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Roma Historical and Cultural Heritage Sites in Poland

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ROMA HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES IN POLAND

United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

2009

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FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA'S HERITAGE ABROAD

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UNITED STATES COMMISSION
FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICA'S HERITAGE ABROAD

September 23, 2009

Message from the Chairman

One of the principal missions that United States law assigns the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad is to identify and report on cemeteries, monuments, and historic buildings in Central and Eastern Europe associated with the cultural heritage of U.S. citizens, especially endangered sites. This report identifies and discusses cemeteries, Holocaust sites, and other places associated with the Roma ("Gypsies") in the Republic of Poland. It should enable Americans of Roma origin to connect with their past. I hope it will also lead to preservation of sites.

We believe that this report is the first of its kind compiled about Roma heritage sites in any country. It is our hope that it will not only assist readers to understand the nature of Roma sites in Poland, but that it will also serve as an inspiration for similar documentation projects in other countries with substantial and historic Roma communities.

Much of the work of the Commission relates to the Holocaust: sites were left unprotected because people who would otherwise have cared for properties were killed or forced to flee to other countries. Like the Jews, the Roma were targets of the Nazis, many were murdered in the Holocaust. The suffering that they endured and the sites that were a part of their lives should also not be forgotten. The Commission has sought to ensure memory through this survey.

Another mission of the Commission is to seek assurances from foreign governments regarding the protection and preservation of cultural heritage properties. I am pleased to note that the Governments of the United States and Poland entered into a Commission-negotiated agreement regarding the protection and preservation of certain cultural properties in 2004. The agreement covers the sites identified in this report.

Warren L. Miller

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Front cover picture: Roma mausolea at the Poznań municipal cemetery. Photo by Adam Bartosz

Acknowledgements

The contents of this report, and the survey upon which it is based, are primarily the work of Adam Bartosz of Tarnów, Poland, who has spent many years engaged in the study and presentation of Roma history and culture in Poland.

The information was collated and edited by Samuel D. Gruber, then-Research Director of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad. Executive Director Jeffrey L. Farrow and Program Manager Katrina A. Krzysztofiak provided assistance at various stages in preparing the survey and the final report. Commission Chairman Warren L. Miller encouraged this project.

Notes

This report provides introductory material about Roma history and culture in Poland, and an overview of the types, status, and condition of Roma-associated historical and cultural sites. The bulk of the report consists of summaries of information provided by Adam Bartosz in questionnaire form, based on site visits and interviews carried out in 2005.

The report covers sites of martyrdom, sites associated with the lives of famous people, cemeteries, and settlements. Sites are arranged alphabetically within each category. The survey describes the sites, and gives some indication of their current condition and what work, if any, is taking place to improve their situations.

The term "Roma" is used throughout this report instead of the more common "Gypsies," except in a few cases where translations of older inscriptions require the use of "Gypsy." The survey and report have made a considerable effort to differentiate different groups of Roma, and to indicate which groups are most associated with specific sites. Sometimes, the names of specific family groups are also given. The appellation "Sinti," which in common usage is sometimes used synonymously with the term "Roma," is sometimes used to refer only to Roma from Germany. It is used here sparingly, again mostly when an inscription clearly distinguishes between Roma and Sinti in some way, as is the case at the German World War II killing centers of Auschwitz and Bełżec.

In the text, place names are given in their common English forms when the place is well known (such as Warsaw), otherwise the Polish name is used. All addresses, telephone numbers, and email addresses were correct at the time of the survey. Please note that these are, of course, subject to change.

Survey of Roma Sites in Poland

Between March and September 2005, Adam Bartosz and colleagues visited 36 locations throughout Poland associated with Roma. The survey team identified 45 distinct sites and completed a survey questionnaire for each. Over 300 photographs were taken. This is the first extensive inventory and survey of Roma sites in Poland.

According to Poland's *Act on National and Ethnic Minorities of 2005,* Roma are included among the country's ethnic minorities as a people who "do not identify with a nation organized in their own country." Despite their prominence in the Polish public imagination, the actual number of Polish Roma is relatively small. In the census of 2002, fewer than 13,000 people identified themselves as Roma. It is estimated by some experts, however, that between 25,000 and 30,000 Roma live in Poland, which has a total population of 38.5 million.

Roma in Poland belong to several groups, or tribes. These differ in dialect, tradition, and customs. Researchers divide the tribes into two main types, the settled and the migrating, which have had different approaches to tradition.

Settled Roma have been given the names of "Carpathian," "Highlander," or "Mountain Gypsies." They live in the southern mountainous regions of Poland, where they were forced to settle at the end of the 18th Century. The migrating groups of Roma have designated the more settled Roma as "*Bergitka* Roma" (Mountain Gypsies). They live in generally poor settlements near villages, which have, until recently, often shared characteristics of haphazard planning, poor construction, and lack of basic amenities, such as electricity and running water. A substantial number of these Roma moved to the settlements after 1950.

Migrating Roma are divided into several major tribes. The "*Polska,"* "*Kalderasza,"* and *"Lowara"* are the most prominent. Until the mid-1960s, these groups migrated seasonally. Beginning in 1964, however, the Polish government restricted the migration. At present, the groups live mainly in settled communities, but they still cultivate the ethos of nomadic people and keep many traditions, especially a very strict moral and legal code (*mageripena)* and a traditional sense of superiority over other Roma. They are usually economically better off than *Bergitka* Roma, whom they often disparage.

All Roma in Poland have maintained a good knowledge of the Romani language.

In 2000, the government of Poland unveiled its "Aid Program for the Roma Community," intended to help Roma adjust their living conditions to those of the rest of the society. This program was launched in a pilot form in Małopolska Province (woj. małopolskie), where *Bergitka* Roma live in extreme poverty and are mostly unemployed. Since 2004, the program has been implemented throughout the country. Among its important objectives are improved education and the development and marketing of Roma culture. Visits undertaken in connection with the survey indicate that the initiative is already having significant results. Besides the introduction of such basic amenities as running water,

sewage systems, and electricity, the program has improved housing and supported small manufacturing enterprises.

Since the fall of the Communist Party dictatorship, over 30 Roma cultural and political organizations have been formed. Often these associations compete for funds, but together they represent, after decades of repression under the Communists, a great resurgence of Roma identity and cultural expression. A monthly publication, *Rrom p-o Drom* (*Gypsy on the Road*) has been issued since 1990. Another publication, *Pheniben (Dialogue),* began as a quarterly in 1995, and has been published monthly since 2005. In addition, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Administration has an Advisory Team for Roma Issues, composed of Roma leaders, non-Roma social workers, teachers, and officials of local governments.

The Regional Museum in Tarnów is involved in activities that preserve Roma heritage. In 1979, the museum organized a Roma section. This section has been a permanent exhibition since 1990. In 2002, the Roma Historical Institute was established by the Roma Association in Oświęcim (Auschwitz). As this report indicates, several other cultural institutions have also established small exhibits presenting aspects of Roma history and culture.

Roma Cultural Heritage Sites

The survey team identified the following types of places associated with the Roma:

Places of martyrdom. This includes sites of suffering and death inflicted upon the Roma during the years of the Second World War, the major site being the German Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. Monuments have been planned at other concentration camp sites. There are also several graves of Roma Holocaust victims in local cemeteries, some of which have been marked and are now the destination of annual commemorative pilgrimages.

Places of pilgrimage. There is one major important religious site, the Monastery of Capuchin Friars (*Zakon Braci Mniejszych Kapucynów*). It has a figure of the Holy Mary of Rywałd, which is popularly known as "Mary of the Gypsies." This site has been the focus of pilgrimages since the years between the First and Second World Wars.

There is also an annual Roma pilgrimage in Łososina Górna, Koszary (Małopolska Province) which has been led by Roman Catholic priest Stanisław Opocki. Begun in 1995, it is a major activity in the settlement. Pilgrims set out on foot from the nearby church in Łososina (part of the town of Limanowa) to the sanctuary of Our Lady of Sorrow in the town situated 6 km away. It is the most colorful Roma pilgrimage in Poland, with over 1,000 participants annually from Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary.

Places commemorating important individuals. This category includes sites associated with Papusza, a Roma poet, and other noteworthy Roma, such as painter Ignacy Pawłowski. Graves are mentioned in descriptions of cemeteries even though they have not been singled out with special monuments.

Museum and private collections. The Roma themselves have not initiated any known private collections or exhibitions. In recent years, however, some exhibits have opened, the largest of which is in Tarnów. There is also a small collection in Gorzów. The Tarnów Museum is the first museum in the world to create a Roma collection. The survey team also visited private collections. Because the material culture of Roma is very scarce, even small collections are of great importance for documenting Roma traditions.

Roma settlements. Settlements of poor Mountain Roma still exist. There has been gradual improvement in the condition of these places due to the government aid program.

More recent concentrations of Roma also exist in many cities where the Roma were forced to move to by the government in 1964. The residents of these poor communities are gradually dispersing due to improved economic circumstances of individual Roma.

Cemeteries. The survey covers the best-known cemeteries. There presumably are, however, other cemeteries used by Roma that have not yet been identified. Not much is known of the burial sites Roma used before the Second World War but today Roma often erect richly-decorated monumental tombs with expensive materials. In municipal cemeteries, there is frequently considerable attention given to burying the dead near other members of the group.

Roma graves are found in various types of cemeteries including those maintained by municipalities and the Roman-Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches. Although there are not formal sections exclusively for Roma burials, Roma often combine plots, and create distinct enclaves within the larger necropolis. Roma tombs have various forms but they are typically more ornate than the surrounding tombs. In many cases, these are large chapel-like structures or large gravestones of expensive stone.

Roma graves are generally well maintained. Customarily, large crowds visit burial sites and drink vodka to honor family members on All Saints Day (November 1).

Places of Martyrdom

Bełżec: Mass Grave of Prisoners of the Roma Camp

The Roma labor camp in Bełżec was one of the first and largest places of German World War Two atrocities against Roma and Sinti in Poland. In late spring 1940, the Nazis established a labor camp in Bełżec for Roma from the Lublin area and Sinti from the Hamburg area in Germany. The camp housed some 2,500 Roma and Sinti, including Polish Gypsy King Kwiek.

The prisoners were kept in former barns (one of which still exists) in very primitive conditions. Men worked along with Jewish prisoners on the construction of an anti-tank ditch on what was then the German-Soviet demarcation line. During the summer and fall of 1940, several hundred Roma prisoners died of hunger, typhoid, dysentery, and other diseases. The majority were women and children. Over 300 bodies were buried in one mass grave, 10 meters long, three to four meters wide, and 1.5 meters deep.

The camp was closed during the fall of 1940. German Sinti were transferred to Krychów near Włodawa, and later to other places in Poland, such as the Siedlce ghetto. A small group of Gypsy men stayed in Bełżec until the summer 1942, when German forces took them to the killing center there.

The atrocities at Bełżec were carried out before the eyes of Bełżec's citizens. Some were forced by the Nazis to place the bodies in the mass grave. Even today, some local residents tend the grave. According to statements by residents, King Kwiek was buried here.

The grave site is accessible but the access leads through a private grassy area. The owners, however, do not impede access. At the time of the survey, the grave was overgrown with grass and weeds. A 1¾ foot iron cross, made by Adam Urbański of Bełżec, was installed in 2000, at the presumed edge of the grave, although the exact borders of the grave are unmarked. Prior to the Second World War, the location was used as a park.

This site is part of the Memorial Museum in Bełżec, a division of the State Museum in Majdanek.

Address:
Muzeum-Miejsce Pamięci w Bełżcu, Oddział Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku
ul. Ofiar Obozu 4
22-670 Bełżec

Contact:
Manager Robert Kuwałek, PhD
22-670 Bełżec
Tel.: +48 84 665 25 10
E-mail: belzec.memorial@op.pl
www.belzec.org.pl

Bielcza: Place of Martyrdom

A group of about 50 Roma lived in Bielcza during Word War Two, mostly members of the Kwiek family. On July 16, 1942, German soldiers shot and killed 28 people in the neighboring *Na Biedaczu* settlement. After the war, the bodies were exhumed and buried in a mass grave at the cemetery of the Roman-Catholic Parish in Bielcza. The grave is at the left from the north entrance, marked with a bronze memorial plaque.

It has a concrete frame and cross with an inscription in Polish. The English translation of the plaque reads:

> "The late
> Mass grave of Gypsies
> Executed by the Nazis
> in 1942 in Bielcza.
> Peace to their souls."

The murder is still remembered in Bielcza. The grave is treated as a "place of national memory." It is dated 1945, the year that the victims' remains were moved. The plaque was installed in 1973, when the grave was renovated. The grave and plaque were installed by the inhabitants of the village.

There is also a plaque affixed to the front wall of the church, on the right side of the main entrance, installed in September 1973. The plaque lists the 28 names of all of the members of the local community who died during the German occupation. The list ends with this sentence (translated from Polish into English):

> "41 Gypsies from the Kwiek family, from 5 months to 69 years of age.
> Everlasting honor to their memory!
> R.I P.
> Bielcza, September 1973
> family, friends and compatriots"

Both of these sites are accessible and maintained.

Borzecin Dolny (Małopolska): Grave of Murdered Roma

In August 1943, German police shot dead a group of 28 Roma, (including six women and three children) in the woods near the village of Borzecin Dolny. They were buried next to the road connecting Szczurowa and Biskupice. In 1959, on the initiative of the local inhabitants, the bodies were exhumed and transferred to the parish cemetery in Borzecin Dolny, Brzesko County, Małopolska Province**.**

All of the graves have concrete frames. They are cared for but the frames need repair. The names of those buried are not included on the graves, but some grave markers note that those buried were Roma killed by German occupiers.

Chełmno-upon-Ner (German name: Kulmhof): Death Camp

Another German World War Two killing center was located in Chełmno-upon-Ner. People who were sent there were killed immediately upon arrival. The camp operated from November 1941 to April 1943 and from April 1944 to January 1945. Most of those murdered here were Jews. Roma and, probably, Soviet prisoners of war and Poles were also killed. A total of about 220,000 people were killed at the site. It was the first immediate killing site established by the Germans, and later became a model for other killing centers.

At Chełmno, the Germans murdered people in gas chamber trucks. Among the victims, were Roma from the Gypsy camp (*Zigeunerlager*) that operated within the Łódź Ghetto. About 5,000 Roma, mostly from Austria and Germany, were confined in the ghetto. It existed from November 5, 1941 to January 12, 1942. All of its prisoners died within three months. Some died of disease and starvation but most were killed in the gas chambers.

In 1963, a memorial was erected at the mass grave of the victims. An exhibition pavilion was built at the site in 1990. The exhibition notes that Roma were killed. The grounds are now a branch of the Regional Museum in Konin. Both the monument site and the exhibition pavilion are accessible from the public road. The museum is located next to the state road leading from Łódź to Koło. A path leads to the grave.

Recent archeological excavation and research work has revealed many objects that belonged to the murdered prisoners -- tools, keys, jewelry, clothing, kitchen utensils, and other everyday objects. There are plans to put these artifacts on exhibition. Because Chełmno is the place in Poland where the largest numbers of Roma were murdered, Roma organizations also are planning to conduct commemorative activities at this site.

Łódź: *Zigeunerlager* in Łódź Ghetto, Place of Roma Martyrdom

The Łódź Holocaust Ghetto was the only ghetto in Poland with its own administration. It operated longer than any other ghetto or camp and was only abandoned in the summer of 1944. Over 200,000 Jews and 5,000 Roma were in the ghetto for some period of time.

From November 5 through 9, 1941 the German forces sent 5,007 Roma to the Łódź Ghetto, where they were put in a special camp for Gypsies (*Zigeunerlager*). Those transported included 1,130 men, 1,188 women, and 2,689 children who mostly came from Burgenland (Austria). The *Zigeunerlager* consisted of 15 brick buildings with 543 habitable rooms separated from the main ghetto site and surrounded by an additional barbed wire fence. The living conditions were deplorable, much worse than in the rest of the ghetto. After a few weeks, an epidemic of spotted fever broke out and within seven weeks over 700 people had died, mostly children. Ghetto prisoners were also killed in a gas chamber in nearby Chełmno-upon-Ner. Eventually, the 4,300 Roma who survived the epidemic were also gassed by the Germans from January 5 through 12, 1942. The Łódź *Zigeunerlager*, the largest German killing center for Roma, was abandoned after these killings.

At the local cemetery, there are two places where approximately 700 Roma were buried when the center was in operation.

Exhibition

There is an exhibit dedicated to Łódź victims at the Museum of The Independence Traditions, a section of the *Muzeum Martyrologii i Walki* (Museum of Martyrdom and Combat). The exhibit is located in the surviving portion of the Radgoszcz prison, where Poles were kept during the German occupation. The exhibit includes several pictures of the *Zigeunerlage*r.

Address:
Muzeum Tradycji Niepodleglościowych
ul. Gdańska 13
90-907 Łódź
Tel.: +48 42 632 20 44
E-mail: muzeumtradycji@arg.pl

Commemorative plaque

In January 2004, Łódź authorities held a memorial service for Roma killed at the *Zigeunerlager*. On the wall of the former forging shop of the ghetto at Number 22 Wojska Polskiego Street, a plaque was installed. The English translation is as follows:

> AT THIS SITE, NAZI AUTHORITIES ESTABLISHED A CAMP FOR GYPSIES (ZEIGEUNERLAGER) IN THE AREA BORDERED BY WOJSKA POLSKIEGO, WESTERPLATTE, SIKAWSKA AND GŁOWACKIEGO STREETS. OF THE 5000 ROMA MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREND DEPORTED FROM AUSTRIA AND INCARCERATED HERE BETWEEN NOVEMBER 5, 1941 AND JANUARY 12, 1942. OVER 600 DIED FROM DISEASES. THE REMAINING 4300 WERE GASSED IN THE DEATH CAMP AT CHEŁMNO-UPON-NER (KULMHOF) DURING THE WEEK OF JANUARY 5 TO 12, 1942

Monument of Extermination – Radegast Station

At the suggestion of Łódź authorities, in August 2003 a monument was built at a reconstructed railway station in Radgoszcz (Radegast), which transported Jews and Roma from Burgenland to the Łódź ghetto and transferred them to the Chełmno-upon-Ner and Auschwitz camps.

Parts of the station, including railway track, survive. The station has been renovated and houses a permanent exhibit. There is an original train on the railway track and, along the track, a "Deportation Tunnel" has been constructed that depicts the trip to the killing centers. On its walls, there are copies of passenger lists. The entrance has a list of names of the towns from which the prisoners came with a memorial in the shape of a crematory chimney. The monument was opened August 29, 2005.

An annual event began to be conducted in 2004 -- a memorial ceremony on the anniversary of the closure of the *Zigeunerlager* in January 1942. The ceremony takes place at the Z*igeunerlager* site at Number 22 Wojska Polskiego Street.

Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum

(Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu)

The number of victims killed at the German concentration camp and killing center in Oświęcim, Auschwitz-Birkenau, will never be exactly known, but most researchers agree that it is somewhere between one and one and a half million people. Most were Jews. Many were Roma. The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial includes the site of a former Roma camp (Zigeunerlager), a memorial monument dedicated to the Roma murdered in the camp, an exhibit on extermination of the Roma in the main camp (Auschwitz), and a memorial plaque with an inscription in the Roma language located beside the central monument in Birkenau.

The camp began operating in June 1940, but the first Roma did not arrive until February 1943. The Germans organized a separate camp for Roma, *Zigeunerlager* (BIIe), at the second construction site in Birkenau (BII). Construction began at the end of 1942 and the first Roma arrived February 26, 1943. The place was called a "family camp" as entire families were imprisoned there. Twenty-three thousand Roma were there at one time or another. Over 62% of Roma prisoners came from Germany and Austria, 22% were brought from Bohemia and Moravia, and the rest came from Poland. During its 17 months of existence, from February 1943 to August 1944, 20,000 Roma were murdered at the camp. Those who survived were transferred to other camps in the spring of 1944. Roma, especially twins, were the subjects of barbaric medical experiments performed under the supervision of Dr. Josef Mengele. The final closing of *Zigeunerlager* took place at night on August 2 and 3, 1944 when about 3,000 Roma prisoners were killed in gas chambers within a few hours.

In 1973, construction of the Monument of Roma and Sinti at the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum was completed. Since 1994, August 2nd has been observed as an International Memorial Day for Extermination of Roma.

<u>Plaque on the International Monument of Martyrdom</u>

An International Monument of Martyrdom (Victims of Fascism) at the Birkenau (Brzeźinka) camp includes 21 plaques inscribed in different languages, including one in Romani. It reads:

SAVORE MANUŚENQE
TE OVEL AND-E ŚELIBERŚA
THAN DUKHADE ROIPNASQE
THAJ DARAQE
AKAJA PHUV KAJ MUDARDILE,
E HITLERITKONE VASTENCAR,

JEKH MILIONI TA-JEKHPAŚ
MURŚA, DUVLA, ĆHAVORRE,
MAŚKAR SAVENDE BUTERDENE SAS
ZUTAR E EVROPAQE THEMENQERE
AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU
1940-1945

The English translation of the text is:

"For ever
let this place be a cry of despair and a warning to humanity
where the Nazis murdered about one and a half million
men women and children
mainly Jews
from various countries of Europe
Auschwitz-Birkenau 1940-1945"

Monument of Roma and Sinti in Zigeunerlager

In 1973, Rose O. Bamberger, the leader of German Sinti Gypsies, funded a monument on the grounds of the former Zigeunerlager, Site 28. It is a brick wall. In the center is a granite obelisk with lettering in Sinti language, with plaques on both sides in Polish and German. All three texts are similar:

"Memorial place of Roma of the concentration camp in Auschwitz - Birkenau
thousands of men, women and children imprisoned, tortured victims of
German Fascism, died in this concentration camp in Birkenau –
cruelly tormented, murdered and gassed.
Funded by the Roma Association in Germany
1973
Rose O. Bamberger"

Under the central plaque, there is another with an inscription. Its English translation is:

"This monument was renovated on the 50th anniversary of the closure of the Gypsy Camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Roma Association in Poland, August 3rd, 1994."

At the back of the monument there is one more plaque in Czech. The English translation of the text is:

"In memory of the dead who suffered and died in the Oświęcim-Brzezinka
concentration camp from Brno
the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic
father Vaclav Ruzicka
Mother- Karolina
brothers Frantisek, Cenek, Josaf
Sisters Bożena, Jana
in eternal memory
son and brother Tonda

died in the death camp 4/16/1947"

Exhibition

An extensive exhibition on the killing of Sinti and Roma at the main Auschwitz camp in building Number 13 takes up the entire upper floor of the barracks. The exhibition was mostly financed by the German government and prepared by the Documentation and Cultural Center of Sinti and Roma in Heidelberg (Dokumentations und Kulturzentrum Deutscher Sinti und Roma.) The center also published an exhibition catalog: *Romani Rose, Extermination of Sinti* and *Roma* (*Zagłada Sinti i Romów*), *catalog of the permanent exhibition in the State Museum in Auschwitz*.

Since 1994, when August 2nd was proclaimed the International Memorial Day of Roma Extermination, commemoration ceremonies have taken place at the monument at Site 28 and on the grounds of the former *Zigeunerlager*.

Szczurowa: Mass Grave and Commemorative Monument

The mass grave of murdered Roma and a commemorative monument are within a Catholic cemetery. This site was the first in Poland to commemorate German World War Two killings of the Roma.

Before the Second World War, over 100 Roma lived in Szczurowa. On July 3, 1943, 93 were shot dead and buried by German forces. The list of the murdered is available in the parish archives. Since the 1960s, Roma citizens of Tarnów have organized pilgrimages to the site.

The killings took place in plain view of the rest of the Szczurowa's population and this experience still greatly affects the community. A monument was erected by the community. It is a huge boulder with a commemorative plaque. The English translation reads:

> "Mass grave of 93 inhabitants of Szczurowa murdered by the Nazis on the 3rd day of July 1943. Peace to their memory."

In 1993, a wooden cross was installed next to the monument. The English translation on the plaque on the cross reads:

> "3 VII – 10 VII 1993 on the 50th anniversary of murdering 93 Gypsies-Roma during the Nazis' occupation. Prayerful tribute paid by Szczurowa inhabitants."

The grave and the monument are maintained well by local authorities.

In the 1960s, there were ceremonies held to commemorate the killings. In 1996, the Regional Museum in Tarnów initiated the Roma Caravan Memorial project. The purpose is

to recreate the original Gypsy caravan in the region. The caravan visits Roma killing sites and memorials in the region. The final destination is Szczurowa.

Treblinka (Mazowieckie): Museum of Combat and Martyrdom

(Muzeum Walki i Męczeństwa w Treblince)

Treblinka was the second largest Nazi killing center. At least 600,000 people and, possibly, as many as 800,000, were murdered there from July 1942 through November 1943.

It is believed that about 1,000 Roma were murdered at Treblinka, but the exact number is unknown. These included Sinti Gypsies from Germany. The killings of Roma at Treblinka have not been commemorated and remain little known even to Roma and the rest of the Polish society.

On July 2, 1947, Poland's parliament proclaimed the former camp in Treblinka a place of martyrdom and established the Museum of Combat and Martyrdom as a branch of the Regional Museum in Siedlce. The overall condition of the site is excellent, and the memorial is regularly maintained.

Address:
Museum of Combat and Martyrdom in Treblinka
(Muzeum Walki i Męczeństwa w Treblince)
Treblinka, 08-330 Kosów Lacki, woj. mazowieckie

Owner:
Regional Museum in Siedlce
(Muzeum Regionalne w Siedlcach)
ul. J. Piłsudskiego 1
08-100 Siedlce

Contact:
Edward Kopowka
Manager
Muzeum Walki i Męczeństwa w Treblince
08-330 Kosów Lacki, woj. mazowieckie
Tel. / Fax: +48 781 16 58
e-mail: muzeumsiedlce@interia.pl

Żabno: Mass Grave and Monument

There is a mass grave of murdered Roma in the local Roman-Catholic parish cemetery. German forces murdered and buried Roma, who probably came from Germany or Holland, at the site. The local school cares for the grave that the local community considers a place of martyrdom and commemoration.

This is one of the few sites in Poland commemorating “Roma martyrdom.” At the end of 1942, German authorities brought a group of 47 Roma to work in a brickyard near the community. Around June 20, 1943, German police shot all of them dead and buried them at the site. It is believed that 12 Roma from Hungary, shot in the nearby village of Biskupice Radłowskie, were also buried in the grave. The killings were memorialized by the local community with an inscribed slab-shaped marker on the mass grave in 1946.

The inscription reads (translated into English):

> Here Rest Gypsies Murdered by the Nazi Occupier in 1943.

In 1996, the Regional Museum in Tarnów initiated an annual pilgrimage to the site on the day commemorating the event. The pilgrimage is called the "Roma Caravan Memorial Project" and is conducted like a traditional Roma caravan. The final destination is in Szczurowa.

At the time of the survey, the concrete frame of the mass grave structure was chipping and the commemorative slab was cracked.

Places of Pilgrimage

Rywałd Królewski: Sanctuary of Holy Mary

(Sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Rywałdzie Królewskim)

The Sanctuary of Holy Mary in Rywałd Królewski is the only Roma religious pilgrimage destination in Poland. The church, with a figure of the mother of Jesus Christ, has been a pilgrimage destination since 1930. The "Reigning Madonna" is made of lime wood, a traditional medieval material for wood sculpture, and is 74.5 cm tall. The figure was carved in the 14th century. According to a legend, the artist was a monk-knight of the Holy Virgin Order. Over the centuries, the Holy Mary of Rywałd became famous due to numerous miracles, including healings, and the raising of a strangled boy from the dead in 1667.

An annual church fair is held at the culmination of the pilgrimage in September the Sunday after September 8th, the Nativity of Holy Virgin. The church is open to the public during regular hours and mass is held daily. Roma pilgrims, however, usually come to Rywałd on the second Sunday in June. There is direct access to the site from Provincial Road 543 five km east of Radzyń Chełmiński. A public parking lot is located opposite the sanctuary.

The veneration of the figure of Mary by Roma is related to an unconfirmed event which has been retold in different versions. According to the most common, a Roma woman or her child was miraculously healed thanks to Holy Mary of Rywałd in or about 1930. The woman had nothing with which to offer thanks, so she cut a tress of her hair and left it on the altar or by the monastery well. It is said that Rywałd inhabitants suspected that the hair was a "Gypsy" votive offering, which the sanctuary caretakers used for making wigs for the characters of the Holy Mary and Child Jesus. Another version says that the tress hung by the well but disappeared during the Second World War. Since that time, the figure of Mary was given the nickname of "Holy Mary of the Gypsies."

There are reports of Roma caravans coming to the sanctuary before World War Two. There is more information regarding a pilgrimage in 1949 led by "King" Kwiek. Roma went around the sanctuary on their knees, singing religious songs to give thanks for surviving the war (it was said that the only survivors were Roma who entrusted their lives to Holy Mary of Rywałd). The pilgrims are said to have offered a heart of gold to Mary, made of a German 20 mark coin. Another large and well-remembered pilgrimage took place in 1953.

Roma Pilgrims often came to Rywałd before compulsory Roma settlement, but there were fewer visits immediately afterwards. There were attempts to rejuvenate the pilgrimage in 1980 by Edward Wesołek, a priest to Roma. Since the mid-1990s, regular pilgrimages to Rywałd have been organized every summer by the National Priest of Roma, Stanisław Opocki. June 11-12, 2005 approximately 200 *Polska* Roma participated in the pilgrimage. They made an offering in a form of oak figures of Holy Mary of Gypsies and Zefiryn Jimez Malla. Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, the Primate of Poland, performed a coronation of the Holy Mary of the Gypsies at the Capuchin Monastery.

Address:
Sanktuarium Matki Bożej w Rywałdzie Królewskim
Rywałd Królewski 48
87-220 Radzyń Chełminski

The site is owned by the Monastery of Capuchin Friars (Zakon Braci Mniejszych Kapucynow.)

Places Commemorating Important Individuals

Gorzów Wielkopolski: Provincial and Town Public Library

(Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim)

A plaque dedicated to Bronisława Wajs, a Roma poet, is installed at the Provincial and Town Public Library of Gorzów Wielkopolski. Wajs was born ca. 1919 and died in 1987. She played an important part in the 20th century history of Roma. Initially accused by Roma elders of disclosing Gypsy secrets by writing in Romani, she is now recognized as the greatest Roma poet and is one of the most famous Polish women. Also known as "Papusza," she was the first Roma poet who used Roma language in her poems and published her work. She settled in Gorzów Wielkopolski in the early 1950s and stayed many years. She gave readings at the library.

The library is open to the public. The plaque can be found on the external wall next to its entrance. Zofia Bilińska created the 84 by 59 cm bronze plate, which shows Papusza's face leaning on her right hand. The English translation of the inscription reads:

> "Papusza Bronisława Wajs
> 1908-1987
> The poet of Polish Gypsies
> Lived in Gorzów Wielkopolski
> In the years 1955-1987"

The date, however, is incorrect, as Wajs left Gorzów Wielkopolski in 1984 and died in 1987 in Inowrocław.

The library also has a small collection of objects related to Wajs, including her manuscripts, letters, and two busts sculptured by local artists.

Gorzów Wielkopolski: Papusza's House at Number 22 Kosynierów Gdyńskich Street

The local government of Gorzów Wielkopolski owns the house where Wajs lived. A plaque is inside.

There was also a bronze plaque recognizing Wajs, created by Zofia Bilińska, in the pavement at Stary Rynek (Old Market Square) in the Alley of the Meritorious in 1987. When Roma suggested that stepping over the plaque was disrespectful, municipal authorities transferred it to the external front wall of Wajs' house.

The inscription reads:

CYGAŃSKA POETKA
BRONISŁAWA
WAJS PAPUSZA
1908-1987

It also includes a passage from one of Wajs' poems.

Inowrocław: Papusza Grave and Other Roma Graves at Parish Cemetery of St. Joseph

In the 1960s, the main concentration of Roma in Inowrocław was at Poznańska Street. Residents were mostly *Polska* Roma with a few *Lowara* families. These settlers left Inowrocław after a few years. Today, new Roma residents live throughout the town.

The first Roma grave in St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Parish Cemetery dates from 1963, but most are from the 1980s and 90s, when Roma resettled in Inowrocław and bought plots in the central part of the cemetery. All of the tombs but three were well maintained at the time they were visited. The residents of Inowrocław consider the Roma graves a special feature of the cemetery.

Poet Wajs is buried in this cemetery. "Papusza" moved from Gorzów Wielkopolski to Inowrocław in 1981, after the Roma superior cursed her and banned her from the community for alleged disclosure of "Gypsy secrets" (publishing poems in Romani). She lived here ignored by everyone. Suffering from severe depression, she died February 8, 1987.

The Roma graves are not separate but are located in a group at the end of the cemetery's central alley. Four graves, including those of Papusza and her father, are located close to the north entrance. One is located directly opposite the south entrance.

There is access to the cemetery from the city center is by bus.

Address:
ul. Karola Libelta
88-100 Inowrocław, woj. kujawsko-pomorskie

Museum and Private Collections

Bogdaniec: Museum of Culture and Rural Engineering

A Roma Collection is part of the Museum of Culture and Rural Engineering in Bogdaniec, which is the branch of the Lubuskie Museum of Jan Dekert in Gorzów Wielkopolski *(Muzeum Lubuskie im. Jana Dekerta w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim.*)

The museum is located along the road from Bogdaniec to Stanowice, about 800 meters from the intersection with the road that leads from Gorzów Wielkopolski to Kostrzyń. It is owned by the provincial government.

Polska Roma settled in Gorzów Wielkopolski in the early 1950s. Their members set up a renowned musical group, "Terno," in 1955, which still exists. When the members of Terno donated their oldest Roma performance costumes to the museum in 1973, it began a collection of Roma clothing. The collection was expanded in the 1990s with works by wood carver Karol Gierliński (popularly known as “Parno”). It provides documentation and educational material for teaching Roma history and culture. Performances by Terno still play an important role in the town’s cultural identity and tourism promotion.

Today, the collection consists of 27 complete costumes and three wooden carvings. It is kept in storage and not exhibited on a regular basis. It is also not well publicized.

Address:
Muzeum Kultury i Techniki Wiejskiej
ul. Leśna 22
66-450 Bogdaniec, woj. lubuskie

A branch of:
Muzeum Lubuskie im. Jana Dekerta w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim
ul. Warszawska 35
66-450 Gorzów Wielkopolski

Contact:
Mirosław Pecuch, Manager
Museum of Culture and Rural Engineering in Bogdaniec
ul. Leśna 22
66-450 Bogdaniec, woj. lubuskie
tel. +48-751 00 07
fax +48-751 00 07
e-mail: info@muzeumlubuskie.pl

Kraków: Private Collection of Roma Related Material

A private collection of objects related to Roma culture in Kraków is one of only two of the type in Poland. Ethnographer Paweł Lechowski started the collection in the 1980s. It is often on display. Access is available to researchers by prior arrangements.

The 250 objects were collected in Balkan countries, especially Romania and Bulgaria as well as in Poland. There are some 10 traditional women's outfits, tools and objects made by Roma craftsmen, basket weavers, copper smiths, and iron workers, as well as jewelry and wooden objects. There also are several paintings of Roma by Roma artists, various gadgets, Roma food packaging, and figurines and dolls representing Roma.

The collection can be rented for exhibition purposes. It is often used by organizations in Kraków involved in promotion of culture of national and ethnic minorities.

Address:
Paweł Lechowski
ul. Kordeckiego 5/8
31-071 Kraków

Olsztynek: Museum of Folk Architecture

The Museum of Folk Architecture in Olsztynek – Ethnographic Park (*Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego – Park Etnograficzny*) is an open air ethnographic and folk museum set on 60 hectares of land outside of the town. The museum documents folk traditions of the region. The exhibit consists of 60 examples of folk architecture.

Included in the exhibition is a Roma carriage made in the early 1960s. It was probably abandoned or sold after the ban on nomadic migration. The body of the carriage was purchased from its non-Roma owner in 1988 in the village of Piecki near Olsztyn. The undercarriage was purchased in 1991.

Nowy Sącz: Ethnographic Park

There is a Roma section of the Sądecki Ethnographic Park, a branch of the Regional Museum in Nowy Sącz. It serves as a documentation and educational site for teaching Roma history and the culture of the *Bergitka* Roma. The section consists of two dwellings moved from the Roma settlement in Maszkowice and a wooden workshop from Czarna Góra. The collection is a permanent exhibition.

Development of the exhibition began in 1980 at the initiative of Marian Długosz, an ethnographer employed by the Regional Museum in Nowy Sącz. The exhibition, curated by Adam Bartosz of Tarnów, who headed the survey upon which this report is based, opened in 1982 and was updated in 2004. It was curated based on a detailed plan by Marian and Elżbieta Długosz.

Tarnów: Ethnographic Museum
Branch of the Regional Museum in Tarnów

The Roma collection in Tarnów is part of the Ethnographic Museum – a branch of the Regional Museum in Tarnów. The museum is located on the main street of Tarnów and is easily accessible to the public. The museum teaches the history and culture of Roma and is directed by Adam Bartosz. The permanent exhibition entitled, "The History and Culture of Roma People" (*Historia i Kultura Romów*), was opened in 1985.

The exhibition is housed in three rooms, containing 80 square meters of exhibition space, and in the courtyard where there is a reconstructed Roma camp, including caravan wagons and tents set up around a campfire.

The museum was recognized by Poland's Ministry of Culture in 1997 for establishing the exhibit. Additionally, in 2003, the minister of Culture presented the Museum with the "Sybilla" award for launching the project "Roma Caravan Memorial" (*Tabor Pamięci Romów*). The collection is the first of its type in Poland and one of the first in the world. It was brought up to date in 2000-2001. Some of the objects still need to be restored.

The museum also holds the following material for research purposes: over 300 '3D' objects; 100 movies; 230 audio tapes; 4,000 artifacts; 200 files; 450 books; five caravan wagons from the early 1960s; archival materials donated by Jerzy Ficowski; and magician's props used by Roma entertainers.

Address:
Muzeum Etnograficzne
ul. Krakowska 10
33-100 Tarnów
Tel.: +48 14 622 06 25
E-mail: etnografia@muzeum.tarnow.pl

Roma Settlements

Introduction

Most Roma settlements are small in size, and consist of collections of poorly built houses and other structures built in unplanned clusters on the outskirts of more established Polish villages. Some of these settlements of the *Bergitka* Roma (Mountain Gypsies) date to the 19th century, when Roma craftsmen (usually metal smiths) were invited to settle near a village that needed their skills. Most settlements, however, are more recent, and date from the 1960s, when Roma were required by law to settle.

The settlements often developed near streams, which provided water. Generally, the settlements have little in the way of running water and sewage systems. Electricity is limited.

In most places, the houses were very simple, reflecting the poorest local style of building. Houses were built mostly of wood, and often were little more than shacks – appearing to be temporary in nature. Whether this was a reflection of traditional Roma values – which favored nomadism over settlement – or was just due to extreme poverty is unknown. In recent years, some such homes have been replaced by more substantial structures. These buildings tend to be non-descript and utilitarian, but they have improved the appearance of many settlements as well as raised the standard of living.

Older houses usually had only one room. Some were plastered with clay with walls insulated with plywood, sheet metal, tarpaper, millboard, and other material. Most roofs were covered with tarpaper, reused sheet metal, or tile.

Since 2000, the special state aid program for Roma has contributed to a slight improvement of the standard of living and social status of the Roma. New houses have been built, usually of brick or concrete, often with prefabricated roofs covered with sheet metal or ceramic tile. Generally, these houses also have one room, although some have two. Sanitation has been improved, and there is more access to the settlements by road and public transport.

The Roma presence is often not appreciated by the local non-Roma community. In some places, this is changing as Roma living standards improve and there is more integration of Roma and non-Roma in schools and otherwise in the community. Still, non-Roma often avoid Roma inhabitants, who are generally poorer and are more dependent on public assistance.

Bystrzyca Kłodzka (Lower Silesia)

As part of the repopulation of the former German territory annexed by Poland after World War Two, a few dozen *Bergitka* Roma families came to Bystrzyca Kłodzka from the south of the Małopolska region during the late 1940s and the 1950s. At the time of the survey, half of the more than 120 people lived on the outskirts of the town on Konopnickiej Street.

The Roma who live here are not easily distinguishable from their non-Roma neighbors. Roma are a permanent element of the town's cultural mosaic, accepted and living in harmony with the rest of the local community. In 1960, a film, *In the Walls* (*W Murach*), was shot in Bystrzyca Kłodzka. It illustrated the everyday life of Roma settled on Podmiejska Street. Now, the main cultural distinction between Roma and the rest of the community is the Roma preference for richly ornamented tombstones at the local cemetery.

Until the early 1970s, Roma lived scattered around the town, with half living on Podmiejska Street. In the 1970s, nearly half were transferred to a building outside the town. The development, built by town authorities, is a U shaped, one-story building, located at the end of the street. It is commonly known as the "Gypsy Barracks." About 60 people live there now. Access is possible by public transport from the town center. The one-story building of brick and prefabricated materials is typical of the Socialist-style structure built in Poland during the 1970s.

Address:
ul. Konopnickiej
57-500 Bystrzyca Kłodzka, woj. dolnośląskie

Contact:
Ryszard Cieślik (teacher working with Roma children)
ul. Młyńska 5/1
57-500 Bystrzyca Kłodzka, woj. dolnośląskie
Tel.: +48 74 812 10 61

Czarna Góra (Małopolska)

Czarna Góra is the site of one of the largest and best-known communities of traditionally-settled Roma. About 250 *Bergitka* Roma live here in an area of about 1.5 hectares. Due to its location on an important tourist route, the settlement's ramshackle appearance and large groups of ragged children playing by and on the road regularly arouse the curiosity of visitors. Many reports have been written about the community, including academic papers. Until 1920, the village was part of Austria-Hungary. Later, it was part of Poland, and, then, part of Slovakia during the years 1939 through 1945.

The settlement began when a Roma black smith from the neighboring village of Trybsza, moved there, probably at the beginning of the 20th century. Local authorities gave him permission to construct a hut on the riverbank, which was prone to flooding and not used for agricultural purposes.

The village was electrified in the 1960s, and in 2003 a sewage system was installed. The houses use well water or draw water from a nearby stream. Since 2000, this settlement, like other Roma settlements in Małopolska Province, has been included in the state aid program for the Roma community.

The houses are generally in good condition. The few of the 25 that are in a very poor condition are being gradually renovated. Only in the last few years has significant financial assistance to the settlement been allocated by the local and national governments.

The settlement consists of three separate groups of houses, which bear Romani names. The main group of 16 is situated next to a tarmac road (*Dale bar* – the name means "By cobblestones" and refers to a former rocky village road). The second group *Vispa* – "On the island") is slightly distant and consists of four houses. The third, the poorest houses, is called *Dalo Vesioro* – "By the woods." A few houses have fenced yards, and many have additional out-buildings such as garages, structures without walls for timber, pigsties, etc. The settlement is located next to the Białka Tatrzańska River, on a rocky bank. The colony's postal address is *Kamienice*, a word that means the rocky bank of a mountain river. The community was originally isolated from the nearest non-Roma village. The village, however, has expanded so that all the communities are more inter-connected.

Until the 1970s, the houses were built in the local style. The houses erected in the last few years differ: they are simple, modern utilitarian structures with no specific style.

Czarna Góra is the homeland of Andrzej Mirga, an ethnologist and politician. He is Senior Advisor on Roma and Sinti Issues to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. Mirga is based in Warsaw. Relations between non-Roma and Roma in the community are exceptionally good. There are many marriages between Roma and non-Roma, and Roma children attend school along with non-Roma. Many Roma receive high school and university educations. The first Roma teacher in Poland came from Czarna Góra.

Contact:
Jan Mirga (Roma teacher)
ul. Kamieniec 10
34-530 Bukowina Tatrzańska

Czarna Góra
Tel.: +48 18 207 78 24, e-mail: stasiami@poczta.onet.pl

Czarny Dunajec–Kamieniec (Małopolska)

The Roma settlement in Czarny Dunajec-Kamieniec is typical of the settlements in this mountainous region. It is inhabited by *Bergitka* Roma, also called Carpathian Gypsies or Highlanders. A Roma settlement existed here as early as the 19th century, consisting of Roma smiths brought in by the village for their skilled craftsmanship.

Until the 1970s, the settlement had as its official name, "Gypsy Settlement." In 2000, the road which runs through the settlement was named Nadwodna Road. Electricity was extended to the settlement in the 1960s. Since 2000, Czarny Dunajec has benefited from the state aid program for the Roma." Through this program, a tannery was established and the economic status of the majority of Roma has improved.

Their houses are generally in poor condition. When surveyed, several out of 26 are in a very bad state. Some have been renovated with help from the local and national governments.

The settlement is located outside of the village, by the Czarny Dunajec River, which separates the village from farm fields. It stretches for about a half-kilometer along the river, which serves as the source of drinking water. Access to the settlement is by asphalt road. The unplanned community is located on flat land with the 26 houses concentrated in two groups on either side of the road. One area is called Upper Gypsies ("Górne Cygany") and the other, Lower Gypsies ("Dolne Cygany"). Both clusters of houses stretch along the river. Some houses have additional structures without walls, woodsheds, pigsties, porches, etc. The upper part has 14 houses and the lower, 12 houses.

About 100 people live in the settlement. Until the 1970s, the houses were among the poorest in the region. In recent years, new utilitarian structures have been erected. There is no regular water supply or sewage system. Drinking water is drawn from shallow wells.

The Roma who live here do not exhibit any particular differences in customs from their non-Roma neighbors, but are mainly poor and many live on public assistance. Since 2000, the state aid program for Roma has slightly improved the living standard of the residents.

Address:
ul. Nadwodna
34-470 Czarny Dunajec
Kamieniec, woj. małopolskie

Contact:
Zygmunt Mirga (Roma chief)
ul. Nadwodna 10 A
34-470 Czarny Dunajec, woj. małopolskie
Tel.: +48 18 265 70 89

Koszary (Małopolska)

The *Bergitka* Roma settlement in Koszary is typical of settlements in the mountainous region. In 1971, local authorities in Limanowa erected living quarters for Roma, who were living in the town in very poor conditions. The first building was allocated to six families. Subsequently, other simple houses – built of wood and scrap metal - were erected around the first building. The inhabitants have since erected barns for horses, and sheds for wood and breeding stock. There also are several barracks trailers and two train cars used for housing.

The Roma settlement is located on the side of a road that leads to the village about 500 m from the main road from Łososina Górna to Tymbark. The village road branches the county road, southbound, right at the sign which marks the boundary of the village. The road crosses railway tracks. About 95 people live in the settlement of barely inhabitable houses,

which occupies an area of approximately 150 square meters. The main building is a one-story brick house with a flat roof. The other buildings are mostly made of scrap materials. Many houses, especially the poorest, require immediate renovation. Gradually, houses are being renovated but, due to poor quality of building materials, these houses will still deteriorate quickly.

The settlement has been electrified since its establishment. Beginning in 2000, some renovation has been done through the state aid program for the Roma. However, the settlement remains an example of the extremely wretched conditions in which the poorest Roma live.

Address:
Koszary 19
34-651 Łososina Górna, woj. małopolskie

Owner of the site: *Łososina Górna Commune*

Contact:
Stanisław Opocki – Roman Catholic priest who works with the Roma people
Parafia Wszystkich Świętych
ul. Koszarska 1
34-652 Limanowa
tel.: +48 18 337 17 12

Krośnica (Małopolska)

The Krośnica settlement is one of the poorest Roma settlements in Poland. It is located on the border of two villages: Rywałd and Krośnica. The settlement, where about 50 Roma live, is situated by a stream near the provincial road from Nowy Sącz to Krościenko. There are two footbridges connecting the road and the settlement. The settlement has been seen by many tourists who use the nearby well-travelled road.

The first Roma family settled here in the 1950s, when the road was under construction. Roma were hired for crushing rocks used as construction material. One of the families decided to remain.

The settlement is built in a helter-skelter way on a 100 m by 100 m piece of uneven land. Access by car is limited to a private road. Access to the houses, which are located on hills, is difficult: the paths are slippery and steep. Some houses have additional structures without walls and woodsheds. The settlement has no water supply or sewage system. Drinking water is drawn from a nearby spring in the forest and brought to the village in buckets.

Until the 1990s, the houses were simple and built in the local style. The more recent buildings are built in a more modern utilitarian style. But almost all houses have only a single room. There are also two barrack-type trailers without wheels, adapted for living.

One family has lived for several years in a tent. In winter they move to a house in another village.

The local community clearly treats the Roma with aversion and Roma are frequently accused of robberies and are not welcome in the village. Six years ago, at night, unknown individuals set one Roma home on fire.

The settlement was electrified in the 1970s. Since 2000, Krośnica has been included in the aid program for the Roma. Most houses need urgent repairs. Since 2000, two have been renovated with the funds from the aid program. The program does not appear, however, to have significantly improved conditions in the settlement.

Address:
Krośnica "Pod Ubocki"
ul. Nowotarska
34-450 Krościenko, woj. małopolskie

Owner of the site: Krościenko Commune

Contact:
Antoni Ciureja (Roma chief)
Krośnica
ul. Nowotarska 92
34-450 Krościenko, woj. małopolskie

Maszkowice Łęgi (Małopolska)

Two Roma families settled at Maszkowice in the early 1950s, and the settlement of *Bergitka* Roma subsequently developed separated from the nearby village. The settlement is a prime example of a traditional, poor Roma settlement in southern Poland. While local non-Roma resent the Roma settlement, regional authorities perceive it as an example of the area's cultural diversity. Two buildings from this settlement were transferred to the Scansen museum in Nowy Sącz in the 1980s and are part of the outdoor museum.

The settlement is on flat land situated in a rectangular area of 50 x 100 m. It is located on the border of two villages, next to the state road from Nowy Sącz to Krościenko. Although separated from the road by a stream, a bridge enables vehicle access. There is also bus stop directly opposite the settlement. Some houses face the one central street. Other houses and structures are scattered. The houses are mostly single-room dwellings. There are a few two-room houses made of brick.

In 1972, there were seven wooden houses inhabited by 47 people. There was no electricity or running water. Water was drawn from the nearby stream. There was no sewage system and only three toilets for communal use. In the 1980s, a power line was connected to the settlement, and in 1997 a well was drilled. Since then, the residents obtain drinking water from a public pump. At the time of the survey, about 150 people live in the settlement,

including 33 children of school age. The inhabitants are extremely poor and live on social assistance and by begging. Almost all of the houses require renovation, and most do not are not fit for habitation. Since 2000, the most seriously deteriorated houses have been renovated, more toilets have been built, and a bridge connecting the settlement with the nearby village was constructed as part of the state Roma aid program.

Address:
Maszkowice 152
33-390 Łącko
Łącko commune, woj. małopolskie

Mielec: *Na Cyrance* Settlement

"Na Cyrance," with over 500 people, is the largest Roma settlement in Poland. The Roma in Mielec belong to the *Polska* Roma tribe and are of the Zieliński, Herman, and Siwak families. Since 1974, Roma have lived in a public housing area of Mielec, in the "Na Cyrance" quarter, located by a main street (Aleja Niepodległości) and easily accessible. The housing was developed at the end of the 1950s for workmen from a local factory. In 1964, when the national government forced nomadic Roma to settle in a single place, Mielec, where Roma had wintered, was one of the chosen locations. City authorities first assigned the Roma to wooden barracks, where they lived for 10 years. In 1974, the inhabitants were transferred to these brick buildings,

The housing is located on a rectangular area of 100 m by 200 m and consists of ten buildings, each inhabited by nine families. The brick buildings are one-story structures, plastered, with roofing made of tarpaper.

Most of the buildings are in poor condition. There have been occasional attempts to renovate, but their poor construction and cheap materials make it difficult for them to be transformed into adequate housing (the buildings were meant to be used for only a few years). During the last few years, individual families have been moved to new houses and the government plans to eventually demolish the development.

All inhabitants are very poor. Almost all are beneficiaries of social welfare programs and beg for a living. The state Roma aid program has resulted in slight improvements in living standards.

Address:
39-300 Mielec
Miasteczko Młodych Robotników, woj. podkarpackie

Contact person in charge of the site:
Prezes Stowarzyszenia Romów w Mielcu: Marian Mirga
39-300 Mielec, Miasteczko Młodych Robotników 3

Nowy Sącz

The *Bergitka* Roma settlement in Nowy Sącz located at Zawisza Czarny Street was established at the suggestion of municipal authorities in the early 1960s, when Roma who lived in very poor conditions throughout the town were collectively transferred to seven wooden and brick barracks even though these, too, lacked basic amenities. Over time, this new development came to epitomize the worst conditions of poverty, crime, and overcrowding. The settlement is located on a 100 m by 150 m piece of land some distance from the street, on a road that leads towards the fields, next to a polluted stream. Although originally established in a planned manner, additional buildings and structures have been added so that today the settlement appears chaotic.

About 80 people live there. A few houses are badly deteriorated and are being gradually renovated but only a few owners have received substantial financial help from the national and local governments. The poorly constructed wood and brick barracks erected by the local authorities are typical of construction in the 1960s.

The area received electric service in the 1960s, and in 2000 was connected to the water supply system. In 2005, water was connected to all houses. Additionally, a few years ago, the road was improved with asphalt. Some apartments were also renovated and some of the inhabitants were transferred to a communal barracks building at Number 43 Nawojowska Street.

In addition to the settlement at Zawiszy Czarnego Street, there are two other places where a number of Roma families live in proximity to one another. Fourteen families (a total of about 70 people) moved to Number 43 Nawojowska Street in 2003, and thirteen families (about 50 people) settled in the brick building at Number 35 Gwardyjska Street. Individual Roma families also live elsewhere in the town. In all, approximately 700 Roma live in Nowy Sącz.

Address:
ul. Zawiszy Czarnego 57
Dzielnica Dąbrówka
33-300 Nowy Sącz, , woj. małopolskie

Contact:
Krzysztof Popiela – County plenipotentiary for Roma issues
Starostwo Powiatowe w Nowym Sączu (County Office in Nowy Sącz)
Mobile Tel.: +48 602 294 275, Tel.: +48 18 547 45 77

Ochotnica Górna (Ochotnica – Gronie) (Małopolska)

Roma have lived in this area since at least the beginning of the 20th century. They settled here because of black smith skills, a craft in which they remained much involved until the 1960s. Today, there is only one black smith in the area, one of the very few traditional smiths in the region and one of only two Roma smiths. The settlement has always been

small, consisting of three to four families. It has grown in number only in the last 20 years. At the time of the survey, about 150 people lived in the community, including 33 children of school age. In 1972, there were four wooden houses inhabited by 17 people. There was no electricity and the drinking water was drawn from the nearby stream.

A power line was connected in the 1980s. In 1998, a shallow well was drilled and the water supply was connected to the houses. It is subsoil water, not fit for drinking. There is still no sewage system, and only a few temporary toilets with cesspits. The poorest houses have been renovated since 2000 under the state Roma aid program. Due to its location, the settlement has remained an enclave for Roma who maintain a traditional and extremely poor existence. They do not have their own group name, and only recently they started identifying themselves as *Bergitka* Roma.

The citizens of the nearby village consider the Roma settlement to be a disgrace, but regional authorities regard it as demonstrating the cultural diversity of the area.

The settlement is a rectangular area of 50 m by 100 m, irregularly laid along one central street, which the houses face. Other houses are scattered. There are also outbuildings located here and there. The houses are built in a local style and correspond to the poorest regional housing, seasonal and temporary in their character. The buildings constructed more recently differ in appearance. The structures are simple and lack any style. Traditionally, most of the houses are square or rectangular with gabled roofs. Most only have one room. There are some two-room houses.

There are two brick houses and 25 wooden ones. Some of these houses are plastered with clay. The walls are insulated with plywood, sheet metal, tarpaper, millboard, etc. Most of the roofs are covered with tarpaper, reused sheet metal, or tiles. Some are covered with wooden shingles. The entire settlement is in poor condition. All of the houses need renovation. Most do not meet basic safety requirements and are not fit for living.

The inhabitants are extremely poor and depend on charity and begging. In 2000, the state aid program for Roma contributed to a slight improvement of living conditions.

The settlement is part of the hamlet of Ochotnica-Gronie and is located at the border of two villages, approximately one kilometer from both along the state road that connects Nowy Sącz and Krościenko.

Address:
34-453 Ochotnica Górna 61
woj. małopolskie

Contact:
Chief of the Roma settlement: Władysław Szczerba
34-453 Ochotnica Górna 61, woj. małopolskie
Tel.: +48 18 262 44 84

Ostrowsko (Małopolska)

The *Bergitka* Roma settlement in Ostrowsko is typical of the mountainous region in which it is located. The settlement, which housed about 90 Roma at the time of the survey, existed as early as the mid-19th century when a few metal smiths lived here, invited by the villagers due to their skill. The first Roma family probably came here from the nearby village of Frydman. The settlement was originally located on the outskirts of the village. Over time, the village expanded and, now, the Roma settlement is no longer separate. Access is convenient, by asphalt road. The oblong settlement is located on flat land along a road with houses scattered on either side. Some houses have additional structures that lack walls, woodsheds, porches, and garages.

Though long in poor condition, in the past few years deteriorated houses have been replaced and the appearance of the settlement has improved. Since 2000, the settlement has benefited from the state Roma aid program. Higher quality houses have been built and a water supply and sewage system installed.

Address:
Gmina Nowy Targ
34-431 Ostrowsko, woj. małopolskie

Owner: Powiatowy Zarząd Spółek Wodnych w Nowym Targu (County Management of Water Companies in Nowy Targ)

Contact:
Mieczysław Gil (Roma chief)
ul. Kamieniec 7
34-431 Ostrowsko, woj. małopolskie
Tel.: +48 18 264 196

Szaflary (Małopolska)

This *Bergitka* Roma settlement on the outskirts of Szaflary, where about 120 people live, is another typical settlement of this mountainous region. A Roma settlement was established here sometime between 1940 and 1942. Prior to that, Roma lived in the village with non-Roma. During the German occupation, Roma were forced by the German gendarmerie to move to the outskirts of the village, by a brook, next to the village of Maruszyna. Today, the Roma settlement is located on the side of the local road from Szaflary to Maruszyna (about 100 meters from the road). A dirt road runs along the stream and leads to the settlement.

The settlement received electric service in the 1960s. Since 2000, the community has benefited from the state Roma aid program. The houses are generally in poor condition, however, and several of the 16 are in a very bad state. Some were recently renovated when a few families received substantial financial help from local and national governments. A few of the poorest houses need immediate renovation.

The settlement, which extends about 250 meters, was built without a plan. The houses are scattered on one side of the road, opposite the stream and some are situated in a second row, above the road. Some have additional structures that lack walls, woodsheds, pigsties, porches, etc. Until the 1970s, the houses were built in the local style. Those constructed during the past few years are non-descript, utilitarian structures. During the last few years, two barracks-type houses were erected for the poorest families, financed by the aid program for the Roma. The settlement does not have regular water supply or a sewage system. Drinking water comes from shallow wells.

Address:
Szaflary Wieś , woj. małopolskie

Owner of the site: Szaflary Commune authorities

Contact:
Michał Mirga (Roma chief)
Zadzial 7
34-424 Szaflary
Tel.: +48 18 27 54 980

Szczawnica (Szczawnica Na Kamieńcu)

Bergitka Roma have been living on the edge of the well-known health resort of Szczawnica at least since the beginning of the 20th century. The first Roma inhabitants, a single family, came from neighboring Krościenko. They settled here because of their skills as black smiths and they were involved in blacksmithing until the 1960s. Now, however, there are no Roma black smiths in the settlement. This had always been a small settlement, consisting of only three to four families, but it grew to more than a dozen families after the 1960s. More recently, several families have left and moved to nearby blocks of communal flats.

At the time of the survey, there were approximately 26 Roma families in the community. Neighbors treat the Roma inhabitants with obvious disdain. The Roma are extremely poor and survive on public assistance and by begging. Only since 2000, has the state aid program contributed to slight improvement of living conditions and the social status of the Roma. This has not changed the malevolent attitude of neighbors, however, which is only verbal and has never been manifested in a violent behavior.

The Roma settlement consists of a group of houses located on the upper outskirts of the town, next to the main road along the valley of a stream. It is separated from other buildings by the road, commercial buildings, and an undeveloped lot. It is situated in a floodplain next to a stream, which often floods the Roma houses.

The houses are irregularly situated on the plain, and are surrounded by an equally disorganized collection of woodsheds, pigpens, a storage area without walls, and a garage.

The entire settlement is in a rectangular area of 150 m x 100 m. The older buildings are constructed in a traditional local style, characteristic of the poorest, often temporary structures. The two-room houses are of a somewhat better quality, and there is one two-story building. All of the buildings are wooden. Some are plastered with clay. Some walls are insulated with plywood, tarpaper, or millboard, etc. Most of the roofs are covered with tarpaper, reused sheet metal, or tiles. Only one recently constructed building is made of brick.

Most of the houses are in very poor condition due to low-quality construction materials. Electricity was supplied in the 1960s, but the water supply system was only connected in 2004. Until then, inhabitants drew drinking water from the stream. There is still no sewage system, and only four temporary toilets with cesspits. The two most dilapidated houses have been renovated since 2000 as part of the government aid program.

Address:
ul. Szlachtowska 102
34-460 Szczawnica, woj. małopolskie

Wrocław-Brochów (Lower Silesia): Gypsy Estate

After World War Two, Poland obtained territory that had been part of Germany and in 1947, *Bergitka* Roma families from the eastern Carpathian Mountains were transferred to this area. Wrocław (formerly Breslau) became one of the centers of Roma settlement, and in succeeding years, especially in the 1960s, many *Polska* and *Kalderasza* Roma were also forced to settle in Wrocław's Brochów quarter.

About 2,000 Roma now reside in Wrocław. Most are *Bergitka* Roma but there are also *Polska*, *Lowara*, and *Kalderasza* Roma in the city. Most of the *Bergitka* Roma are members of the Szoma, Siwak, Ferenc, Delimata, and Górniak families. Initially, the Roma lived in the Brochów quarter in a number of tenement apartments. This came to be called the "Gypsy quarter." At present, however, only about 60 families (about 320 people) live in the area in five tenement apartments located on three neighboring streets. These people comprise about 15% of the Roma population in a city of 600,000.

The four-story, brick tenement houses are typical of German towns from the post-World War Two period. They are generally in good condition but could be improved.

Wrocław is a center of contemporary Roma culture. There are three Roma associations. There also are two amateur artistic groups, which perpetuate Roma folk traditions. Relations with the non-Roma community are generally good.

The richly ornamented Roma tombstones at the local cemetery are noteworthy. Their owners are from the formerly nomadic *Polska*, *Kalderasza*, and *Lowara* Roma.

Address:
Dzielnica Brochów
ul. 1 Maja, Polna i Chińska
52-119 Wrocław, woj. dolnośląskie

Contact:
Wojciech Kubiak (Roman Catholic priest who works with Roma community)
Mobile: +48 502 917 065, Tel.: +48 71 784 46 45

Zabrze (Silesia)

In the repopulation of German territory taken by Poland after World War Two, a few dozen *Bergitka* Roma families came to Zabrze from the south of the Małopolska region. Later, these families migrated to other parts of western Poland, but a second large group of *Bergitka* Roma from Małopolska arrived in Zabrze in the 1970s. In the recent years, dozens of additional *Bergitka* Roma families moved from the neighboring parts of Silesia (the region of Kłodzko and Wałbrzych), hoping for better job opportunities. Several families of *Polska* and *Lowara* Roma also settled in Zabrze, initially in communal houses on several neighboring streets. Now about 60 Roma families (about 350 people) reside in Zabrze. Half live in the Roma quarter on several streets at the border of the town center and the Dorota Estate.

The shared buildings occupied by Roma were built before World War Two. The apartments where Roma reside are located in typical pre-war communal blocks. Non-Roma also live in these brick buildings. The Roma inhabitants are a permanent element of this cultural mosaic and live in harmony with the rest of the local community. The condition of the buildings is generally good but both buildings and individual apartments could use renovation.

Address:
Communal houses on several streets at the border of town center and the Dorota Estate
41-800 Zabrze, woj. śląskie

Contact:
Andrzej Puma (Vice-president of Roma Association in Zabrze)
ul. Św. Urbana 3/5
41-800 Zabrze, woj. śląskie
Tel.: +48 32 777 10 43

Cemeteries

Bystrzyca Kłodzka: Roma Alley in the Communal Cemetery

As part of the repopulation of German territory annexed by Poland after World War Two, a few dozen *Bergitka* Roma families came to Bystrzyca Kłodzka from the south of the Małopolska region in the late 1940s and 1950s. Later, several other Roma families from the *Polska* Roma group settled in the town.

The oldest Roma graves in the cemetery date from the 1960s. Roma graves are concentrated in groups, mainly along one alley in Section 8. Unlike in many cemeteries throughout Poland, the Roma graves in Bystrzyca Kłodzka do not noticeably differ from non-Roma graves. Like the others, they are mostly concrete and granite and can be identified as Roma only by names of the deceased. The Roma graves are not separated from the other graves, but are concentrated in groups. The graves are maintained by the families of the deceased.

There are over a dozen Roma graves in all, including that of the painter Ignacy Pawłowski, a Polska Roma, born July 18, 1928 in Świętochłowice. Pawłowski settled in Bystrzyca in the 1950s. He was a boilersmith by profession but also painted. Pawłowski died November 23, 1986 and he is buried in Section VIIIB, row V, grave 10.

The cemetery is open to public. There is access from the town center by bus.

Address:
ul. 1 Maja
57-500 Bystrzyca Kłodzka, woj. dolnośląskie

Owner:
Bystrzyca Kłodzka Town
Management:
Firma Pogrzebowa Eden (Eden Funeral Home)
ul. Okrzei 24B
57-500 Bystrzyca Kłodzka, woj. dolnośląskie
Tel.: +48 74 811 39 86

Kędzierzyn-Koźle: Cemetery and Memorial Place

Kędzierzyn-Koźle is a town established in 1975 through the joining of a few smaller communities. There is access to its cemetery from the city center and railway station by bus.

In the 1960s, *Polska* Roma and a few *Kalderasza* Roma families settled in Kędzierzyn. The *Polska* are especially active in the community, and include members of the Wisńiewski, Korzeniowski, Kwiatkowski, Zieliński, Buriański, Majewski, Brzeziński, and Paczkowski families. The Kwiek family, *Kalderasza* Roma, also settled here. Members of

all of these families are buried at the small communal cemetery owned and maintained by the municipality. The first graves date from the late 1980s.

The Roma graves are not separated from others in the cemetery but they are organized in groups, in three out of four alleys, which lead from the entrance. In two alleys, they are located on both sides and, in the third on one side. The Roma graves stand out because of their style and decoration. Most are black granite. There are 13 tombstones of complex design which differ from the non-Roma graves. There are also 15 less noticeable, but still distinctive, Roma graves. There are large portraits of the deceased, shown wearing traditional clothing. One of the tombs is a large mausoleum in the form of a chapel. The families of the deceased maintain the graves. The cemetery is open to public.

A monument for Roma murdered by the Nazis was under construction at the time of the survey. The head of the project was Jan Korzeniowski, President of Poland's Roma Social-Cultural Society. Adam Zbiegienin designed the monument in 1998. Construction started in 2000 but was interrupted due to a lack of funds. In 2006, about half of the work had been completed.

Address:
ul. Cmentarna
47-200 Kędzierzyn-Koźle, woj. opolskie
(Branch of Raciborska Street in the south-east part of town)

Management:
Miejski Zarzad Cmentarzy Kędzierzyn-Koźle
ul. Bałtycka 2
47-220 Kędzierzyn-Koźle, woj. opolskie
Tel.: +48 48 35 541, +48 48 34 076

Contact:
Jan Korzeniowski, president of the Roma Social-Cultural Society in Kędzierzyn Koźle
(Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Romów w Kędzierzynie-Koźlu)
ul. Skarbowa 3A
47-200 Kędzierzyn-Koźle, woj. opolskie
Tel.: +48 77 48 2 67 38

Kłodawa: Section of Roma Graves at the Parish Cemetery

In the 1960s, *Polska* Roma (the Jaglany family) settled in Kłodawa. Roma from Kłodawa are members of one of the most prominent and influential *Polska* Roma clan. Their opinion is often decisive when settling internal matters in the Roma society.

During the 1980s and 90s, they built lavishly decorated houses in Kłodawa. In the 1980s, they bought several cemetery plots in the parish cemetery and started gradually building distinctive tombstones. Now, their graves occupy parts of the first alley, directly to the right of the entrance. The Roma graves – of which there are now 14 - are on both sides of

the alley and at its end. Individual non-Roma graves are mixed among them. The first grave dates from 1982 and the majority are from the 1980s and 1990s. The families of the deceased pay for the graves, which are well maintained.

Kłodawa citizens, who have their family graves at this cemetery, regard the "Gypsy alley" as a special feature of the cemetery.

Address:
ul. Cicha
62-650 Kłodawa, woj. wielkopolskie

Łódź: Alley of Roma Graves in Archdiocesan Cemetery

(Cmentarz kurialny pod wezwaniem św. Wojciecha)

In the 1960s, *Lowara*, *Kalderasza*, and *Polska* Roma settled in Łódź. When the survey was conducted, it was the home of a *Polska* Roma association led by Anna Markowska. Members of renowned families of this tribe – Majewski, Głowacki, Doliński, Brzeziński, Kwiatkowski, Krzyżanowski, Rutkowski, among others – as well as the Lakatosz family of the *Kalderasza* tribe – have lived in Łódź.

An alley with distinctive Roma graves is a part of a large Roman-Catholic archdiocesan cemetery. The oldest and most unusual Roma tomb is in the form of a Byzantine chapel, and was erected in 1966. It is the burial place of Kwiek Bango of the *Kalderasza* tribe. Since the 1980s, members of the tribe have bought sections in a cemetery alley, situated between Sections 4 and 35, where they have erected typical Roma tombs.

There are 14 graves in this alley. A few other graves are located in close vicinity. And others are scattered about the cemetery. In all, there are more than 20 Roma graves at the cemetery. The overall condition of the cemetery and the Roma graves is good.

The cemetery is open to the public during regular hours. There is access from the city center by bus.

Address:
ul. Kurczaki 81/85
Dzielnica Komorniki
Łódź

Owner:
Archidiecezja Łódzka
Łódź
Tel.: +48 42 646 80 94

Opole: Communal Cemetery
(Cmentarz Komunalny)

In the 1960s, *Polska* and other Roma were pressured by the government to settle in Opole. Included were members of well-known *Polska* families -- Majewski, Brzeziński, Kwiatkowski, Paczkowski, Buriański, Grabowski, and others. Some of these families have become affluent, and in the 1980s they began to erect impressive funerary monuments near the chapel in the communal cemetery. Later, they collectively purchased plots situated along one of the alleys in sections VIIB and XIIB and erected other tombstones. Residents of the city view the "Gypsy alley" as a particularly distinctive feature of the cemetery.

There are about 20 graves in the alley, and three others are located close to the chapel (Section VHa). The families of the deceased maintain the graves. There are 12 large tombstones and 10 less typical headstones. The biggest monument was being built at the time of the survey. There are about 25 Roma graves all together, concentrated in three sections in proximity to one another. The Roma graves are richly ornamented and are clad in expensive stone. There are large likenesses of the deceased depicted wearing traditional clothing.

The cemetery is open to public. There is access from the city center by bus Number 9 (from the railway station) and there is a large parking lot next to the cemetery.

Address:
ul. Cmentarna
Półwieś
45-834 Opole

Management:
Administracja i Konserwacja Cmentarzy Komunalnych
ul. Cmentarna 7A
45-834 Opole
Tel.: +48 77 457 04 37

Oświęcim (Auschwitz): Communal Cemetery
(Cmentarz komunalny w Oświęcimiu)

In the 1960s, over a dozen Roma families, mainly *Polska* Roma, settled in Oświęcim, which is now considered to have a particularly active Roma community. In the early 1980s, the number of families increased to 30.

In 1981, there was violence against Roma in the town – assaults, physical abuse, and burglaries in homes. As a result, Roma from Oświęcim turned to the police and applied for passports to leave the country. The passports were issued immediately, although in those days getting a passport was extremely difficult due to political reasons. All of the town's Roma left Poland, and most settled in Germany, but they returned several years later. In 1991, they set up the Roma Association in Poland, which became an active political

association. There are now over a dozen Roma families in Oświęcim, mostly from the Majewski, Kwiatkowski, and Pawłowski families, *Polska* Roma.

Roma are buried in the communal cemetery of Oświęcim, located a few kilometers from the city center. The oldest graves with distinctive tombstones date from the early 1980s. Roma graves are scattered in various parts of the cemetery, with notable individual tombstones in sections A and E, along the main alley. The recent burials show that there are attempts to create a larger concentration of Roma graves, in section No 8. The Roma graves, mostly made of granite and marble, stand out for their richly ornamented design. There are also large-size photographs of the deceased on the tombstones.

Ornate Roma graves attract visitors and serve as landmarks in the cemetery. There are always flowers on the graves, which are well-kept.

Address:
ul. Wiklinowa 5
32-600, Oświęcim, woj. małopolskie

Owner of the site:
Cmentarz Komunalny, Ltd., Oświęcim
ul. Wiklinowa 5
32-600, Oświęcim, woj. małopolskie
Tel.: +48 33 842 51 98

Poznań: Roma Graves at Municipal Cemetery Number 2

In the 1960s, *Lowara*, *Kalderasza*, and *Polska* Roma settled in Poznań, which became a well-known Roma artistic center. It is where the most popular Roma music group developed during the late 1970s. In the 1980s, Roma started purchasing cemetery plots next to the main gate of the city's cemetery and building sepulchral monuments.

Poznań citizens recognize the "Roma alley" as a specific, special part of the cemetery and often tour the graves. The first dates to 1981. The Municipal Administration of Cemeteries in Poznań owns the cemetery. All graves are well maintained.

Roma sepulchral monuments differ from the regular graves. They are built in the form of chapels with domes, are richly ornamented, and built of expensive stone. The Roma graves are not separated from the rest of the cemetery. Four are situated slightly apart from the rest. In total, there are 14 Roma graves.

The cemetery is open to the public. There is access by bus and tram, and public parking on Cmentarna Street.

Address:
ul. Grunwaldzka
Quarter 6/1

Poznań, Junikowo

Tarnów: Roma Graves in the Krzyż Communal Cemetery

In Roma culture, the memory of the deceased is of great importance. The funeral is celebrated with demonstrable emotion, and on All Saints Day (November 1) the graves are visited, often by large crowds. The cemetery in Krzyż is considered a "Gypsy cemetery" because this is where most of the Roma families living in Tarnów bury their dead, but the Roma graves are part of the communal cemetery and are not separated from other burial places, although some are concentrated in one area.

The Municipal Management of Cemeteries in Tarnów (*Miejski Zarząd Cmentarzy w Tarnowie*) manages the cemetery. The burial site was established in the 1930s and the first Roma graves date from the 1970s. All graves are taken care of by family members and are in good condition. Entry into the cemetery is open. There is public parking and easy access for the handicapped.

There are approximately 10 Roma graves in the cemetery including that of Józef Kamiński-Malińciu, a member of the Romani Union Presidium from 1983 to 1985. He is buried in Section 5. Some of the Roma graves in Sections 16b and 18 have colorful ornamentation and one tomb is large enough to enter.

Warsaw: Roma Graves in the Bródno Communal Cemetery

(Cmentarz Bródnowski/Bródzieński/ Na Bródnie w Warszawie)

The Bródno Roman-Catholic cemetery is the oldest (1884) cemetery still in active use for burials in Warsaw. It has been enlarged several times and now it covers ca. 113 hectares. It is the largest cemetery in Poland. Over a million people are buried here. The local inhabitants see the Roma graves as a distinctive feature of the cemetery**.** Most people who visit the cemetery notice the Roma graves (the best known is the Tabaczek family grave, located close to the main entrance.)

The cemetery is located in the Bródno quarter of Warsaw. There are many individual Roma graves scattered throughout of the cemetery and some clustering of Roma graves in Sections 2B, 14C, 12C, 12F, 18G, 22G, and 24G (the largest concentration of graves).

There are about 50 Roma graves in the cemetery. The earliest dates from the 1950s but the majority are from the 1980s and 90s. All the graves are in good condition, although some appear abandoned. One of two chapel-like tombs seems unfinished, with a small altar inside and many artificial flowers, but no sign of burial – no nameplate commemorating the deceased.

Many well-known Roma are buried at the Bródno cemetery. The history of Wasyl Michaj (the father of Burano and Wit Michaj – famous rock singers from the 1960s) was described by Jerzy Ficowski in “Demony Cudzego Strachu” (Demons of Someone Else's Fear)

published by Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (Warsaw 1986). Ficowski composed the epitaph on Wasyl Michaj's grave, which includes a one-meter high bust of Michaj. Overall, Roma gravestones differ from the other graves in the cemetery. The tombs are richly ornamented and built of expensive stone.

Roma have resided in Warsaw since before World War Two, when they were involved in trade. A Gypsy legend claims that dealers of millet lived in the city and that the name of millet (*kasza jaglana*) is the origin of the name of one of the richest and most respected *Polska* Roma clans – Jaglany. Warsaw, with its extensive outskirts and wild parks of Bielany, Wola, and the Vistula riverside, was also the regular camping place for Gypsy caravans of all migrating Roma groups.

Roma began to settle, or were forced to settle, in Warsaw proper from the early 1950s through the late 1960s. The *Lowara* (the Tabaczek, Goman, and former Michaj families) mostly live in the Ursus, Ochota-Rakowiec, North Praga–Targówek neighborhoods in the city and suburban areas such as Marki and Ząbki. The biggest concentration of *Kalderasza* Roma, today mixed with other Roma groups, is in South Praga, Gocławek. *Polska* Roma reside mainly in South Praga, Kamionki and suburban areas including Otwock, Sulejówek, Rembertów and Okuniew. Warsaw Roma are called *Bareforytka* Roma (urban) or simply *Warszawska* Roma.

The cemetery is open to public. There is access from the city center by bus and public parking at św. Wincentego Street.

Address:
ul. św. Wincentego 83
Warzawa, woj. mazowieckie
Management Tel.: +48 22 673 03 94
Director Tel.: +48 22 679 83 14

Wrocław: Roma Sections in the Communal Cemetery

(Cmentarz Komunalny)

In the 1960s, *Kalderasza* and *Polska* Roma settled in Wrocław. The *Kalderasza*, originally of the Catholic-Orthodox faith, primarily reside in the Brochów quarter of the city. The best-known families are the Lakatosz, Kierpacz, Kopacz, and Kolompar families. In the 1960s, *Kalderasza* Roma erected two tombstones in the central alley of the cemetery (section 23A), which resembled Byzantine chapels. In the 1970s, Roma collectively bought cemetery plots near the main gate (section 1) in the most visible place in the cemetery. Distinctive tombstones have been erected. These now form a special alley between Sections 1 and 23A, and on the right side of the central alley (in section 23A). Wrocław citizens regard this "Gypsy alley" as a distinctive feature of the cemetery. The Roma graves are not separated from the rest of the cemetery but they form an easily recognizable cluster at the main gate. All of the graves except one tomb are well-maintained. This tomb (in section 1) had a roof in need of repair at the time of the survey.

Twelve tombs are similar in form to traditional Byzantium chapels, including three under construction. There are also more than 10 tombstones that are less distinctive, but still different than non-Roma grave markers. They are richly ornamented and made of expensive stone. On the tombstones there are large likenesses of the deceased, shown wearing traditional clothing**.** One of the graves in Section 23A belongs to Lasio Lakatosz, who died on June 29th, 1983. He is described as a "Gypsy king" on the tomb, and was a well-known leader of a large family from the *Kalderasza* tribe. His wife, Szulka is buried with him.

The larger communal cemetery of the city of Wrocław is managed by Management of Communal Cemeteries (*Zarząd Cmentarzy Komunalnych*), Pl. Strzelecki 19/2, 50-224 Wrocław. Access is from the city center by tram Numbers 17 and 24, or by bus.

Address:
Cmentarz Komunalny
ul. Osobowicka 59
51-110 Wrocław – Osobowice
Sections 1, 23A

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