1945, the new National Committee of Bonyhád made the suggestion that a representative council should be formed from the political parties and delegates of the different religious affiliations and of the Jewish Community (*Zsido Nepkozosseg*). This organization of the Jewish Brotherhood as it came to be known, was an extremely effective body which handled the social problems and welfare of the returning Jewish survivors. They collected all Jewish personal and other properties and asked the population to return all Jewish valuables taken earlier from Jewish homes, stores, temples, etc.

Founded and directed by my cousin Erno Barany, the only survivor from his family, the newly organized Jewish Brotherhood Council was prepared to receive and help the returning deportees and Labor Servicemen. As soon as someone returned, he got clothing and all the basic necessities to reopen a simple household. Another example of the activity of this charitable organization was the sewing shop or *varroda*, which was set up in the Barany house, with two to three sewing machines and first class operators like Sari Kuttner and friends. Their job was to alter and sew the clothing so as to be useful to the immediate needs of the newly returning Jews.

After a few months, the full tragic outcome of the Bonyhád Jewish Community and for that matter the whole country became known. As the dark horrors of Auschwitz and the other camps were revealed, the organization realized that they couldn't expect returnees in larger numbers, and so they tried to help other communities in addition to the small number of Bonyhád's unfortunate Jews. The news of the work of

the organization spread fast and became well known all around the country. Many Jews, before returning to their own communities, came to Bonyhád to avail themselves of this organization in order to get the necessary help to start their life all over again.

Another story found in the archives at YIVO sheds some more light on the tense atmosphere of the last years before the Shoa. . .

Imre Sebestyen, a Bonyhád Jew, saw the ominous clouds coming and decided to move to Budapest. He sold his real estate to Sandor Schmidt, one of the barbers in Bonyhád. The sale took place on October 27th, 1942. However, the officials in Budapest, the Minister of Agriculture, did not approve of the sale. Meanwhile, Mr. Schmidt paid his taxes, some 500 pengoes on the property. He tried many times to get back his money, but nothing happened. So he went up to the local district office, *kozseghaza*, and over there they made up in minutes about his complaint asking to send his 500 pengoes back to him because after all it belongs to him and not to Imre Sebestyen, the Jewish seller. It would be nice to find out what finally happened, but unfortunately no record exists.

To begin again, to rebuild a community, meant to resolve extremely complex questions. The survivors had to face tremendous problems. In many instances, from many families, no one returned. Then here and there, one, or seldom two or three brothers or sisters came back, but not their parents. Did it happen, that a previously married couple survived? I don't know. I don't think so.

To celebrate May 1st, the holiday of the working class became a major yearly event for the whole community. The one in 1945 was a memorable occasion. The Jewish girls, who came back from the deportation, all marched in red blouse uniforms, courtesy of Erno Barany. Was it a gesture ? Naivete? Or some kind of feeling of freedom for the time being? This was a period where we all had a taste of the unknown. Some sensed the dawn of a new era. Will it be a democracy? It was not obvious yet, the direction of the coming years. . .

As people gathered, before the celebration began, there were some posters to carry. One of them said, "Long live May 1st, the holiday of the workers." As one of the organizers handed it over to Sandor Schmidt, a barber, he immediately turned to Dr. Vidor and matter of

factly told him, "I hope you don't mind taking over and carrying this sign. You see, in case there is a change in the political situation, I would feel embarassed carrying this sign. On the other hand, in the case of change, for you it would make no difference anymore. . ." Well it just came out naturally. No, Mr. Schmidt was not a bad guy. Maybe he did not think it through, what he said. It simply shows how simple people thought and how they felt at this time. . .

In the summer of 1945, the terrible truth about Auschwitz came out. People started to realize that there was no more hope and the sad procedure of death-declaration of missing spouses began. What a physical pain, oh so many memories, tragedies that had to be buried in their minds, but they all had to realize, that life had to go on. . .

People went to search for a spouse to other parts of the country. In most cases, women came from other places to Bonyhád, and I really don't recall any such an example, that somebody left Bonyhád and married somewhere else. In any case, it took another year before many weddings took place again in Bonyhád. These marriages brought together earlier unlikely couples, where sometimes a middle aged man married a younger girl, who came back home without parents or anyone else from her family. However, these marriages held true, as I can testify to it after forty-six years, and became a rock solid foundation for the second generation. It became a common practice in those times, that many of the new brides of 1946, took the very same wedding dress which a friend used just days earlier or even hours before.

It happened in the spring of 1945 that a friend from Bonyhád came to see me in Budapest where I lived with my mother. My father perished in the Holocaust. The friend, Lezer Herman, brought an invitation from my cousin Erno Barany, the only survivor from his immediate family of ten. Lezer explained how very busy Erno was with his social work on behalf of the Bonyhád Jews. He had no time to devote to his own business and thought it would be nice to have someone from the family, namely me, around to help. That is how it came to be that my mother and I decided to relocate to Bonyhád.

Practically speaking, it was not an easy decision as there were no trains running as yet from Budapest. During the war, the railway station tracks and many buildings had been destroyed or damaged and

most of the beautiful city of Budapest showed the ugly face of a bitter war. Even the local public transportation was at a standstill. Pest was liberated in the middle of January (1945), the ghetto, on January 18, but the Germans moved over on the River Danube to Buda, the hilly part of the capital, destroyed the bridges and fought bitterly until February 13. We had to walk to one of the suburbs, Soroksar, a nice distance of about five to six miles, and take a train from there to Bonyhád.

The train ride was no dream either. Neglected earlier, ravaged during the war, the trains were overcrowded with all kinds of people trying under difficult circumstances to rebuild their own lives. Many people from the villages took poultry, potatoes and other essential food products to the starving people of the capital and exchanged it for commercial and industrial items. The currency had no value, but the exchange market was very much alive. Many of the returning Jews of Bonyhád started this way too. All of them had a Russian-Hungarian "document," issued, supplied, and even signed by my cousin Erno. He was more than happy to provide, free of charge of course, papers that meant safety, railway tickets, and, yes, even a lot of business for their holders in a turbulent world.

My mother and I, moved into Erno's parents' house, where my mother set up a good *Yiddishe* kitchen for the three of us, and on the Sabbath, also for a lot of guests.

Then came the holiday of Passover. For the first time after the liberation, as we recited the story of the Exodus from Egypt, our forefather's journey from slavery to freedom, we really felt the meaning of freedom.

During the *Seder*, when according to tradition, we opened the door, for the arrival of Elijah, a Russian *Tovarisch*, a Jewish officer entered, looking for a Jewish home for the Passover-Seder celebration. He enjoyed the candlelight, the company, the home-like feeling, and the food with the traditional *matzo-knedels*. All these reminded him of his younger years, his past, and maybe of his own parents' tradition.

Before he left, he gave us some good advice. We should leave as soon as possible and get as far as possible from the Soviet sphere of influence. He knew what he was talking about.

It was a strange advice, which we didn't comprehend then and which we did not listen to until eleven years later, during the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956, when we would be on our way again.

Meanwhile, we are still in 1945. It's summer and the first Jewish girls started to come back "home" to Bonyhád, after they were liberated from the concentration camps. News came, that the three Kuttner sisters, daughters of the principal of the Orthodox school in Bonyhád arrived in Budapest. They had spent a few days in Budapest with Dora Weiss and her family, owners of the well known kosher bakery on Dob Ucca (Street). Aunt Dora and the martyred mother of the Kuttner girls had been good friends in Bonyhád in their younger years.

The Kuttner sisters remained together throughout their ordeal, and gave each other the necessary support and moral strength. Together with the Low sisters, Edit and Magda, Sari Weiss, Juci Strasser, and others, they formed a close relationship, which guided this group of Bonyhád girls through tremendous difficulties, and perhaps may have helped in their survival. Unfortunately, Sari Weiss did not survive. She became a victim of her own suffering a short time after the liberation.

The Bonyhád Jews had to adjust to a new reality. Their previously described ordeal had come to an end, and they now tried to reestablish their life on a more permanent basis. They opened up many small businesses. On Rakoczi Street, many small premises housed many textile stores. One of them was owned by Gyula Salamon and his partner Erno Lowy. They too tried to put the bloody past behind them and with good humor reestablished their modest livelihood.

In 1946, Lowy, who had lost his wife Hedi Deutsch in Auschwitz, married Debora Pfeifer, the only returnee from her once Orthodox family. Erno Lowy, was himself a religious man, one of the *Gabboim* of the Neolog Congregation. Here we have to note, that the Bonyhád Jews reestablished both of their congregations and most of their institutions.

On April 30, 1946, on Rosh Chodesh Iyar, my cousin Erno became my brother-in-law as well, when we married two of the Kuttner sisters. Erno married the elder, Gyongyi, and I, the younger, Sari. The simple ceremony took place in Budapest, in the Elemer Utca home of Irenke

Stern from Bonyhád. Her husband, Dr. Lowenheim, was the rabbi and Mano Abrahamson, a family friend, the *hazan* of the Dohany Street Synagogue, officiated. My mother and the third sister, Rozsi, made up the rest of our small family, and completed the celebration for the necessary *minyan* (ten Jews) of friends.

And in this manner, people started a new life on the ruins of the horban, the destruction of the Holocaust. However, no matter how hard we tried, the tragedies of those terror filled days of the camps left lasting scars on our individual lives.

One tragic manifestation of this was the death of Icsi Marcusz. He left behind his widow Miriam with two young children. After the Labor Service, Icsi returned to Bonyhád, together with his younger brother, in very bad shape, one from which he was never able to recover. With his passing, it might be said, he became the final Bonyhádi victim of the Holocaust.

The years between 1933 and 1946 became the most tragic period in the history of the Jewish community of Bonyhád. In a once thriving community, traditional Jewish life came to a crushing end in the summer of 1944.

The oldest tombstone in the Jewish cemetery in Bonyhád is marked 1703. In 1946, after nearly 250 years, with most of our beloved dead, the historical cycle of the Bonyhád Jews came to an end.

The small fraction of survivors who returned, tried to put the past behind them and, with the previously mentioned marriages, started to build a new life after the destruction.

Chapter 13

The Revolution of 1956

Part I tells the story of Jewish life in a small Hungarian town, Bonyhád. From the humble beginnings in the early 18th century, to

prominence in fewer than 100 years, this Jewish community became a fortress of the traditional, religious life style in the Ashkenazic world of Middle-European Jewry. Their spiritual leaders were leading scholars, well respected *Rabbonim*, whose unique work created the house of study, the unsurpassed sanctuary of learning, the Yeshiva. It served as a magnet and drew students from distant parts of the country. This was the way they lived until the Nazi Holocaust crushed it forever.

After the Holocaust, the few survivors returned. They tried to rebuild their shattered lives again on the ruins of the destruction. How they did it is the subject of Part II. The Jews of Bonyhád made a valiant attempt to reconstruct their lives, but because of the dramatic change in the political climate, this attempt was doomed to failure. Therefore, they had no choice—and the exodus to all corners of the world, began.

After the Shoa, the surviving Jews in Bonyhád also tried to reestablish their religious life.

According to the World Jewish Congress, the number of Jews living in Bonyhád in 1946 was 205. Another surveying, three years later in 1949, by the same organization shows that Bonyhád had two congregations with 286 people. (Zsigmond Pal Pach, editor).

	numbers	tax payers
Orthodox	178	69
Neolog	108	36
	286	105

In the Orthodox *Kehilah*, Mano Galandauer was the president, David Moskovitz the rabbi, David Breuer the *shohet*, and Mihaly Berkovits and Sandor Kreisman the officers of the *Chevra Kedisha* organization. In the Neolog Congregation, Janos Eisner was the president, Dr. Bela Blum the rabbi and Gaspar Stein the *hazan*. The well-functioning *Gemilas Hasodim* organization secured loans for businesses and for the needy. Shortly hereafter, Gaspar Stein with Alexander Herman, on their way to Pecs, on behalf of the Bonyhád

Jewish community, were involved in a tragic car accident, which instantly killed Gaspar Stein and critically injured Alexander Herman.

As time progressed after the Shoa, the Bonyhád Jews tried to re-create their "normal" lives again. The pains of the recent past reminded them of the tragic period and still they tried to participate in the communal life of the village again. Some became active in the political arena, especially in the beginning, like Jozsef Somogyi, the Fleischels (Farago Brothers) and others. Even at the police station there were Jews, like Bela Daniel and George Grunbaum.

In the cultural field, Erno Barany earned national attention by producing "The Tragedy of Man" by Imre Madach, and later the musicals "Gul Baba" by Jeno Huszka and the acclaimed "Janos Vitez" by Pongrac Kacsoh. Listening to good music and the appreciation of it was my favorite thing. It combined education and entertainment. For years, we ran weekly "musical evenings" and presented the finest recordings of classical artists.

Here on another personal note, let me mention the weekly musical quiz shows on the Hungarian radio, which awarded me once with a prestigious first prize for planning a program of special tribute to the victims of the Nazi persecution. The music here expressed suffering and freedom. This took place in 1949 or 1950, when I was already



The little girls—the second generation—springtime.



In the public elementary school. The first grade in 1955.

aware of the importance of remembering and teaching the lessons of the Holocaust. We recognized, that under the surface, the poisonous manifestations of anti-Semitism were alive. In the political situation the trend was toward the extreme left. Soon the government became oppressive again, showing the signs of a rigid Communist regime.

The emerging second generation, our young children, spent their early years enjoying the benefits of the religious teachings of an Orthodox Jewish couple, Lipot Kaff, who became the tutor for the boys, and his wife, Szorika, who educated the girls. However, as these children reached the age of schooling, there was no choice but to enroll them into the public school system.

Here, too, the teachers were fine educators, but by then Hungary was subdued under the powerful hand of Communism, and the schools were required to drill children in the new socialist ideology. This, of course, produced a tremendous conflict for the poor children, caught between the religious teachings of their early years and life at home, on one hand, and the rigid reality of the left-wing doctrines on the other.

The political scene had become ugly too, and fear and oppression manifested themselves in many ways. During the first few years after the war, socialism made relatively few changes, but after the Party suffered embarrassing losses at the polls in 1947, it cracked down. "The change" brought widespread seizures of privately-owned factories and businesses, both large and small, and soon the government had nation-

alized everything. I'll never forget the day "they" came to the Barany store, handed us a piece of paper—and just took over.

Many times, policemen and their plainclothes associates made house searches of the homes of "class enemies" or *kulaks.** Under this cover, they vented their anti-Semitic feelings once again. They did not ship us off to the gas chambers, but otherwise it was hard to tell them apart from the Nazis.

It was during these years that Winston Churchill made his famous speech at Fulton, Missouri, warning the free world that oppression had reestablished itself in Eastern Europe: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent." But to balance this spreading darkness and gloom, Jews could see a bright promise dawning in the east: The State of Israel had been born.

Jews began to sense that at last they had a choice: to remain where they were, in the country of their birth with all its familiarity and deep memories, or to join fellow Jews in a new nation of their own. The past versus the future. . . .

Many Bonyhád Jews did try to escape to the new Jewish state, but most were caught and put in jail like common criminals. (The Hungarians didn't like Jews, but they wouldn't let us leave if we wanted to.) Our bright young rabbi, Dr. Bela Blum, did succeed in getting away to San Diego, Chile, where he became chief rabbi.

In 1948 our people started thinking about what to do. We contemplated leaving, but we were reluctant to admit that the new regime would not improve. So for the time being we stayed where we were. But then came October 23, 1956. . . .

After the death of Stalin in 1953, Prime Minister Imre Nagy eased matters somewhat by slowing down collectivization and allowing the production of some consumer goods. Life became a trifle easier. The Petofi-Club for writers began to hold open debates on political oppres-

* This Russian word for a prosperous farmer had become a pejorative term, meaning a greedy exploiter of the poor. Jews often "qualified" automatically, because they owned small businesses.

sion, carried out by the ruling class in the names of "democracy" and "freedom." But after two years, this easing of oppression was halted and the old harsh measures were restored. Hungary joined the Warsaw Pact (in opposition to NATO), and the Hungarian people could see that it was the same old tyranny settling down on them again. The resentment was universal and spontaneous.

On October 23, 1956, large crowds gathered in the streets of Budapest, denouncing the government. A coalition government took the place of the Communist-dominated one, with Nagy at its head, and voted to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. People suddenly caught a glimpse of independence and self-government.

But only a glimpse, because within days, the Russians intervened, and Budapest was filled with T-34 tanks. People fought them with Molotov cocktails (bottles of gasoline with a lit rag for a wick) and sometimes with their bare hands, shouting, "Ruskies, go home!" The Red Army retreated briefly but soon returned in greater force, and the uprising was brutally suppressed. "A counter-revolution," they called it. "A return to Fascism." It was, of course, anything but that.

The Russians arrested Nagy and his followers and later eliminated them, and placed a new puppet in charge, Janos Kadar. Nearly 200,000 people fled the country, mostly across the border to Austria. In Bonyhád the police came hunting for the pious Erno Lowy–luckily, and just in time, he had been spirited out of Bonyhád and hidden in Szekszard (the town whose mayor had refused to build a ghetto).

The Kadar regime was aggressive at first, but it had learned a lesson from the uprising, and its methods became less harsh. Hard-line Stalinists were purged, their brutal methods blamed for the revolt, and an attempt was made to popularize Communism, by raising the standard of living of ordinary working people.

But in Bonyhád, we Jews had had enough. Every day one or two of us disappeared, and it was whispered that they had joined the refugees. Erno, the man who got things done, began to make serious plans for our own little group.

In the beginning of December, a gentile lady, wife of a high-school teacher, stopped me on the main square and asked me bluntly, "What

is happening here in Bonyhád? People whose families have lived here for a hundred years are suddenly leaving the country."

I was a little surprised at her surprise. "Look at me, who knows if you will meet me again in the future?"

She was shocked and said, "*Et tu, mi fili Brute?!*"

Chapter 14

Escape

And so on December 3, 1956, three buses left Bonyhád during the dark of night and headed west. But after only a half an hour's bus ride, one of the buses broke down and we all returned to Bonyhád. Then again, my brother-in-law, Erno Barany, with his undiminished energy and strong will, made fresh arrangements, and in a few hours, with his remaining money, hired another bus, actually a truck. We were about to try and leave again, with family and friends.

Meanwhile, the night had changed to dawn, and the dawn had turned into morning. In a hurry, we tried to reassemble everyone for a second try. Felix Klein was out, having left to pick up his Kosher milk from a peasant. So the Klein and the Kreisman families declined to join us on our journey, and many others too, having already started their day with their familiar routine, trying to forget about last night's misadventure.

However, my best friend waited with his family at the appointed location. As we started out, many people were already on the streets and on top of everything else, it was Tuesday, a busy market day. On our way, a policeman stopped our truck, asking for a lift to the next village. Of course, we could not refuse his request, so he climbed up next to the driver. He did not bother to pay any attention to the inside of the truck. He was simply happy to secure a ride for himself.

Inside the truck we tried to calm the children. This was not really a

problem because we were together. Our family of ten consisted of my mother, my wife, our two children, the Baranys, and Rose.

We approached the designated place, where we were to meet our friends, the V. family and motioned to the driver to stop. My friend, noticing the presence of the policeman became suspicious, thinking that maybe we had been all arrested already and were on our way to jail. He stepped back with his family and motioned to the driver to proceed. Our truck drove on, let the policeman out at the next village, and headed for the Austrian border, some 125 miles away.

That is how it came about that he and his family still live there, in Hungary, and we live here in the United States. We miss them, as we were separated by these turn of events, for a lifetime!

It was late that night, when we arrived at a small village near the Austrian border. Unfortunately, the border was sealed tight for the time being, but with the humanitarian help of the local priests, everybody was settled in no time in the homes of the villagers. We were directed toward the closest house to the border. Our hosts were a local peasant family. These brave people came out of their beds and gave us shelter immediately.

As soon as our truck let us off near the border, the driver made a U-turn and returned in a hurry to Bonyhád. Rumors quickly spread in the Jewish community that the Barany and Blau families had it so easy that they marched across the border singing and in good spirits.

This, however, was not exactly the case, but as a result of this rumor, on the following day, three buses arrived and unloaded all the remaining Bonyhád Jews. As soon as we heard about it, we quickly went to see our fellow neighbors, filled with joy. When they saw us, they became frightened. They were in complete shock. After all, they were told by the representatives of the bus company that we had no problem crossing the border, and we were supposedly safe on the other side. We quickly informed them that in truth the border was closed shut, even before we arrived, upon which they became panicky and quickly turned around and hurried back to Bonyhád, before it would be too late and they were arrested.

The next day, in the morning, I stood again at the window, looking toward the road. The same scene repeated itself several times over and

over again, border guards and policemen bringing back small groups of people who dared try to escape. When I spotted a peasant walking with a younger couple toward the border, I ran out to warn them not to go now, because of what I witnessed during the past hours. They thanked me, saying, that they were not planning to leave, having just come to visit their uncle who lived close by, near the border. However, because I was so considerate as to warn them about the inherent dangers, their uncle would pick us up at night, for a "modest fee." He knew the fields very well, since this was his home territory, and with him as our guide, our escape would be guaranteed.

Yes, Zsiga bacsi showed up at the appointed hour, and calmed us, saying not to worry. Noting my elderly mother and the baby in my arms, as well as the three children in our family, he would lead us through a longer, but more relaxed route, he said, and so we took the longer road toward freedom.

We paid the "fee" and were ready to follow our guide. One more thing, he warned us, if we should happen to come up against Russian soldiers, we should all fall to the ground and wait for further instructions. . .

We walked for a couple of hours through frozen fields, in the silent and wintry night, when a sudden "*Stoy*" or "Stop" in Russian, broke the calm of the night, and everybody fell to the ground as instructed. The next thing we heard was a loud burst of laughter from a group of young people who came up behind us, with the same intention—to cross the border.

We stood up and looked around for our guide, but he was gone for good, never to be found again. Imagine how we felt. We were stranded in the cold December night, in no-man's-land, with our family of ten, including my frail mother and four small children. We had only one solution—to get out of this tragi-comic scene. We realized that our only hope was to join the group who made that terrible joke. They readily agreed. Our only problem was that we were unable to keep up with them.

I felt very warm. Was it because of the extreme situation, or did it have anything to do with the fact that I wore two suits and I was carrying my thirteen month old son? I really don't know. Meanwhile, from

behind me, my wife yelled for me to slow down. My brother-in-law joined me as we begged the group to slow down. Our children became restless and started to cry, "How long is our walk to be? How much farther do we still have to go?" These were questions we were unable to answer.

Then suddenly, another "*Stoy*" was heard, and this time it was the real thing. The young men in our group did not panic and more than one stood up to the Russian soldiers saying, "Go on, shoot us and our children too!"

The good-hearted Russians, known for their love of children, soon settled for whiskey, jewelry, *chassis* (watches), money and other kinds of bribes and let us proceed.

We stumbled on.

Then came the water, a small river we had to cross. One member of the group, a Mr. Palko, a Bonyhád *szekely*, was exceptional and gave us an appreciated human hand as he effortlessly carried my mother and the children across to the other side. I understand that he lives today in Canada. This episode shows that even in times of darkness, here and there, traces of light and humanity can still be found.

On the other side of the river, we saw a bright spot there in the darkness of night—the observation tower of the Austrian guard post. We sighed in relief after our eventful escape. Spotting the first Austrian soldier, I gratefully handed over practically the only material possession I had left, a new Czech pencil set.

The Austrians were friendly but overwhelmed with the unexpected large number of Hungarian refugees. The first night meant sleep for a few hours on a bare floor (*szabad foldon, de csupasz foldon aludtunk*). The name of the place, a small border village, was Lutzmannsburg.

A committee processed the refugees and soon we were on our way toward a "temporary" camp. After receiving some food and certain necessities, we were directed toward another "temporary" camp. After many similar stops at these type of shelters, in three to four weeks we reached Vienna, the capital of Austria. Here we were received by the Jewish organization that secured better living quarters for us at a moderate hotel, the Hotel Jaegerhorn. One of our

neighbors here, another refugee, was Ede Zathureczky, the world famous violinist.

Soon, both my brother-in-law and I started to work for the Jewish Agency, the HIAS. Our work consisted of interpreting at the interviews of fellow refugees, since we spoke German, and I knew some English, too. The salary was nominal, but the real reward was being able to help once again many of our brothers.

After the Revolution failed, close to 200,000 Hungarian refugees crossed the border and among them were about 30,000 Jews. Most of them, sooner or later, arrived in Vienna.

Since the Western Powers did not hurry to absorb these refugees, our temporary stay became longer. After a couple of months or so, to alleviate the overcrowding, many of the refugees were directed to Camp Roeder, near Salzburg, where at one point, we staged a hunger strike to focus world attention on our plight. Camp Roeder did attract the attention of then Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, and the former first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, who came to pay a visit.

Camp Roeder was a military barrack complex, very close to Salzburg. What a contrast it was, to see the beautiful city and the many hundreds of visitors attending its famous music festival, and then us, in our shabby clothes. But seeing the carefree crowds milling about town reminded us that there was another world where people were enjoying themselves.

Here and there, we too were able to browse around the busy streets and enjoy the sights and sounds of Salzburg. We eagerly listened to the Glockenspiel's short presentation of Mozart's "The Magic Flute" and visited the famous castle in Salzburg where not long ago the Hungarian Nazi leader was apprehended by the Americans, and where at the same time, the Hungarian crown was reclaimed. Another memorable sight was the Salzach River and the wold famous Salzburg Gardens.

However these were only side trips that did not erase the constant reminder that thousands of Hungarians were waiting to be processed toward their different destinations.

We, the Jewish refugees, were housed in Building No. 303. Here, I worked with Dr. Crohn, head of the HIAS office in Salzburg. Our

family stayed here from January 7 until we emigrated to the United States on August 22, 1957.

The tempo of the processing of the refugees slowed down considerably, because of the Western Powers' difficulties absorbing the swelling number of escapees. Soon we had to face another problem as an old trouble surfaced, namely Hungarian anti-Semitism. Non-Jewish fellow refugees suspected that Jews were granted preference in the matter of immigration. We posted guards from our fellow Jewish refugees as guards to defend our barracks and even the Austrian Gendarmerie was on the alert, ready to quell rising temperaments. It did not help either, that Dr. Zoltan Klar's Hungarian Jewish newspaper in Vienna carried headlines, for weeks, about the anti-Semitic demonstrations at Camp Roeder. He even went as far as to print letters with our names, since Erno and I had written in protest against the incidents at Camp Roeder.

More than seven months later, we were processed for entry to the United States. The Baranys followed two months later.

Chapter 15

A New Life for Bonyhád Jews

HIAS tried to have us settle in Pittsburgh from where an elderly aunt of my wife lived. She had the requisite papers to speed up the case of our immigration. We however refused to leave Brooklyn, our New York location, citing religious and other concerns. As a result, we received no more financial help from HIAS.

My wife, an excellent seamstress, soon found a job as a *merrow* operator in a factory. Two days later, I was more than happy to find a night job in a knitting factory. My mother stayed home with the children and took care of the housekeeping. At the same time, we rented a three room apartment in the Borough Park section of Brook-

lyn and became settled. By the time other members of the family arrived, we were here to ease their transition to the "*Goldene Medine*," the Promised Land.

Borough Park was not really a park. It consisted mostly of two family houses, which reminded us of Bonyhád, in the proximity of a subway ride to the skyscrapers of New York City. The rows of houses were neat, but so similar, built twenty-five to thirty years ago, like an auto assembly line in Detroit. As Erno noted, it would be a great difficulty for Bela Rottar, the infamous Bonyhád village drunk, to find his home, after returning from one of his frequent wine tasting adventures.

Erno found a job at a display company, where, as a window display designer, he satisfied his cravings to work in the field of art and design. His wife went to work as a sewing machine operator.

The children started school, the first of the many Jewish schools to come, the Bais Yaakov Yeshiva. Here of course, they had to overcome the initial difficulties of learning new languages—English, Yiddish and Hebrew. Needless to say, after they overcame the first hurdles, they all finished with excellent grades, in the top of their class. In the beginning, our daily routine meant long hours of physical work, the learning of the English language, and getting familiar with our new surroundings, all of which was quite difficult. However, there was always the Sabbath, the weekend at home, being together with our families and talking about our experiences of the week past.

Our home was always open to our friends, those old familiar faces from Bonyhád, who settled in our neighborhood. I remember seeing quite regularly, Leo (Tati) Braun, his wife, Ibi, and their children. They left Bonyhád in 1947 and they were one of the first families to reach Borough Park.

Another familiar face from the past was Pinchas (Pal) Braun, his wife Lea (Lecsi), and their children, who lived on the very same block. They arrived in the USA about the same time as their cousin Leo. Pinchas' brother, Israel Braun, and his family also, arrived here in those early years.

Very close to us lived the two Guttman brothers, Laci and Jeno,

with their families, and the two Fuchses, Jeno (Juda) and David (Dezso) and their families.

A few blocks away lived Samuel and Anna Feldman and their children. Not too far away, lived the Herman brothers, Alexander and Stuart, with their families. In another section of Borough Park, lived another good friend, Erno (Icsi) Brick with his family. Our closest friend, Joska Hirschfeld and his family lived approximately fifteen minutes away, by car, near Prospect Park. We got together with them, regularly, on a weekly basis.

The rule of thumb was that everybody, without exception, worked. Everybody worked hard and everybody did something else, something other than his profession in his previous life in the old country.

For many years, Icsi Brick really worked hard. He was a glazier in New York City, and worked on the city's tallest buildings. He was a workaholic. To work was not new for our friend. In his former life, in the early fifties in Budapest, he used to be a "*stahanovist*" truck driver. Here in New York, after years in his dangerous line of work, he left the glass business and went into partnership with Laci Guttman as a trucker. Years later, he changed professions again, and went into the yarn business with Jeno Guttman.

Hugo (Hillel) Strauss and Pepe Kaufman, his wife, and their two daughters also lived in Borough Park. So did another Bonyhád family, the Kaffs, Lipot and Szorika, and Mrs. Kaff's sister Flora (Potyi) and her husband Imre (Amrem) Goldring, and their children. Frank Finkelstein lived here too with his family.

Another group of former Bonyháders settled in a more religious section of Brooklyn, called Williamsburg. Among them were: Lazar (Lezer) Herman, Salamon Kohn, Jankev-Lezer Berkovits, Herman Bacsi, Pista Benedek, and others, with their respective families.

These Jewish families of Bonyhád started their new life, their American careers, at the bottom of their respective trades. They all worked extremely hard as factory workers, machine operators, pressers, knitters, cooks, and truck drivers. All of this is in sharp contrast to the Nazi propaganda. No one was a speculator, a black marketeer, or a greedy oppressor of the poor. They were the poor.

For them "freedom" meant working in the so called "sweat shops,"

six days a week, often ten to twelve hours daily. They saved their money, and they lived frugally. On the other hand, after years of hard work, most of them owned their own homes, and some of them owned their own businesses. Most, after decades of hard labor, retired with nice savings, which enabled them to supplement pension payments or social security.

These savings made it possible for them to marry off their children and help finance their grandchildren's education. It is interesting to note the philosophical differences between the first and second generation. Schooled and educated in the new world, the children were able to reach high paying professions, and became lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers and other professionals. They had become successful Americans. These young people earned a nice living, made money their parents did not even dream about, but most of them learned well, how to spend it too.

The Jews of Bonyhád suffered a terrible loss during the time of the Shoa or Holocaust. The survivors, a fraction of the body of our prewar community who came back after the war, tried to rebuild on the ruins, and whatever they were able to achieve, was destroyed again by the events of the Revolution of 1956. The small community of Bonyhád



Israel Lobel becomes an officer in the army.
(Israel 1971, now, in 1944, he is a colonel.)

Jews was uprooted by the winds of this historic and turbulent storm. Many found a home in the newly reestablished Jewish State of Israel. Many ended up in other free lands, like the United States, Canada, Australia, and even in South America. Some found shelter in Europe. The following section will listwhere 101 families settled after the Revolution of 1956, all around the globe.

Who Went Where

There were approximately one hundred families from Bonyhád who settled around the world.

Jews from Bonyhád who went to Israel:

Abrahamson, Frigyes (Jutka Donath) & family
Donath, Moshe & family
Donath, Salamon & family
Berkovits, Mihaly & family. They later moved to NY
Breuer, David & family
Eisner, Janos & family
Fein, Paul (Dundi) & family
Fischer, Mano & family
Freund, Sandor & family
Freund, Fulop & family
Frohlich, Samu & family
Fuchs, Zoltan & family
Friedmanne, Boris (Guttman)
Galandauer, Chani
Goldring, Sandor
Hersch, Sandor
Klein, Felix & family
Klein, Pal & family
Kreisman, Sandor & family
Kreisman, Hassi & family
Kritzler, Mesulem
Kohn, Mery & family
Lobl, Andras & family
Moskowitz, David & family
Rosenberg, Ignac & family
Rosenfeld, Agnes & family
Rosenfeld, Ibolya (Winkler Toki)
Salamon, Gyula & family
Salamon, Jeno & family
Salamon, Marcel & family
Salamon, Juci, Lenke
Shon, Hassy
Schon, Moshe & family
Singer, Laszlo & family
Singer, Miklos & family
Singer, Jacob (from Berlin) wife Margit
Singer, Jolan & family
Stern Arthur & family
Weiss, Israel & family
Weiss, Salamon & family

Jews from Bonyhád who went to the USA:

Barany, Erno and family
Benedek, Istvan & family
Berkovits, Erno & family
Berkovits, Cipora & family (Klein fam.)
Berkovits, Jankel, Lezer
Blau, Laszlo & family
Braun, Israel & family
Braun, Leo & family (later moved to Israel)
Braun, Naftali & family
Braun, Pal & family
Brick, Erno & family
Feldman, Samuel & family (his daughter later married, moved to Israel)
Finkelstein, Ferenc & family
Fuchs, Dezso & family
Fuchs, Jeno & family
Goldring, Imre & family
Guttman, Jeno & family
Guttman, Laszlo & family
Herman, Bery & family
Herman, Jankel & family
Herman, Lazar & family
Herman, Bacsi & family
Herman, Sandor & family (two of his married daughters live today in Israel)
Herman, Zoltan & family
Hirschfeld, Josef & family
Kaff, Lipot
Kohn, Salomon
Kuttner, Rozsi & family
Marcus, Miriam & family
Pfeifer, Dave & family
Pfeifer, Egon & family
Pfeifer, Gyorgy & family
Pollak, Baba & family
Salomon, Arthur & family
Strauss, Hugo & family
Teitelbaum, Muller Marta & family

Later came:

Lowy, Erno & family
Salomon, Baby & family

Jews from Bonyhád who went to Canada:

Galandauer, Jozsef and family
Frohlich, Tibor & family
Frohlich, Jekl's daughter
Kaff, Shie
Nadasdine, Ibolya
Nadasdi, Ivan & family
Pollatschek, Wolf
Stern, Jakab & family

To South America: (Lima, Peru)

Deutsch, Jozsef and family

To Australia:

Galandauer, Mano and family
Kohn, Selig
Krausz, Vilmos & family
Pollak, Sendi
Waldher, Kato & family
Weiss, Macu & family

Jews who remained in Europe: Hungary

Baruch, Salomon (Sanyi) & family, Pecs
Farago, Josef & family, Pecs
Fried, Ivan & family, Pecs
Vidor, Dr. Gyorgy and family, Pecs
Grunbaum, Gyorgy & family, Budapest
Koralek, Rozsi & family, Budapest
Singer, Valeria & family, Budapest
Strasser, Juci & family, Budapest
Chlebovits, Dezso & family, Bonyhád
Klinenberg, Illes & family, Bonyhád
Kun, Istvan & family, Bonyhád
Kutasi, Bela & family, Bonyhád
Lowy, Erno and family, Bonyhád, later came to the USA
Warum, Ignac & family, Bonyhád

Jews from Bonyhád who went to Sweden:

Kalnai, Edith and Ibolya
Somogyi, Jozsef and family; their son, Stephen lives in USA

Jews from Bonyhád who went to Germany:

Guttman, Karoly and family
Guttman, Marcel & family

To France:

Farago, Laszlo & family

It was not always smooth sailing for us, the refugees of the Holocaust and the Hungarian Revolution, and it took time, and a lot of effort to settle in the new world. To learn new languages, and to try to reestablish again, after so many tries, a new livelihood, was not easy.

Thirty-five years later, as we look around, many of our contemporaries, friends, and relatives are gone. . . At the yearly Bonyhád Gathering of Remembrance, we are saddened as we listen to the names of the fallen and departed friends from the Bonyhád community. Indeed, throughout the past thirty-five or thirty-six years, many changes have taken place in the world too.

October 23, 1956 is not called the Counterrevolution anymore in Hungary, and miraculously, after more than seven decades, the Soviet Union is no more, replaced by a string of independent states, looking for new—or old—identities.

A few days ago, on July 19, 1992, *Chaj Tamuz*, the anniversary of the Shoa of Bonyhád, we gathered again in Borough Park, Brooklyn, and remembered. . . . It happened on a Sunday again, like last year. We recalled the names of the survivors who departed this year—Debora Weiss, Dora neni, the matron of our little group; Chani Breuer, the widow of Reb Doved Breuer; Bandi Guttman in Israel; and we were deeply saddened to hear the tragedy which took the lives of Marci Salamon's son, his wife and three children.

Chapter 16

A Kaleidoscope of Memories

Too hard to forget about our roots. . .
Bonyhád is our roots. . . no matter what. . .

You can call it your formative years, memories of your childhood, or you can say it is nostalgia. Whatever it is, the survivors of 1944 from Bonyhád, wherever you find us, you can't deny that special bond. . .

Fifteen years ago, on a spring day in 1978, I heard about the passing of Srole, Isidor, Braun. It was a few years after he lost his wife Malka, Anna Silber, Braun. We went to pay the usual *shiva* call. According to the Jewish laws and customs, the bereaved family sits down, on the floor or on a low stool, for a week of mourning. Family and friends come to visit, to pay respect and comfort the mourners.

When we came, I was surprised to find an extraordinary booklet, a book of memories about "our dear and beloved parents." The book was produced by the youngest son, Moshe Braun. To accomplish this, he went through hundreds of photographs and documents, a rewarding experience.

"They," as the writer says, "suffered. They saw pain and grief and they worked very, very hard." They cooked for decades for a Yeshiva



At the yearly commemoration. Mr. S. Feldman learns Mishnayoth.

and later became caterers. The father, as his son saw it, "He had, he was not lacking; just because he did not have, he still thought that he did. He was honest and straight. My mother had a command of words in poetry, song and idioms. According to the meaning of her name, she was a queen, when it came to giving. She pretended to have an inexhaustible treasury, even though she hardly had anything for herself."

As I go through the book again, I note the beautiful memories of a rewarding lifestyle, the tradition of the Jews of Bonyhád. These pages tell you so much—about the two Synagogues, the old *Matzevos* (tombstones), since they are still frequently visited by his uncle, Pinchas bacsi, Paul Braun, and his son, Moshe.

Whenever I happen to visit the home of Pinchas, he invites me with a special smile to come in and see his personal museum about Bonyhád. It's amazing to see all his memorabilia, the personal videos



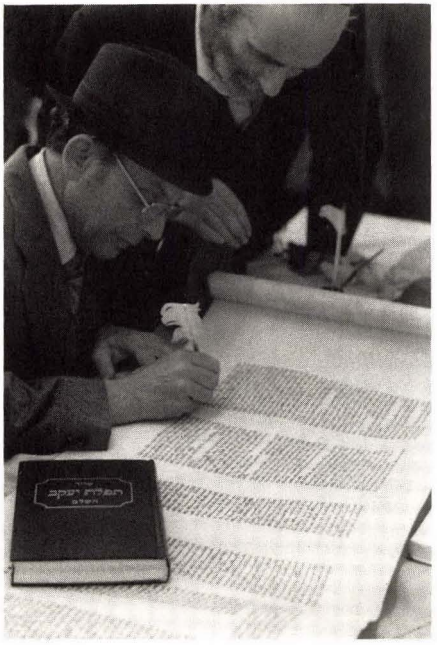
At the commemoration: L. Brown, L. Guttman, J. Guttman and J. Fuchs.



At the commemoration.

of his family visits to Bonyhád cemeteries, the holy books by Bonyhád *Rabbonim*, and everything else concerning Bonyhád. There is a saga, that he used to talk constantly to his children in their younger years about the "*alter heim*," the old home, Bonyhád, and his son knew many stories and many locations, even before their first of many trips back to Bonyhád for *kever ovaus*.

Josef Somogyi wrote me recently (March, 1993) from his home, Göteborg, Sweden, that he just went through an operation but he soon will send me his recollections and that he has much to tell me about Bonyhád. "By the way, if I am O.K.," he says, "I plan to take my son Stephen, who currently lives in Houston, Texas, this summer to Bonyhád, to show him our roots." Then he writes how happy he is that his granddaughter Monica is such a close friend to the Barany's granddaughter Elana. The girls travel twice yearly between New York and Texas to be together for a few days. "That our close friendship reaches over even to the third generation, makes me happy," he confides. Before he retired,



The author participates in writing letters in the Torah.
(Donated by Erno Brick)



The Torah dedication.

Josef Somogyi was the chief gardener of the Göteborg Botanical Gardens, and his wife, Bozsike, a professor at the Göteborg University.

In January 1992, I met Leo Braun and his family in Israel. He mentioned that his son has formed a business partnership with another Bonyháder's son, Sonnenschein. Clearly, a partnership is really built on trust.

Vera Muller, now a widow called Mrs. Kramer, lives in upstate New York, in a small university town called Purchase. She works there in the local museum. Her beautiful home looks like a museum too. Between the many paintings and artwork, I recognized some by Max Weber. However, she prominently and proudly displays a simple silver candlestick, from her parents' Bonyhád home, returned by a neighbor. "That's all that was left," she adds sadly. In her sigh, you can feel the terrible loss she suffered, the loss of her entire family, Ferenc and Gizella Muller and their son Imre. When we get together from time to time, or over the phone, I repeatedly tell her to remember her earlier years in Bonyhád. She refuses. She is bitter. She can't forget. . . .

During our most recent conversation, however, she remembers some meaningful days she spent in Stockholm, Sweden, where she as a young orphan was taken after the war. She worked then in the Jewish Agency, compiling lists of survivors. She recalls how happy she was to receive a letter in 1945 from Erno Barany, from Bonyhád. Then a few months later, something strange happened at the office where she



The memorial of the Martyrs—in the old cemetery (1989).

worked. She noticed a somewhat familiar face. Dr. Lajos Litzman showed up. He hardly resembled the man she knew as a kind, beloved and trusted doctor and dentist from Bonyhád. He looked like a shadow of his former self. Physically exhausted, emotionally drained, he related to her his sad story.

In the *lager*, the Germans assigned him as a dentist, to remove the golden teeth from the corpses. It was a terrible task, and then a couple of days later, when his own wife, Arany's body came before him, he just couldn't take it anymore. . . .

Years later, Dr. Litzman met Somogyi's sister Boriska. They got married and settled in Sweden. The man was completely changed. After the *tsores*, tragedies he went through, he completely lost his faith in humanity and in their Creator, but as fate intervened, first his son came to the United States to study at Columbia University. By chance, here he became acquainted with the Lubavitcher movement and turned 180 degrees to a positive direction toward Judaism.

Today, his sister follows in his footsteps. She got married and lives in Monsey in an ultra-Orthodox community. Just a few months ago, she called me from upstate, introduced herself, saying she heard about my work concerning the Bonyhád Jewish community, and asked if I would be able to tell her about her father, Dr. Litzman's years in Bonyhád. The babies cried in the background as I tried to present a picture of a gentle physician who had attended to each of his patients

with devotion and loving care, something we are definitely missing in our day and age. What an exceptional human being he was. . . .

On another occasion, I heard from Stuart (Zoltan), Herman, that his grandson and one of the sons of Dr.Litzman's daughter are attending the same class in the Yeshiva and are the best of friends. . .

Snapshots. . . Stories. . . Recollections by Fellow Bonyhád Survivors

Let's take a closer look at the Jews of Bonyhád who now live all around the globe. How do they live? What do they remember? How do they relate to the legacy of being a Jew from Bonyhád living in the present? What do they want to tell their children and grandchildren about our common heritage, about our roots?

The Lobels' Story

One of those beautiful spring days in Meron, Israel, in April 1992, Abraham Lobel, we know him as Lobl Anti (Andras), talks at the family table. Around him, his family and friends listen and marvel at the happiness and good humor of the speaker, as he relates his life story in a nutshell on his eighty-fifth birthday.

Thirty people are gathered—the number is not unusual at the Lobel's home, but maybe the audience is somewhat different today. My granddaughter Becky, from the USA, who is studying in Israel this



Left: The Old Shul—1989. Right: the Orthodox Shul—1989.



The Bonyhád Memorial Tablet on Har Zion, Jerusalem.

year, is here; as are some close relatives, visitors from Hungary—my friend Dr. Vidor, his wife Magdus, a niece of Andras, their son Dr. Laci Vidor, his wife and two children; and of course, Anti's wife, Klari, Anti's son Yisroel (Isti), who lives next door—one of the real heroes of the Israeli Army, a colonel, and his wife and children; as well as some friends.

And Anti tells us his story. . .

It was a small village, Ocseny in Tolna County, in 1907, where he was born. After schooling in Sasd, Tolna, and Szekszard, he studied to be a furniture maker in Ocseny, Budapest, and Paris. His father's friend from Bonyhád, Jekl Frohlich, advised him to settle in Bonyhád. It happened that in 1932, Anti moved to Bonyhád. His new friends, Shloime Fuchs, Shmule Kohn (the *Pecsvarader*), Hassy Pfeiffer, and Bandi Guttman introduced the young man to the Bonyhád Orthodox community.

Yes, he had to learn a great deal, but it was interesting to become aware of these new things about religious customs. He was a fast learner. He quickly got used to the new way of life. What a feeling it

was to see Walder bacsi, the *shames*, knocking on Jewish doors, to announce the coming of the Sabbath. . . .

"In the same year, my work," he says, "a *Sarkoz*, a type of Hungarian folk furniture, was awarded the first prize, a gold medal, at the County Fair."

From that day on, business became steady, and in 1933, he married Ilus Spiegel from Fokto. Now he became strictly observant, *Shomer Shabbos*, and Ilus wore a "*sheitel*," the traditional wig. In 1940, Anti was called into the Labor Service (Marcali), and later, in 1942, he was taken with his unit to the Ukraine, where he worked as a tradesman and where he met Laci Singer, Jeno Salamon, the baker, and Laci Fleischl, the iron trader, all friends from Bonyhád. Their superior, Lieutenant Ond, *fohadnagy*, was a unique human being. He always took care of his men and was instrumental in saving Anti and Laci Singer during the worst time of terror.

"As we retreated from the war zone," he says, "our commander hid four of us in his apartment in Budapest and supplied Laci Singer and me with Hungarian military uniforms. Our relationship turned into a friendship. After liberation, he visited us in Bonyhád."

"In 1945, I came back to Bonyhád with Laci Singer. The Jewish Brotherhood—*Zsido Nepkozosseg*, organized by Erno Barany, took care of us. We got clothing and other necessities. My wife Ilus and our ten year old daughter Erika never returned from deportation. In 1945, my niece, Magdi, came to live with me in Bonyhád, so I was not alone anymore. Then I was introduced to Rozsika and we were married in Hogyesz in April 1946. Our son Istvan, Yisroel Mordechaj, was born in 1948."

"I worked in my shop until the early 1950's, when I had to give up my independence and joined the KTSZ—a cooperative for trade workers. During the time of the Revolution in 1956, some students broke our windows. Their anti-Jewish remarks, which helped me decide on the spot, that we have to leave for Israel. I tried to flee the country, dissidalni, but without success."*

* At the border town, we met the Lobls, one of the many families from those three buses. See our story.

"In the spring of 1957, we were allowed to emigrate to Israel. We went to Meron, a similar climate to the one we were accustomed to in Transdanubia. I continued to work as a *tischler.* We had an orchard and a chicken farm too. As most of the Moshav in Meron spoke Hungarian, so I did not have any language difficulty. My beloved wife, Rozsika, became ill and died in 1965."

"I tried to rebuild my life again for the third time, and got married to a widow, a survivor of Auschwitz, Klari, *Baruch Hashem*! My son Yisroel later married Klari's daughter, Esther. So my wife's daughter is also my daughter-in-law and my wife is also the mother-in-law of my son. We enjoy our beautiful grandchildren, Soshi, Baruch, Chani and Liat. . . *Baruch Hashem*!"

Miklos Singer's Story

Miklos and Juci Singer live in Israel, but because their twin children, *iker fiai,* and their families live in New York, they, the parents, come to visit practically every year. The children live in Borough Park, Brooklyn, in our neighborhood, and so we have the pleasure of inviting Miki and Juci on every occasion. Thank God, they are healthy, and though Miklos is in his eighties he is in good spirits.

As the father of two Belzer Hasidim, he has a nice little beard and adheres to the strictest Jewish religious life. On the other hand, as Tevye would say, he indulges himself in watching the unforgettable Hungarian operettas on his VCR. He knows that the main supplier firm is in California. He gets all his favorite musicals from there.

In the spring of 1992, the last time they were here, I visited them, and between "Csardas Princess" and "Sybill," he sat down with me to recall the past.

Born in Puspoknadasd on October 15, 1908, he came after Laszlo and before Jozsef. He had one sister, Margit. Their father, a shopkeeper, was the only Jew in Bataapati, moved to Puspoknadasd and married Eugenia Barany.

Miki's elementary school years were in Puspoknadasd, Pecsvarad, and for two years he studied in Budapest. In 1920, his father came home from the war, from Russian captivity, and took him and his brother Joska from Budapest to Puspoknadasd. The White Terror

found only his mother and Laci in Puspoknadasd. The store was completely looted and destroyed by terror boys, those infamous heroes, and the family moved to Bonyhád.

There his father tried but failed to build up a store, and after ten rough years, they moved to Dombovar. Miklos was a driver, a *soffor*, as he says, and came to Bonyhád once again to work for Simon Barany (1929–1931). The call up for the military did not find him in Dombovar, because he was working as a truck driver in Berezna for a butter shop, *vaj-gyar*.

"I was drafted, finally, by a *placard*. Posters appeared during the Shoa period ordering all the Jews to report for Labor Service duty. I had to report to Hajmasker. Here I met Smule Feldman."

"The work was tolerable; we worked in a quarry and we also did some road construction. After the Arrow-Cross [Nazi] party took over, in October 1944, they marched us toward Germany. After the border crossing, the Germans took us to Dachau. From here, as a man with a trade, I got to Laugen, to work on military hardware, *hadi-uzem*."

"Since I spoke German quite well, my boss, an Austrian Kapo, who had good intentions toward me, said I will survive. And every morning thereafter, I found in my toolbox, two or three slices of bread and some baked potatoes—and I don't have to tell you, this meant a definite chance to survive."

"As the front approached, the mill was put on the rails and sent toward Berlin. We were ordered to march back to Dachau. Later, we were liberated by the American Army. They gave us plenty of the best military canned food. Unfortunately, hundreds of Jews became victims of these goods, as we were so weak and frail, that we were unable to digest those fine foods."

"My brother Joska was back in Dombovar already, and the other brother, Laci, who had lost his former wife and children in Auschwitz, married again. I myself was not married yet. Soon, I found a job as a truck driver and worked for Alexander and Zoltan Herman's Lumber Company in Bonyhád. Not long after, I bought a used Opel-Blitz truck and started my own trucking business."

I still cherish and remember that day, when I married a girl from Budapest, in Bonyhád, Juci. Ten more weddings took place on the very



Miklos and Juci Singer and a grandson in Brooklyn.

same day. My first son, Gyuri, now a military rabbi in the Israeli Army, was born, followed by the twins, Janos and Gabor."

"After the Revolution of 1956, we too tried to leave the country, and we met the Barany and Blau families at the border (as mentioned before), but we returned to Bonyhád. I worked at the Mavaut, the state owned company as a bus driver. We then left legally in 1957 to Israel. As a bus driver, I got a job at the Diskin Home for Orphans. Later I became their mechanic. My wife worked there too, until our retirement."

"Our twins, as young students of fifteen, left for the USA, where they became Belzer Hasidim, Shloime and Dovidl. They worked extremely hard, as you guessed it, as truckmen, and now they are successful businessmen in the field of transportation."

"Now we are happy to live in Israel and visit our twins in New York quite often and enjoy our many grandchildren and good friends from our old hometown, Bonyhád."

In 1966, at a wedding in one of the strictly kosher halls in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, all the men had beards with the exceptions of Joska Hirschfeld, Erno Barany and me. Suddenly, a youngster in the "uniform" of the Hasidim, *kaftan, streimel, beketche*, came over to

Erno and says, "My father, Miklos Singer, told me to look you up. I am his son."

Erno Barany asked, "Which one are you? Janos or Gabor?"

With a smile on his face, the boy replied, "I am Dovidl."

Chaje Soroh Marta Muller-Teitelbaum remembers. . . .
She was 13 years old then.

"It's July 6, 1992. I will try to make a long story short. I am originally from a small town, Bonyhád. I have many lovely memories from my youth and also very sad ones from the war. It is not only when I write my story that I remember my home town and all the lovely people who lived in it, but every day I think about my loved ones whom I have lost and also about the members of the Jewish community of Bonyhád."

"I can't tell you exactly how many Jewish families lived there, because I was only thirteen, when I left Bonyhád and was deported to Auschwitz. I was asked to name a few families whom I remember. There was the Krausz family. Jankev Lipe Krausz was the *Rosh Hakahal*, the president of the Orthodox *Kehilah* and also the wealthiest *balebos* in town. He was my "*bubbie's*" brother. His "einekel" (grandchild) Hedi, and Agi Rosenfeld, were my best friends. There were also the Guttman and Engelman families, *balbatishe* people. I remember with love the Kaff, Goldring and Fuchs families. Across from us lived Sauber bacsi with his four daughters and the Markus family. Esti Markus was another friend of mine. Then there were the Singer and Kritzler families and many others too, but I can't recall their names anymore."

"I went to the Orthodox elementary school. Here the girls sat on one side and the boys on the other. I recall our teacher, Kuttner bacsi, with adoration. Whenever I say *Hallel*, I remember how he translated it from the *Loshon Hakodesh*, the Hebrew, to Hungarian."

"Marcha Fisher was my teacher through the first three grades. I lived in the same house with my Zeidi and Babi Strauss and my immediate family—my mother, *oleho hasholom*, my father, and my eleven year old brother, may they all rest in peace. My mother had two

brothers, Hillel and Shlajme, and their wives and their children. My Babi had two sisters, whom we visited almost every day, Rochi Singer and Gisa Kostelitz. I remember all of them with love."

"We lived next door to the Post Office, so I was able to see and observe everybody coming and going on the main street. Across from us was a tidy park and a big church. To the right was the so called "*plebania*," the home of the priests. We lived between clean and well behaved *goyim* (gentiles) and they did not show any anti-Semitism, at least on the outside."

"In this little town of approximately 8,000 people, everybody knew each other very well."

"Then the Germans came in and everything changed. But even before, it happened many times, that my father, Josef Muller, *olov hasholom*, was forced to go to the Labor Service. He and others had to leave families behind for many months. Later, the Germans forced us into the Ghetto. We were there for about six weeks. We did not suffer from hunger there because we took enough food with us."

"The young girls and boys used to parade with hope in the Ghetto, because it was rumored that they would take us to work. We used to stand at the Ghetto's entrance and listen for news. We were told not to worry, that everything would be all right."

"Then came the time when they took us to the big city, to Pecs. It was called a special transit camp, where they collected Jews from the surrounding towns and villages. Here they housed us in horse stables for about a week and from here they took us to Auschwitz. We were stacked in cattle cars, where we had only milk boxes, with only a limited supply of water. Until today I still wonder what the young women with four, six, or even eight children did, to survive in those wagons."

"I journeyed with my mother and my eleven year old brother, Janki, *olov hasholom*. With me were Zeidi and Babi. So I had to stand for three days during our journey, so my Zeidi was able to stretch his legs a little bit. In the wagon, it was pitch dark. We were not allowed to look out through the little opening and we had no idea where they were taking us. With a heavy heart, I kept wondering what my mother and grandparents were thinking about our desperate situation. We had very

few belongings, because earlier the Germans* rounded up most of the grownups for an interrogation and forced them to give up all the money, jewelry and everything else that hey had. They would hit them with rubber belts on their bare bodies."

"We arrived. . . The wagon doors were opened and the SS shouted, '*Loss, loss*! Get out!' We had to hurry, leaving our meager belongings and the old and the sick behind. I recall, how Mengele shoved my mother and me to the right side. I must have looked about sixteen-years-old, because my mother had put her black coat on me. To this day, I don't know, if she wanted to save the expensive coat or she felt, it was better for me to look older, because then they would take me to do work."

"We were pushed to a shower room. They cut off all our hair and we had to leave behind all our clothing, even our underwear, socks and shoes. Oh how I missed my underwear! They gave us wooden clogs and rags. Auschwitz was indeed a horrible place."

"Electric wires were all around us; so if we touched them, we would be killed. The Polish brothers and sisters, who had already been in Auschwitz for two or three years, looked like skeletons. The young girls' teeth fell out, because of the lack of vitamins. There was a huge chimney, with lots of smoke rising and the "inhabitants" shouted,'Look up over there, your fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers, burning over there!' But we did not want to believe it and still after many months, we were hoping, that we would meet our dear ones one day."

"They gave us a dish for soup and for black coffee. It tasted, like the worst medicine. We had to line up five in a row, for hours while the SS came several times to count us. At night, we were led to a huge wooden barrack with no beds. We had to lie on a wooden floor without a blanket or pillow and there were so many of us, that one had to lean on the next one."

"We spent approximately three weeks in Auschwitz. From there they took us to Stutthof. Here the barracks had not been built yet, as

* According to the author's information, this was done by special units of the Budapest gendarmerie, made up of the cruelest men.

we lay in saw-dust. During the day time, it was extremely hot and at night, it was very cold. No shelter, no water; we were really desperate. I recall, how a charming, young woman from Bonyhád, Ronai neni, lay down in the saw-dust, intending never to get up again. The flies fed on her, until she passed out."

"From Stutthof, they took us to a so-called work camp. We must have been about 800 women. We had small, round, wooden cells and they gave us a little straw. We were supposed to dig ditches for the soldiers. It lasted about five months. They took us for work everyday, but we had not much strength, because all we got to eat was a little bread with marmalade and a thin soup, never even a little potato. I always stayed close to my mother. She became very weak and she developed an infection on her hand from the lack of vitamins. The pus ran freely from her hand."

"Then as the Russians approached, the Oberscharfführer made a speech to us. The sick should stay behind and trucks would come for them. The "strong" ones should walk . We would leave the camp. I told mother, we should walk and not wait for the trucks, but she, *oleho hasholom*, pleaded with me to stay, because she had no strength to walk. I nudged her, and said I would hold on to her on one side and our friend on the other side. On that fatal day, she agreed. When we reached the gate of the camp, my mother fell down. I bent over, to put on her shoe, which had fallen off, and to help her to get up. But a soldier came and pushed his gun against me and shouted, '*Loss, loss*!' I had to run, still holding my mother's shoe. In the next few days, while we were marching, I kept wondering, how mother got back to the camp in the snow, with only one shoe. Like this, I marched, along with the few hundred women. The only thing I had, was my mother's shoe. A few days later, we found out, that they had shot my mother on the spot and all those who were waiting for the trucks."

"Finally they took us to a prison, where we stayed over night. In the morning, the prison gates were opened by the Russians and we were liberated. We were shouting, 'We are free!' But we did not realize how little comfort the Russians would give us. I was thirteen and a half years old and luckily found two cousins, one, twenty-six and the other,

nineteen years old. They kissed me affectionately and promised not to leave me until we got home to Hungary."

"We must have been around Bromberg this time, still in bad shape. The Russians did not give us any food. We had to go and beg from Polish civilians everyday for our daily bread. We were in a group of eight women and my two cousins. It took us three months to get back to Hungary, waiting some times for ten days at a train station, since the trains were not running regularly yet. We were glad, when a train finally came, even if it was fit only to carry wood. We sat on the flat base of the wagon in snow and rain, covered just with some rags, until we reached Lemberg (Lvov)."

"A few hundred of us gathered in a big shul. Long after we left, we heard that the Poles blew up the place and hundreds of refugees died. It was really a miracle, that we got back to Hungary, without money or food. Our group stayed together since that "lucky" day, when the Russians liberated us in that prison. I remember how I used to sing "*Ani Maamin*" and other songs to cheer up our group a little bit."

"It is still on my mind, how I arrived in Budapest. It happened in the beginning of May 1945. As I stepped down from the train, I met my mother's cousin, Wolf Kostelitz. He took me to his home. There was a big sack of dried peas in the corner. Everyday we cooked a potful, and from this we ate three times a day. We were lucky to have peas; others did not have even this."

"My uncle Hillel (Strauss) bacsi found out about me and he sent up a baked chicken. I recall how everybody looked at the chicken with surprise, since they had not seen such a delicacy in Budapest for more than a year. They said it was only for me and they would not touch it. I said, then I wouldn't eat it either. I don't remember what was the final fate of the chicken."

"From Budapest I went to Kiskunhalas, a small town in Hungary and from there to Bonyhád. I will never forget my uncle Chaim's face, how he looked at me for the first time. Before Auschwitz, I was a normal thirteen year old girl, but coming back from deportation, I looked like a forty year old woman. However, after a year, with normal food and clothes, I looked once more like a regular teenager. I stayed in Bonyhád for about nine months and then I left to a city called Gyongyos."

"My uncle Chaim remarried. He took his wife's sister, Pirike. Her sister, his wife, Freidi, perished in Auschwitz, along with their ten month old Yingele, a little boy. We stayed in Gyongyos for about three years. I always say that I was on a honeymoon those three years, because my new aunt and uncle were a very happy couple indeed. It was really a miracle, after what we went through, that we were able to rejoice."

"However, our happiness did not last long. We were convinced that the Russians would soon rule over Hungary and that Jewish communal life had no future in this country. So we fled to Vienna, where my relatives decided that they wanted to go to Israel. I met my future husband and after knowing each other for a few weeks, we decided to marry and emigrate to America."

"In November 1949, we arrived in New York. We had a very hard time in the beginning. My husband, who had had a successful business in Satoraljaujhely, went to work here in a factory. We really lived very frugally at first and saved enough money to open a factory of our own later on. Thanks to *Hashem*, we became quite successful. For a couple of years, we lived in Crown Heights, in Brooklyn, and then moved to the heart of Borough Park, where we still reside today."

"I always say, that I should wear a button saying, 'I love New York,' and I indeed have no desire to go to any other place; I love my Hasidic surroundings. We have a lovely home and on *Yomim Tovim*, Holidays, and other special occasions, it is great to get together with my four married children."

"As a rule,we always talk about the past. We recall what we went through and we talk about our dear parents and grandparents and other members of our families, who all died *Kiddush Hashem*, martyrdom for being Jewish. They all should pray for *Klal Yisroel* and cause Mashiach, the Messiah, to come soon. . . Amen."

Dr. George Vidor's Story

"I make a copy," he writes, "for my son and his family. Till now there had been many things we have not talked about, especially regarding the period of the Holocaust. We kept our pain inside."

He then recalls, twenty-eight years spent in Bonyhád.

Earlier, describing the time of the Bonyhád ghetto, I freely quoted from the correspondence between his family in the ghetto and him in the Labor Service, a correspondence which meaningfully mirrored and precisely preserved the tense air and terror of that turbulent period.

Here are some excerpts from his memoirs that bring to light the relationship between the Orthodox and the Neolog Jews of Bonyhád.

"As I saw it," he writes, "we had a cordial business relationship. On the other hand, there were no close social or friendly connections between these groups. Strange as it was, the Orthodox did not appreciate enough, their Neolog counterparts, saying, they are mostly "*amhaaratzim*," lacking in knowledge of the Talmud. As they used to say,'*Mit hazer verstoppet.*' Most of the Neolog did not learn enough Talmud. On the other side, the Neolog felt, that the Orthodox did not care enough about worldly knowledge. In general, the two groups did not visit each other's shul."

The relationship between Jews and non-Jews, according to Dr. Vidor's observation, "It was correct," as diplomats would put it. He remembers his father, an intellectual, taking long walks with a professor of the local high school, on a regular basis, after working hours. They enjoyed being together, but did not care to visit one another's homes.

"As a Labor Serviceman, working with my unit in a small town called Erd, near Budapest, in the second part of October 1944, after the Arrow-Cross Party took over, I developed a terrible pain in my throat which was diagnosed as diphtheria They sent me to a military hospital in Budapest. There, they isolated all the men with the same contagious disease in one big room. I was the only Jew there and they knew it from the yellow arm band. In the next bed was a lieutenant, a former professor from Szeged. He had plenty of visitors. I, for obvious reasons, had none. This fellow always shared his goodies, fruits or whatever, with me, and this meant so much in those days. After the war, I expressed my gratitude to him for the extraordinary humanitarian behavior and friendship which he showed me during those dark days."

"On the other side, was another officer, an ensign (*zaszlos*), who quite often spoke about the meaning of the German victory. One day

he connected an earphone to the wireless radio, and as another music lover, he offered one side of his earphone to me, while he was listening on the other side. Strange bedfellows, on one side the Nazi officer, and on the other, just a few inches away, a Jew, listening together to Beethoven and Verdi."

"Otherwise, I tell you honestly, I never heard any anti-Jewish remarks. After a while, all the sick in our room, sooner or later, were cured and left the hospital. Not me. I felt fine, but after spending eight weeks in the hospital, no one told me to leave. Then I couldn't understand it. Almost fifty years later, I realized what happened through a T.V. production I saw recently in my home. On the program, they showed our hospital, saying that in those days of the war, many Jews were hidden there, thanks to those doctors and administrators in charge, who were not only excellent physicians, but caring human beings."

Vidor was eventually transferred to the ghetto in Budapest and was liberated from there on January 18, 1945.

Ivan Fried, who lives in Pecs, Hungary, remembers....

As told to Dr. George Vidor

"Although we lived in poverty, the affection toward each other in the family was remarkable. My father made his living going to the fairs in the neighboring villages to sell Artur Hesser's textile merchandise on commission. He left the house everyday before daybreak with my mother, as his helper, because the horse drawn buggy had to be on the fairground at early morning."

"In 1939, one day, two gendarmerie asked him about his destination. On that particular day, it was Zomba. They replied, that's good, and boarded the carriage, since they had to go to the same place. But after reaching Zomba, my father was told to turn back, since Jews could not sell anymore at the fairs."

"My mother, from then on, went to Jewish homes as a hairdresser. You did not know it, nobody did, but we lived in real poverty. We could not afford electricity, so we used kerosene lamps. At winter times, in our room, the water on the top of the iron stove, was frozen

every morning. Our family of five, lived in one room and a kitchen. There were Jews in Bonyhád, who had it even worse. My uncle's family (Arnold Dick) of nine, had the same size home as we did. They had only three beds."

"Around the house, of course, we all pitched in. My voluntary contribution was to fatten the goose and chop wood to feed the stove. I did not mind it at all. I have some lovely memories from my happy childhood. I was perhaps the only *Neolog* kid attending the Orthodox *heder*. Later on, as I was going to the elementary school, I was able to secure a job at Sonnenschein's printing shop and earned ten *pengoes* a month, which I was more than happy to hand over to my parents."

"Rabbi Schwartz carefully prepared me for my Bar-Mitzvah. I learned the *brohes* and the *Haftorah*, and how to put on *tefillin*. To make the occasion more festive, my parents gave a party for the invited guests and served *cacao* with whipped cream, delicacies I had never seen before. On top of everything, I got my first golf-pants, which was really too much for me, because that kind of thing, belongs only to royalty, I felt. After my Bar-Mitzvah, every morning, I went to pray at the *Bet Midrash*."

"At fourteen, I went to learn a trade, upholstery. Mr. Preiss became my boss. My sisters worked too. Piroska took up manicure and Marta learned to become a seamstress at Lutzenburger's and by the time she finished her three year apprenticeship, she was allowed to stitch on our yellow stars."

"I was sixteen years old when I was drafted into the Labor Service. After various locations, in the second half of December 1944, we were ordered to the main train station of Budapest. The wagons were there to take us toward Germany. However, it was too late. The capital city was sealed off by the Russians, and we were ordered to work in the ghetto."

"After a difficult period of three weeks, I was liberated there. I set out with Tibor and Sandor Frohlich, on foot, for Bonyhád. On the way, Soviet soldiers apprehended us, and no matter what we told them, that we were Jews, victims of persecution by the Nazis, they threw us into jail, as German spies, and kept us for long weeks in custody."

"It was *Pesach* of 1945, when I reached Bonyhád, as the only survivor of my family."

Reflections by Leslie Blau: An Odd Couple

This recollection brings back an image of an officer walking arm in arm with a Labor Serviceman wearing a yellow arm band. It happened in the spring of 1944 on a busy Budapest street. The Labor Serviceman was on a rare official furlough and saw an officer approaching from the opposite direction. As a matter of regulation, he saluted. As they met, the officer stopped, recognizing a friend from his schooldays ten years ago in the Bonyhád High School; he warmly embraced the Jewish Serviceman. What a strange sight for those terror-filled days, an odd couple indeed. . .

They walked leisurely having a long animated conversation. After a half hour they parted, going in different directions. The Serviceman was elated, having a feeling that maybe there was still some hope—not everything and not everybody had changed. The thought gave him new strength to go on.

After the war, the two met again in Bonyhád. Though they saw each other many times after, they never mentioned that particular chance meeting in those days in the past in Budapest. The officer was my friend, Adi-Adam Thron. God bless him.

A few days after the two ghettoes were established in Bonyhád, the Jews from neighboring Bataszek were transported there. Their spiritual leader was the learned and respected Rabbi Low, who had two daughters, Edith and Magda. The rabbi, his wife, his son, and most of his congregation perished in Auschwitz, but the girls were selected for work, and, like many of the Bonyhád women, were ordered from Auschwitz to Stutthof (near Danzig, Poland) and Thorn (Torun, on the Vistula in north-central Poland). During their ordeal, the Low girls were pillars of strength to one another and to all the other Bonyhád women.

Here is Magda's story, followed by a poem by Edith:

"It was a cold Sunday morning on March 19, 1944. We were eating

breakfast in our home in Bataszek. Suddenly, we heard a continuous loud sound on the Main Street. I was sent to find out what had happened. The German Army was marching into Bataszek. Soon two German SS entered to see the rabbi—my father."

"They demanded 50,000 *pengoes*, an enormous sum of money, from the local Jewish community. My sister, Edith, and I went to our fellow Jews in an effort to collect this ransom to save my father and his congregants from the threats of the Germans."

"Meanwhile, the local hoodlums, the Nazis, raided the Jewish homes. They took away the men and ransacked their possessions. The next day, we showed up with the ransom money and were promised an end to the vandalism and the pogrom, and the release of the abducted victims from custody. But in reality, all these terrible things went on for two more days. . . Then came the order to wear the yellow stars and soon they took us to the ghetto in Bonyhád."

"Here I met, the future wife of the author of this book, Sari Kuttner. It happened during our first days in the ghetto. The hated gendarmes were our guards and commanders. Some German soldiers came to the ghetto, and asked Mr. Kritzler to send some women to help clean up their lodgings in the *Commendatura.* Mr. Kritzler called upon the Barany girls, Rozsi and Bella, for this assignment. It looked like Bonyhád was not an exception to the class order, *kaszt rendszer*, and the ghetto-elder sent cleaning ladies from the lower ranks. . . But the Barany girls loudly protested, 'Let's send the gentle ladies, *uri lanyok*, to clean up, after all we are all the same in the ghetto.' "

"To make a long story short, they needed four women, and Boriska Hollander and Zsuzsi Havas, two young married women, and two girls from the other ghetto (there were two ghettos around the two Temples in Bonyhád), me and Sari Kuttner, a fine young girl, were selected. As my worried father walked me to the gates and blessed me, so did her young escort, her brother Jozsi. Her father, the beloved teacher of the Orthodox elementary school, Mayer, Miksa, Kuttner, was drafted earlier to the Labor Service."

"These blessings accompanied us through the coming year, the hardest and most painful year of our lives, long after we finished the clean-up of the Ausch house. . . Those who blessed us, perished later,

but with their blessings, we survived the long trials of the Holocaust. . . . My friendship with Sari Kuttner started at the ghetto gates and strengthened like steel through the hell of Auschwitz, Stutthof and Thorn."

My Death and Resurrection—by Magda Low Klein Rosenbaum

"In the title of my story, you can feel the pain and the joy. I have to assure you that in the forest at Thorn there were no Holidays. No Sabbath, no free time on Sundays, not even on Yom Kippur. How I remember that Yom Kippur! It was a cold day with a heavy rain and we fasted. Though we did not get to eat too much on other days either, it was really awesome, but what made this day different is that we went without food voluntarily."

"Then in early November the first snow came down and everything became permanently white. The few friendly Polish foremen proclaimed with pity, 'Girls you can't take this weather for too long in such a difficult situation.' Indeed, our group of 3,000 young, healthy girls were already feeling the affects of the extreme hard labor, the hunger, the cold, and being almost entirely without clothing, although barely one month had passed since our arrival. All this took a heavy toll on all of us. Many got diarrhea and that meant certain death, even in the absence of the crematoria."

"In the beginning of December, I realized that there wasn't too much hope for me either. Barely skin and bone, I had no strength to go on, but I did not dare to quit work, because I knew that would definitely be the end of the rope."

"Then suddenly, one of the girls overheard two soldiers saying that next week, at Christmas time, there would be no work for two days. So I decided, that no matter what, I had to be strong, I have to go on at least until I was be able to enjoy the two work-free days. Well, the SS had different ideas."

"So it was. . . Most of the soldiers went to celebrate their holiday, but Satan did not take a rest. One of our guards picked out a few girls to do a little cleaning. In no time at all, I had a shovel in my hand to clean up around our block. . . You see, in Thorn there were no latrines

and when nature called, everybody just relieves herself in the open."

"No, I was not depressed. I just worked patiently on those piles and amused myself humming the tune "Angels from Heaven," *Mennybol az Angyal*, after all, it was the day of brotherly love. As time passed, the sun came up and the frozen piles started to melt. . . The smell became overwhelming and my mood changed rapidly, as I realized, that while my friends were taking it easy in their barracks, passing their time delousing themselves, I in my misfortune had to work and smell. I became bitter and very weak. Everything seemed to be at ease. Then everything faded. I had such a pleasant feeling, no pain, no hunger, no freezing, actually I did not feel anything anymore. As I was told later, the girls I worked together with, took me to my block, shouting to my sister Edith, 'You, Rabbi's daughter, your sister is dead!' "

"There was nothing extraordinary in that, as it was almost daily routine, to announce the occurrence to a family member, or to a friend. My beloved sister ran out of the barrack and got on top of me and started to yell and cry, 'Magdus, don't leave me! Please don't die! You are the last one from our family!' "

"I can't tell you how long this was going on, but slowly I was able to open my eyes and in a low voice I managed, 'O.K. I will live, but stop this nonsense, please. I can't take your wailing anymore. . .' "

Still life in Block #52—by Magda Low Klein Rosenbaum

"We, the Bonyhád girls, tried to keep together. We managed to, only partly. In our block of sixty, we had Juci Strasser, Dudi Feher, Dora Pfeifer, Edith Low, Magda Low, Gyongyi Kuttner, Sari Kuttner, Rozsi Kuttner, Sari Weiss, Zsuzsi Havas, Duci Fried, Sari Peto, Rozsi neni Farkas, Lea Lowenstein, the four Pollak girls from Szedres (Sari, Joli, Olga, Lilla), Vera Lukacs from Sashalom, (her mother was born in Bonyhád), and the Berkovits sisters, Chani and Cipi."

"It became natural for us to keep together and really help each other. We never fought among ourselves and we earned a good name for our block. Because we were well-behaved, sometimes the *blockova* loaned us a pot, as a big favor, and we used it to clean ourselves. Of course, first we had to fill it up with snow and melt it, since there was no water around. But this was a real pleasure, a luxury indeed. We could even

soak our tired feet! What a cherished hygiene in our cultured age of the twentieth century!"

"It's true, everyone had her own little bowl; we carried them with us even to work, where we really did not need it, but because of its importance, as our prized possession, we had to take care of it. If we should lose it, God forbid, there would be no reason to stand in line at evenings for the inedible watery turnip soup."

"And then there was this sweet, naive, Rozsi Kuttner, the youngest in our block, I should really apologize to her, as we had such a good laugh in those other wise terrible dark days in Thorn. . . The SS, as they gave out their orders, always addressed us as "*kurven*," whores, and Rozsi, the young and innocent, gentle girl, repeatedly asked her sisters, what does this word mean."

"Oh, those times in Thorn. The days were terrible, the nights unbearable. It was dark as we left for work and it was pitch dark when we returned. Sometimes at night, Sarika Peto, our local house singer, started to sing about the River Tisza. She was the fifth in the row of the four Pollak girls. Poor Olga and Lilla, they left us early."

"How exhausted we were, when we returned from our daily labor but my dear sister and friend, Sari Kuttner still had some spiritual strength to spare and went out to take care of the casualties of the day. With a couple of volunteers, they dug and with the help of a Siddur and a shovel, gave these latest victims final resting places, an eternal peace. . . One night, it was really late, when my sister Edith came back again into the barracks and seeing my questioning face, she said, 'We buried, earlier, poor Hilda Engelman' [one of the Bonyhád girls], 'and her arm was frozen completely. We could not bend it and it stuck out from under the ground. I am afraid,' she added, 'that the *Oberscharffuhrer's* dog may come around and eat it.' So she went out again, dug another grave, and made sure that the whole body was covered. I don't know what caused them more pain, the physical or the emotional drain, but they did it. Oh my dear Creator, have pity on your children who performed such selfless deeds even during the darkest hours of their lives!"

50 Years Ago by Edith Low Kreisman

Our Lager! Auschwitz, Stutthof, and Thorn

Fifty years ago in the Auschwitz concentration camp
We had just arrived, and I stood at the ramp.
Mother, father, and brother. For the last time
Looking at me from a long frightening line.
Their eyes filled with panic and tears.
That's the way I have seen them
For the last fifty years.
Their shadow is with me always.
It tortures and torments
Like a dreadful madness.
Who knows what went on in their minds
In those gruesome, terrible moments?
Fifty years ago I was not condemned to death.
But all the horrors of hell
Became my painful share.
Beaten and chased, a defeated army
Crippled for life, walking like ghosts,
Still limping on, we the last survivors.

This powerful and emotional recollection, a beautiful poem written in Hungarian, arrived on February 9, 1994, from Israel. With her permission, I translated it into English, to be able to share it with my readers.

The poet—fifty years ago—was the young girl, who braved the cold and the dark and exhaustion in order to bury the friends who did not survive.

Epilogue

The old Latin proverb goes, "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.*" Roughly translated it means, "As times change, we change along with it." Almost fifty years have passed since the destruction, the Shoa. We the survivors are the last witnesses to our world which once was called the *Kehilah Kodesh Bonyhád,* the holy congregation of Bonyhád Jews.

To find a Bonyhád Jew today is not an easy task. The small fraction of still living individuals, the survivors, are scattered all around the globe, but they are bound together and form an exclusive brotherhood, or is it, rather, a league of endangered species? In this "club" there are no dues to pay, no membership fees, but to belong is as priceless as the world's largest diamond. . .

In 1944, Bonyhád became a Destroyed Community. Its 250 year story is a history of a world which vanished forever. A small town in the Hungarian countryside, it used to be a beacon of light, a bastion of traditional Judaism. No more. No more *cheders.* No more Yeshivas. No more *talmidim.* No more scholarly *Rabbonim.* No more Jews in Bonyhád. Their lives disappeared forever.

This book tries to show our children, our grandchildren and our future generations what it meant to be a simple Bonyhád Jew. You, the young people, members of the second, third and following generations, should be proud to recall your unique, rich heritage, and be worthy descendants of your *Kedoshim,* whose holy bodies are scattered in unknown graves all over Europe.

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Pressburger, Gittel
Pressburger, Bezalel
Pressburger, Moshe
Pressburger, Avraham
Pressburger, Pinchas

Allweiss, Feige
Allweiss, Shlomo
Allweiss, Jacob
Allweiss, Pessel
Allweiss, Jichac
Allweiss, Simon
Allweiss, Lea
Allweiss, Taube
Allweiss, Jentel
Allweiss, Malka
Ausch, Jichac
Ausch, Shmuel
Ausch, Moshe
Ausch, Jechiel
Ausch, Eliezer
Ausch, Chajele
Ausch, Sara
Ausch, Jonathan
Ausch, Cipora
Banda, Jechiel Zvi
Banda, Bele
Banda, Miriam
Banda, Yisroel Moshe
Banda, Malka
Banda, Rivka
Banda, Sara Chana
Baumgartenne, Frank Kata
Baumgarten, Peter
Barany, Lipot
Baranyne, Fleischman Ema
Barany, Judit

Pressburger, Bele
Schwartz, Rabbi Lajos
Schwartzne, Frenkel Matild
Schwartz, Dr. Erno
Rav Pollak Avraham & wife

Baranyne, Weiss Roza
Barany, Mariska
Barany, Katalin
Barany, Leona
ozv. Baran, Jozsefne
Baran, Abraham
Baran, Dora
Baran, Marton
Baran, Armin
Baranne, Deutsch Karolin
Baran, Luisa
Baran, Jeno
Baranne, Deutsch Julia
Baran, Magda
Beck, Mirl
Beck, Shraga
Beck, Josef Menashe
Beck, Moshe Michael
Beck, Simon
Bein, Adolph
Beinne, Lowinger Gizella
Bein, Armin
Beinne, Fishof Karolin
Bein, Beno
Benedikt, Geza
Benediktne, Kalmar Klara
Dr. Berde, Mozes
Dr. Berdene, Kohn Fani
Berenyi, Tivadar
Berenyi, Boske

Berkovits, Ezriel Jehuda
Berkovits, Cipora
Berkovits, Eljakan
Berkovits, Chaja Sora
Berkovits, Shalom
Berkovits, Golda
Berman, Moshe
Berman, Cirl
Berman, Zvi Jehuda
Berman, Chaim
Berman, Mordechai Shmuel
Berman, Pesl
Blum, Zvi
Blum, Shalom
Blum, Jocheved
Blum, Feige
Blum, Gittel
Blum, Lea
Blum, Sara Bluma
Brauer, Erno
Brauerne, Hollander Roza
Brauer, Josef
Brauer, Armin
Brauer, Josef
Brauerne, Deutsch Paula
Brauer, Gustav
Brauer, Robert
Braun, Menachem Zev
Braun, Cipora
Braun, Feigele
Braun, Josef
Braun, Moshe
Braun, Cvia
Braun, Bele
Brick, Victor, wife, children
Brick, Miklos
Brick, Jehuda
Brick, Moshe
Brick, Eliezer
Brick, Shalom Zvi
Brick, Paula
Brull, Samuel
Blumenstock, Sandor
Blumenstockne, Jankovits Lina
Chlebovitsne, Fisher Roza
Chlebovits, Judit
Chlebovits, Alfred
Chlebovits, Andras
Davidovits, Emil
ozv. Davidovits, Ignac
Davidovits, Ferenc
Davidovits, Josef
Denes, Ferenc
Denesne, Schwartz Erzsebet
Denes, Marta
Deutsch, Avraham
Deutsch, Sara
Deutsch, Meir Jechiel
Deutsch, Jeshoua
Deutsch, Jichac Michael
Deutsch, Genendel
Deutsch, Ester
Deutsch, Klonimos
Deutsch, Lane
Deutsch, Efraim
Deutsch, Moshe
Deutsch, Rachel Lea
Deutsch, Simon Jehuda
Deutsch, Simcha Matitjahu
Deutsch, Chele
Deutsch, Eliezer David
Deutsch, Chanania Meir
Deutschne, Dick Fani
ozv. Dr. Diamont, Salmonne
Dick, Izidor
Dickne, Kaufman Janka
Dick, Istvan
Dick, Arnold
Dickne, Fried Mina
Dick, Magda
Dick, Boriska
Dick, Rozsi
Dick, Kata
Dick, Ilona

Dick, Zsuzsi
Dick, Laszlo
Donath, Hillel Shmuel
Donath, Frumat
Donath, Mordechai Michael
Donath, Avigdor
Donath, Josef Benjamin
Donath, Jishai
Donath, Mindl
Donath, Feige
Donath, Sulamith
Donath, Nathan
Donath, Mirl
Donath, Tila
Donath, Benjamin Zev
Donath, Elijahu
Donath, Freidl Jittel
Donath, Jejutiel Dov
Donath, Rafael
Donath, Jishai
Donath, Meir
Donath, Tsarne Reichl
Donath, Mindl
Donath, Perl
Donath, Rachel
Donath, Yissachar
Donath, Ester
Dr. Eisenberg, Bernat
Dr. Eisenbergne, Schwartz Irma
ozv. Eisner, Sandorne
Eisnerne, Basch Livia
Eisner, Andras Tamas
Eisner, Ildiko Julianna
Eisner, Ferenc
Eisnerne, Elek Maria
Eisner, Gabor
Engel, Ferenc
Engelne, Rosenthal Margit
Engel, Alice
Engel, Imre
Engelne, Wilhelm Matild
Engelman, Arthur
Engelmanne, and children
Engelman, Jomtov Jehuda
Engelmanne, and children
Engelman, Josef
Engelmanne, and children
Engelman, Leo
Engelmanne, and children
Engelman, Shimshon
Engelmanne, and children
ozv. Erdos, Zsigmondne
Erdos, Pal
Erdosne, Konigstein Irma
Erdos, Janos
Falk, Zsigmond
Falkne, Zinner Aranka
ozv. Farago, Denesne
Faragone, Eisenberg Maria
ozv. Fejer, Aladarne
Fejer, Zsuzsa
Fejer, Anna Eva
Feldman, Jichac Yehuda
Feldman, Jacob
Feldman, Milku
Feldman, Yehudit
Feldman, Josef
Feldman, Moshe
Finkelstein, Josef Shlomo
Finkelstein, Perl
Finkelstein, Cvia
Finkelstein, Matl
Finkelstein, Rivka
Finkelstein, Meir
Fischer, Ignac
Fischerne, Eisenberg Rozsi
Fischer, Zsuzsi
Fischer, Otto
Fischer, Gyorgy
Fischer, Mihaly
Fischerne, Fischer Janka
Fischer, Borbala
Fischer, Piroska
Fischer, Laszlo

Fischer, Maria
ozv. Fischer, Mihalyne
Fischerne, Lowinger Ella
Fischer, Szidonia
Fischer, Ferenc
Fischer, Samu
Fischer, Mor
Fischerne, Szigeti Rezsin
Fischer, Vera
ozv. Fischer, Gezane
Fischer, Sandor
Fischer, Bela
Fischer, Szerena
Fleischlne, Reiter Magdolna
ozv. Fleischman, Lipotne
Fleischman, Marcel
Francoz, Josef Yehuda
Francoz, Jichak
Francoz, Eliezer
Francoz, Jischaj Michael
Freund, Nathan
Freund, Gittel
Freund, Sara
Freund, Yehudit
Freund, Michael
Fried, Mor
Friedne, Fischer Mina
Fried, Piroska
Fried, Marta
Fried, Reichel
Fried, Efraim
Friedenthal, Aharon Shmuel
Friedenthalne
Frohlich, Mordechai Zvi
Frohlich, Zisl
Frohlich, Klonimos
Frohlich, Yehuda
Frohlich, Frumat
Frohlich, Zvi
Frohlich, Chana
Frohlich, Jichak
Frohlich, Shmuel
Frohlich, Dvora
Frohlich, Aharon
Frohlich, Yehuda
Frohlichne
Frohlich, Josef
Frohlich, Kalman
Frohlich, Levi
Frohlich, Jichak
Frohlichne
Frohlich, Shlomo
Fuchs, Chana
Fuchs, Hendel
Fuchs, Rivka
Fuchs, Dov
Fuchs, Feigele
Fuchs, Frumat
Fuchs, Chajele
Galandauer, Rivka
Galandauer, Reicl
Galandauer, Chaim Zvi
Galandauer, Chaja Sara
Galandauer, Cirl
Galandauer, Yehuda Arje
Galandauer, Mindl
Galandauer, Eliezer David
Galandauer, Mordechai
Galandauer, Avraham
Galandauer, Shlomo
Galandauer, Moshe
Galandauer, Shalom Zvi
Galandauerne
Galandauer, Eliezer
Galandauer, Menachem Zev
Galandauer, Cipora
Galandauer, Josef
Galandauer, Moshe
Galandauer, Feigele
Galandauer, Rivka
Galandauer, Civa
Galandauer, Bele
Galandauer, Jacov
Galandauer, Yecheskel

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Galandauer, Rachel
Galandauer, Simon
Galandauer, Jichak Zvi
Galandauer, Golda
Galandauer, Lane
Galandauer, Genendel
Galandauer, M.J. Yehuda
Galandauer, J. Shalom
Galandauer, Moshe
Galandauer, Juta
Galandauer, Shlomo Benjamin
Galandauer, Meir Yehuda
Galandauer, Aharon
Galandauer, E. Elijahu
Galandauer, Daniel
Galandauer, Mordechai
Galandauer, Sara
Galandauer, Genendel Lea
Glattstein, Jichak
Glattstein, Yitl
Glattstein, Mordechai
Glattstein, Asher Anshel
Glattstein, Moshe Chaim
Glattstein, Zev
Glattstein, Lea
Glattstein, Shendel
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Goldring, Shendel
Goldring, Rivka
Goldring, Feige Cirl
Goldring, Jichak Jacob
Goldring, Zvi
Goldring, Chaja
Goldring, Mordechai
Goldring, Juta
Goldring, Eliezer David
Goldring, Moshe
Goldring, Simon
Goldring, Pinchas
Goldring, Lea
Goldring, Lane
Goldring, Avraham
Goldring, Shlomo
Goldring, Avraham Jichak
Goldring, Feige Lea
Goldring, Yehoshua Eliahu
Goldring, Efraim Eliezer
Goldberger, Josef
Goldbergerne, Baran Elvira
ozv. Gottlieb, Ignacne
Goldman, Jacob
Goldmanne, Grunhut Dora
Goldman, Laszlo
Goldmanne, Lauber Margit
Goldman, Sandor
ozv. Goldman, Ignacne
Goldstein, Zalman
Goldsteinne
Goldstein, child
Gombo, Miraim
Gombo, Yeshaiahu
Gombo, Moshe
Gombo, David
Gombo, Chaim
Gombo, Avraham
Gombo, Rachel
Gombo, Jacob Yeshai
Gombo, Rachel
Gondane, Grunbaum Marta
Gottesman, Jichak
Gottesman, Moshe
Granne, Silcer Malvin
Gross, Dezso
Grossne, Hollander Bella
Gross, Rudolf
Gross, Samu
Grossne, Berger Vilma
Gross, Otto
Grunbaum, Jeno
Grunbaumne, Acs Erzsebet
Grunhut, Mano
Grunhutne, Hochzeit Rozsi
Grunhut, Isabelle

Guttman, Olga
Guttman, Ivan
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Guttman, Benjamin Zev
Guttman, Zelde
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Guttman, Ervin
Guttman, Robert
Halaszne, Reich Roza
Halasz, Odon
Halbrohr, Erno
Halbrohrne, Fischof Karola
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Heller, Moshe
Hellerne
Heller, Rivka
Heller, Shmuel
Heller, Frumat
Heller, Asher
Heller, Gitl
Heller, Sara
Heller, Chaim Mordechai
Heller, Aharon Zvi
Heller, Chaja Golda
Heller, Bica
Heller, Jekutiel Yehuda
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Heller, Zvi
Heller, Chaim
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Heller, Bandit
Heller, Ede
Hellerne, Friedman Jolan
Heller, Valeria
Heller, Tamas
Heller, Josef
Heller, Karoly
Hellerne, Ehrenfeld Flora
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Herman, Lea
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Herman, Moshe
Herman, Cirl
Herman, Chaja
Herman, Rivka Sara
Herman, Certl Yehudit
Herman, Michael Aharon
Herman, Chaja
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Hersch, Hillel Shalom
Hersch, Gittel
Hersch, Lea
ozv. Hesser, Jenone
ozv. Hesser, Sandorne
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Hesser, Szidonia
Hesser, Arthur
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Hirschfeldne, Hahn Rozsi
Hirschfeldne, Kramer Iren
Hirschfeld, Gyorgy
Hirschfeldne, Weingarten Szidonia
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Hirschfeldne, Pelczer Ernestine
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Jakobovitsne, Schweitzer Julia
Jakobovits, Eva
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Kaff, Avraham Moshe
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Kaff, Yittel
Kaff, Jichak
Kalisch, Genendel
Kalisch, child
Kaufman, Baruch Bendit
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Kaufman, Rachel
Kaufman, Chaja Sora
Kaufman, Mordechai Shraga
Kellner, Jacob
Kellnerne, Rosenberg Ilona
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Kellner, Andor
Kellner, Etel
Kellner, Miska
Kellner, Anna
Kellner, Mano
Kellnerne, Rosenberg Julia
Kellner, David
Kellner, Sandor
Klein, Agnes
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Klinnenberg, Berta
Klinnenberg, Etel
Klinnenberg, Eva
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Kohnne, Leichner Sari
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Kohn, Rivka
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Kohn, Moshe
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Kohn, Hendl
Kohn, Reicl
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Kohn, Rivka
Kohn, Jichak Naftali
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Kohn, David
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Kohn, Yechiel Shmuel
Kohn, Rachel
ozv. Koralek, Gyulane
Koralek, Henrik
Koralekne, Erenthal Frida
Kostelitz, Andor
Kostelitzne
Kostelitz, children
Konigsbaum, Andor
Konigsbaumne, Stern Rozsi
Konigsbaum, Tamas
Konigsbaum, Marika
Konigstein, Imre
Konigsteinne, Heller Matilde
Konigstein, Aharon
Konigstein, Perl
Konigstein, Shmuel
Konigsteinne
Konigstein, boys
Kramer, Zoltan
Krauss, Jichak Moshe
Krauss, Chaja Soro
Krauss, Yehoshua
Krauss, Livia
Krauss, Shalom
Krauss, Rachel
Krauss, Chele
ozv. Krauss, Karolyne
Krauss, Gyula
Kraussne, Fischof Rozsi
Krauss, Josef
Kraussne, Benedikt Erzsi
Krauss, Sandor
Kraussne, Kramer Janka
Krauss, Samu
Kraussne, Krauss Franciska
Krauss, Gyorgy
Kreisman, Shraga Menachem
Kreisman, Carka
Kreisman, Yoav Michael
Kreisman, Miriam
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Kreisman, Jachet
Kreisman, Lea
Kreisman, Chaim
Kreisman, Zev
Kreisman, Moshe Aharon
Kreisman, Miriam
Kreisman, Yachet
Kritzler, David
Kritzlerne, Taube
Kritzler, Sara
Kritzler, Yisrael
Kkritzlerne, Sara
Kritzler, David
Kritzler, Zvi
Kritzler, Chaim
Kritzler, Chaja
Kritzler, Breindel
Kritzler, Yisrael Shalom
Kruger, Shmuel Zev
Kruger, Bele
Kruger, Avraham
Kruger, Yisroel
Kruger, Bele
Kuttner, Meir
Kuttnerne, Weiss Devora
Kuttner, Josef
Kuttner, Moshe
Kuttner, Ester
Kuttner, Lotte
Kun, Ferenc
Kunne, Fleischer Aranka
Lagler, Reicl
Lagler, David
Lagler, Rivka
Lagler, Shlomo

Laglerne
Lazar, Zvi
Lazar, Miriam
Lazar, Rachel
Lazar, Yachet
Lazar, Sara Bracha
Lazar, Josef
Lehnerne, Eisner Klara
Lehner, Gyorgy
Lehner, Judith
Lehner, Miklos
Lehner, Oscar
Lehnerne, Meyer Ella
Lehner, Edith
Lehner, Vera
Leichner, Miksa
Leichner, Rezso
Litzman, Fani
Dr. Litzmanne, Berger Aranka
Litzman, Bella
Litzman, Gyorgyi
Litzman, Marianna
Loblne, Spiegel Ilona
Lobl, Erika
Lobl, Ignac
Loblne, Kramer Hermin
Lobl, Kornel
Loblne, Farkas Ida
Lobl, Marta
Lobl, Josef
Loblne, Glanz Jozsa
Lobl, Ferenc
Rav. Low, Yirmijahu
Low, Chana Milka
Low, Moshe Eliezer
Lowenbein, Miksa
Lowenbeinne, Weiss Margit
Lowenbein, Pal
Lowinger, Simon
Lowinger, Reicl
Dr. Lowy, Miksa
Dr. Lowyne, Deutsch Erzsebet
Lowy, Ivan
Lowy, Zsuzsa
Lowyne, Deutsch Hedvig
Lowy, Gyorgy
Lowy, Agnes
Lustig, Mor
Lustigne, Hirsch Etel
Mandlne, Eisner Margit
Mandl, Julia
Mandl, Pal
Marcus, Ester Chana
Marcus, Josef Yehuda
Marcus, Sara Rivka
Marcus, David
Marcus, Moshe
Marcus, Eliezer Chaim
Marcus, Shmuel
Marcus, Shalom Zvi
Marcus, Feigele
Marcus, Taube
Marcus, Bele
Mezei, Reicl
Mezei, Nachum
Mezei, Ester
Mezei, Jacob Yishai
Mezei, Sara
Mezei, Miriam
Mezei, Nathan
Milko, Herman
Milkone, Berger Gizella
Milko, Imre
Moskovits, Zisel
Moskovits, Moshe
Moskovits, Chana
Moskovits, Chaja
Moskovits, Frumet
Moskovits, Yehuda
Moskovits, Amram
Moskovits, Yittel
Muller, Ferenc
Mullerne, Gizella nee Burger
Muller, Imre

Muller, Josef Eliezer
Muller, Malka
Muller, Jacob Pinchas
Muller, David
Muller, Josefin
Naglerne, Lowinger Hajnal
Nagler, Ervin
Partos, Fulop
Partosne, Steinhardt Gizella
Perlstein, Mina
Pfeifer, Miriam Bluma
Pfeifer, Sara
Pfeifer, Zvi
Pfeifer, Eliezer Jomtov
Pfeifer, Moshe
Pfeifer, Avraham
Pfeifer, Shmuel
Pfeifer, Josef
Pfeifer, David
Pfeifer, Sara
Pfeifer, Chaim Efraim
Pfeifer, Avraham Chaim
Pfeifer, Bele
Pfeifer, Moshe Yehuda
Pollak, Chana
Pollak, Shendel
Pollak, Shlomo
Pollak, Malka
Pollak, Moshe
Pollak, Breindel
Pollak, Feigele
Pollak, Gittel
Pollak, Rachel
Pollak, Hadasa
Pollak, Reicl Gittel
Pollak, Moshe Shmuel
Pollak, Hillel Zvi
Pollak, Feigele Breindel
Pollak, Aharon
Pollak, Benjamin Zvi
Pollak, Eliezer
Pollakne
Pollak, Chaim
Pollak, Arje Yehuda
Pollak, Ester
Pollak, Yisachar Dov
Pollak, Rachel
Pollak, Jichak
Pollak, Sara
Pollak, Yehuda
Pollak, Feigele
Pollak, Moshe Chaim
Preiss, Josef
Preissne, Muller Regina
Raubitchek, Izor
Reich, Bernat
Reichne, Jakobovits Anna
Reich, Tibor
Reich, Istvan
Ronai, Istvan
Ronaine, Schwartz Rozsi
Ronai, Karoly
Ronai, Tamas
Rosenbaumne, Laufer Regina
Rosenbaum, Erzsebet
Rosenbaum, Ilona
Rosenbaum, Ferenc
Rosenbaum, Rozsi
Rosenberg, Gyula
Rosenbergne, Wurm Roza
Rosenberg, Vilmos
Rosenberg, Netti
Rosenberg, Katalin
Rosenberg, Agnes
ozv. Rosenberg, Davidne
Rosenbergne, Blumenstock Rozsa
Rosenberg, Sandor
Rosenberg, Erzsebet
Rosenberg, Agnes
Rosenberg, Bela
Rosenberg, Klara
Rosenberg, Zoltan
Rosenberg, Jozsa
Rosenfeld, Zvi

Rosenfeld, Raize
Rosenfeld, Moshe
Rosenfeld, Rivka
Rosenfeld, Miriam
ozv. Rosenfeld, Ignacne
Rosenfeld, Sandor
Rosenfeld, Judith
Rothmuller, Roza
Rothmuller, Zsigmond
Rothmullerne, Neufeld Juliska
Rothmuller, Robert
Sajo, Jeno
Sajone, Krauss Rozsi
Sajo, Laszlo
Sajone, Hilfreich Magda
Sajo, Jutka
Sajo, Andras
Salamon, Malka
Salamon, Gershon
Salamon, Shmuel
Salamon, Michael
Salamon, Ester
Salamon, Rachel
Salamon, Simcha Bunam
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Salamon, Sheltiel
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Salamon, Zacharja Menachem
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Sauber, Chaim
Sauber, Gittel
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Sauber, Bele
Sauber, Feigele
Sauber, Shendl
Sauber, Taube
ozv. Schlesinger, Belane
Schlesinger, Edith
Schon, Josef Shaul
Schon, David
Schon, Mordechai
Schon, Simcha
Schon, Eliezer Chaim
Schon, Jichak Zekl
Schon, Matl
Schon, Lea
Schon, Frumet
Schon, Bele
Schon, Rivka
Schon, Miriam
Schon, Ezra
Schon, Frumet
Schon, Feigele
Schon, Chaja
Schon, Simcha
Schon, Jacob
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Schon, Josef Shaul
Schon, Mordechai
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Schwartz, Yeshua Zvi
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Schwartz, Aharon Shmuel
Schwartz, Mordechai
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Schwartz, Jacob Koppel
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Schwartz, Gittel
Schwartz, Jichak Zekl
Schwartzne
Schwartz, Shmuel

Schwartz, Zelda
Schwartz, Pesach
Schwartz, Arje
Schwartz, Edl
Schwartz, Adolfne ozv.
Schwartz, Imre
Schwartzne, Frank Irma
Schwartz, Ivan
Schweitzer, Sandor
Schweitzerne, Vig Hermin
Schweitzer, Imre
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Schweitzer, Istvan
Singer, Mirl
Singer, Shraga
Singer, Josef Menashe
Singer, Moshe Michael
Singer, Simon
Singer, Jichak
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Singer, Rochel Lea
Singer, Moshe Zecharja
Singer, Adolf Avraham
Singerne, Haubner Cornelia
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Singer, Andor
Singerne, Pollak Maria
Dr. Singer, Imre
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Singer, Shalom
Singer, Yochebed
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Somogyine, Schwartz Vera
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Stark, Mor
Starkne, Rohmuller Regina
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Stein, Gasparne
Stein, Laszlo
Stein, Erika
Stein, Agnes
Stein, Gyorgy
ozv. Strasser, Jenone
Stern, Edel
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Stern, Chava
Stern, Ezriel
Stern, Simcha Zev
Stern, Chaim
Stern, Moshe Chaim
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Stern, Jichak
Stern, Klonimos
Stern, Jedidja
Stern, David
Stern, Certl
Stern, Gitl
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Stern, Jacob Yishai

Stern, Simcha
Stern, Chaja
Stern, Rachel
Stern, Rivka
Stern, Eliezer Jomtov
Stern, Yitl
Stern, Shmuel Benjamin
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Strauss, Bencion Joel
Strauss, Chaja Sara
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Strauss, Eliezer Chaim
Strauss, Moshe Jomtov
Sugarne, Ungar Ilonka
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Sugar, Laszlo
Szigeti, Lajos
Szigetine, Hirschfeld Ilona
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Szigeti, Gyorgy
Szigeti, Istvan
ozv. Silzer, Simmonne
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Szucs, Imre
Szucsne, Weiss Margit
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Toch, Zsigmond
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Ulman, Mordechai Yehuda
Ulman, Naftali
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Ulman, Shalom
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Ulman, Moshe
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Vidor, Judith
Viola, Arpad
Violane, Weiner Sarolta
Viola, Gyorgyi
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Warum, Zvi
Warum, Rachel
Warum, Ester Shendel
Warum, Bele
Weber, Andor
Weberne, Hollander Boriska
Weber, Janos
Weinberger, Hugo
Weinbergerne, Laufer Sara
Weiss, Shendel
Weiss, Ester
Weiss, Rivka
Weiss, Aharon
Weiss, Sara
Weiss, Josef
Weiss, Jacob Yishaj
Weiss, Zvi
Weiss, Shmuel
Weiss, Ester
Weiss, Sara
Weiss, Reicl
Weiss, Fulop
Weissne, Baran Aranka
Weissne, Welzler Anna
Weiss, Aranka
ozv. Weiss, Simmonne
Wolfne, Milko Anna
Wolf, Laszlo

Wolf, Eva
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Zeif, Gedalje
Zeif, Miriam
Zeif, Shalom
Zeif, Avraham
Zeif, Jichak
Zeif, Rachel
Zeif, Ashel Anshel
Zeif, Rivka
Zeif, Chaja
Zeif, Pinchas Chaim
Zeif, Yehuda
Zeif, Yirmiahu Shalom
Zeif, Sara
Zeif, Eliezer
Zeif, Jichak
Zeif, Yirmiahu
Zeif, Shalom
Zeif, Sara
Zeif, Mordechai
Zeif, Chana
Zeif, Cirl
Zeif, Genendel
Zeif, Shmuel
Zeif, Menachem
Zeif, Rachel
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ozv. Zucker, Sandorne

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The above list is compiled from Eisner's book (see bibliography). All other lists are from author's research.

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Krauss, Gitl
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Krauss, Shlomi
Krauss, Yisroel
Krauss, Josef
Braun, Ester (nee Friedman)
Braun, Ester (nee Weiss)
Braun, Henrik
Braun, Sandor
Doman, M.
Domanne, S.
Doman, Gyula

These are the names listed in the Name's Series: Jewish Victims of Hungarian Labour Battalions (Dr. G. Bar Sheked, Yad Vashem) Volume I

Adler, Samuel
Allweiss, Salamon
Barany, Ignac
Barany, Laszlo
Braun, Adolph
Breuer, Josef
Zucker, Tibor
Deutsch, Miklos
Deutsch, Zoltan
Dick, Miklos
Fischer, Bela
Fischer, Sandor
Frohlich, Andor
Frohlich, Gyula
Frohlich, Isac
Goldman, Mihaly
Greiner, Sandor
Gross, Otto
Grosberger, Mark
Grosberger, Moshe
Grunhut, Kalman
Heller, Ede
Heller, Henrik
Herman, Aladar
Herman, Miksa
Hirschfeld, Marton

On the Eastern Front.
In the continuation, Volume II, are the following:

Kuttner, Marcel
Kostelits, Abraham
Kostelits, Andor
Kreisman, Mihaly
Lustig, Josef
Lustig, Miksa
Marcus, Deso
Pfeifer, Lipot
Reich, Adolf
Reiter, Istvan
Rothmuller, Sigmond
Schon, David
Schon, Marcus
Ulmann, Sandor
Weiss, Andor
Zeif, Simon
Zeif, Vilmos

Appendix

Relevant Documents

6163/1944 was a most fatal document for the Hungarian Jews. Prepared by Laszlo Endre and signed by Laszlo Baky on April 7, 1944. The subject: where the Jews should be relocated.

" The Royal Hungarian Government will soon have the country cleansed from the Jews. I order the cleansing by regions. They should be transported to assigned concentration camps, - regardless of sex or age. - In the cities and large villages later a part of the Jews will be placed in Jewish buildings, or rather in ghettos according to the instructions of the police authorities.

The gendermarie will assist the Hungarian Police to accomplish the concentration and transportation of the Jews. The German security police will be on the scene to advise. It's important to make it sure of a full cooperation with them".

Then comes detailed description of the handling of the emptied Jewish apartments.

The Jews, - as prisoners, - will be transported on trains. They are not allowed to carry with them any money or jewelry. They may have two sets of underwear and some food.

The document goes into detail about the sequence of the concentration and deportation according to gendermarie districts. The last chapter would be the deportation of the Budapest Jews. At the end the paper orders, that all these should be handled strictly confidential. Nobody should know about it, until the action started.-

The document above arrived in July from The Hungarian Central Documentation Center, Budapest (Magyar Orszagos Leveltar).

1. 6163/1944—The order for deportation.

Tolnamegyei Ujság, XXVI. évf. /1944/, május 10., 3. old

Tolnamegyei zsidók gettóba telepitése

A zsidókkal szemben hozott rendszabályok szerint a Tolna vármegye területén sárga megkülönböztető csillag viselésére kötelezett 5000 zsidót — mint arról a vármegye alispánjától értesülünk — lakóhelyükön összefüggő épülettömbbe kell összetelepiteni, hermetice körülzárni, hogy a keresztény lakossággal ne érintkezhessenek és hogy ott saját maguk gondoskodjanak magukról.

Ebben az ügyben a pécsi csendőrkerületi parancsnokság bevonásával tanácskozások voltak a vármegyeházán és ezeken a tanácskozásokon részt vettek a járási főszolgabirák is. — Most készül a teljes elszigetelésre vonatkozó programm, amelyet a hét utójára már végre is kell majd hajtani.

Ennek a munkának a részleteiről jövő számunkban már valószinüen be is számolhatunk lapunk olvasó közönségének és közölhetjük, hogy Szekszárdon és vármegyénk nagyobb községeiben hol jelölik ki a gettót a zsidók számára.

—

2.. The county's news article about Ghettoization.

Tolnamegyei Ujság, XXVI. évf. /1944/, 42. szám, jun.3.
1-2. oldal.

Szekszárdról elköltöztették a sárgacsillagos zsidókat

Ismeretes, hogy a zsidóknak a kiadott kormányrendeletek szerint egységes zárt helyre való összetelepitése Szekszárdon nem volt megvalósitható, mert a megüresedett zsidóházak nem alkalmasak azoknak a földmiveseknek a gazdálkodására, akiknek a házaiba a zsidókat gettószerüen el lehetett volna helyezni. Emiatt a helyi hatóságok akként intézkedtek, hogy néhány nagyobb befogadó képességü zsidóházba költöztették össze a sárga csillag viselésére kötelezett egyéneket.

Az összeköltöztetésnél tekintettel voltak arra, hogy zsidófaju keresztények ne lakjanak együtt őseik hitén maradt fajtestvéreikkel. A zsidók számára lakásul kijelölt házakban az előirt szabályok szerint kellett az összetelepitetteknek élniök és onnan kijönni csak a nap bizonyos meghatározott óráiban volt szabad azoknak, akiket az összeiras a piaci stb. bevásárlásokkal megbizott. A zsidók lakóhelyéül kijelölt és a város legkülönbözőbb részein fekvő házak kapujára sárga Mózes-csillagos kartont szegeztek ezzel a felirással:

Ebben a házban zsidók laknak.

Ez az elhelyezés a kiadott rendeletnek a zsidók ellenőrzése céljából meg nem felelvén, a belügyminiszter elrendelte, hogy a szekszárdi zsidókat innen el kell szállitani és pedig akként, hogy közülük

vasuton	Dombóvárra	60
kocsin	Paksra	73
"	Bonyhádra	120
vasuton	Pincehelyre	40
"	Tamásiba	41
	Összesen:	334

egyént elszállitsanak és az ott már meglevő, illetve kibővitendő gettókba helyezzenek el.

A sárga csillag viselésére kötelezett zsidók Szekszárdról hosszu karavánokkal szerdán reggel vonultak poggyászaikkal együtt részben kijelölt tartózkodási helyükre, részben pedig a pályaudvarra, ahol bevagonirozták őket, majd a megfelelő vonathoz kapcsolt kocsikon elszállitották gettóik vasutállomására.

3. The county's news article about Deportation.

Bonyhád községben:

1. Ausch József üveg- és porcellánkereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 4 sz.
2. Bermann Mór órás és ékszerész, Szt. Imre u 8 sz.
3. Braun Emil terménykereskedő, Vörösmarthy tér 16 sz.
4. Brick Miksa nyerstermény kereskedő, Zrinyi u. 3 sz.
5. Eibenschütz Fülöp órás és ékszerész, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 5 sz.
6. Eisner János olajbizományos, Szt. Imre u. 3 sz.
7. Özv. Faragó Dénesné fűszer- és vegyeskereskedő, Vörösmarty tér 22 sz.
8. Özv. Fein Samuné rövidárukereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 18 sz.
9. Flesch Hermann rövidárukereskedő, Perczel Mór u. 3 sz.
10. Frölich Jakab nyerstermény kereskedő, Forberger u. 7 és 10 sz.
11. Fuksz Dezső terménykereskedő, II Rákóczi Ferenc u. 2 sz.
12. Fuksz Sándorné terménykereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 2 sz.
13. Gombó Rudolf élelmiszer- és csemegekereskedő, Horthy-tér 5 sz.
14. Grósz Samu rőföskereskedő, Horthy tér 3 sz.
15. Guttmann Marcell nyerstermény- és szőrmekereskedő, Marhauser u. 1 sz.
16. Heller Mór rövidárukereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 3 sz.
17. Hermann Joachim Örökösei fűszerkereskedés, II Rákóczi F. u 14 sz.
18. Hermann Sándor tüzifa és szénkereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 10. sz.
19. Hesser Artur rőföskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u 24 sz.
20. Özv. Hesser Jenőné bőrkereskedő, Horthy tér 6 sz.
21. Hirschfeld Miksa divatárukereskedő, Szt Imre u. 1 sz.
22. Jakobovics Gyula könyv- és papirkereskedő, Perczel Mór u. 5 sz.
23. Kaff Ábrahám tojás- és baromfi kereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 12 sz.
24. Kaufmann Béla rőföskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 16 sz.
25. Klein Pál rőföskereskedő, Szt. Imre u. 4 sz.
26. Kohn Márkusz őszeres, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 12 sz
27. Kohn M. József vegyeskereskedő, Vörösmarthy tér 4 sz
28. Kohn Samu és Társa Zeif Manó rőföskereskedés, II Rákóczi F. u. 1 sz.
29. Kohn Testvérek varrógépkereskedés, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 15 sz.
30. Koralek Henrik vegyeskereskedő, II Rákóczi Ferenc u 127 sz.
31. Krausz J. Mózes vegyes- és nyerstermény kereskedő, Vörösmarthy-tér 7 sz.
32. Krausz Sámuel rőföskereskedő, Horthy-tér 3 sz.
33. Krausz Sándor rőföskereskedő, Szt. Imre u. 8 sz.
34. Kritzler Dávid bor- és hordókereskedő, Eibach u. 1 sz.
35. Kuhn Ferenc divatárukereskedő, Horthy-tér 5 sz.
36. Löwi Ernő rőföskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u 1 sz.
37. Márkusz József terménykereskedő, Vörösmarty tér 23 sz.
38. Mayer Lajos rőföskereskedő, Szt. Imre u. 1 sz
39. Müller Ferenc vegyeskereskedő, II Rákóczi Ferenc u. 2 sz.
40. Müller József terménykereskedő, Horthy tér 13 sz.
41. Pollák Gizella vegyeskereskedő, II Rákóczi Ferenc u. 76 sz.
42. Pollák Gyula és Gladstein Ignác zöldségkereskedés Perczel Mór u. 37 sz
43. Pollák Józefin rőföskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u 3 sz.
44. Rónai István rövidárukereskedő, Horthy-tér 4 sz.
45. Rosenfeld Henrik rőföskereskedő, Vörösmarthy tér 10 sz.
46. Salamon Henrik rőföskereskedő, Horthy-tér 3 sz
47. Sauber Henrik élelmiszerkereskedő, Vörösmarty-tér 17 sz.
48. Schön József vegyeskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 9 sz.
49. Schönberger József divatárukereskedő II Rákóczi Ferenc u. 1 sz.
50. Schwarcz Ábrahám terménykereskedő II Rakóczi Ferenc u. 19 sz.
51. Schwarcz Hermanné terménykereskedő, József u 1. sz.
52. Schwarcz Imre vegyeskereskedő, Marhauser u 5. sz
53. Schwarcz Jakab terménykereskedő, Perczel Mór u. 2 sz.
54. id. Schwarcz Károly terménykereskedő, Perczel Mór u. 40. sz.
55. Schwarcz Mózes terménykereskedő, Széchenyi u 7. sz.
56. Sik Sándor vegyeskereskedő, Szent Imre u. 6 sz.
57. Singer Sándor fűszerkereskedő II Rákóczi Ferenc u 13. sz.
58. Singer Vilmos vegyeskereskedő, Széchenyi u 17 sz.
59. Stern Lipótné vegyeskereskedő, Vörösmarty-tér 1. sz.
60. Strausz Dávid bőrkereskedő, Horthy tér 13. sz.
61. Strausz Hugó bőrkereskedő Horthy-tér 12 sz.
62. Strausz Salamon bőrkereskedő, Perczel Mór u 2. sz.
63. Ullman Lipótné élelmiszerkereskedő, Tisza István u 3. sz.
64. özv. Weisz Jakabné papirkereskedő, Horthy-tér 1. sz.
65. Weisz József vegyeskereskedő, Szent Imre u 4 sz.
66. Weisz Lipótné vegyeskereskedő, II. Rákóczi Ferenc u. 10. sz.
67. Zeif Géza rövidáru kereskedő, Horthy-tér 4 sz.

4. Local newspaper article about selling previously Jewish owned businesses, on the same day the Russian army arrived.

1944 szeptember 30.

BONYHÁDI ZSIDÓ NÉPKÖZÖSSÉG

Szt. Imre herceg út 2.
Telefon /int.urb./ 49.
1945.április 13-n.

Tekintetes

KÖZSÉGI ELÖLJÁRÓSÁG,

BONYHÁD.

A fasiszta uralom által embertelen módon elhurcolt bonyhádi zsidók, Isten segitségével kezdenek otthonukba visszatérni. A hazaérkezők teljesen leromyolodva, minden nélkül jönnek meg. Ismeretes, hogy a zsidó lakásokat kifosztották, a gettóban visszamaradt holmiikat széthurcolták.

A magyar hatóságok és az orosz katonai parancsnokság segitségével sikerült a széthordott holmik elenyészően csekély kis hányadát visszaszerezni, azonban azok is nagyrészben teljesen hasznavehetetlen állapotban voltak. Mindez annyi volt, mint cseppa tengerben! A pillanatnyi szükséget enyhitette, de nem jelentette a kérdés megoldását. Ma már ott tartunk, hogy a hazaérkezőknek sem ágyneműt, sem fehérneműt, sem pedig felsőruhát adni nem tudunk.

Ezzel kapcsolatban k é r é s s e l fordulunk a T.Elöljáróságához:

keressen és találjon módot az Elöljáróság arra, hogy társadalmi gyüjtés formájában megkaphassuk az alább felsorolt e l e n g e d h e t e t l e n ü l s z ü k s é g e s holmiikat, amelyekre a deportálásból testileg, lelkileg elcsigázott hazatérőknek szükségük van.

Azok részére kérjük a bonyhádi társadalom támogatását, akik Bonyhád nagyközség érdemes és köztiszteletben álló polgárai voltak, akik kulturális és gazdasági téren egyaránt komoly érdemeket szereztek és akik ma teljesen kifosztva, leromyolódva és kiéhezve érkeznek haza.

Nem lehet kétséges előttünk kérésünk meghallgatása. Tudjuk, hogy a bonyhádi közönség segiteni fog és mindazon holmiikat, amelyeket megoszthat velünk, rendelkezésünkre bocsájtja.

Felsoroljuk szükségleteinket:

Dunna és huzat, párna és huzat, /esetleg belsőtok is elég/ tollunk még van.
Férfi ing, férfi alsónadrág, férfi zakó és nadrág,
Lepedő, férfi és női cipő, matrac, ágybetét vagy szalmazsák, női ing, combiné és nadrág, harisnya és zokni stb.

Még bátorkodunk megjegyezni, hogy kérésünket lehetőség szerint s ü r g ő s e n sziveskedjenek elintézni, mert a mai napon hazaérkezett három bonyhádi zsidó polgárnak már sem ágyneműt, sem fehérneműt adni nem tudtunk.

Előre is köszönetet mondunk a T.Elöljáróságnak és vagyunk

tisztelettel

tanácstag vezető

5. After the war, the Jewish community asks local citizens for help.

LÉGATION DE HONGRIE

STOCKHOLM, June 1, 1948.

Miss Vera Müller,
S t o c k h o l m.

In connection with your new choice of profession and your leaving for the U.S.A. I take the opportunity to thank you for your magnificent social work within the Wallenberg committee. During May and June 1945 Hungarian speaking former deported people came to Sweden through the splendid support of the Swedish government and the Swedish nation. These Hungarians so tormented with terrors both physically and psychically, have all of them in their new environment outside their fatherland had their own problems and the social fellow-workers in the Wallenberg committee have solved these problems in an admirable manner. I had the opportunity for two years to observe your work in the committee. To-day I can state that only through the social spirit living in you, only through the self-sacrifice, the devotion and the enthusiasm together with your great energy and understanding could you carry out the wonder that you in spite of your youth became the protector of those people. Hundreds are moving back to their native country, other hundreds are brought back to the community partly in Sweden, partly in America and in other countries. I thank you in the name of the Legation, in the name of your clients and in my own name for your valuable social work within the Wallenberg committee and I wish you in your future life and in your new field of activity the best of luck and much success in your further social work.

MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG KÖVETSÉGE - LÉGATION DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE HONGRIE - STOCKHOLM

W. Böhm

Minister of Hungary.

6. A local letter of recommendation.

Tolna megyei Levéltár
Nemzeti Bizottsági Iratok, Bonyhád
XVII/2.
1946. évi köteg, 289-290. lapszám
eredeti sorszámozás nélkül!

1. Apaceller István vendéglős /üzlet zárva/
2. Baumgarten Zoltán vegyeskereskedő
3. Baráth Istvánné piacos
4. Becker Katalin vegyeskereskedő /üzlet zárva, pékséget folytat/
5. Binder János --- kitelepitve
6. Boross László gabonás
7. Brick Ernő üveges /2 hónapja nyitott/
8. Békássy Ferenc vendéglős /zárva, de szobákat ad ki/
9. Beszédes Istvánné vas, edény /nem gyak.iparát/
10. OKH. 11 ipareng. birtokosa --- vegyes nem üzi iparát
11. Borovitz László tojás
12. Braun Pál ? /miből él?/
13. Deckert Károly textil kereskedő
14. Dragon Péter textil kereskedő
15. Érdi József textil kereskedő
16. Engel Ferenc papir /Takács Miklósné ipareng.n./
17. Feldmann és Sauber élelmiszer /Nádasdy Vilmosnak fióküzletet rendezett be/
18. Freiburger Józsefné vegyes
19. Fritz István állatker. --- kitelepitve
20. Fürölich Izsák toll, vas
21. Fuchs Dezső gabona
22. Fuchs Józsefné vegyes
23. Fuchs Jenő gabonás
24. Faragó István vaj tejterm.
25. Faragó Andor vaj tejterm.
26. Fogarassy Albert piacos
27. Galandauer Manó borker.
28. Gerner Ádám rövidáru --- kitelepitve
29. Grosz Szerén vegyesker. /kivándorolt/
30. Guttmann Károly lőszer, stb.
31. Guttmann Lajos bőr, stb.
32. Gébert Márton vegyes, koresma /gyakran zárva/
33. Graff Lénárd vendéglős /kat.kör bérlője/
34. Gerendás Béla üvegs, vegyes
35. Henewald József gabonás
36. Herger János divat, kalap
37. Hermann Sándor fakereskedő
38. Hermann Zoltán fakereskedő
39. Karl Keresztély --- kitelepitve
40. Helfenbein testvérek üveg, pore. /üzlet zárva/
41. Hermann Mayer vegyes
42. Herger Józsefné kalapos
43. Kehl Imréné vegyesker.
44. Kaff Lipót baromfi
45. Krausz Lázár vas, bőr, toll
46. Krausz Vilmos vas, bőr, toll
47. Kohn Salamon vegyes
48. Lafferthon Imre fakereskedő
49. Kallisch Samuel ? --- kivándorelt
50. Klein Pál textilker. --- elköltözött
51. Kirchner Sándor ügynökség
52. Kustár András gabonás
53. Kreiszmann Sándor gabonás
54. Kreiszmann Ármin gabonás
55. Kövecses János lókereskedő
56. Leichner Tibor lókereskedő
57. Löber Katalin vegyes
58. Kirchner Andorné kerékpár
59. Lützenburger József vegyes
60. Kohn Kálmán vegyes
61. Krug János termény
62. Kovács Mária piacos
63. Kovács András élelmiszer
64. Laufer György gyapjukeg.
65. Lőrinczi Artur
66. Müller Hugó textilker. --- elköltözött
67. Márkusz Ignác gabonás /orosz jóvátételt gyüjtő
68. Maletta Mihály vegyesker.
69. Mailach Ferenc cipőker.
70. Nádasdi Vilmos vegyes
71. Nusser Józsefné vegyes
72. Nagy Ferenc vendéglős
73. Péter Testvérek fakeresk.
74. Rein Henrik vegyesk. --- kitelepitve
75. Riger János fakeresk.
76. Ritzl Ádám terménykeresk.
77. Ritzl Vilmos piacos --- kitelepitve
78. Rusztler Ferenc butorker.
79. Rosenfeld Henrik textilker. üzlet nyitva, árusitás. Cégtulajdonos dep. Winkler nevű dolg./
80. ..... kékfestő. Kékfestő üzem működik.
81. Ritter Péter lókereskedő
82. Ritzl Józsefné üveg, pore. /zárva?/
83. Reisz Ádám textilker. --- kitelepitve
84. Rothberger Lajos üvegkeresk.
85. Sehneider János vegyes --- kitelepitve
86. Steib György textilkereskedő --- kitelepitve
87. Schwarcz Antal piacos --- kitelepitve
88. Schuhmann Ádám vegyes
89. Schwarcz Béla vegyes, gabona
90. Schwarcz Bernát textil
91. Steitz Péter vegyes --- kitelepitve
92. Salamon Marcell divat text.
93. Stiekl Ferenc divat test. /megszünt/
94. Strauss Hugó bőr
95. Studer Frigyes rádió --- kitelepitve
96. Singer Sebestyén szesz
97. Stampf Dániel vegyesker. /nyitva/
98. Sonnenschein Artur papir /most nyitott ismét/
99. Spiesz Ádám vendéglős
100. Seprényi Imre borker.
101. Trohn és Fia termény
102. Till Konrád vegyes --- kitelepitve
103. Topp Mihály textil
104. Tellér Endre divat
105. Oszter Mártonné élelmiszer
106. Ujság Józsefné piacos
107. Ulrich Mihály piacos --- kitelepitve
108. Winkler Andor textil, füszer - kékfestőüzem /Rosenfeld Henrik ipareng. dolg./
109. Vögységi Járás ker. és iparcikk szöv. termény, vegyes
110. Varga Jolán piacos
111. Vonbirn Ádám vegyes --- kitelepitve
112. M Wolf György vendéglős /újabban rendőrség székel ott/
113. Wágner István bőrker. cipész
114. Völgys. Telepes Szöv. termény
115. Záhrt János termény
116. Kesterlitz Andor vegyes

7. List of Bonyhad merchants in 1946.

PINKAS HAKEHILLOT
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES. HUNGARY
YAD VASHEM, JERUSALEM 1976

בולדוא—בונ׳האד

אחר המלחמה לא חזר מאושוויץ איש מיהתי ב׳. 3 ניצולים חזרו מעבודות הכפייה, אך עד מהרה עזבו את המקום, וכיום אין שם יהודים.

ארכיון יד ושם
E-7-4/349. O3-780.
ביבליוגראפיה
Mon. Hun. Jud., VII. p. 732.

בונ׳האד (Bonyhád), עיירה במחוז טולנא (Tolna), משמשת שוק מרכזי לתוצרת חקלאית. במקורות יהודיים: בונ׳הארד. אוכלוסיה (1941): 8,333.

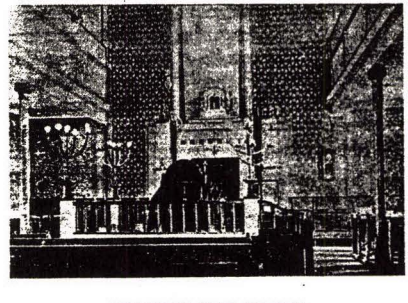
אוכלוסיה יהודית

שנה	מספר	% מכלל האוכלוסיה
1746	41	
1826	1,662	35.2
1869	1,209	20.8
1881	1,154	19.4
1890	1,274	20.3
1900	1,143	20.0
1910	1,147	17.8
1920	1,058	16.6
1930	1,022	14.2
1941	1,159	
1946	205	

עד גמר מלחמת העולם הראשונה

בעת הכיבוש התורכי נתרוקנו האזורים שבין הדונא והגבול האוסטרי מתושביהם ההונגריים, שבחלקם נהרגו ובחלקם ברחו על נפשם. משגורשו התורכים, בראשית המאה ה־18, הובאו לאזורים אלה מתיישבים חדשים מטוּרינגיא (Thuringia). יחד עמהם הגיעו לב׳ גם מתיישבים יהודיים מאוסטריה, גרמניה ומוראביה, על פי היתר מיוחד שקיבלו מבעלי האחוזות, משפחות פֶּרצֶל (Perczel) וקלוגֶל (Klugel). הודות להיתר זה יכלו לגור בב׳, לסחור בה ולעסוק במלאכות שונות.

על הישוב היהודי של אותם ימים מעידות גם המצבות בבית״ע, שיש מהן עתיקות משנת 1703.



פנים בית הכנסת האורתודוכסי

רוב יהודי ב׳ היו סוחרים ותעשיינים. בעיקר יצאו מוניטין במדינה למקטרות שיוצרו בביהח״ר היהודי בב׳. כן היו בה גם כמה רופאים יהודיים, עורכי דין ומהנדסים. יחס התושבים ליהודים היה טוב, בדרך כלל, עד כדי כך שבמשך זמן מסוים (בראשית המאה ה־20) היה מפקד המשטרה יהודי.

ב־1848/49 השתתפו יהודי ב׳ במלחמת השחרור של הונגריה, ובמלה״ע ה־1 נפלו 22 מיהודי ב׳. 25 קצינים יהודיים קיבלו אותות הצטיינות גבוהים.

בעת ״הטרור הלבן״, ב־1919, הורע מצבם של יהודי ב׳. יהודים הוכו לעיני המשטרה, בבית וברחוב, וכוּשׁוּ נשדד.

ארגון הקהילה והתפתחותה. ב־1754 נערכו התקנות לחברה קדישא בב׳, ובכך הונח היסוד לקהילה מאורגנת. הח״ק עסקה גם בגביית ״המסים היהודיים״ לרשויות השונות.

לקהילה היתה אוטונומיה בתחום השיפוט והכלכלה. אוטונומיה זו הוענקה לה על ידי בעלי האחוזות הנ״ל, שאיפשרו ליהודים להתיישב על אחוותיהם. לידי ראשות הקהילה פעלו בי״ד רבני, וכוח משטרתי פנימי קטן.

ב־1869 נתפלגה קהילת ב׳ לניאולוגית ואורתודוכסית. ב־1879 נתפלגה גם הח״ק, והוקצה שטח מיוחד לביה״ע האורתודוכסי. הח״ק האורתודוכסית הקימה ״חדר״, ״תלמוד תורה״, ישיבה, חברת ש״ס, מקווה, בית חרושת למצות, וארגנה ״תפארת בחורים״. מוסדות אחרים היו: חברת נשים וחברת צעירות (נפרדות לשתי הקהילות), גמילות חסדים, ביקור חולים, ובית מחסה לעניים.

בית הכנסת. הראשון נבנה ב־1764, אך ב־1794 עלה באש, על כל אשר בו, יחד עם כל בניני הקהילה, שתפסו רחוב שלם. לזכר המאורע חיבר הרב אברהם יהודה ליב פריישטאדט קינה מיוחדת, הנאמרת עד היום בבית הכנסת מדי שנה. ביהכ״נ החדש נבנה ב־1796, אך משהתמוטט ב־1896, נבנה חדש במקומו.

בית הספר. העממי היהודי נוסד בפקודתו של הקיסר יוסף השני ב־1784. לשון הלימודים היתה בתחילה גרמנית, ומסוף המאה ה־19 — הונגרית. עם פילוג הקהילה יסדו להם האורתודוכסים בי״ס משלהם. ביה״ס הניאולוגי נסגר ב־1925 מחוסר תלמידים. ילדים יהודים רבים (300—400) למדו בגימנסיה הנוצרית־לותראנית, שבה למדו אז (1870—1895) כ־3,500 תלמידים נוצריים.

רבנים. מרבני ב׳ ראויים לציון: יצחק הלוי שפיץ (Spitz; 1750—1768), שבימיו נבנה ביהכ״נ הראשון. לישיבה שהקים באו תלמידים ממרחקים. חיבר ספר ״ברכת יצחק״ (ברלין 1746). — אברהם יהודה ליב פריישטאדט (Freistadt; 1780—1808), שכבר נ״ל. — אריה יהודה לוֹב (Löw, נפטר ב־1816), המכונה ״חסיד״, מחבר ״פני אריה״ (פירושים לתלמוד ירושלים. — בנימין זאב בוסקוביץ (Boskovits; 1810—1818), מחבר ״מאמר אסתר״, ״שושן עדות״. — לייביש האלאר (Heller; 1819—1833), מחבר



הרב ל. שוארץ

"חידושים", "טיב גיטין", ועוד. — יצחק משה פֶּערלס (Perls; 1841—1854), שהיה אחד המתנגדים החריפים ביותר לחי־ דושים בחיי הדת של יהדות הונגריה, ונודע בספרו "בית נאמן". — משה הלוי פולאק (Pollák; 1845—1889), שהג־ דיל את המוניטין של הישיבה. בימיו נתפלגה הקהילה והוא עמד בראש הקהילה האורתודוכסית. ספריו: "ידבר משה", "ברכת משה", "תיקון משה". — יהודה גרינוואלד (Grünwald; 1895—1897), ספריו: "קרן לדוד", "זכרון יהודה". — אליעזר חיים דויטש (Deutsch; 1897—1916), ממנהיגי התנועה הציונית הדתית "מוריה". ספריו: "צמח הדסה", "חלקת שדה". כן נזכיר את הדיין ר׳ יוסף הכהן שוארץ (Schwarcz, 1897—1899), שהיה גם עורך כתב העת התורני "וילקט יוסף". רבה האחרון של ב׳ היה אהרון פּרעסבורגער (Presburger; 1924—1944), שעמד בראש ישיבה גדולה, נספה בשואה.

מרבני הקהילה הגיאולוגית ראויים לציון: טוביה רוזנ־ טאל (Rosenthal; 1891—1921), שבהשפעתו נבנה ביהכ״נ הגיאולוגי, שהצטיין ביופיו הארכיטקטוני. הוא היה גם מורה דת בגימנסיה. נודע בספרו "שושן עמק" (1895).

הציונות לא היתה פעילה ביותר בב׳, אך קופסאות רמבעה״נ והקהק״ל היו כמעט בכל בית, וכמה מיהודי המקום, בעיקר צעירים, עלו ארצה ב־1923, ב־1930 וב־1935.

השואה

ב־1938, עם פירסום חוקי ההפלייה, הורע בהרבה מצבם של יהודי ב׳. צעירים יהודיים בשירות צבאי, שהועסקו כנהגים, נאלצו לענוד סרטים צהובים על זרועם, נאסר עליהם ללבוש מדי צבא, והם הוכרחו למלא עבודות מאו־ סות וקשות ביותר בבגדים אזרחיים. ב־1940 נלקחו רבים מיהודי ב׳ לעבודות כפייה ונשלחו לעבוד בסאקסארד (Szekszárd), בודאפוסט (Budafok), האַרושטיגאט (Há-rossziget), וואץ (Vác), האַימאַשקאַר (Hajmáskér) ובהרי טראנסילוואניה.

ב־1941, משנכנסה הונגריה בברית עם היטלר למלחמה נגד בריה״מ, והוגבר הגיוס למחנות כפייה, גויסו כמה מאות יהודים בב׳ ונשלחו לאוקראינה ולפולין. תוך כדי כך נתערער לגמרי מצבם של הנשארים. אף על פי כן הרבו יהודי ב׳ לחסוך מפיהם ולתרום ל״אומז׳א״ (ר״ב), ששקדה לשלוח בגדי חורף חמים לעובדי הכפייה שמעבר לגבול.

באוקטובר 1942, הובאו כל הגברים שעוד נותרו בב׳ עד גיל 40, למחנה מאַרצאַלי (Marcali), ומשם נשלחו כולם לחזית הרוסית, ביניהם גם חולים אנושים. ב־1943 עצרו את כל הגברים עד גיל 50 והביאום לנאַגילאַק (Nagylak). כך נתרוקנה קהילת ב׳ מן הגברים. הזקנים, הנשים והטף שנשארו במקום היו עד מהרה קורבן לאכז־ ריותם של יחידות "היטלר יוגנד", שהובאו מגרמניה.

במאי 1944 נכלאו יהודי ב׳ בגטו שהוקצה להם באיזור בתהכ״נ, הגיאולוגי והאורתודוכסי. על 1,180 יהודי הגטו נוספו יהודי סאקסארד, באטאסאק (Bátaszék), אפאַרהאַנט (Aparhant), זומבא (Zomba), קאַטי (Kéty), טאַוואַל (Tevel), קישקאַנא (Kiskeve), וכן 60 חולי נפש מביה״ח האזורי. הגטו היה סגור ממש מהערב עד עשר בבוקר, אין יוצא ואין בא. בתוך הגטו שלטו שוטרים שלטון בלי מצרים, התעללו והיכו ביהודי הגטו ואף אנסו נערות, ואין מוחה בידם.

יהודי ב׳ עשו כמיטב יכולתם לארגן את חייהם בתנאים הקשים בגטו. ועדת הגטו היתה יוצאת לשוק, בלווית שוטרים, פעמיים בשבוע וקונה מזון לכלואים, וכן תרופות ומצרכים חיוניים אחרים. הילדים המשיכו בלימודיהם ובתי הכנסת נשארו פתוחים לקהל מתפללים. מר יותר היה גורל המומרים, שהכמרים הפקירום לנפשם אחר שהובאו לגטו. היהודים האמידים נחקרו ועונו קשות כדי שיודו היכן הטמינו אוצרותיהם.

ב־1 ביולי 1944 הועלו יהודי הגטו לקרונות, הגיעו ב־2



הרב אברהם פולאק

בונ׳האד—בו׳קו׳ן׳—ביהארנאג׳באיום

ביולי לפאץ׳ (Pécs) ומשם הובלו ברגל לקסרקטין לאקיץ׳ (Lakics), שבו רוכזו יהודי המחוזות טולנא ובאראנ׳א (Baranya). ב־6 ביולי הועלו שוב לקרונות והוסעו לאוש־ויץ. לאחר הסלקציה נשלחו חלק מן הצעירים לבוכנוואלד (Buchenwald), טורן (Torn) ושטוטהוף (Stutthof) שב־אוסטריה. רוב יהודי ב׳ נספו באושוויץ, ביניהם רבה האחרון של הקהילה הניאולוגית, לאיוש שוארץ (1924—1944).

אחר הגירוש נשארו בב׳ עובדי הכפייה עד ה־17 באוק־טובר. אותו יום הושבע הרחן סאלאשי (Szálasi) והעוב־דים היהודיים הובלו למגרש המסדרים, לשם שיחרורם, כפי שהובטח להם. אך במקום זה הגיעה לפתע יחידת ס״ס שהמטירה אש על המוני הנאספים, ו־1,200 מביניהם נרצחו באותו מעמד.

אחר המלחמה חזרו מן המחנות ומעבודות הכפייה במקומות אחרים, 352 איש ואשה, שחידשו את חיי הקהילה והקימו גלעד לזכר הקדושים בביה״ע הניאולוגי.

ב־1963 עדיין ישבו בב׳ 4 משפחות יהודיות. במקום נשתמרו שני בתכ״נ, אולם התפילות מתקיימות רק בחדר אחד.

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אוכלוסיה יהודית

שנה	מספר
1784/85	33
1880	197
1930	137

עד מלחמת העולם השנייה

היהודים הראשונים התישבו בב׳ במחצית השנייה של המאה ה־18, אחר שקיבלו רשות להתישב במקום מאת בעל האחוזה, וב־1781 אף שכר לו בעל האחוזה פקיד יהודי לניהול אחוזותיו.

עיקר פרנסתם של יהודי ב׳ היה על המסחר, אך היו בה גם כמה בעלי מלאכה ובעלי משקים.

הקהילה נתארגנה רק ב־1846 לערך. עם פילוג הקהילות בהונגריה, ב־1869, הגדירה עצמה כקהילה אורתודוכסית ונעשתה כפופה לאויפאהארטו (Ujfehértó). לעומת זאת השתמשה גאסטאראד (Geszteréd, 47 יהודים) ב־1930 בשירותיה הדתיים של ב׳.

החברה קדישא נוסדה ב־1849, עם פתיחת בית העלמין; קודם לכן נוקקו יהודי ב׳ לביה״ע של נאג׳קאלו. במקום היו גם ״חדר״, ״תלמוד תורה״, מקוה וחברה גמילות־חסד. בשירות הקהילה עמדו רב, שוחט ומלמד.

במלה״ע ה־1 נפלו 6 מיהודי ב׳ בחזית. אחר המלחמה, ב־1918, נערכה על יהודי ב׳ התקפת שוד וביזה, ואחד מיהודי המקום נרצח. כתוצאה מכך נטשו אחדים מהם את הכפר. לבסוף חזרו היחסים לתיקנם, אך מספר היהודים נצטמצם. האמידים שבהם עקרו למקומות גדולים יותר והנותרים התפרנסו בדוחק.

ב־1938, עם פיכסום חוקי ההפלייה, הוחרמו קרקעות היהודים. 9 מיהודי ב׳ גויסו לעבודות כפייה, ו־6 מהם נספו בזה.

השואה

עם הכיבוש הגרמני, ב־1944, הועברו יהודי ב׳ (75—80 נפש) לגטו שבנ׳יראג׳האז (Nyiregyháza) וכעבור שבו־עות מספר הוסעו משם לאושוויץ. עם הנספים שם גם רבה האחרון של ב׳, ר׳ יהודה פרידלנדר (1913—1944).

אחר המלחמה חזרו לב׳ רק 11 ניצולים, בעיקר נשים צעירות, שחזרו ועקרו עד מהרה.

ב־1956 נותרה בב׳ רק אשה יהודיה אחת.

י״ק

ארכיון יד ושם

E-7-4/339.

בי׳האַרנאַג׳באַיום (Biharnagybajom), נזכר גם כ־נאג׳באיום (Nagybajom), כפר במחוז ביהאר (Bihar), נפת שאראט (Sárrét), כ־5 ק״מ מדאבראצאן (Debrecen). אוכלוסיה (1941): 4,725.

אוכלוסיה יהודית

שנה	מספר
1840	60 (משפחות)
1880	208
1930	144 (נפשות)

עד מלחמת העולם השנייה

היהודים הראשונים התישבו בב׳ בתחילת המאה ה־19. רוב יהודי ב׳ היו סחרים, יתרם בעלי מלאכה וחקלאים. בין שתי המלחמות נמנו בה: 18 סחרים, 5 בעלי מלאכה, חקלאי ופועל דחק.

הקהילה נתארגנה ב־1826 והיתה כפופה ל־נאג׳וראד (Nagyvárad). ב־1885 נעשתה עצמאית וכפופים לה הישובים: באראנד (Bárand), שאפ (Sáp), ביהארטורדא (Biharterda), נאג׳יראבא (Nagyrábé), בוטהאנסאג (Bothanszeg), פאנצ׳האז (Pancsháza).

בעת פילוג הקהילות ב־1867 הגדירה עצמה כאורתודוכ־סית.

במקום היו חברה קדישא, מקוה ובית כנסת, ששנת הק־מתו לא נודעה.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in Budapest, Hungary, Leslie Blau was educated at the Jewish High School in Budapest, from 1931–1939, except for the years 1934–1935 which he spent at the high school in Bonyhad. He attended the Open University of the Jewish Organization in Budapest in 1940 and 1941. He was drafted into the Labor Service in 1943 and in the fall of 1944, having lost his father, sought asylum for himself and his mother at the Swiss Consulate—The Glass House—in Budapest where, on guard duty, he witnessed the liberation by the Russians on January 18, 1945. He returned to Bonyhad in 1945. There he married Sara Kuttner and lived there until the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. He emigrated to the United States and settled in New York. Leslie Blau has devoted the past four years to his research, in order to immortalize the once thriving and now virtually destroyed community of Bonyhad, Hungary.



Signing the "Scroll of Rememberance".

This photograph of the author with his wife was taken at the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors in Washington, DC in April of 1983.

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