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Representations of Roma Identity in Public Spaces in Hungary

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Romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro







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## Romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro

*I firmly believe that everything the Roma  
movement seeks to achieve is for the benefit  
of Hungary.*

- Jenő Setét (1972-2022)

*Zurales patjav, ke so jekh Romano  
mižhgipo kamel te resel, kodo mišhto avela  
le Ungriko Themeske.*

- Setét Jenő (1972-2022)

Tom Lantos Institute and the Idetartozunk ("We Belong Here") Association  
Tom Lantos Institucia thaj Idetartozunk Organizacia  
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## Introduction: antecedents to a research project on public spaces

1

According to current Hungarian legislation, there are thirteen nationalities in the country (Roma, German, Romanian, Slovakian, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Polish, Bulgarian, Greek, Ruthenian, Armenian and Slovenian). The preamble to Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of Nationalities states the following about these ethnic groups:

*“nationalities form part part of the Hungarian political community and are a constituent part of the State, cultural diversity and the diversity of languages are not a source of division but of enrichment, the cultural values created by nationalities form an integral part of Hungary’s cultural heritage, the specific individual and collective rights of nationalities are fundamental freedoms.”*

These groups have lived in Hungary for centuries and have played significant roles in various historical events (such as the Rákóczi War of Independence, the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849 and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956), as well as in the public, economic and cultural spheres (in literature, the arts, etc.). Their historical and current presence in Hungary is beyond question, and there can be no doubt about their right to present their own historical and cultural narratives regarding their coexistence with the majority society in



our country's public spaces, which provide space for the symbolic representation of almost the entire history of Hungary.

Roma migrated to Hungary in the fifteenth century, which means that Roma and non-Roma coexistence in Hungary goes back at least 600 years. There is a contemporary demand by the Roma community to make use of the country's public spaces to represent the common history of Roma and non-Roma and highlight Roma historical heroes and events that have had a positive impact on the daily lives of the entire Roma and non-Roma community. Such forms of commemoration could have a positive impact not only on the identity formation of the Roma population but also on their perception by the non-Roma community. In other words, positive examples and representations of themes of Roma cultural life and history in public spaces (hereinafter "Roma representations") could help the non-Roma community relate to members of the Roma community in Hungary in a tolerant, accepting manner.

It should be noted, that the aspiration among Roma to carve out a place for Roma culture in public spaces – or in other words to place representations that are considered important by Roma communities (regardless of their theme) in public spaces – is a legitimate goal and pursuit. Even in cases in which representations of Roma culture in public spaces do not have a positive effect on the peaceful social coexistence of different ethnic groups, these representations inevitably enhance the identity-building efforts of the Roma people. In addition, such representations may also be interpreted as evidence of the minority society's access to public power, thus raising important questions, such as whether Roma people have the authority to speak about themselves and control their own narrative, or whether the centuries-old "tradition" of non-Roma control over the Roma narrative and identity still persists today.

Previous studies have examined the location and spatial distribution of Roma people by place of residence, but they have not investigated how Roma culture and identity are displayed in the form of public representations. The present research project is thus both novel and exploratory, as it examines both the physical context





of these representations (“where are they found?”) and the larger process by which they arrived at their current locations (“how did they get there?”).

In the course of our investigation, we were not able to examine the public representation of all national minorities in Hungary. Rather, we have focused solely on representations in the context of the coexistence of Hungary’s Roma and non-Roma communities<sup>1</sup> and the relationship between the Roma people and the Hungarian state.

## Primary research questions and objectives

# 2

At the beginning of this research project, there was no official comprehensive database listing the location of Roma representations in the Hungarian capital and other parts of the country. We also had no information concerning the thematic distribution of these representations, nor did we know which Roma themes non-Roma tended to prefer or which themes Roma considered important to display. Furthermore, we did not have a clear picture of the power relations between Roma and non-Roma in the context of the creation of Roma representations. The main objective was thus to find answers to these questions during the research period (2018-2020).<sup>2</sup> The primary research question was defined as follows:

*Where and how do Roma representations appear in public spaces in Hungary?*

<sup>1</sup> The authors consider the Roma to be Hungarian, but for stylistic reasons (and clarity) the compound term Roma-non-Roma, prevalent in public discourse, had to be used throughout the present text.

<sup>2</sup> The research study focused on public representations unveiled before 31 December 2020. Public works of art unveiled in or after 2021 are mentioned but are not examined in detail.



In addition to answering this question, our objective was to map Roma public representations in Budapest and throughout Hungary in order to obtain an accurate picture of their actual number and thematic range.

We likewise considered it crucial to discuss successful and unsuccessful attempts to install Roma statues, commemorative plaques and figurative and non-figurative artefacts in public spaces to illustrate under what conditions the installation of a public work of Roma representation proves effectual or was likely to be more or less effectual. In addition, we undertook to identify and analyse the relevant actors and their role in the creation of these representations in order to explore the power relations between Roma and non-Roma in situations in which the goal was to create a public representation of some aspect of Roma culture or history. We hope that, in the long run, our research will help nurture dialogue between Roma and non-Roma in this area. Based on the aggregated data and the illustrative cases, it is possible to identify the fault lines between Roma and non-Roma in the context of Roma public representation and shed light on methods that can be used to make the members of these communities more aware of these fault lines and, in doing so, help eliminate them.

Ensuring that Roma people have a presence in public spaces – and that artefacts and memorials regarded as important by Roma people are part of this presence is a legitimate goal in and of itself, even if those artefacts and other representations of Roma identity do not necessarily have a positive impact on efforts to further mutual rapprochement. In addition, it is important to promote the visibility and awareness of Roma culture and history and, specifically, to provide both researchers and the general public with basic information in the form of a database of Roma representations in public spaces in order to nurture knowledge of Roma culture and the characteristics of Roma–non-Roma coexistence.

Finally, we hope that our research will serve as a resource and a foundation for the creation of more representations of Roma culture and identity in public







spaces. In particular, by presenting successful and unsuccessful representations of Roma culture and identity, we aim to draw attention to “bad practices” that should be avoided and “good examples” that should be followed.

## Scope of the research

# 3

The research project focused on public spaces but did not examine all types of public space or all elements found in such spaces. To further narrow the scope of the research, we considered the criteria of function and use. We accordingly decided to only study elements in *public spaces* that did not have a private function or use. This applies primarily to the interior and exterior spaces of public institutions, but also, for example, to the terrace of a café that occupies a public space with a public function for private use. Cemeteries are borderline cases, as they serve both a private function (in the case of individual or family tombs) and a public function (in the case of monuments erected in honour of prominent Roma public figures). The private function of cemeteries was not included in the research, but the public function was. We focused in particular on the public function of Roma monuments that were very important in the life of a particular municipality and merely happened to be located in a cemetery. In this context, it should be noted that confining Roma representations to cemeteries (e.g. in the municipality of Lengyel) is a form of marginalization. It has been a common way of excluding Roma people from public spaces since the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, the monument to the racist murders of 2008-2009 in Nagycsécs, which is relegated to the local cemetery, can be regarded as a continuation of this strategy. The same applies to the monuments to several famous Roma musicians (Bak 2020).




The research project did not examine the names of *streets and public squares*. This was primarily for linguistic reasons, since Roma and non-Roma persons can have the same name. Determining whether a street is actually named after a Roma person would have required a detailed study of local history. Furthermore, since streets and public squares are rarely named in honour of a Roma community or one of its members, a nationwide study of streets and public squares was deemed to fall outside the scope of the project. The project accordingly investigated the following elements in public spaces:

- monuments;
- memorial plaques;
- statues;
- wooden memorial columns;
- paintings and murals in public spaces;
- public buildings (named after Roma people); and
- public buildings (established by Roma people).

## 4

### The question of Roma identity

In addition to defining the concept of public space for the purpose of our research, it is important to examine the question of Roma identity, as this will ultimately determine whether a public artefact or memorial is associated with Roma or non-Roma culture or identity. In some cases, this is easy to determine, as the representation in question displays clear indications of its cultural origins, meaning that its connection to Roma cultural identity is obvious to most observers. However, other artefacts (especially those featuring representations of people) may require a more in-depth analysis to properly identify their connection to Roma culture and people.



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The project took the following factors into account when determining the “Roma-ness” of a particular representation:

1. The project did not identify Roma public representations on the basis of definitions used by the majority society, government institutions or public bodies, opting to examine such representations from a Roma perspective instead. It did not embrace the concept of “Roma” used in Hungary and defined in István Kemény’s research as “someone who is considered as such by his or her environment”. The principles of individual self-identification and free choice are central to our definition of group membership, although we acknowledge that such membership is inseparable from the objective characteristics that determine an individual’s identity, since the attachment to the group derives from these objective characteristics.
2. Accordingly, most of the artefacts that were considered as having a “Roma identity” were those through which the individual or community concerned openly claimed an attachment to the Roma community and which were recognized as Roma by the Roma community itself. Furthermore, this definition was not limited to inscriptions in Romani, since the Boyash, Carpathian and Sinti languages are likewise present in Hungary. The definition was used even when Roma identity was presented as secondary to non-Roma identity.
3. The project classified the factors defining the boundaries of Roma representation in public spaces into two main categories. The first category consists of factors that clearly point to the Roma identity of a certain representation (e.g. whether Roma people or organizations were involved in the creation of the public representation or whether any programmes/events initiated by Roma people or organizations were organized in connection with the representation). These are referred to in the project as objective criteria. (In the case of several European Roma communities, objective criteria of minority status usually include linguistic identity. Although the criterion of language was only applicable to Roma people living in Hungary in a limited number of cases, it was important to take



this into account and include it as part of the research, since many micro-communities regard the cultivation of the Boyash, Carpathian, Romani and Sinti languages as a priority.)

4. In addition to the objective criteria, it was also necessary to include subjective factors in our research, as most of the public representations studied depicted individuals and contained no reference to Roma communities. This meant that it was crucial to use the subjective criterion of whether a certain Roma individual or community was recognized as Roma by the Roma population, based on its shared knowledge of the origins of the individual or community in question.

To summarize, the project applied both objective and subjective criteria for the purpose of recognizing Roma identity. The system followed a fundamentally inclusive approach, meaning that a representation was regarded as a Roma representation if at least one of the aforementioned criteria was met.

## 5

### The analytical perspective on the minority-majority relationship

In Hungary today, the statues, plaques and monuments usually found in streets, squares, parks and public buildings commemorate the history of the Hungarian state, its most renowned historical figures or its most prominent cultural events and figures.

However, since there are no monocultural societies (or “pure nation states”), there is also a natural need to display diversity, multiculturalism and intercultural interaction.



In the vast majority of cases, the state has full control over public spaces and thus also the greatest responsibility in terms of how it recognizes and represents the diversity of a certain multicultural area.

Besides state bodies, civil society organizations and other private actors can also participate in the design of public spaces (Harlov-Csörtán and Lajtai 2018). However, due to their limited financial resources and power compared to the state (e.g. in the area of decision making), their responsibility and influence are considerably smaller.

One of the reasons why it is of paramount importance to represent multiculturalism in public spaces is that every nationality will have its own narrative about its relationship with the majority society. This is especially important if the majority society previously oppressed or violated the human rights of that minority (Shaheed 2014). The centuries-long economic, political and social marginalization of Roma is particularly relevant in this context.

A state's willingness to acknowledge in various ways – *including* public representations – the human rights violations it has committed against certain minorities provides an opportunity for the majority and the minority to reconcile. In this manner, the state can express not only its respect for the human dignity of past victims but also its determination to refrain from committing similar atrocities in the future. Instead of perpetuating unlawful measures, the state can opt for a democratic form of cooperation (Shaheed 2014). Expressed through the medium of public representation, such a consensus between the majority society and nationalities on the evaluation of their common history of coexistence has a daily impact on the identity of both the majority society and the members of those minorities (Shaheed 2014), since public artefacts not only promote mutual reconciliation but also socialize the inhabitants and visitors of a certain area towards peaceful coexistence. In addition, since certain international agreements, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and certain



elements of Hungarian legislation enshrine (on paper) every individual's right to self-identification the use of public space for Roma representation forms an integral part of the enforcement of these provisions. Even if no violations had ever been committed against the Roma population, they would still have a legitimate claim to self-representation in the public space.

A key question is therefore whether a given minority has the right to self-determination and, if so, how this is manifested in spatial self-representation.

Another important social phenomenon occurs when, in contrast to their own narratives of past grievances, the outstanding cultural, historical and sporting achievements of national minorities are displayed in public spaces. For the purposes of our research, this includes works by Roma artists and statues, memorials and plaques celebrating Roma artists, musicians and actors, as well as Roma historical figures and Roma athletes. Such representations may help reduce prejudice in the majority society and enable members of minorities to stop seeing their ethnic background as an embarrassing attribute but rather as one that contributes to their status as valuable members of society (Bogdán, Molnár and Setét 2019).

The degree of the clarity with which monuments, plaques and statues depict the history or culture of a particular minority is therefore paramount. It is not uncommon to find cases in which the underlying minority or ethnicity of a public artefact is not clearly indicated, meaning that it can only be identified by contemporaries or "experts" in the field. Approaches to or analyses of public artefacts relating to nationalities need to address this problem (Harlov-Csörtán and Lajtai 2018).

It is also important to examine the relationship between a public artwork relating to a nationality and the space it inhabits. A public artefact or memorial may be erected or placed in a certain location due to its close connection to that location or because the location in question is most suited to conveying a particular message from an urban planning perspective (Harlov-Csörtán and Lajtai 2018).





As there can be no self-representation without participation, one basic criterion we considered in our research was whether Roma people or organizations were involved in the creation of each public representation. In the case of a public representation relating to a certain minority, it needs to be considered how its installation or placement can be carried out, given the interests of different political or lobby groups. For example, local government leaders and local Roma advocacy groups may have different views on the installation of a Roma public representation. We assume that the creation or installation of a Roma public representation is only guaranteed if local Roma activists and non-Roma politicians both believe in the need to create or establish it. This means that, if the leaders of a particular municipality decide to establish a Roma public representation, we need to consider whether it can be achieved with or without the involvement of the Roma community as a partner.

The impact of public representations on the local social environment for both locals and visitors is another important consideration. Representatives of the minorities in question should therefore be involved in the process from the outset. They should also be active participants in the planning and implementation stages (Shaheed 2014). The importance of such participation has also been highlighted by the UN Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, on the grounds that it is intertwined with the right of equal access and equal use of public space.

## Methodology

# 6

In order to locate Roma public representations, we applied two levels of analysis, each consisting of two sub-analyses. We started with an overview of the cultural landscape by mapping Roma public representations. In order to collect



as much information as possible, we used the snowball sampling method by posting requests for information on Facebook. We then added to this information by consulting online databases that contained information on Roma public representations. The second level of analysis consisted of fieldwork, including data collection in the field and eight unstructured interviews. Out of the four transcripts of these interviews, three are discussed here as illustrative cases (successful, unsuccessful and atypical) to complement the data set and reveal the role of Roma and non-Roma actors in the creation of Roma public representations.

## 6.1 Overview of the cultural landscape: Mapping Roma representations

The primary aim of the efforts to create a clear overview of the cultural landscape from the perspective of Roma representations was to locate and collect the following data on the representations themselves:

- name or title
- exact location
- type or genre
- year of creation
- theme
- language
- founder(s) creator(s) or initiator(s)

### 6.1.1 SNOWBALL SAMPLING

The researchers approached members of active online Roma forums on Facebook and consulted their own extensive networks of contacts in person and by telephone to ask whether they had information on Roma public representations in Hungary. The researchers mainly contacted people who were familiar with





and/or active in local Roma communities. In the case of Gypsy/Roma / minority self-governments<sup>3</sup> and other Roma organizations, the researchers asked these bodies and organizations whether they themselves had initiated the installation or creation of Roma public representation in the past ten years and, if so, how many times they had done so and how successful or unsuccessful those initiatives had been. They also gathered information on what the interviewees described as the reasons for their success or failure. These enquiries were aimed at revealing whether local Roma actors had made any efforts to shape public representation and whether they recognized its importance.

### 6.1.2 SEARCHING ONLINE DATABASES

Two online databases, [kozterkep.hu](http://kozterkep.hu) and [wikipedia.org](http://wikipedia.org), offer a large number of entries on public artefacts in Hungary. Both sites can be accessed and edited by anyone. [Kozterkep.hu](http://kozterkep.hu) is a Hungarian non-governmental initiative. At the time of writing, it contained more than 35,000 entries on artefacts, most of them public, in Hungary. As one of the world's most well-known online knowledge repositories, [wikipedia.org](http://wikipedia.org) contains entries on most Hungarian municipalities, even if some are only a few words long. These entries often contain a list of local public works of art, which we used to identify those that could be regarded as Roma public representations according to the criteria of the research project.

<sup>3</sup> The use of these two terms in the text reflects the names used by the municipal bodies in question. The institutional setting to give cultural rights to minorities was established by Act LXXVII of 1993 on the rights of national and ethnic minorities. According to this act, Roma were considered an ethnic minority instead of a national minority, referring to them as Gypsies (“cigány” in Hungarian). The Act was amended in 2011 replacing the derogatory term with Roma and granting them a national minority (nationality) status. This amendment after that made no distinction between the thirteen minorities.



## 6.2 Fieldwork: On-site investigations

### 6.2.1 VISUAL DATA COLLECTION AND FIELDWORK

Through visual on-site data collection and fieldwork, we examined all the Roma representations found during the efforts to arrive at a clear overview of the cultural landscape from the perspective of our primary research goals. Our aim was to arrive at an accurate picture of the location and appearance of these representations. While carrying out on-site investigations, we also took photographs of the representations and compiled them in an album, which is presented in the second half of this publication.<sup>4</sup> A map-based database was also compiled and made available to the public in 2022.

### 6.2.2 UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWS WITH EXPERTS

The interviewees were either experts who had already dealt with Roma representations at local level in some way or actors involved in the creation or initiation of such representations. (The interviews were recorded and then transcribed, thus providing a basis for the illustrative cases appended to this report.)

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<sup>4</sup> In accordance with Hungarian law, we were only permitted to publish photographs of monuments and memorial sites that were taken in open spaces or for which we received special permission. We had not yet received all the necessary permissions when the present collection was being finalized. Images that have not been included in the present edition of the report will be published in a future database or in a future edition of the report.





## Research findings

### 7.1 Previous research on Roma public representation in Hungary

The present project (which focuses on the whole of Hungary) was preceded by a project of the Tom Lantos Institute on *Roma in the Public Space of Budapest*, which was carried out in 2018. The researchers on this project, Melinda Harlov-Csortán and Mátyás Lajtai, investigated the ways in which the role, history and cultural richness of the Roma community in Hungarian society is represented in the area of the Hungarian capital that has been recognized as a World Heritage Site for its role in preserving the historical and cultural heritage of the entire Hungarian population.

Their findings indicate that, apart from the Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank, the Hungarian Roma population has almost no presence in Budapest's World Heritage Site. In addition, the Roma Holocaust Memorial commemorates just one historical period in the twentieth century, but neither the periods before or after it.

It was this conclusion that in 2019 prompted the Tom Lantos Institute to extend the original research to the entire area of the Hungarian capital. The first study revealed that the researchers did find some Roma representation outside Budapest's World Heritage Site, but the actual scale and nature of this representation could not be explored due to the project's narrow scope.



## 7.2 Roma representation in the public spaces of the Hungarian capital

In 2019-2020, the authors of the present study – Péter Bogdán, István Gábor Molnár and Jenő Setét – documented and analysed artefacts and other examples of Roma representation (e.g. *Stolpersteine*, wooden statues, memorials, commemorative plaques, parks and statues) in every district of Budapest. They examined the initiators and creators of every Roma representation, as well as the historical and cultural spaces in which they appeared. The study also revealed which historical and cultural spaces were deemed suitable for Roma representation by the respective state or municipal government and whether there had been any independent initiatives by non-governmental or civil society organizations in response to the absence of Roma public representation in certain historical and cultural spaces.

As part of their analysis, the researchers also examined the degree of “explicitness” of Roma public representations by exploring how clearly they communicated that their “ethnic background” was Roma, whether they had been installed in a particular location because they had some connection to it or merely due to urban planning considerations, and who had initiated their creation or facilitated their installation (where data were available).

During their fieldwork, the researchers found 26 Roma representations, as well as several institutions named after Roma individuals, including the György Cziffra Nagytétény Community Centre, the Menyhért Lakatos Primary and Secondary School,<sup>5</sup> the Gyöngyi Rácz Community Centre and the Aladár Rácz Music School.

<sup>5</sup> The Menyhért Lakatos Primary and Secondary School subsequently became a member institution of the Deák Diák Primary and Secondary School in Budapest, thus erasing the memory of Menyhért Lakatos.





Of these 26 examples, eighteen consisted of commemorative plaques (including an outdoor plaque to György Cziffra on the wall of the György Cziffra Nagytétény Community Centre). The rest included a *Stolperstein*, a wooden sculpture, four statues, a memorial and a park.

Some of these Roma public representations commemorate Hungarian Roma victims of war who died heroically for their country, such as Menyhért Lakatos and Roma Holocaust victim József Dráfi (who was held captive in the concentration camps of Dachau and Ravensbrück, and was killed at the age of 17, ten days before the Soviet troops liberated the latter concentration camp). There are also Roma memorial plaques relating to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Famous figures from Roma public life commemorated in these representations include violinist János Bihari, pianist György Cziffra, choreographer and writer Géza Csemer, and Béla Puczi, hero of the Black March of 1990, as well as Gyula Farkas, founder of the Rajkó-Talentum School of Dance and Music, János Bogdán, philosopher and founder of the Gandhi High School, violinist Tivadar Mészáros of the Rajkó-Talentum School, 1956 freedom fighters Ilonka Szabó “Kócos” and Gábor Dilinkó, jazz bassist Aladár Pege, visual artist Tamás Péli, cimbalom player Aladár Rácz, and rock guitarist Béla Radics. Other representations include a Roma Holocaust memorial (also mentioned in the 2018 project), a Roma Holocaust commemorative plaque and the Park of Fiddler Gypsies, where eight violin masters have been memorialized. The above-mentioned Roma public representations are located in Districts I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIII, XXI, XXII of Budapest.

Regarding the location of these representations, 15 of the 26 (those commemorating Menyhért Lakatos, Géza Csemer, Béla Puczi, Gyula Farkas, Tivadar Mészáros, Ilonka Szabó “Kócos”, Gábor Dilinkó, Aladár Pege, György Cziffra, Tamás Péli, Aladár Rácz, Béla Radics, János Bihari and József Choli Daróczi, as well as the Roma Holocaust Memorial) were installed in their specific locations





because the individuals in question lived or worked there or because a significant historical event in which they participated took place there. The location of the Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank also has historical significance, as Roma people were deported to labour and concentration camps from this stretch of the riverbank during the Holocaust.

Further on the subject of location, the research results show that the ethnic composition of the local population was not a factor in the decision where to locate the above-mentioned artefacts. The facts of where a particular Roma public figure lived, worked or participated in a historical event were considered more important than addressing the presence or absence of a Roma community in the neighbourhood concerned. Nevertheless, a certain trend can be discerned here: seven of the 26 representations (37.14% of all Roma public representations) were located in Districts VIII and IX, which are densely populated by Roma people. In addition to five commemorative plaques and the Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank, these representations included the Park of the Fiddler Gypsies. When examined from an historical and cultural perspective, nine of the 26 representations (28.88% of the total number) were found to commemorate Roma historical figures or events: one was dedicated to the memory of the Gypsies who died heroically for Hungary, one to the memory of Béla Puczi, three to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and four to the Roma Holocaust.

Interestingly, Roma public representations relating to the events of 1956 can only be found in Districts IV and VIII, while the Roma Holocaust is commemorated only in Districts VII, IX, and XXI. In contrast, there are seventeen Roma public representations in the cultural domain. Eleven of them are related to music, suggesting that the non-Roma public primarily recognizes the musical achievements of Roma people. In addition, two writers, Menyhért Lakatos and Géza Csemer, have been the subject of a joint Roma-Hungarian commemoration. The same applies to visual artist Tamás Péli and, following a Roma initiative,



philosopher János Bogdán, founder of the Gandhi High School. The bust of the latter can be found inside the institution, in the inner courtyard, and thus attracts less attention than other Roma public figures. The commemorative plaques for Gyula Farkas and Tivadar Mészáros are also located inside the relevant institution, the Rajkó-Talentum School of Dance and Music, and the same is true of the memorial to the Roma heroes of 1956 in District IV, which is located in the Gyöngyi Rácz Community Centre in Újpest.

Twenty-three of the 26 Roma public representations provide information on when they were created, but the artists who created them are only known in eleven cases. We have the most information about the commemorative plaque for Béla Puczi in the car park of Nyugati Station, which was created by artist András Kállai and installed in 2017. At the initiative of the Idetartozunk (“We Belong Here”) Association, the car park of Nyugati Station was renamed Béla Puczi Square on 8 April 2021 (International Roma Day).

As explained in detail below, we have information on who commissioned the representations in 23 of the 26 cases. We further found that six of the 26 representations were located indoors or in inner courtyards, which means that Roma public representations were easily accessible to the general public in 65.38% of cases. When examining these public representations, moreover, the year 2006 appears to constitute a strong dividing line, as described in the following two sections.



Figure 1:  
Locations of Roma  
public representations  
in Budapest (2020)



### 7.2.1 ROMA PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS IN BUDAPEST INAUGURATED BEFORE 2006

Before 2006, it was mostly the “majority” that installed plaques in public places to commemorate Roma people and artists. The renowned violinist János Bihari has a statue on Margaret Island and received a commemorative plaque in District IX as early as the first half of the 1900s, while composer Pista Dankó has a street named after him in District VIII.

Bihari and Dankó were well-known Gypsy musicians, but this is not clear from the above-mentioned artefacts. Our main argument is therefore that Bihari and Dankó may have been commemorated primarily for their services to Hungarian cultural identity – Bihari in the area of Hungarian verbunkos music and Dankó in the area of Hungarian folk music – rather than for their contribution to Gypsy identity. Both were bearers and symbols of Hungarian national sentiment and identity in their day. They could be included in the memory of the nation because they represented the “Gypsy musician” character that had always been more acceptable to Hungarian society. Aladár Rácz, who has a street named after him, was a Gypsy musician who achieved global success with his revolutionary way of playing the cimbalom, which was admired even by renowned classical musicians. This cultural and musical achievement and the prestige it brought to the country were acknowledged in 1948, when Rácz became one of the first recipients of the newly established Kossuth Prize. The achievements of world-class pianist György Cziffra were acknowledged with a commemorative plaque, and he also had a street and a cultural centre named after him. The monument to guitar genius Béla Radics, a leading rock musician, is located in District XIII. Apparently, the Roma people who were recognized by the majority society were all outstanding musicians. We do not know of a single public representation from before 2006 that commemorates Roma literary figures, artists or freedom fighters.



## 7.2.2 ROMA PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS IN BUDAPEST INAUGURATED AFTER 2006

The Roma Holocaust Memorial, initiated and created by Roma activists and organizations, was erected on Nehru Bank in Budapest in 2006. The memorial is a unique landmark not only for being the first example of Roma public self-representation in Budapest but also because it shows a different side of the Roma historical narrative by extricating it from the context of Hungarian national identity as expressed through music and entertainment. The Roma Holocaust, the Roma people's suffering during the genocide and the fact that they were targeted for extermination by the Nazi regime are not properly acknowledged in either European or Hungarian history. The details of the Roma Holocaust are the subject of an ongoing heated debate, but its inclusion in the collective memory of Roma communities can no longer be avoided or denied as it is now commemorated in dozens of settlements. Roma movements are finding new ways to increase its visibility and recognition. For example, the aforementioned Idetartozunk Association, an informal Facebook community, uses the power of the online space to organize simultaneous nationwide commemorations, with 120-140 municipalities commemorating the Roma Holocaust on the same date.

The cooperation of Roma communities, the commemorative plaques and the monuments unveiled in an increasing number of settlements (e.g. Kalocsa, Szalonna, Pécs, Nyíregyháza, Nagykanizsa and Salgótarján) indicate that Roma communities are creating a common history, memory and narrative.

The year 2006 is also a dividing line because it marks the beginning of a trend whereby Roma people themselves initiated the creation and installation of public memorials and artefacts, thus taking charge of their own representation. Examples of this include the commemorative plaque for writer Menyhért Lakatos at his former residence in District III, the memorial statue for the Roma martyrs of 1956 in District IV, the Park of Fiddler Gypsies in District VIII, the commemorative plaque for Aladár Pege in District VIII and the commemorative plaque for Tamás Péli in District IX.



This trend received further impetus in 2017 when the Idetartozunk Association unveiled the commemorative plaque for Béla Puczi, a Roma hero from Târgu Mures/Marosvásárhely at Nyugati Railway Station (and later arranged for the square outside the station to be named after him). Although this involved a political struggle, it also received a lot of social publicity and media attention. The actions of this human and civil rights organization prompted Roma communities to propose the installation of new commemorative plaques in Budapest and Hungary at their own initiative and in greater numbers than before.


In 2018, in cooperation with the Roma minority self-government of Budapest, the Idetartozunk Association installed a plaque commemorating the victims of a series of racist murders in 2008-2009. The plaque was installed inside of the governing body's headquarters in 2018. The plaque was later replaced and on 2 August 2021, on Roma Holocaust Memorial Day, the Roma minority self-government of Budapest and the Idetartozunk Association unveiled a new plaque on II. János Pál pápa Square dedicated to the Roma martyrs of the Holocaust. Since then, plaques commemorating the Roma victims of the 2008-2009 racist murders have also been installed in Nagycsécs and Miskolc.

### 7.2.3 THE IDENTIFICATION OF PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS AS ROMA

The 2018-2019 study on Roma public representations in the Hungarian capital focused not only on the quantity and extent of these representations but also on how – and how easily – they could be identified as ethnic, that is, relating to Roma culture or Roma people.

Ten of the aforementioned 26 public artefacts and memorials were unmistakably identified as Roma representations: the Park of Fiddler Gypsies, the Roma Holocaust Memorial, the Roma Holocaust commemorative plaques in Districts





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VII and XXI, the commemorative plaques for Gyula Farkas and Tivadar Mészáros in the Rajkó-Talentum School of Dance and Music the commemorative plaque for Béla Puczi in District VI, the wooden statue commemorating the Roma heroes of 1956 in the Gyöngyi Rácz Roma Community Centre, the *Stolperstein* in memory of Roma Holocaust victim József Dráfi in front of the Gyöngyi Rácz Roma Community Centre, and the plaque commemorating Hungarian Roma war victims who died heroically for the homeland at the Military History Institute and Museum. The other sixteen representations can only be assumed to be associated with Roma culture and history in the public consciousness, since they commemorate Roma public figures without actually identifying them as such: the commemorative plaques for Tamás Péli and Aladár Pege, the statue of Tamás Péli, the plaque for and statue of Béla Radics, the plaque for György Cziffra, the memorials for Ilonka Szabó “Kócos” and Gábor Dilinkó, the memorials for Menyhért Lakatos and Géza Csemer, the plaque for and statue of János Bihari on Margaret Island, the memorial plaques for Aladár Rácz in Districts XII and XVI, the statue of János Bogdán and the memorial plaque for József Choli Daróczi.

Based on the above, the 2018-2019 study concludes that neither the majority society nor the Roma community has an issue with the artefacts which were created by the majority. However, they do not associate them with Roma culture.. For example, Bihari and Dankó are both part of Hungary’s social and cultural memory and are frequently referenced in the media in a musical or cultural context, but are not depicted as Roma in their respective representations. Contrarily, representations located within Roma institutions or those explicitly commemorating Roma individuals clearly indicate their Roma connection. The statue of János Bogdán, philosopher and founder of the Gandhi High School, should be examined separately. This case is quite specific, since the building in which the statue stands was previously used by a Roma organization – the Roma Civil Rights Foundation – but is now a homeless shelter. Due to its abstract symbolism,



the artwork itself does not reveal anything about its ethnic background. Bogdán is depicted as breaking through social barriers, with different parts of his body emerging from these walls. There is no written description, inscription or plaque on the statue, so the average onlooker is not provided with any information. When the statue was photographed for the project, some onlookers identified it as Kelemen the Stonemason.

#### 7.2.4 FURTHER (THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL) PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS AS ROMA IN BUDAPEST

The 2018-2019 study accepts the view that it is unnecessary to indicate the ethnicity of outstanding performers, since it is not their origins but their abilities that make them worthy of being commemorated. This opinion is shared by some Roma writers who claim that they are not Roma writers but simply writers. Their position is based on the perfectly legitimate and justified belief that their work is part of the conventionally accepted literature, visual arts, etc. As Menyhért Lakatos famously put it, he was “not a Gypsy writer, but a writer who is Gypsy”.

While agreeing with this opinion, it should be noted that it is also a way of expressing that being referred to as a Gypsy painter or a Gypsy writer means being regarded as “second-class”. This phenomenon is also highlighted by Ágnes Daróczi’s excellent point about the Roma cultural movement in the 1970s and 1980s. Specifically, the expert public would describe emerging Roma artists as “naïve”, although Tamás Péli, for example, was a student at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts.

The project also found some cases of “suggestion”. The commemorative plaque for Ilonka Szabó, the Roma heroine of Corvin Lane<sup>6</sup>, features the term “little

<sup>6</sup> The Corvin lane is considered to be a one of the most significant sites of the 1956 revolution in Budapest. At Corvin Lane, many plaques and artefacts commemorate of the people who fought there.



Panna Czinka”, which can be seen as a reference to a strong woman but may also be interpreted as a hint that she was a Roma person. It is not known whether Szabó had anything to do with music, but since Panna Czinka was one of the first (successful) Gypsy musicians, the connection is obvious.

Finally, the 2018-2019 study endorses the view that a clear indication of ethnicity is perfectly legitimate and acceptable. It reflects the emancipatory aspirations of a Gypsy community that has been stigmatized and surrounded by prejudice for too long and signals a determined demand for equality, dignity and respect. We acknowledge the truth and rationality of this position while simultaneously believing that it is the inalienable right of individuals to define themselves as they please as persons and as creators. In other words, it is perfectly acceptable for a successful creator to insist that their ethnicity not be considered when their work is being evaluated. At the same time, we accept the Roma community’s need to identify the ethnicity of its most famous members, who bring it prestige, recognition and acceptance.

#### 7.2.5 INITIATORS OF ROMA PUBLIC REPRESENTATIONS IN BUDAPEST

As noted above, majority society has commemorated Bihari and Dankó repeatedly. Other representations that were created with a certain amount of state involvement are also worth mentioning.

1. The Municipality of the City of Budapest supported and aided the creation of the Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank.
2. Nearly a decade later, it supported the creation of the Park of Fiddler Gypsies, which was initiated by József Raduly, a Roma member of the General Assembly of Budapest.





3. The Municipality of Budapest's District V supported the installation of a commemorative plaque for Roma writer and choreographer Géza Csemer in 2018.
4. The Gypsy History, Culture, Education and Holocaust Centre in Csepel was funded by the government through a tender (but has since been closed down).

In addition to the state, private individuals, companies, and NGOs have played an even greater role in the realization of several Roma public representations:

1. The Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank, initiated by the Roma Civil Rights Foundation and Romedia Foundation.
2. The Gypsy History, Culture, Education and Holocaust Centre in Csepel, initiated by the Roma Civic Association.
3. A commemorative plaque for Aladár Pege, initiated by the Aladár Pege Society.
4. A commemorative plaque for Tamás Péli, initiated by the Péli family and Tivadar Fátyol.
5. A commemorative plaque for Menyhért Lakatos, initiated by the Menyhért Lakatos Foundation.
6. The memorial statue of János Bogdán, initiated by the Roma Civil Rights Foundation.
7. The statue of Béla Radics, initiated by the Béla Radics Society.
8. A commemorative plaque for Béla Puczi, initiated by the Idetartozunk Association and the Roma Press Centre.
9. A commemorative plaque for the Roma Holocaust, initiated by the Roma nationality self-government.
10. A commemorative plaque for Ilonka Szabó, initiated by Organization '56.
11. A commemorative plaque for Gábor Dilinkó, initiated by Organization '56.



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12. The Roma Heroes of 1956 Memorial Column, initiated by the Eötvös József Gypsy-Hungarian Pedagogical Society and established in the building of the Roma minority self-government in Újpest in 2016.
  13. A *Stolperstein* for József Dráfi, initiated by the Roma minority self-government in Újpest.
  14. The Roma Heroes Commemorative Plaque, initiated by the Military History Institute and Museum and the János Farkas Foundation.
  15. A commemorative plaque for József Choli Daróczi, Pofa Association (District XV).

Of all the representations examined in Budapest, only three required significant financial investment: the Roma Holocaust Memorial on Nehru Bank, the now defunct Gypsy History, Culture, Education and Holocaust Centre in Csepel and the Park of Fiddler Gypsies.

The above list indicates that private individuals could typically initiate and realize public memorials or artefacts in Budapest if they did not require substantial financial investment (i.e. more than a few hundred thousand Hungarian forints). If a public representation entailed considerable expenditure, the financial support of the Hungarian government or the municipality of the city of Budapest was needed. Nevertheless, the initiators of these representations were all Roma.

To sum up the main conclusion of the 2019 study, there are very few representations relating to Roma in Budapest's public spaces.<sup>7</sup> Covering the entire

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<sup>7</sup> According to the largest database of public art in Hungary (kozterkep.hu), there are almost 8,000 works of art in the capital. In contrast, although the 2011 census data suggests that the reported rate of the Roma population in Budapest is just over 1%. As many Roma did not declare their identity on the census, the actual proportion may be closer to 14%. In contrast, the researchers found only 26 works (0.32%) in the capital that can be regarded as representations of Roma culture, history or identity.



capital, the research revealed that Roma public representations in Budapest were predominantly limited to cultural and historical themes. In the period following the regime change of 1989-1990, the establishment of the Roma Holocaust Memorial in 2006 marked the beginning of a new era, since it was the first successful memorial project initiated by Roma people and supported by both the municipality of Budapest and civil actors. However, since 86% of the Hungarian Roma community does not reside in the capital (Pénzes, Tátrai and Pásztor 2018), there was an obvious need to extend the research to the whole of Hungary in 2020-2021 to examine whether the trends that were observed in Budapest were replicated in rural areas and whether other historical, social or cultural themes were highlighted in these public representations.

## 7.3 Representations of Roma identity in public spaces in Hungary (2020-2021)

### 7.3.1 STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF ROMA IDENTITY: THE PATH TO NEW FINDINGS

The researchers behind the present 2020-2021 study, – Péter Bogdán, László Fejős, István Gábor Molnár and Jenő Setét – focus on an area of research that has not been explored or given the necessary emphasis thus far. Their basic premise is that representation in public spaces is closely related to the political and social inclusion and acceptance of a given community. In other words, the extent and quality of public representation can provide a complex and revealing picture of the prevailing system of relations between the majority and the minority.

The researchers also believe that the definition of identity is a question of both power and self-determination. As the previous two studies on Roma representa-





tion in public spaces clearly show, the identity of the Roma in Hungary today is defined by the majority.

The history of the Roma has always been written by others as the Roma themselves had neither the literacy nor the appropriate institutions to do so. Their history could only be studied or partially deciphered from snippets written about them by others. Because the Roma have no narrative of their own, they have been left out of the creation of the socially accepted narrative. It is this “image” of the Roma created by the majority that has pervaded Hungarian history and literature for several centuries.

The existence of Gypsies as an ethnic group, as a “people”, has been questioned many times throughout Hungarian history. The absolutist monarch Maria Theresa banned the use of the term “Gypsy”,<sup>8</sup> instead ordering the use of the term “New Hungarians”, which survives to this day as a term of derision. In addition, she banned Roma to marry each other, the use of the Gypsy language, leave for Roma soldiers and the keeping of horses by Roma. Maria Theresa was also responsible for ordering the forced separation of Roma children from their parents at the age of four and their placement with peasant families (Ligeti and Varga 1998). Her decrees, issued from 1773 onwards, remained in force until the death of her son, Joseph II, in 1790. The so-called “hatted king” had been less intent on enforcing his mother’s Gypsy policy, but discrimination against the Roma nevertheless continued after 1790. During the period of the one-party-state regime,

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<sup>8</sup> The Hungarian word “cigány” – like the German word “Zigeuner” – is derived from the Greek name “Athinganoi”, meaning not touched by God (i.e. heathen). The First World Roma Congress, which was held near London in 1971, considered its use discriminatory and proposed using the indigenous term “Roma” (people) instead. The present report accordingly uses the word Roma almost exclusively. We have used the Hungarian word “cigány” in a few limited cases, for example where it reflects the official name of an organization. This is mirrored in the English text by using the similarly problematic and offensive term “Gypsy”.





Roma identity was considerably eroded when the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party issued a decree in 1961 stating that Gypsies were not a people but "merely" a group with a special status (Ligeti and Varga 1998). This also made it impossible for the Roma to exercise ethnic rights like the other nationalities in Hungary. Emerging in the 1970s, Roma self-organization thus focused primarily on acquiring national minority status and securing cultural rights.

The attitude of the state had not changed much by the time of the regime change in 1989-1990. The Roma were still defined as an ethnic community, as opposed to other minorities (which enjoyed the status of national minority), and were only granted national minority (nationality) status in 2011.

Over the past few decades, the Hungarian social policy towards the Roma has generally approached their situation solely in terms of housing, education, employment and health care. In other words, the Roma have only been examined, analysed and researched from these four perspectives. In some cases, this approach may have been justified. The authors of the present report support this type of research but also believe that it does not provide an accurate, holistic and understandable picture of the social situation of the Roma.

In the researchers' view, intervention in these areas should be preceded by efforts to gain a proper understanding of Roma identity and the attitudes of the majority. The majority's recognition and acceptance of Roma identity and its treatment of the Roma as equals may lead to better housing, education, employment and health conditions. The reverse is also true. In the absence of the free and equal dignity of Roma identity, there is less chance for Roma people to achieve better positions in these areas.

These social processes have obviously had a significant impact on the development of Roma representation in public spaces in Hungary today, as discussed below.



### 7.3.2 KEY DATA ON ROMA REPRESENTATIONS IN PUBLIC SPACES

As explained in the methodological section of this report, the first step in the nationwide research was to locate Roma representations with the help of internet sources (kozterkep.hu and wikipedia.org, as well as other specialized/thematic websites) and the snowball sampling method. Following this, an empirical field study was carried out in 92 municipalities to verify and enhance the accuracy of the collected data (on Roma public representations).

According to our results, there are 128 Roma public representations in Hungary, distributed across the following counties:

- 17 in Baranya
- 11 in Somogy
- 10 in Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok
- 10 in Csongrád-Csanád
- 9 in Nógrád
- 8 in Veszprém
- 8 in Bács-Kiskun
- 8 in Békés
- 8 in Pécs
- 8 in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg
- 7 in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén
- 7 in Vas
- 5 in Tolna
- 4 in Zala
- 2 in Komárom-Esztergom
- 2 in Hajdú-Bihar
- 2 in Heves
- 1 in Fejér
- 1 in Győr-Moson-Sopron

Figure 2:  
Locations of Roma  
public representations  
in Budapest (2020)



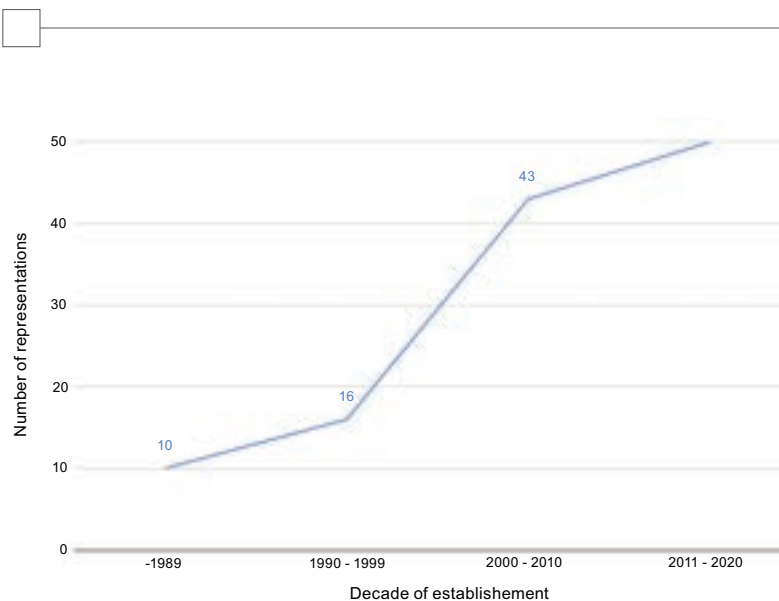


Figure 3:  
Temporal distribution of  
Roma representations  
until 31 December 2020.

The locations of the representations reflect the national distribution of Roma people. A regional breakdown of the data shows that most of the public representations are located in Southern Transdanubia (Baranya, Somogy and Tolna counties), the Southern Great Plain (Bács-Kiskun, Csongrád-Csanád and Békés counties), the Northern Great Plain (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties) and Northern Hungary (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves and Nógrád counties). In counties with a smaller Roma population (Komárom-Esztergom, Fejér, Veszprém, Zala, Vas and Győr-Moson-Sopron counties), there are generally far fewer representations. The only exceptions are Pest and Heves counties, which despite having large Roma populations, only yielded eight and two representations, respectively.

Regarding the temporal distribution of the representations, the data is as follows. Of the 128 Roma public representations, the year of creation/installation could be identified in 118 cases. A total of ten representations dated from the period before the regime change (1989-1990), and sixteen from the following decade (1990-1999). After that, the number of representations multiplied. In the first decade of the century (2000-2010), 43 were unveiled in public spaces, followed by another 49 between 2011 and 2021. The reasons for this trend are explained in our illustrative cases, and we also have some additional hypotheses that we were unable to substantiate within the framework of the research project. Years of in-depth analysis of local history would be needed to uncover the exact answers.



The data show that in Southern and South-Western Hungary (Baranya, Somogy, Tolna and Zala counties), the Roma community has a strong capacity to promote its own interests. These regions produced 37 public representations, which is 28.90% of the total number of representations (128). In contrast, in Northern Hungary (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves and Nógrád counties), which has the highest number of Roma inhabitants, the Roma community finds it harder to promote its own interests in terms of Roma public representations. This region accordingly only produced eighteen representations, amounting to 14.06% of the total number.

### 7.3.3 THEMES AND INITIATORS OF ROMA REPRESENTATIONS IN PUBLIC SPACES

In addition to locating Roma public representations, we also set out to investigate what these artefacts portray and what influence Roma organizations and movements (may) have or have had in shaping the image of Roma in public spaces.

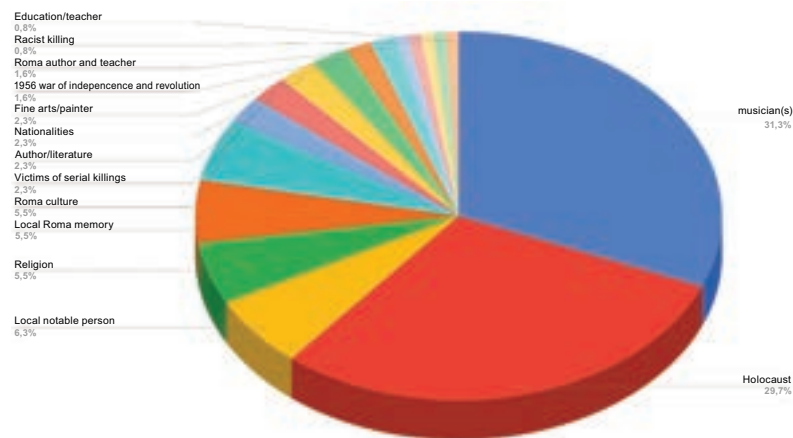
The 128 artefacts related to Roma people may be grouped according to the following seventeen themes:

1. musicians (40 representations)
2. Roma Holocaust (37)
3. prominent local public figures (8)
4. religion (8)
5. remembrance of the local Roma community (7)
6. Roma culture<sup>9</sup> (7)
7. racist serial murders against Roma (3)

<sup>9</sup> Roma culture includes music, literature and visual arts. However, we have listed the latter separately because they each enjoy distinct representations in the field. Representations that refer to Roma culture as a whole are classified as belonging to general Roma culture.

8. Roma writers/poets (3)
9. Roma art/painting (3)
10. nationalities (3)
11. Roma heroes of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (2)
12. Roma writer-educators (2)
13. Roma educators (1)
14. Roma flood victims (1)
15. the 1782 blood libel case in Kemence (1)
16. Gypsy heroes killed in World War I and II (1)
17. racist murders (1)

Figure 4:  
Distribution of themes in  
Roma representations



It is worth noting that the vast majority of Roma public representations examined featured an inscription in Hungarian. We only found a few cases in which there was an additional inscription in another language: Romani (4 cases) and Boyash (2 cases). The Lovari language featured prominently on one representation – the Roma Holocaust Memorial in Kalocsa – but the names of the creator and initiator of the memorial were indicated

only by a small Hungarian-language sign. Representations featuring only Romani or Boyash language inscriptions were not found.

Out of a total of the 128 Roma public representations, we were able to identify the creators or initiators in 102 cases. In 41 of those cases (40.19%), the initiator was the local Roma nationality self-government or, prior to 2011, the Gypsy minority

self-government, either alone or in cooperation with other organizations. In accordance with the classification system established for this project, these were all considered Roma initiatives. Artefacts created by Roma NGOs were likewise identified as Roma public representations.

We also felt it was important to investigate which initiators played a greater role in each decade. The research findings show that local Roma nationality self-governments were most active in the period between 2000 and 2010, with a slight decrease in the past decade. In contrast, the number of Roma civil initiatives has increased steadily since the regime change of 1989-1990.

Most non-Roma initiatives were launched by local (municipal) governments, either alone or in cooperation with others. The only exception is the village of Cserdi, where the municipal leadership was predominantly Roma when the representation in question was established. Public representations created by non-Roma NGOs and local (non-Roma) minority groups or individuals were also regarded as non-Roma initiatives. In addition to the above, we found a large number of joint (Roma and non-Roma) initiatives. In spite of this, the data show that the majority of representations were established by Roma organizations.

The following conclusions can be drawn about the initiators of Roma public representations. The themes of representations initiated by non-Roma largely coincide with the themes of those initiated by Roma. However, there are two crucial exceptions certain themes would not have appeared without Roma involvement (e.g. the

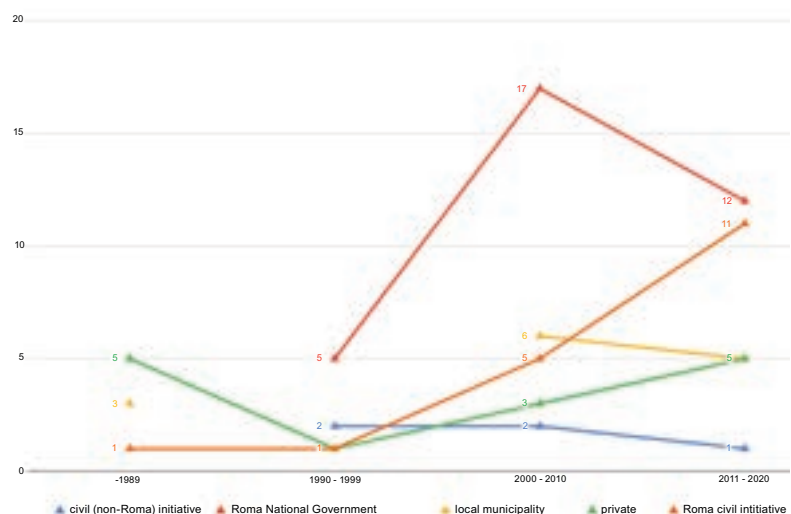


Figure 5:  
Distribution of initiators  
of Roma public  
representations from  
1989 to 2020



series of racist murders of Roma and the 1782 blood libel case in Kemence), while other themes would not have been represented without non-Roma involvement (e.g. the memorial to Gyula Dandos, a Roma freedom fighter during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, in Nyíregyháza).

The main thing that the Roma, non-Roma and joint (Roma and non-Roma) initiators of the 128 Roma public representations agreed on was the need to commemorate musicians and the Roma Holocaust, which form the theme of 76 of the 128 artefacts. The remaining 52 representations, which encompass fifteen themes, vary according to the identity of the initiator.

Since we were only able to identify the creators of 102 of the 128 representations, the following findings are valid only to a certain extent but are indicative of certain trends. Through these public representations, the Roma commemorated the Roma Holocaust, Roma writers/poets, religion, prominent local public figures, musicians, the remembrance of the local Roma community, racist serial murders of Roma, the 1782 blood libel case in Kemence, Gypsy heroes of World War I and II and Roma culture. However, they did not commemorate racist murders, Roma victims of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, nationalities, Roma educators and Roma writer-educators. Representations initiated or created by the non-Roma commemorated local prominent public figures, the Roma Holocaust, Roma writers/poets, musicians, nationalities, Roma culture and Roma killed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. However, they did not commemorate religion, the remembrance of the local Gypsy community, Roma educators, Roma writer-educators, racist murders, the 1782 blood libel case in Kemence, racist serial murders of Roma and Roma heroes of World War I and II.

Representations initiated by private individuals have commemorated musicians, the remembrance of the local Roma community, Roma culture, Roma educators, religion and Roma writer-educators. They have not focused on the



Roma Holocaust, racist murders, prominent local public figures, Roma writers/poets, racist serial murders of Roma, the 1782 blood libel case in Kemece, Roma heroes of World War I and II, nationalities and Roma killed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Joint Roma and non-Roma initiatives commemorated musicians, prominent local public figures, the Roma Holocaust and racist murders. However, they did not focus on the themes of religion, Roma writers/poets, the remembrance of the local Roma community, racist

serial murders of Roma, the 1782 blood libel case in Kemece, Roma heroes of World War I and II, Roma culture, nationalities, Roma killed in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Roma educators and Roma writer-educators.

Out of a total of 128 Roma public representations, we were able to identify the date of establishment or installation in 118 cases. Only one representation, commemorating a musician, dates back to the first half of the 20th century. During the second half of the 20th century, until the regime change of 1989-1990, representations on the following themes were established: six commemorating musicians (6), one on the theme of religion (1968), one commemorating the Roma Holocaust (1984) and one commemorating the blood libel case in Kemece (1982).

In the 1990s, representations on the following themes were established in public spaces: musicians (6), the Roma Holocaust (4), the remembrance of the local Roma community (2), religion (2), Roma heroes of the Hungarian Revolution of

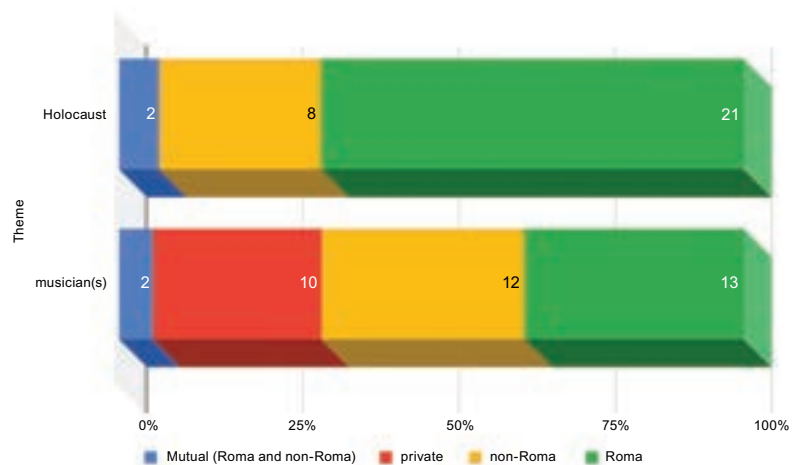


Figure 6: Initiator distribution of representations on the themes of the Roma Holocaust and musicians



1956 (1), Roma killed in World War I and II (1), Roma painters (1), prominent local public figures (1) and Roma culture (2).

In the 2000s, there were some thematic overlaps with the previous decade, as well as representations on several new themes: musicians (14), the Roma Holocaust (11), the remembrance of the local Roma community (4), Roma culture (2), nationalities (2), prominent local public figures (2), Roma painters (2), Roma heroes of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (1), religion (1) and Roma writer-educators (1).

In the 2010s, there were also some thematic overlaps with previous decades, as well as representations on several new themes, enabling the Roma community to project a more complex public image. During this period, representations on the following themes were established: the Roma Holocaust (18), musicians (11), prominent local public figure (5), racist serial murders of Roma (3), Roma writers/poets (3), Roma culture (3), religion (2), Roma educators (1), Roma writer-educators (1), nationalities (1) and racist murders (1).

Finally, we are aware of ten Roma public representations from the 2020s (more specifically from the year 2021):

1. commemorative plaque for the Roma Holocaust in District III of Budapest (Váradi Street 15/a)
2. commemorative plaque for racist serial murders against Roma in District VIII of Budapest (II. János Pál pápa Square)
3. commemorative plaque for László Bogdán in Cserdi
4. Roma Holocaust memorial in Hódmezővásárhely
5. Roma Holocaust memorial in Kaposfő
6. commemorative plaque for local Roma musicians in Kisbér
7. commemorative plaque for deceased Roma musicians in Mátraterenye (Homokterenye)

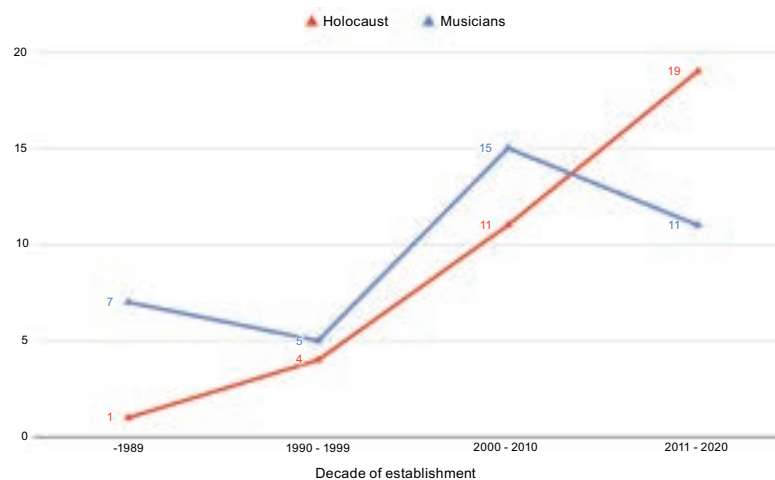


8. Roma Holocaust memorial (statue) in Miskolc
9. statue of Pista Dankó in Szeged
10. statue of György Cziffra in District XIII of Budapest.

Seven of these ten representations were initiated by Gypsy/Roma minority self-governments and Roma NGOs, which means that local Roma communities remain (increasingly) active in terms of Roma representation in public spaces. In 2020, for example, the creation of a new commemorative plaque to Béla Puczi was initiated in District XXII of Budapest, known as Budafok-Tétény, at the proposal of the Roma nationality self-government of District XII. The plaque was completed but had not yet been unveiled at the time of writing (2021), because the municipality of Budafok-Tétény and the Roma nationality self-government could not agree on a public space in District XXII where it could be installed.

The data shows that, from the beginning of the twentieth century until the regime change of 1989-1990, Roma representations relating to musicians were the dominant type of representation in Hungary, a trend that persisted during the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. Although the theme of the Roma Holocaust had appeared as early as the 1970s, it only entered public discourse in the 1990s and only became a prominent part of the politics of memory from the 2000s onwards. Another trend that can be observed since the 2010s is growing

Figure 7:  
Temporal distribution of  
representations on the  
themes of the Roma  
Holocaust and musicians





public awareness of the serial murders of Roma, but the number of public representations on this theme is far lower than those on the themes of music and the Roma Holocaust. In addition, there has been little improvement in efforts to commemorate the Roma who perished in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

#### 7.3.4 CONCLUSIONS FROM THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS CONCERNING ROMA REPRESENTATIONS IN PUBLIC SPACES

In the course of our research and data collection on Roma representations in public spaces, our findings have tended to crystallize around two points.

The first is that the majority of the representations focus on the themes of Gypsy musicians and the Roma Holocaust. At the same time, however, since we found far more memorial plaques and memorial sites than we or most of the self-organized Roma groups had previously known about. Even if known locally, these sites had never been grouped together in such a way that they had become part of the shared memory of the Roma community or of Roma society. Then again, although we have found many more sites with important Roma representations than we previously knew about, the number of representations (128 according to online databases and other sources) is far below the number of known representative organs of Roma in Hungarian settlements. Out of a total of 3,200 Hungarian settlements, approximately 2,000 include Roma people and communities, and roughly 1,100 have Roma representative organs (e.g. in the form of local Roma minority self-governments). At the moment, no one can say what percentage of these 1,100 settlements also have one or more local Roma civil society organizations.

If one compares the number of municipalities in which there is some kind of Roma interest group (1,100) with the aforementioned 128 examples of Roma representations identified in our research, it turns out that only 11.63% of these





communities actually have some kind of representation, despite the fact that Roma civic self-organization has been around for 30 to 35 years, and the national self-government system has been around for roughly 25 years old.

The fact that representations of Roma culture and identity tend to centre around the commemoration of Gypsy musicians and the Roma Holocaust leads to two conclusions.

Of all the members of the wider Roma community in Hungary, Gypsy musicians are most easily accepted by the majority society and are largely left in peace. There are many examples of this, and the Roma communities are not simply left on their own when it comes to erecting memorials to such individuals. Good examples include the cities of Makó, Hódmezővásárhely and Szeged, where prominent Roma musicians have been commemorated with high-quality and in some cases monumental statues or monuments, including Pista Dankó in Szeged, Mihály Fátyol in Makó and Béla Czutor in Hódmezővásárhely. These works of art were created against a backdrop of effective social and political will, which means they attracted sufficient financial resources and enjoyed the full support of the non-Roma majority.

A comparison of these representations with those initiated solely by the Roma community clearly shows that the latter attract fewer resources and are much more modest. The vast majority take the form of commemorative plaques or headstones, which are relatively inexpensive to create. In keeping with these observations, we found almost no cases in which a local Roma community had managed to express its culture and identity in the form of a public sculpture, for example. The only exceptions to the rule are Nyíregyháza and Nagykanizsa, two cities with county status, where Roma Holocaust memorials requiring substantial investment were erected in the early 1990s.

While we were able to identify non-Roma as supporters or initiators in the case of memorials to Gypsy musicians, we found mostly Roma as initiators in





the case of memorials to the Roma Holocaust. Nevertheless, there were also some non-Roma initiators in the case of Roma Holocaust memorials (e.g. in Istvándi, Komárom, Szigetvár and Torony). In several cases, we were unable to determine whether the initiators of a given memorial were exclusively Roma or non-Roma, or whether they included a combination of the two.

It is to be hoped that, as a result of this research, we will be able to report significant progress on this issue in the foreseeable future, even if we are not entirely satisfied with the acknowledgement of the memory of the Roma Holocaust as a matter of civil rights at the present time. Until the late 1980s, there was little awareness of this issue, whereas now members of the local Roma community in dozens of municipalities have taken the initiative to create memorials and have invested significant energy, effort and resources in such ventures. We regard this as a highly positive development. The second important point that emerges from our research findings is that the dearth of Roma representations in public spaces is due not only to a lack of will on the part of the non-Roma majority but also to a lack of focus and concern on the part of Roma organizations.

In spite of their many weaknesses and apparent lack of resolve on certain issues, Roma organizations in Hungary have achieved measurable and appreciable accomplishments over the past 30 years, mainly through their efforts in the Roma non-governmental sphere. For example, they have at times been instrumental in initiating and changing legislation. They have also made significant and meaningful contributions by taking advantage of certain trends and fashions when it comes to setting up schools and community centres and organizing cultural, literary and artistic events, depending on what was popular at a given time in the field of self-organization. However, as far as we can ascertain, official Roma policy and Roma organizations have not placed a sustained emphasis on the creation and enhancement of Roma representation in public spaces.





As a consequence, there seems to be little order, predictability or planning when it comes to deciding when, where or how an example of Roma representation will be created in a public space. Moreover, in the case of the existing representations, we see no real evidence of regular or deliberate care and maintenance. On the contrary, in several places, we found artefacts or memorials that had been damaged, for example in Szigetvár and Lengyel.

In the area of Roma self-organization, including civil organizations and national self-governments, there are no historical, commemorative or memorial institutions comparable to those that operate in the majority society. We do not know of any committees or working groups that could be compared to the type of bodies run by the majority society, and Roma organizations do not attract or receive the same kind of funding or resources, either in a civil society framework or within the Roma nationality self-government system.

Based on the phenomena we have observed, we cannot help but arrive at the conclusion that, due to their minority status, the Roma are unable to play an effective part in the creation of representations of Roma culture, identity and history in public spaces in Hungary. At present, such public representations can therefore only be realized on an ad hoc basis, as their creation is highly dependent on the willingness of the local administration to cooperate with the Roma and delegate the task of establishing such representations to the local Roma community. These are notable exceptions to this, as described in the illustrative cases attached to this study. The case of Salgótarján offers a promising example of successful cooperation with the local Roma community. In the county capital of Nógrád, the city authorities have been so open to local Roma initiatives that Salgótarján has practically become the capital of Roma public representations. But even here it is apparent that the local Roma were not equal partners<sup>10</sup> in the

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<sup>10</sup> We deal with this example in detail in our description of the successful case.





efforts to commemorate Zoltán Danyi, who was murdered by a skinhead. In contrast, the city of Miskolc is a total failure in terms of the realization of representations of Roma culture and identity in public spaces.

### 7.3.5 THE AESTHETICS OF ROMA REPRESENTATIONS IN PUBLIC SPACES

As part of our efforts to map the cultural landscape of Budapest and the rest of Hungary from the perspective of Roma representations in public spaces, we travelled to places where they were on display in order to examine and photograph them. We also examined the aesthetics of the various works of art, memorial plaques and statues, since this is an important aspect of the marginalization to which we seek to call attention in our research. Specifically, we believe that a significant number of representations do not meet the professional criteria for public art. Of course, there are those to which this statement does not apply. In the course of our fieldwork, we came across both neglected, hidden “masterpieces” and well-tended works of art that are cherished by the community.

For example, the Roma Holocaust memorial plaque on the wall of the Roma nationality self-government headquarters in Budapest offers a clear and revealing example of how a minority institution that is close to the mainstream can ignore the aesthetic qualities that would enhance the efforts of the oppressed Roma community to commemorate an important historical event. Problems relating to the appearance and condition of Roma public representations can be observed in many other cases, such as the Roma Holocaust memorial in Szigetvár and the headstone for Fardi Stojka of Nagyida in the village of Uszód. However, the Roma community clearly has a vested interest in ensuring that representations of their culture and presence in public spaces are treated with respect and properly maintained.



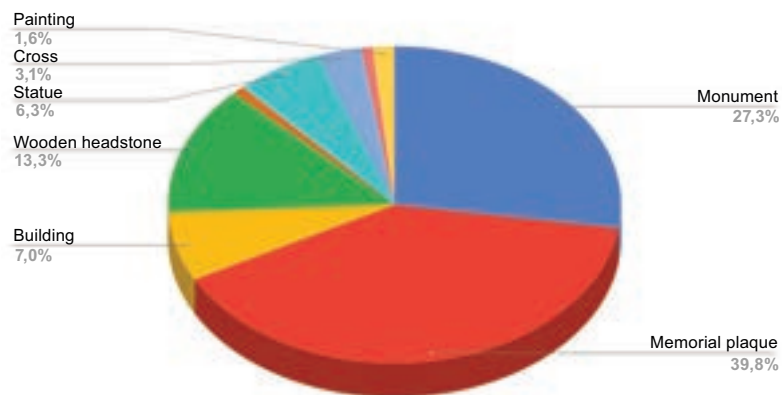
On the wall of the headquarters of the National Roma minority self-government in Budapest, the following text is inscribed in gold letters on a black granite slab:

MEMORIAL PLAQUE  
IN MEMORY OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ROMA HOLOCAUST  
IN MEMORY OF THE VICTIMS WHO TRAGICALLY PERISHED  
SIGNED WITH RESPECT AND HUMILITY  
31 JULY 2004  
BY THE NATIONAL GYPSY GOVERNMENT AND  
THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

Below the granite slab are three wreaths. In our fieldwork, this is the only monument on which the words “memorial plaque” (“emléktábla” in Hungarian) feature so prominently, as if someone had taken the trouble to write the word “slide” on a playground slide. Moreover, the date on which the plaque was unveiled and the names of the institutions behind its installation – the Roma nationality self-government (referred to here as “Cigány” or “Gypsy” rather than Roma) and the Ministry of National Cultural Heritage – are given equal billing with the actual event that is being commemorated. We mention this only as a potential precedent because, as mentioned above, the Roma nationality self-government has the important task of setting an example for the more than 1,000 Roma minority self-government bodies.

In some cases, the purpose of the artefacts and memorials we sur-

Figure 8:  
Distribution of types  
of Roma public  
representations





veyed was not clear. Unless one already knew something about the reasons for the establishment of a particular representation, its message was often barely evident at first glance. This was perhaps the problem we encountered most frequently.

Between 1994 and 2020, several headstones and memorial plaques erected to commemorate the Roma Holocaust in Hungary included the same recurring symbols: a wheel and a railway track. In cases such as these, it is very important to clarify the meaning of such symbols. It will not be obvious to the uninitiated (or simply the average observer) how these symbols are associated with the Roma and the ordeals they suffered in the twentieth century.

If an artwork or memorial does not include a visible caption explaining its symbolic references, this detracts from the value of the representation, as the messages it would otherwise convey may remain unclear. Like good music, a good sculpture, plaque or artefact in a public space should be thoughtfully composed, although it should aim to catch the eye rather than the ear. It must be proportional, carefully composed and clear. The creator must understand his or her subject in depth. There may be many other artefacts employing similar symbols, so the creator should investigate the matter. For example, the chimney has been used in a large number of artefacts and memorials as a symbol of the Holocaust. The creator of a similar artefact must do research and formulate a clear, understandable message that can be articulated using the available raw materials (wood, metal, stone, etc.) in the chosen location. The creator of such an artefact must consider the following issues: From where does the average observer see the artefact? How can it grab the attention of potential observers? From what distance can it be seen and meaningfully interpreted? These kinds of questions must be raised at the design stage.

Somewhere along the delicate line separating the obvious from the superficial, a good artist is able to create something unique. Public representations need to attract interest from afar. This is where the question of location comes in. The placement of public artefacts and memorials are authorized by the local municipi-





pality. Size, material, structural characteristics, purpose and subject matter are all important considerations when the commission or body weighs up its decision. The location limits the possibilities. Proportionality and integration into the existing built environment are also important considerations. The material used is also a determining factor. Wood, which has a warmer effect, is extremely delicate, unlike stone or surface-treated metals. It is easier to work with, but it needs to be treated year after year to protect it from fungi and insects, not to mention the elements.

### 7.3.6 COMMUNICATION, RAISING AWARENESS AND REMEMBRANCE

The names of Roma soldiers who fought and died in World War I and II and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 can generally be found on the largest monuments. However, their ethnic origins are not indicated by anything other than their surnames. One has the impression that the people responsible for the monument did not want to denigrate the fallen: in the eyes of the majority society the words Roma and Gypsy refer not to an ethnic group but to an inferior social status.

Some individuals are “welcomed” and “elevated into” the majority society. Béla Radics, a Roma musician from a poor neighbourhood of Budapest, became the “greatest Hungarian guitarist”. János Bihari is known as the “Hungarian Orpheus”, and there are many other examples. The adjective “Roma”, which would be more accurate in these cases, has been removed, thus depriving the Roma of positive role models who could be seen as heroes or individuals of whom the Roma community could be proud.

As noted above, many of the 128 public representations of Roma culture, history and identity identified in the course of our research are either partially or completely dilapidated or damaged, although this is clearly not in the interests of the Roma community. Of course, there are also works of art that meet modern



professional and artistic standards, although they are not always easily accessible to the surrounding communities or the general public. To illustrate this point, we present a brief overview of Roma-related works of art from sixteen municipalities that stand out for various reasons.


**Lengyel (Tolna county):** One of the most artistically original artefacts is found on the edge of a cemetery in the village of Lengyel, where local gendarmes slaughtered innocent Roma civilians, including infants and the elderly. Could they have possibly committed a crime so grave that the gendarmes were justified in perpetrating this massacre? The monument in Lengyel is a sad reminder of this incomprehensible act of cruelty. It consists of artfully formed name plates that resemble the wooden monuments placed at graves. The names are twisted around the centre axis and each one includes the age of the victim at the time of his or her death. They are topped with flame-like carvings. The name plates are tucked away in the last row of the cemetery, very much on their own. The wooden monuments is decaying, as it has not been treated to protect it from the elements. This seems to exemplify the indifference of those who chose to place the monument in the most distant corner of the cemetery and then simply leave it to its fate (pages 187).

**“Salgótarján, the capital of Roma commemorative artefacts”<sup>11</sup> (Nógrád county):** The painter János Balázs (1905-1977) is held in high esteem in Salgótarján, which is known as the capital of Roma commemorative artefacts. A full-length statue of Balázs is located next to a row of housing blocks and is accompanied by information panels. The bronze statue is the work of Tamás Szabó, a Mihály Munkácsy Prize-winning sculptor and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Arts since 2006. Reproductions of paintings by János Balázs have also been put on display in his former residence, and an outdoor exhibition of his work has been opened. Balázs was a superb artist, and the above-men-

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<sup>11</sup> Jenő Setét, one of the authors of this book often referred to Salgótarján as such.





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tioned elements constitute a worthy memorial. However, he is not the only artist to have contributed to the representation of Roma culture and identity in the city of Salgótarján. There are also commemorative plaques for the poet József Szepesi and the painter Jolán Oláh. There was also a plaque for her husband, Balázs András Balogh, another painter, but it has disappeared and has not been replaced. A commemorative plaque for Roma priest Károly Gabora is installed on the wall of his former home. A commemorative plaque for victims of the Roma Holocaust, which was put up in a railway station by the Lutheran community, has been defaced by unknown persons. Finally, a Roma creative workshop was set up in the basement of a housing block on the edge of town, and a Holocaust memorial plaque has been put up in the city centre (page 222).

**Kevermes (Békés county):** Kevermes is a large village of 2,000 inhabitants near the Romanian border. In 2014, the local Roma community erected a plaster monument to the Virgin Mary, which had been painted to resemble stone. The Hungarian inscription reads: “F.L. B.A. B.J. és K.Z. Roma kisebség”. There is nothing wrong with the initials, but the word “kisebség”, which means minority, is misspelled (the correct spelling is “kisebbség”). Moreover, the word is missing the suffix “re”, which means “to”, as in “to the Roma minority” (i.e. the text should read “Roma kisebbségre”). Whether the mistake was made by the people who did the inscription or whether they were given a text with two mistakes in it is neither here nor there. The important thing is that these mistakes should have been corrected by now. Much like a school textbook, a commemorative artefact in a public space should not contain any mistakes (page 257).

**Várpalota (Veszprém county):** Grábler Lake is the site of the second largest Roma mass grave in Hungary after Csillagerőd in Komárom. This tragic location is identified only by a stone. To this day, the victims have not been given the slightest sign of respect. The site lies unmarked on a plot of land, now privately owned and flooded by a lake. A memorial plaque has been placed on a stone,



about a hundred meters away, in a roundabout by the road. The plaque features a citation from the poem “Elvitték a cigányokat” (“They took away the Gypsies”) by József Choli Daróczi.<sup>12</sup> The plaque is almost impossible to find, which seems like a deliberate act of disrespect. The aforementioned Csillagerőd, the site of an old fortress, is the largest Roma Holocaust mass grave in Hungary (as far as we know). In the winter of 1944, men, women and children, starved or froze to death under the open sky. The fortress is currently being rebuilt, and it is not yet clear whether the memorials that once stood there will be returned (page 173).

**Zalaegerszeg (Zala county):** This bronze Roma Holocaust memorial, an artistic impression of a “mother with child”, commemorates the deportation of Roma, including the time spent waiting for the deportations to be implemented. The memorial is of good quality and appears in a prominent location in front of the railway station (page 163).

**Nagykanizsa (Zala county):** This city is home to a wooden monument that is difficult to understand and has been placed in a very unfavourable location. However, the János Bogdán Community House, which includes a library, classrooms and local museum, is an outstanding and exemplary achievement (pages 158–159).

**Galambok (Zala county):** The “baroque” Roma Holocaust memorial in this village is a bit overstated. The top of the monument, which was erected by the local Roma municipality in 2017, consists of a wagon wheel woven out of metal vine leaves. It is not clear what the chains and decorations on the wagon wheel chandeliers, last fashionable in the 1970s and 1980s, have to do with the tragedy of the time. Underneath is a stern-looking woman nursing a “plump-legged” baby (page 157).

<sup>12</sup> “A sok cigányt mind elvitték, / nagy árkokat ásni vitték. / A nagy árok lassan mélyül, / víz bugyog fel a mélyérül.” (“The took all the Gypsies away / took them to dig deep ditches. / The big ditches slowly grow deeper, / water bubbles up from the depths.”)





**Nyíregyháza (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county):** This city was one of the first to erect a memorial to the Roma victims of the Holocaust. The memorial, which consists of a wagon wheel carved from roughly hewn stone, is deeply expressive. Stepping closer, we see that human heads have been carved into the spokes of the wheel. It is regrettable that this fine piece of work is located in the cemetery, or in other words on the margins of the community (page 239).

**Alsószentmárton (Baranya county):** The village's memorial to the Roma victims of the Holocaust is simple and small, yet it has the feel of a composition worthy of its tragic subject. The back is unworked marble, while the front consists of smooth, polished marble with an engraved inscription (page 176).

**Szigetvár (Baranya county):** László Kosztics is a highly talented Roma artist with a uniquely expressive vision. He is a master of folk art, and his work has featured in numerous exhibitions. The memorial to Roma victims of the Holocaust in Szigetvár is a fine example of his outstanding oeuvre. Regrettably, the memorial is cracked. In all likelihood, it was damaged by vandals. The crack needs to be repaired (page 199).

**Pécs (Baranya county):** The memorial to Roma victims of the Holocaust in Pécs, created by sculptor Zoltán Horváth from Mohács, is an exciting sculpture. This eloquent monument, which visitors can walk all the way around, narrates a clear story. Unfortunately, it has been placed in an unfavourable location (page 193).

**Mohács (Baranya county):** Zoltán Horváth also made the plaques commemorating the musicians of Mohács. The plaques were ordered by the local Gypsy minority self-government, whose president István Kovács is a musician himself, so it is not surprising that famous local musicians of the past have been commemorated, including harpist János Gertner, tambura player Péter Peti Bogdán and harmonica artist "Peti" István Kovács Jr. The portraits etched by Horváth are perfect likenesses of the artists. There has also been a laudable initiative in





Mohács to open a clubhouse named after the Kossuth Prize-winning Roma painter István Szentandrassy (pages 188–190).

**Cserdi (Baranya county):** This village has a large number of representations of Roma culture and identity in public spaces, which were established by the late László Bogdán, a layman social scientist, mayor, public intellectual and TV personality. There is a globe-shaped well, a Holocaust memorial, a cross wrapped in barbed wire and a small bridge over a storm drain to connect people. There is also a map of Europe highlighting the EU states. Bogdán's well-intentioned but extremely confused concept is something of a cautionary tale against inundating public spaces with an eclectic array of naive ideas (page 180).

**Véménd (Baranya county):** In front of the Gypsy minority self-government office in Véménd stands an interesting carved wooden grave marker. In addition to various symbols (including a horseshoe), there are messages for the future in Bey and Hungarian. The overall effect is colourful if perhaps overly ornate, but still enchanting (page 202).

**Rinyaújlak (Somogy county):** This village has set up an excellent venture that is also a clever idea: a Roma skansen with three houses, a furnace and a campfire (page 196).

**Budapest:** The Park of Fiddler Gypsies is perhaps the largest example of Roma representation in public spaces in Hungary, but it has many flaws. For example, the name of musician Lajos Boross is misspelled. More unsettling than this mistake, however, is the fact that his portrait, which is supposed to be authentic, bears no resemblance to him. It is not sufficient to merely reproduce the moustache, beard and hairline of the person you are trying to depict: a true likeness requires more than that. In contrast, the portrait of Roma hero Béla Puczi on the memorial plaque in Nyugati Square, which was created by Roma artist András Kállai, clearly resembles him. As any competent artist would confirm, you cannot produce a portrait from a profile. Unfortunately, the portrait of Hungarian







violinist Sándor Buffó Rigó on his memorial plaque also bears no resemblance to him. The shape of the mouth and chin in the portrait of Sándor Járóka the Elder is likewise unconvincing. László Berki is totally unrecognizable, as is internationally famous Roma pianist György Cziffra. Finally, one might reasonably wonder why this collection of portraits was not placed in Mátyás Square, which for decades formed the centre of Roma musical life (page 148).

## Illustrative cases

# 8

### 8.1 General introduction to the illustrative cases

In the course of our research on Roma public representation in public spaces in Hungary, we found positive, negative and atypical (i.e. positive in some ways and negative in others) examples of the circumstances in which Roma statues, monuments, memorial plaques and wooden headstones were erected.

In this chapter, we present some representative cases to illustrate this. The positive example is the city of Salgótarján, the “capital of Roma public representations”. Our analysis is based on interviews with Ferenc Hranek and Judit Berki, Roma advocates from Nógrád county. The negative example is the city of Miskolc. The most revealing source on the situation in Miskolc is the report by the former head of the Roma minority self-government in Miskolc, Gábor Váradi.

We also present an atypical example concerning the town of Kemence. It relates to the story of the undeservedly forgotten Kemence blood libel of 1782 and the revealing discoveries made about this blood libel two centuries later in 1982. It is a sad fact that the “memory campaign” of the Roma emancipation movement,



which seeks to uncover these kinds of historical episodes, only inspired the Roma and non-Roma communities for a period of about eight years. The historical facts that were brought to light have since faded into obscurity. Our discussion of this case is based on an interview with minority researcher János Bársony.

## 8.2 The positive example: Salgótarján – the capital of Roma public representations

### 8.2.1 SUCCESSES TO BE PROUD OF (ROMA AND NON-ROMA WORKING TOGETHER)

Roma self-organization began in Salgótarján in 1990. Even back then, the issue of how Roma cultural values should be depicted and given space in the capital of Nógrád county was already regarded as important. As an influential member of Phralipe,<sup>13</sup> Ferenc Hranek sought to promote recognition of Roma public figures who had enhanced the reputation of Salgótarján as an integral part of Hungarian society as a whole. In order to achieve this, he and his companions put pressure on the relevant city leaders in the early 1990s. As funding for Roma self-organization efforts was not available at the time (and remains unavailable to this day), it was clear that the city would have to play a key role in this area, both financially and as a concerned, engaged partner, if these aspirations were to come to fruition. Two important considerations to which Hranek could refer were that there were many Roma living in the city, and that many of them had already represented the city abroad and thus imbued it with a favourable reputation at a time when most people outside Hungary would not have known that Salgótarján even existed. With these considerations in mind and in the spirit of inter-community coop-

<sup>13</sup> The Phralipe Independent Gypsy Organization is a national Roma NGO founded in 1989 by Béla Osztoján, a Roma writer, poet and public figure. The word “phralipe” means brotherhood in Romani.





eration, negotiations were held to ensure that Roma public figures who had been important to the city's culture and history would be recognized posthumously with a statue or monument.

The first step on this path was taken some 40 years ago. A commemorative plaque to János Balázs, who had been the most recognized and influential Roma artist of the 1970s, was unveiled on Balázs's grave. The second step came with the erection of a statue of Balázs in the centre of the city. The latter was an initiative of the local Roma organization, acting not alone but in cooperation with the city administration. The local government of Salgótarján was consistently supportive of the efforts of the local Roma organizations, so once the decision had been adopted by the representative body, local government experts put all their efforts and financial resources into organizing the erection of the statue. Balázs is so respected in the city that there is a János Balázs Hall in the town hall of Salgótarján, where various events are held. There is also a permanent exhibition on his life and career in a local museum.

Besides Balázs, other artists (painters, poets and writers) also hailed from Salgótarján, including Jolán Oláh, Balázs András Balogh and József Szepesi. A memorial plaque for the musician János Gabora has been installed at the Nógrád county seat, and there is even a plaque commemorating the Roma victims of the Holocaust.

The Roma remembrance campaign launched in Salgótarján in 1990 has continued to function without interruption to the present day. In 2020, the city government continued to place great emphasis on the recognition of Roma cultural achievements in the county capital. The creation of Roma memorials in Salgótarján is largely linked to Ferenc Hranek, former member of Phralipe and head of the municipal Gypsy minority self-government, but other local Roma organizations and individuals have also played important roles in this area. Prominent examples include the efforts of Judit Berki and Szomora Szilárd at



county level on behalf of the Nógrád County Association of Gypsy Minority Representatives and Advocates.

The philosophy behind the Roma community's demand for representations of Roma culture and identity in public spaces in Salgótarján rests on the simple notion that talent merits recognition regardless of ethnic origin. In this context, Roma artists are particularly important to the Roma community, because they serve as a source of inspiration and motivation on which a positive Roma identity can be built. These individuals are also figures of whom the Roma community can be proud. This is particularly important, since Roma in today's society must still overachieve if they are to win any recognition at all.

From a social perspective, what is particularly significant in the case of Salgótarján is that Roma public representations have become an integral part of the public consciousness of the non-Roma society. Non-Roma regard the contributions of well-known Roma from the city, Hungary and beyond as part of their urban identity. In other words, they acknowledge and are proud of the Roma whose culture and identity are represented in the public spaces shared by them.

At present, the Roma community in Salgótarján lives in very dire circumstances. Simple problems of everyday life and survival have turned commemorations of Roma culture in public spaces into something of a secondary issue. At the same time, János Balázs's work is fully integrated into the cultural identity of the young, the middle-aged and the elderly. A vast majority of the local Roma know who János Balázs was and what he means to the Roma community.

Ferenc Hranek and his colleagues regularly place flowers at Roma memorials in Salgótarján as part of their commemorative pursuits. They also strive to introduce and disseminate knowledge about the city's famous Roma artists in local education. Hranek is also working to ensure that the new tourist centre in Salgótarján will have room for the paintings of Roma artists from city and the wider county, including a space where a gallery or international exhibition could be set up. During the discussions on this issue, the city representatives were extremely





open and receptive. As noted above, moreover, a Roma art workshop has already started operating in the county seat.

### 8.2.2 A SHAMEFUL STAIN (ROMA ACTING ON THEIR OWN)

The most recent commemorative plaque, which was put up in 2020, is dedicated to Zoltán Danyi, a young Roma man who was murdered in Salgótarján. According to the recollections of the people who knew him, Danyi was a quiet working man who never harmed a soul and posed no threat to anyone. One day in 1992, as he was walking home, skinheads set upon him and beat him so badly that he died of his injuries. Together with the Idetartozunk Association, the Nógrád County Association of Gypsy Minority Representatives and Advocates, led by Judit Berki and Szomora Szilárd, spearheaded the efforts to put up a plaque commemorating this terrible murder. They sought to pay tribute to a Roma victim who had died an undignified death and alert the non-Roma society to the need to take joint action against such acts.

With the unveiling of the memorial plaque in 2020, the Roma community has finally settled a 28-year-old debt to the memory of Zoltán Danyi and his family. The actual unveiling of the memorial plaque was delayed for a long time for several reasons, one of which was simply that Judit Berki and her family had expected the city of Salgótarján to take the first step. Berki had perfectly good reason for thinking this, as the city had tended to be (and still is) very active in the creation of Roma public representations. However, it appears that, while they were proud of János Balázs, they saw the case of Zoltán Danyi as something that brought shame on the city, so they hesitated to act. Ultimately, it was the commemorations of the racist serial murders against Roma in 2008-2009 that led Judit Berki to the conclusion that “they [the people of Salgótarján] too had something to remember”, so they embarked on the path that led to the unveiling of the memorial plaque.



Berki and her colleagues had already started thinking about the possibility of commemorating of Danyi's brutal murder in 2015. Fortunately, Ferenc Hranek had saved all the press reports on Danyi from that time, thus preserving important evidence from the case and providing ammunition for Berki's campaign. In the end, working together with Salgótarján's Roma nationality self-government, the team was able to complete the monument to Danyi and to this tragic murder.

There was some coverage of the unveiling in the media, but due to organizational blunders not as much as one might have hoped. The event did not have the impact it should have had on local public opinion, but one of the long-term goals is to initiate more civic acts of this kind. No city leaders were present for the unveiling of the plaque, but two political parties were represented. Many schoolchildren were also brought to the event, as teachers and leaders in educational institutions sought to help them understand the essence, meaning and importance of Roma remembrance policy.

### 8.3 The negative example: Miskolc – the struggle of the Roma community for recognition

On 3 November 2018, in the city of Miskolc, the Roma nationality self-government led by Gábor Váradi unveiled a plaque on the wall of its headquarters to commemorate the tenth anniversary of a racist murder in the village of Nagycsécs.

When Gábor Váradi took over the leadership of Miskolc's Roma nationality self-government in 2010, he and his colleagues declared November 3 a day of remembrance for the Roma community of the Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. Later, the idea of a commemorative plaque was voiced, and the suggestion was made that some effort should be made to commemorate the day, as it had already



been declared a memorial day. In general, it was felt that it was important to have places of remembrance, but in Miskolc there were not many places suitable for the commemoration of tragic events affecting the Roma in Miskolc or in Hungary as a whole (e.g. the Roma Holocaust and the racist serial murders of Roma).

According to Váradi, the wall of the Roma nationality self-government headquarters was not the ideal place for the memorial plaque. He noted that in the future it would be a good idea to move it to the centre of the city, as everyone in the city should be able to see it and understand its importance, not just people living close to the institution's headquarters. If it were placed in a more central location, passers-by could stop for a moment and reflect on the tragic events. Roma leaders are seeking to create a commemorative artefact that does not only allude to past events but also encourages and fosters remembrance. They believe that the new plaque will commemorate the victims but also nurture a certain spirit of understanding and compassion in the hopes that these kinds of events never happen again.

The memorial was only unveiled ten years after the racist murder in Nagycsécs because the Romano Teatro had already put up a memorial plaque to the victims of the Roma Holocaust at its headquarters in Diósgyőr and there was space there for another commemorative artefact. They were the first to carry out this kind of public representation of Roma history in Miskolc. Later, however, the office of the Roma theatre company was closed, so the plaque had to be made mobile. In other words, when an event or commemoration was held, the plaque was taken to the relevant location. As a result of this, a suggestion was made to erect a plaque in a permanent location that could be declared a memorial site, or to find some way to hold commemorative events in connection to the tragedies.

Efforts were always being made in Miskolc to get things started. The Idetartozunk Association, for instance, launched a similar initiative that gave the Roma in Miskolc a little more strength in this area.





As Váradi has noted, it is important for a community to commemorate its martyrs in some way, although ideally this kind of commemoration would not be important exclusively for the Roma community. The series of murders committed against Roma should basically make everyone aware that these kinds of brutal acts are the ultimate consequence of racist ideology. That is why it would have been ideal to have installed the memorial plaque in the inner part of the city, but the campaign was abandoned because of the many obstacles raised by local officials. The wall of the Roma nationality self-government headquarters thus remained as the best possible place for the plaque, as it was administratively simple to put it here.

When Váradi was the head of the Roma nationality self-government, he never missed an opportunity to attend a commemorative event (whether at the institution's offices or elsewhere), because he believed that what happened in 2008 and 2009 should never be forgotten. Those crimes must never be forgotten, and this is also true of the Roma Holocaust, which is being commemorated once again. In Miskolc, the first plaque for the victims of the Roma Holocaust was put up by the Romano Teatro. However, although there is a large Roma community in Miskolc that has always been active in public life, it was not until many years after the regime change that a new commemorative plaque was unveiled. Váradi explains that the reason for this was simply that the local Roma community thought that the procedure to approve and install the plaque was much more complicated than it actually was (as had been suggested by the local administrative bureaucracy).

When Váradi began his efforts, he was told that he would need countless archival drawings, permits, design specifications and approvals, although he would only need 60,000 forints to fund the initiative. The Roma nationality self-government decided to install the plaque on the wall of its headquarters because of these bureaucratic obstacles.

At the same time, the unveiling of the plaque was well received by the city, and the newly elected mayor and deputy mayor attended the event on 3 November





2018. It was the first time that the municipality had been represented at such an event by its highest local elected leaders. Previously, the city of Miskolc had never sent a representative, and indeed local political figures were not even aware of the existence of the plaque and did not consider such things important. This day therefore marked a turning point: the new local government had raised the plaque to the level of a public policy issue.

The unveiling of the plaque received minimal coverage in the local media, whether at city or county level. This was mostly for political reasons. In general, there was hardly any coverage of undertakings and initiatives led by the Miskolc Roma nationality self-government.

In the Roma community, those who know about the existence of the plaque (around 15-20%) are happy about it, but they also feel that its location on the outskirts of the city in a non-Roma neighbourhood is inappropriate. Roma organizations have not taken possession of the memorial site, although this was the original intention. This is partly due to communication problems, but professional jealousy has also been an issue.

The plaque will only take on its intended meaning and role if it is granted a worthy place in the city, where it could be used as part of the backdrop for an event that would reach the wider community. There is a growing demand among the Roma in Miskolc for action to be taken to relocate it. At the same time, the unveiling of the plaque has nevertheless had an impact on Roma communities in surrounding municipalities, which have started calling for initiatives like the ones launched by the Roma in Miskolc.

It is also important to mention that a Roma Holocaust memorial was inaugurated in Miskolc in 2021 at the initiative of the Epistemé Association. With this act, the city finally addressed a glaring omission in its attempts to deal with its past by giving the local Roma community the opportunity to commemorate the victims of the Roma Holocaust in a dignified way.





## 8.4 The atypical example: Kемence - creating and forgetting commemorative artefacts

### 8.4.1 KEMENCE: THE HISTORY OF A BLOOD LIBEL

Under the reign of Habsburg Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), the Roma were not allowed to live their seminomadic lifestyle. The authorities forcibly resettled them where necessary and forbade them from leaving their homes. They were also prohibited from using their mother tongue, the Roma language.

The Roma were forced to resettle in places where there were no more available feudal plots of land, so they had no means of subsistence. In addition, they could not practise their former nomadic crafts, which meant they could not trade or provide services as they migrated from village to village. The Roma communities thus lost their sources of livelihood, and children were taken away from Roma families and given to peasant families to be raised. Promises were made that the state treasury would provide funding to help cover the cost of raising these children, but these funds were never actually forthcoming. Decrees against the Roma had been imposed by the previous ruler, Maria Theresa, and her son Joseph II sought to tighten the restrictions even further.

The restrictions on the Roma were shaped by security considerations. All the armed groups, including the Hungarian Kuruc, that sought independence from the House of Habsburg needed a base of competent craftsmen and artisans to support their efforts. Gunsmiths, gunpowder makers, tailors and bootmakers had to accompany the armies as they moved. The soldiers were followed by a caravan of wagons. These services could not be provided by the established urban guilds. The Roma offered services such as blacksmithing, gunsmithing and horseshoeing on a mobile basis, both in villages and, in times of active combat, in the wake of the armies as they moved. Without the assistance of Roma craftsmen, it was well-nigh impossible to organize a military campaign in rebellion against the Habsburgs.





Maria Theresa, Joseph II and even Leopold II realized that the Hungarians might launch a rebellion against Habsburg rule at any time, and they knew that the Hungarians would have help from the Roma in acquiring and maintaining the weapons they needed. They therefore imposed and enforced restrictions on the Roma. Between 1768 and 1784, these restrictions became even tighter. Counties were obliged to submit detailed reports to the local council on how Roma children had been taken from their parents and given to peasant families, where the Roma were at a given time, how many of them were living settled, non-nomadic lifestyles and whether any “migrant” Roma had been arrested. The Roma community in Hungary, which included a large number of musicians, found various ways to make a living, including metalwork and the service (repair) industry, but they lived in a state of constant threat and uncertainty.

In the summer of 1782, news spread in what was then known as Hont county that bands of marauders were roaming the county and people were disappearing. Investigations were launched everywhere. All that was known for certain was that some wandering Roma had broken into a butcher’s warehouse. The perpetrators were caught. Most of them were Roma who spoke Slovak as their mother tongue. They were transported to the town of Kemence, which was the seat of the county at that time.

In the wake of the burglary, the county decided to launch a raid. Gendarmes rounded up all the Roma as part of the county’s effort to compel the Roma to adhere to the decrees that had been issued against them. Resettlement, it seemed, had not been a complete success, and the Roma who were still travelling around the county were locked up in the cellars of the county hall. Interrogations were held in order to determine the whereabouts of the people who were rumoured to have disappeared. Torture was considered the most effective method at the time, and all kinds of iron tools, pliers and clamps were used to inflict pain. After a time, one of the Roma men could not stand the torture any longer and, when asked where the missing people were, answered that he could not say because



they, the Roma, had eaten them. The authorities then decided that they wanted to know where this alleged act had taken place and continued to torture the man. They took the Roma prisoners to various locations that were thought to have been the scene of the crime. The Roma tried in vain to escape. No corpses were ever found, and indeed no real evidence of any crime was detected, but several of the prisoners were tortured into “confessing” to having eaten the people who had allegedly disappeared. The county used these confessions to sentence more than 30 of the prisoners captured in Hont county and the surrounding countryside to death. The sentences were carried out in three settlements: Kemence, Bát and Csáb. (The latter two are on the northern side of the Ipoly River, which is now part of Slovakia, while Kemence is on the Hungarian side.)

The final decades of eighteenth century were still considered part of the Age of Enlightenment in this part of Europe, which is why the news that Roma in Hungary had been sentenced to death for allegedly eating humans caused something of a stir. The story eventually reached Vienna, and Emperor Joseph II instructed one of his men to investigate the matter. The investigator discovered that the executions were being carried out but that, in the meantime, the people who were believed to have been eaten had been found alive one by one. They had not disappeared at all: they had simply not been where the people looking for them had expected them to be. The Emperor then sent a letter to the county magistrates ordering them to stop the executions, stipulating that the most severe punishment they could impose was imprisonment. He banned forced confessions, and death sentences could henceforth only be carried out with the approval of the Emperor.

However, it is worth noting that, in doing so, Joseph II was not acting in the interests of the Roma, but rather for the good of his empire. He was outraged by the fact that people were being condemned for eating people under his rule, but he was otherwise unconcerned about the persecution of Roma, especially those who had left the settlements of their landlords and continued to live a semi-nomadic lifestyle. In practice, the Roma helped villagers meet their sundry needs,





and the villagers tended to help them in return. The Roma also engaged in regular barter trade. The counties supported this and even granted the Roma certain privileges, as their leaders paid taxes to the county.

#### 8.4.2 THE FORGOTTEN MONUMENT

The events in Kemence have long been forgotten, but thanks to the efforts of the Roma emancipation movement a wooden headstone commemorating the victims has been erected. The story begins in 1978, when the leaders of the movement organized an annual reading camp for Roma secondary school children from Budapest. As part of the preparatory work for the camp in Kemence, someone suggested starting a “village research and study” programme with Roma students. Secondary school children would be taken to Kemence and shown a cross-section of life in the village. The camp organizers approached the authorities. They received assistance from several individuals, including Zsuzsa Bódi, who at the time was the Roma secretary of Pest county. With her help, they were able to talk to the president of the Kemence council and the village leaders about bringing young people to the village to learn about Kemence’s present and past, and the local leaders agreed to help organize the programme.

Before the camp in Kemence was opened, János Bársony, Ágnes Daróczi and Béla Osztojkan already knew the history of the massacre that had taken place there. While the preparatory work was underway, they met with local historian Péter Puskás, with whom they discussed the idea of erecting a memorial at the site of the Nyúzóvölgy executions on the 200th anniversary of the tragic events in August-September 1982. Puskás informed them that Nyúzóvölgy still existed, that its name remained unchanged and that he had researched the subject. The camp organizers invited him to the camp to talk about his research and what had happened. Puskás, who was working in the local wood industry at the time,



also offered to provide a wooden beam that the campers could carve and erect as a memorial pillar in Nyúzóvölgy.

In August 1982, on the evening before the wooden headstone was dedicated, Péter Puskás told the campers the story of the blood libel. The next morning, they started to explore the village. They formed ten groups of three and went around the village asking people what they knew about the blood libel and what their parents and grandparents had told them about the events. They also asked about the prevailing understanding in the village of this chapter in its history and about the former county hall, which now houses a school. Each group had to conduct at least three conversations with locals, and the villagers all acknowledged that murders had been committed in Nyúzóvölgy. When the interviews had been completed, the young people had lunch and then went to the Nyúzóvölgy to unveil the memorial, make speeches and commemorate the 200th anniversary of this infamous mass murder of Roma. The wooden headstone was carved by Ferenc Kosár. News of the unveiling of the memorial was published in a national literary magazine. The people who organized the reading camp in the area always explained that Kemence was not far away and that the campers could go there to place wreaths on the memorial. When former campers went there they often took flowers, and thus a commemorative tradition was born. Excursions were organized, but they did not meet with much interest from members of the non-Roma society. The story was only known in Kemence and among experts on Roma history. Among the Roma, however, the meaning and importance of the memorial lives on in the emancipation movement and among the Roma intelligentsia.

Looking back from 2021, it was a brave act to erect a memorial in 1982 dedicated to the victims of a terrible crime committed against the Roma. Why had the totalitarian regime of the day permitted this? The explanation lies at least in part in the fact that the Roma movement had gained strength. It had fought successfully to have part of the 1961 Hungarian Communist party resolution stating





that gypsies were “lumpen criminals” deleted. By the end of the 1970s, moreover, it had adopted a very different approach to power, based on the understanding that the Roma community had two possible paths to follow: assimilation or integration. If they integrated, they would be able to preserve their own culture and history. For this reason, no more obstacles were placed in the way of the creation of clubs, ensembles and Roma visual art by the regime.

As for the situation today, few people know about the Kemence massacre, in spite of the presence of many Roma organizations. The case itself is not widely known even within the movement, although this may be related to the fact that 39 years have passed since the wooden headstone was erected. One cannot help but wonder whether anyone – either at the municipal or county level or from one of the national Roma organizations – has done anything to maintain or renovate the memorial site since then.

All we know is that, while he lived in Kemence (for roughly eight years), Péter Puskás maintained the memorial until the regime change. The monument is currently located on private land outside the administrative boundary of Kemence, which means that it is essentially inaccessible at present.

## Summary and conclusions

# 9

With its empirical findings on public representations of Roma history, identity and culture in Hungary, this report contributes to the secondary literature on public spaces and public representations. It constitutes a particularly important contribution to these fields in no small part because it focuses on the Roma aspects of the issue in a manner that is largely missing in contemporary Hungarian (and European) research.



Our research revealed that there was no existing database or published list of representations of Roma history, identity and culture in public spaces in Hungary. Until 2018, the very question was not even considered to be of any interest in Roma or non-Roma communities. Our report therefore breaks new ground by providing the reader with a 164-item inventory<sup>14</sup> of Roma public representations (images and background information) and the conclusions we have drawn on the basis of our research.

Our research reveals that Roma public representations in Hungary are mainly found in areas with large Roma communities. Similarly, there are hardly any Roma artefacts in areas with sparse Roma populations. As a result, most public representations on Roma themes are found in the southern Transdanubian region (Baranya, Somogy and Tolna counties), the southern Great Plain (Bács-Kiskun, Csongrád-Csanád and Békés counties), the northern Great Plain (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties) and northern Hungary (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves and Nógrád counties).

Another key finding is that the non-Roma community is primarily interested in commemorating the musical culture of the Roma community in Hungary, while public representations relating to the Roma Holocaust are of primary importance to the Roma community. Memorials established by Roma and non-Roma individuals and groups have mainly included artefacts commemorating musicians, prominent local public figures and victims of the Roma Holocaust and racist murders. In contrast, very few memorials have been dedicated to religion, Roma writers and poets, local Roma communities and Roma who participated in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

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<sup>14</sup> As of 2020, there were 128 representations of Roma history, identity and culture in public spaces throughout Hungary, as well as 26 in Budapest. In addition, plans were underway for the unveiling of another ten such representations by the end of 2021.







The data shows that, from the beginning of the twentieth century until the regime change in 1989-1990, representations of Roma culture and identity in Hungary were dominated by tributes to Roma musicians and musical traditions, and this remained the case in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s. Although there was discussion of the Roma Holocaust and some memorials were erected in the 1970s at the end of the Kádár era, it was only in the 1990s that the Roma Holocaust started to become a public issue and then an increasingly prominent part of memory policy from the 2000s onwards. Our research also reveals that, since the 2010s, the murder (and occasionally serial murder) of Roma has become an important issue and theme in public discourse. In spite of this, the number of public representations relating to such incidents is staggeringly small compared to the number of representations on such themes as music and the Roma Holocaust. There has also been little significant change in the amount of effort devoted to the commemoration of Roma who perished in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Our experiences and research suggest that it has only been possible to establish a significant number of public representations relating to Roma culture and history with the support of non-Roma society. This is because the resources of civil society organizations and Roma society are much more modest and do not suffice to establish appropriate public monuments commemorating the various triumphs and tragedies in the history and culture of the Roma community.

Finally, we conclude that there is an urgent need to create a Roma history and heritage task force or association to care for and maintain existing memorial sites, raise funding for the creation of new representations and ensure that they appear in mainstream materials and public databases. Such a body could also work to ensure that targeted government measures are adopted to achieve these goals and that Roma nationality self-governments include this issue on their agendas and allocate the financial resources needed to realize this aspiration.





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Romani reprezentacia  
pe publikane placura  
ando Ungro







## Anglune lava – pala o rodipe pe publikane placura

1

Ando Ungro le hakaja phenen ke 13 naciai žuven/bešen (roma, njamcikane, rumunikane, slovakikane, kroacikane, serbikane, ukranikane, polakikane, bulgarikane, grekikane, rusikane, armenikane thaj slovenikane manuša). Pala le naciai e 2011. CLXXIX. hakajesko preambulumo kade iskiril/pisinel:

*„sa le naciai jekh si le ungrikane politikalno komunitetasa, faktura si ke e themeski formacia, le kulturalne ranga, čhibaki diferencia na kaveripe den, ba/ama barvalipe,  
le naciengi kulturalne barvalipe vasne si ande Ungrikano themesko barvalipe,  
le naciengi individualne thaj komunitetake hakaja slobodipeske hakaja si”*

Kadala naciai perdal but šeliberša kathe žuven, but vasne butja kerenas ande historia (Rákóczi-slobodipeske maripe, 1848/1849 revolucia thaj slobodipeske maripe, 1956 uštipe thaj slobodipeske maripe), sakodyeseko trajo, ekonomikalno, kulturalno (literatura, dombipe tmd.) trajo. Lengo živipe ando Ungro (ande nakhli thaj akanutni vreme) bi pušipesko si, thaj vasno si, ke pe amare themeske publikane placura – kaj sa e ungrikani historia šaj dikhas-, vi le (naciengi) hakaja si te sikaven (o kethanipe le gaženca) pengi narativa (ande historia thaj kultura).

Le roma ando XV. šeliberš avile ando Ungro, anda kadi minimum 600 berša žuven kethane le roma thaj gaže ando Ungro. Le roma mangel te sikavdyol pe





themeske publikane placura sar žuvenas kethane le roma thaj gaže ande historikane vremi, paša kadi te sikaven le romen thaj le romane historikalne momentura, saven baro impakto sas pe romengo thaj gažengo trajo. Kadala seripe na numa le romengi identiteta šaj paruvel, ba/ama šaj paruvel le gažengi percepcii pala le roma. Šaj žutinen le gažen perdal le pozitivne misela pe publikane placura identifikacia te keren le ungrikane romenca.

Vasno si te phenas ke le romengo mangipe te sikadyon pe publikane placura – le butja so le roma vasneske gindinen (diferentne tematikenca) šaj sikavdyon pe publikane placura – jekh legitimo butji si. Vi kade vasno si te aven romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura kana na keren pozitivno impakto pe diferentne etnikumengo živipe, ke le romane publikane reprezentacii zoraren le romengi identiteta. E romane publikane reprezentacii šaj dikhas sar e minoritetaki zor, anda kadi šaj pušas: si le romen zor te vakeren/vorbinen pala pende, si len zor/hakaj kaj pengi narativa, vaj kade avela sar sas dulmut, ke le gaže phenen so si e romani narativa thaj identiteta.

Dulmutane rodipe dikhle kaj bešen/žuven le roma, ba/ama na line sama pe romani kultura thaj identiteta perdal le romane publikane reprezentacii, anda kadi o akanutno rodipe njevo si. Njevo si, ke maškar but butja dikhel o than kaj si kadala romane publikane reprezentacii („kaj si, ande sosko krujalipe?“) thaj sama lel pe methoda („sar alosarde kothe te avel?“)

Ande amaro rodipe na sas amen šajipe sa le minoritetengi situacia te dikhas pe publikane placura ando Ungro. Anda kadi numa/feri le romengo thaj gažengo kethanutno trajo dikhlam<sup>1</sup> (thaj e konekcia maškar le roma thaj o them).

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<sup>1</sup> Le authora vi le romen ungrikane manušenge inkren, ba/ama le štilistikane aspekti vasne sas (thaj vi te hatjaren) ando teksto te labjaras le lava: roma-gaže.





## Le rodipeske maj vasne pušipe thaj resina

2

Kana lam te keras o rodipe na sas amen oficialne informacii, sistemo so phen-dasas kaj si romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Budepest thaj ande diferentne placura ando them, ba/ama na žanglam niči kodo ke le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura aba so kerde soski tematika sikaven, le roma thaj gaže pe soske romane temi lenas sama, thaj le roma so dikhenas vasneske te sikaven. Na žanglam soski sas e koperacia maškar roma thaj gaže kana kerde le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura, anda kadi amaro fokusi ando rodipe (2018-2020<sup>2</sup>) kodi sas te žanas te phenas variso pe kadala pušimata, e rodipeske maj vasno pušipe sas:

### **Kaj thaj sar sikavdyon le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura ando Ungro?**

Kamlam –paša te phenas variso pe pušimata– te sikavas le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura ando Budapest thaj ande diferentne thana ando Ungro, te avel amen jekh žanipe sar sikaven andre le romen thaj soski si e tematika. Vasno sas amenge te sikavas le laše thaj bilaše romane monumentura, seripeske tabli, figuralne thaj nonfiguralne butja/keripe, te sikavas ande soske situacii si laši vaj nasul kana ašaven jekh keripe/butji pe publikane placura. Perdal o rodipe

<sup>2</sup> Ando rodipe kodola publikane reprezentacii dikhlam so ži ko 31-to dyes decembra 2020 dine perdal. Iskirinas/pisinas vi pala kasave publikane reprezentacii so ando berš 2021 dine perdal, ba/ama kadala na sas amaro fokusi.



manglam te keras identifikacia pala le aktora/manuša te dikhas e zoraki konekcia maškar le roma thaj gaže, kana o fokusi si te keren pe jekh romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Patjas ke amaro rodipe žutisarela e komunikacia maškar le roma thaj gaže. Kamas te žutinas perdal le informacii thaj misela maškar le roma thaj gaže –ande romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura– kaj si le problemi, sar žanas te ašavas len, sar žanas te sikavas maj but ženenge. Amari butji legitimo si, ke kamas te aven le roma ande publikane placura thaj lenge seripe so le roma vasneske dikhen ande diferentne tematiki– te sikadyon pe publikane placura vi kade te na keren khanči pozitivno impakto pe koperacia maškar le roma thaj gaže. Vasno si amenge te sikavas e romani kultura thaj historia maj but ženenge –so sikaven le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura– thaj te sikavas le informacii so rodam le manušenge, kon ekspertura vaj sako dyeseske manuša si thaj te boxjaras o žanipe pala o khetanutno trajo e romengo thaj gažengo. Po agor kamasas amaro rodipe jekh baza te avel maj bute romane reprezentacieng, te sikavas laše thaj bilaše misela pala romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura anda soste šaj dikhas: so si le „nasula praktiki” thaj le „laše misela”.

## 3

### Le rodipesko impakto

Ande rodipesko centro le publikane placura sas, na dikhlam sa le publikane posesii vaj sa le butja pe publikane placura.

Te dikhas maj xurdikanes e rodipesko placo sas te dikhas le kriteriuma e funkciake thaj e labjaripeske paša e posesia. Anda kadi o rodipe numa/feri kasave publikane placura dikhlas so na le individualne manuša labjaren. Majfeder le pub-







likane institucienge thana (avral thaj andral e institucia) dikhle ba/ama kasavo si jekh kafeteriako thanesko avrutno than, so funkcia del le individualne manuŝenge pe publikano than. Le murmunci/limoresthana but puŝipe dine amen, ke si len vi individualne funkcii thaj si len vi publikane funkcii kana seripeske thana keren romane pinžarde manuŝenge. Le murmuncengi/limoresthanengi individualni funkcia na dikhlam, ba/ama dikhlam le publikane funkcii. Perdal o rodipe atunči lam sama pe romane seripeske placura ando murmunco/limoresthan kana pe publikane placura bari romani reprezentacia sas thaj ando foro/gav baro statusi si kadaleske thaj ande murmunci/limoresthana ŝaj dikhas len. Pala kadi situacia si te phenas: ke maj butivar vaŝ e marginalizacia keren ke e romengi reprezentacia ande murmunci/limoresthana ŝuven (sar ande Polska) so ande XX. ŝeliberŝeske anglu-no parto kerde te na sikaven le romen pe publikane placura. Te dikhas majdur le seripe pala le rasisti mudaripe ande berŝa 2008/2009 ande gavesko murmunco/limoresthan si, sar bute romane baŝavnenge seripeske thana (Bak, Á., 2020).

O rodipe na dikhlas le vulicenge thaj publikane thanenge anava. Majfeder vaŝ e čhib na dikhas len ke but misela si kana jekh gažes kade akharen sar jekh romes. Jekh maj xurdikano rodipe trubulas te dikhel ke jekh vulica čačes pala jekh romesko seripe xuterdas pesko anav. Le vulicenge thaj publikane thanenge anava na vaj na butivar keren reprezentacia pala le roma, anda kadi na žanglam te dikhas sa le themeske vulicenge thaj publikane thanenge anava.

Ando rodipe kadala butja dikhlam pe publikane placura:

- Seripe
- Seripeske tabli
- Monumentura
- Seripeske kaŝta
- Pikturi pe publikane placura, sekko
- Publikane khera (lenge anava pala roma xuterde)
- Publikane khera (romandar kerde)



## Pušipe pala e romani identiteta

Si te dikhas e vorba publikano placo – so labjaras ando rodipe – thaj te dikhas e identitetako pušipe, ke kanak keras o rodipe pala e reprezentacia pe publikane placura, kade žanas te phenas ke variso romani vaj na romani butji si. Si kasave situacii, kana na trubul but te gindisaras, ke le somnura sikaven e romani kulturaki reprezentacia. Ba/ama si kasave keripe kaj maj xurdikano rodipe trubul (majfeder kana manušen sikaven), na sakana žanen te keren identifikacia pala e romani konekcia.

Amaro rodipe pe kadala butja las sama kana dikhlam e reprezentacia „romani motivacia”:

1. O rodipe na las sama pe gažengo thaj themeske instituciengo dikhipe thaj definicia, le reprezentacii perdal e romengo dikhipe las sama. Na ingerdas o rodipe majdur e definicia kathar o Kemény István pala le „roma”, kon kodi phendas ke „rom si kodo, kas le kavera manuša romeske phenen”. Kana dikhas kon si ande jekh grupa, amen ande personlano identifikacia patjas thaj ke sako manuš slobodnes šaj alosarel peski grupaki identiteta, ba/ama le rodipeske ekspertura hatjaren ke ande jekh manušeski personalno identiteta but mol le objektiva somnura.
2. Anda kadi o rodipe kodola reprezentacii dikhlas sar „romani identitetaki reprezentacia” kaj o manuš vaj e komuniteta phende ke von roma si thaj kodola reprezentacii so vi e romani komuniteta romanjake dikhel. Anda kadi na numa kodola iskiripe dikhlam so pe romani čhib si, ke ando Ungro šaj vorbinas pala beaš, karpata thaj sinto. Kadi definicia pala e identiteta vi atunči labjardam kana e romani identiteta pe angluno vaj dujto than sas, sar e gažikani identiteta.
3. Le dikhipe –pala e romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura– ande duj grupura šaj šuvas. Anglunivar pe kodola dikhipe las sama save žutinen te phenen



ke e reprezentacia romani si vaj na (Miselake: Vi le roma kerde e reprezentacia, vaj numa gaže? Sas jekh evento so le roma vaj romane organizacii kerde pala e reprezentacia?). Pe kadala e pustik sar objektivne kriteriuma dikhel (ande maj bute europaki romani komuniteta e čhib ande objektivne kriteriuma si kana pala e minoritetaki grupa vorbinen. Ando Ungro e čhib naj prezento ande sako komuniteta, vasno sas te dikhas, ke si komuniteti kaske e beaš, karpati, romani thaj sinto čhiba vasne si).

4. Paša le objektivne kriterii sas te dikhas vi le subjektivna, ke le maj bute reprezentacii manušen sikaven thaj na sas khanči somno pala e romani identiteta. Vasno sas te dikhas e subjektivno kriteria so sikavel ke le roma romeske/romnjake dikhen e individualnes/komuniteta (so pe publikane placura si), kaj e baza jekh khetanutni žanipe si pala e romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura (konphenen pala pende ke roma si thaj ke ande romani komuniteta žuven).

Xurdikanes: o rodipe objektivne thaj subjektivne kriterii dikhlas kana identifikacia kerde pala e romani identiteta. O sistemo inkluzivne methodura labjardas, numa jekh dikhipe pozitivno te sas, e reprezentacia romani sas.

## E analitikako dikhipe pala e konekcia maškar e majoriteta thaj minoriteta

# 5

Akanak ando Ungro pala ungrikani historiake manuša, vasne kultruralne eventura thaj manuša si seripe pe vulici, parkura, publikane placura, publikane institucii, monumentura, seripeske tabli thaj seripe.





Ba/ama si te phenas ke naj monokulturalne societeti (kavera lavenca „uže nacionalne thema”), anda kadi vasno si e diverziteta, o multikulturalizmo thaj te sikaven le interakcii maškar e kulturi.

Pala le publikane placura maj butivar o them kerel decizia, anda kadi po them si e rezponzibiliteta sar dikhel pe multikulturalizmo thaj sar kerel leske reprezentacia.

Akanak paša e themeske institucii vi le civilne organizacii thaj individualne butja šaj keren variso vaš le publikane placura (Harlov-Csorján, M., Lajtai, M., 2018), ba/ama lengi rezponzibiliteta (komperacia te keras e themesa) maj cikni si, ke maj cerra love si len thaj vi maj cerra zor si len.

Te dikhas o pušipe: soske/sostar si vasno te sikaven o multikulturalizmo pe publikane placura ande jekh them, kadi šaj phenas: sa le nacienge šaj aven pengi narativa pala le khetanutni historia (le majoritetasa), so but vasno si, te e majoriteta na egalnes dikhlas pe nacionaliteta/minoriteta, thaj azbade lenge manuškane hakaja (Shaheed, F., 2014). Le romengi ekonomikani, politikani thaj societetikani marginalizacia perdal pe šeliberša vasno si ande kadi butji.

O them te phenel – vi perdal e publikane placura – ke azbadas le nacionalitetenge hakaja, jekh šajipe si te ašavel e xoli maškar e majoriteta thaj minoriteta. O them na numa patjiv del le manušenge kon aba na žuven, ba/ama sikavel ke ando avendipe na kerela kasave nasula butja le nacionalitetasa. Maj dur na azbavela le hakaja, majfeder demokratikalno koperacia mangel te kerel (Shaheed, F., 2014). O konsenzo maškar e majoriteta thaj e nacionaliteta pala pengi khetanutni historia (ande reprezentacia pe publikane placura) sako dyes zorarel lengi identiteta (Shaheed, F., 2014), ke le publikane placura na numa e pača žutinel ba/ama vi e pačako khetanutno trajo pe jekh than. Ama/ba si te phenas ke le nacionalne hakaja, sar e Univerzalne Manušikane Hakajengi Deklaracia thaj e themutne hakaja phenen, ke le lila hakaj den sa le manušenge ke pengi identiteta thaj vi anda kadi si vasno vi le roma te labjaren le publikane placura. Vi kade te na kerdenas niš jekh nasuli-





mata mamuj le roma, vi atunči šaj mangenas pengi reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Kodi si e maj bari pušimata te si le minoriteten hakaj ke pengi reprezentacia, thaj te si, sar sikavdyol kadi pe thana.

Vasno si ande jekh societatoko trajo kana paša le historikalne azbavipe sikavdyol e nacionalitetengi naracia pala pengi kulturalno, historikalno thaj sportikano barvalipe pe publikane placura (ande amari kaza romane dombipe vaj pinžarde artistura: artistura, bašavne, aktora, monumentura, seripeske tabli thaj keripe pala romane historikalne manuša, sportikane manuša), ke kadalen zor si te ašaven e prejudicia ande majoriteta thaj e nacionaliteta na lažala peski etniciteta ba/ama sar barvalipe dikhen pe pende sar vasne manuša ande societeta (Bogdán, P., Molnár, I. G., Setét, J., 2019).

Ko palutno dikhiper but vasno pušipe si sar dičol pe jekh seripesko keripe, tabla vaj monumento e nacionaliteta thaj laki historia thaj kultura. Butivar dikhlam ke pe jekh dombipe pe publikano than na sikaven e nacionaliteta. E dombipeski „nacionaliteta” numa le manuša, kon kasave phure si sar o dombipe thaj le „ekspertura” pinžaren, anda kadi le analizacii le publikane dombipenge sama si te len pe kadi problema (Harlov-Csörtán, M., Lajtai, M., 2018).

O kaver vasno dikhiper si te dikhen e nacionalitetoko publikano dombipeski konekcia ko than. Jekh publikano dombipe šaj vazden pe jekh than ke konekcia si les ko than ba/ama šaj vazden pe jekh than, ke kodo (o than) vasno si ando foro thaj zurales žanel mesažo te tradel (Harlov-Csörtán, M., Lajtai, M., 2018).

Bi participaciaker na žanen te keren reprezentacia, ande amaro rodipe vasni kriteria sas te dikhas ke le roma vaj romane organizacii žutisarde e butji te vazden jekh publikano reprezentacia.

Kana vazden jekh nacionalitetoko publikano keripe vasno si te dikhas sostar vazden kodo, soski politikaker butji/a sas palal o vazdipe. Maj xurdikaner, kamlam te dikhas ke jekh guvermento kade gindisarel pala jekh romano reprezentaciako vazdipe, sar jekh romani organizacia.





Kade gindinas ke atunči si e maj laši situacia kana le romane aktivistura thaj le gažikane politikake manuša jekh gindisaren thaj vasneske dikhen te ašaven/tordyaren romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Kado ingrel amen ko pušipe ke kana jekh gaveske/foroske šerutne mangel te keren romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura, atunči mangel le romen sar partnera vaj na.

Vi anda kodi vasne si le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura ke impakto šaj keren pe manuša kon kothe trajon thaj vi pe kodola kon kothe žan pe cerra vremate/vaxt. Anda kadi vasno si te mangel le nacionalitetenge šerutnen sar partnera kana kasavi butji kamen te keren. Thaj vi aktivne te aven kana planura keren thaj kana vazden jekh reprezentacia (Shaheed, F., 2014), ke sar phendam (majinti) e reprezentacia bi participaciako naj lašo, so phendas vi o eksperto ande Kulturalne Hakaja ko Univerzalne Manušikane Hakajengi Deklaracia. Phenel ke participacia vasni si ke egalne resipeske thaj labjaripeske hakaja.

## 6

### Methoda

Duj nivelesko sistemo labjardam te keras e lokalizacia le romane publikane reprezentacienge. Pala solduj niveli duj-duj rodipe si. Anglunivar ko rodipe dikhlam e minta ande soste – te maj boxles rodas informacii – jivendeski-loptako methoda labjardam thaj advertisemento po Facebook. Le informacii so avile – pala le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura – kavera informacienca boxlardam so online rodam thaj pala kadi gelam ande forura thaj gava te kidas informacii, thaj kerdam oxto interju ande soste na sas struktura. Anda kadala štar interju sikavas trin (jekh so lašo sas, jekh so na sas lašo, thaj jekh so atipikno sas) – te boxjaras le informacii – te sikavas le romane thaj gaže aktora ande romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura.





## 6.1 E mintaki mapa

Kamlam te keras lokalizacia thaj te kidas le informacii le methodasa so labjardam ando rodipe:

- Anavipe, titulo
- Lokalnipe
- Tipo, žanro
- Berš kana kerde
- Tematika so sikaven
- Čhib
- Manuša kon kerde/marde pen kavera manuša te keren e reprezentacia

### 6.1.1 JIVENDESKI LOPTA – KIDIPE E MINTAKE

Le rodara mangle po Facebook le romen kon ando online foruma si, te phenen: te pinžaren ando them romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Pala kadi le rodipeske manuša labjarde pengi konekcia thaj personalnes thaj vi po telefono pušle kaj šaj rakhen romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Le ekspertura kasave manušen rodine, kon pinžaren e romani komuniteta ande gava, forura thaj/vaj aktivnes maškar le roma žuven. Le rodara pušle le manušen ande Romane Minoritetengi Guvermento/ Romane Nacionalitetaki Guvermento (RMG/RNG)<sup>3</sup> ke ande nakhle 10 berša marde pen te keren romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura thaj te marde pen, sodivar, sosko rezultati sas kadala butja. Kamle te žanen ke so sas pala le rezultati so sikavel ke jekh butji lašo vaj bilašo sas, ke anda kadi šaj žanas ke le roma mangle te keren pengi reprezentacia pe publikane placura.

<sup>3</sup> RMG = Romane Minoritetengi Guvermento, Romane Nacionalitetaki Guvermento = RNG (ando teksto kadala duj vorbi kade labjaras, sar dikhlam savo anav sas labjardo ando foro/gav)



## 6.1.2 RODIPE ANDO ONLINE DATENGI BAZA

Le reprezentacii pe publikane placura ando Ungro pe duj datengi baza šaj dikhas: kozterkep.hu thaj wikipedia.org. Sol duj riga sakon šaj dikhel kana kamel, thaj šaj boxjaren informaciasa. O kozterkep.hu jekh ungrikano civilno organizacia kerdas, kana kerdam o rodipe maj but sar 35 miji keripe sas, kaj majfeder ungrikane reprezentacii sikade pe publikane placura. O wikipedia.org e maj pinžardi online rig si pe luma/sundal, kaj vi le ungrikane foronge, gavenge si jekh rig. Kadala riga butivar sikaven le reprezentacii pe publikane placura, kade vi amen identifikacia kerdam pala le romane reprezentacii so pe publikne thana si – perdal le kriterii so ašadam ando rodipe.

## 6.2 Mintako kidipe pe thana

### 6.2.1 VIZULANO DATENGO KIDIPE THAJ RODIPE ANDE FORURA, GAVA

O Vizulano datengo kidipe thaj rodipe ande forura, gava le reprezentacii dikhlas thaj kade žanas kaj thaj sar kerde le reprezentacii. Le reprezentacii dikhlam, analizacia kerdam thaj vi fotografia kerdam pala lende anda soste jekh albumo kerdam, so šaj dikhen ando dujto parto le pustikako<sup>4</sup>.

Paša kadi kamas te keras jekh datengi baza mapasa so ando berš 2022 šaj dikhen.

<sup>4</sup> Vaš le ungrikone hakaja numa kodola fotografii šaj sikavas pala le reprezentacii ande amari pustik, so avral si (na ande jekh instituto si) vaj oficialno lil xuterdam ke šaj sikavas le kavera reprezentacii. Kana agordisardam e pustik na xuterdam sa le oficialne lila anda kadi le fotografii so inke si amen ande dataki baza vaj ande pustikaki avutni verzia sikavasa.







## 6.2.2 INTERJU BI STRUKTURAKO THAJ EKSPERTENGI INTERJU

Le ekspertura kasa interju kerdam, aba kerde butji romane reprezentacienca vaj von kerde varisave romane reprezentacii (o vakeripe po diktafono lam, so iskirisardam/pisindam thaj anda kadala kerdam le kazura so šaj ginaven ande pustik.

# Le rodipeske rezultatura

# 7

## 7.1 E historia pala e romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro

Angla kado rodipe (so sa o Ungro dikhel) sas jekh projekto – Romák a budapesti köztérben (Roma ande publikane placura ando Budapest) – kathar o Tom Lantos Instituto so numa ando Budapest ando berš 2018 dikhle (Harlov-Csortán Melinda thaj Lajtai Mátyás) soski si e reprezentacia e romani historiake, kulturake pe kasave thana so le lumake barvalipe si – sar ando Ungro kaj historikani thaj kulturalni reprezentacia si e societetaki – ando Budapest.

Amare rezultatura sikavde ke pe kodola thana so ande lumake barvalipe si (kathe numa jekh misal si o Romano Holokaustesko seripesko keripe po Nehru parto) naj romani reprezentacia. O Romano Holokaustesko seripesko keripe numa pe jekh parto ando XX. šeliberš serol ba/ama so angla vaj pala kodi pecisajlas na del duma.

Kado rezultato kerdas te ando berš 2019 o Tom Lantos Instituto kerel jekh rodipe sa pe thana ando Budapest. Andar o angluno rodipe dikhlam ke avral le thana so e lumako barvalipe si ando Budapest si cerra romane reprezentacii, ama sode thaj soske si le na žangle te phenen – vaš e rodipeski limitura.



## 7.2 Romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Budapest

Le manuša (Bogdán Péter, Molnár István Gábor, Setét Jenő) ando njevo rodipe dokumentacia thaj analizacia kerde pala e romani reprezentacia ando Budapest (peripeske barra, kaštune monumentura, seripeske keripe, seripeske tabli, parkura, skulpturi). Dikhle kon marde pen vaš le romani reprezentacii, thaj pe save kultur-alne, historikalne thana kerde len. Andar o rodipe šaj dikhas ke e themeske save si le maj vasne romane historikalne-kulturalne pecipe thaj kaj kerde civilne organizacii njeve romane reprezentacii vaj kaj dine reakcii pe historikalne/kulturalne segmentura kaj aba sas/vaj inke naj romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura.

Perdal o rodipe le ekspertura dikhle ke le reprezentacii pe publikane placura eksplicita si, sar sikaven e romani nacionaliteta; ke po than sas le romen konekcia vaj vaš e foroski mapa si romani reprezentacia; kon marde pen te keren romani reprezentacia thaj kon žutisarde ande butji (te si kasave informacii).

Tala o rodipe le ekspertura 26 romane reprezentacii rakhle pe publikane placura paša kadala o Cziffra György Komunitetako Than, e Lakatos Menyhért Škola thaj Maškarutni Škola<sup>5</sup>, e Rác Gyöngyi Komunitetako Centro thaj e Rác Aladár Muzikaki Škola.

Maškar le 26 romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura o numero le seripeske tablenge: 18 (ande soste jekh: e seripeski tabla vaš o Cziffra György po zido ande Kommunitetengo Centro ando Nagytétény), ama si inke jekh peripeskio barr, jekh kaštuno monumetno, štar skulpturi, jekh seripesko dombipe thaj jekh parko.

Le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura seron pe roma kon ando maripe mule, o Lakatos Menyhért, o Dráfi József kon ando romano holokausto mulas (kon sas ande koncentraciake lagerura ando Dachau thaj ando Ravensbrück thaj deš

<sup>5</sup> Tala o rodipe e Lakatos Menyhért Škola thaj Maškarutni Škola aba jekh parto si ande Deák Diák Muzikaki Škola thaj Maškarutni Škola ando Budapest, kade agordisarde o institucionalno seripe pala o Lakatos Menyhért.



dyesenca maj anglal sar slobodisarde le sovjetura o Ravensbrück, mudarde les kana numa 17 beršengo sas, ke na žanglas butji te kerel), ama si seripeske tabli le romenge vaš o 1956 maripe.

Maškar le romane pinžarde manuš a seron po Bihari János lavutari, Cziffra György kon po piano bašadas, Csemer Géza koreografo, authori, Puczi Béla kon mardas pes ando berš 1990 po Kalo Marco, Farkas György kon vazdadas thaj vi konduktori sas o Rajkó-Talentum Khelipeski thaj Muzikaki Škola, Bogdán János kon vazdadas e Gandhi Maškarutni Škola thaj kon vi filozofo sas, Mészáros Tivadar, lavutari ko Rajkó-Talentum, Szabó Ilonka “Kócos”, kon mardas pes ando 1956 maripe, Dilinkó Gábor, kon mardas pes ando 1956 maripe; Pege Aladár kon pe kontrabasa bašavelas jazz muzika, Péli Tamás piktori, Rácz Aladár kon pe cimbalma bašavelas, Radics Béla kon pe gitara bašavelas rock muzika, ama si (so sikavde vi ando 2018 rodipe) seripesko keripe thaj tabli pala o romano holokausto thaj si jekh parko, o Romane Bašavnengo Parko, kaj oxto tabli si vaš le romane bašavne.

Kadala keripe ande I., III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., XII., XIII., XXI., XXII. krujalura šaj dikhen.

Pala e lokacia le romane reprezentacieng pe publikane placura andar 26 reprezentacia 15 (Lakatos Menyhért, Csemer Géza, Puczi Béla, Farkas Gyula, Mészáros Tivadar, Szabó Ilonka „Kócos”, Dilinkó Gábor, Pege Aladár, Cziffra György, Péli Tamás, romano holokaust seripeski reprezentacia, Rácz Aladár,



1. abra  
Romane reprezentacii  
pe publikane placura  
ando foro Budapest  
(2020)



Radics Béla, Bihari János, Choli Daróczi József) šaj phenas ke pe reprezentaciako than o rom vaj romni bešlas, butji kerelas vaj jekh vasno historikalno pecipe sas kothe. Jekh cerra kaver si e situacia ko romano holkaust seripe po Nehru parto, ke pala kado than ingerde le romen ande butjake vaj koncentraciake lagera.

Pala o than kaj le romane reprezentacii si kodi šaj phenas perdal amare rezultati ke na sas vasno savi etniciteta bešelaso kothe. Maj vasno sas ke o rom vaj romni kaj bešelaso, kerelas butji vaj kerdas variso vasno historikalno butji, sar te dikhen ke e reprezentacia ande romani komuniteta te vazden thaj romenge te del mesažo. Si te phenas ke kodi laši si ke anda 26 reprezentacia 7 (37,14 procento) ande krujalura VIII. thaj IX. si kaj bute roma bešen, kathe 5 seripeske tabli si thaj o romano holokaust seripe po Nehru parto thaj vi jekh parko (Romane Bašavnen-go Parko). Te dikhas le historikalne thaj kulturalne aspektura anda 26 kazura 9 (28,88 procento) lel sama pe romane historikalne pecipe. Andar kadala jekh vaš kodola roma kon vaš o Ungro mule, jekh vaš o Puczi Béla, trin vaš le roma kon marenas pen ando 1956 maripe thaj štar vaš le roma kon ando holokaust mule.

Interesanto si, ke pala e 1956 maripeske romani konekcia ando IV. thaj VIII. krujalo kerde seripe, pala o romano holokausto ando VII., IX. thaj XXI. krujalo si seripe. Pala e romani kultura 17 romani reprezentacia si pe publikane placura. Anda kadi 11 ande muzika si, so sikavel ke o them majfeder pe romengi muzika lel sama. Paša kadi duj authora (Lakatos Menyhért thaj Csemer Géza) xuterde than ando romano-gažikano seripe, o Péli Tamás piktora thaj o Bogdán János kon vazdadas e Gandhi Maškarutni Škola thaj kon filozofo sas – vaš lesko seripe roma marde pen. Lesko monumento ande institucia si pe avlin, anda kadi maj cerra manuša dikhen lesko seripe sar le kaver romengi reprezentacia. (Ande institucia si e reprezentacia vaš o Farkas Gyula thaj o Mészáros Tivadar kaske monumentura ando Rajkó-Talentum Khelipeski thaj Muzikaki Škola si, paša kadi vi le romengi reprezentacia kon ando 1956 maripe marenas pen ande institucia si ando IV. krujalo, so ando Rác Gyöngyi Centro si).





Maškar le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura – anda 26 reprezentacia – pala 23 si informacia so phenel kana kerde len, ama numa pala 11 reprezentacia žanas: save dombura kerde e reprezentacia. Pala e reprezentacia vaš o Puczi Béla žanas maj but, so ando Nyugati zibanesko placo si. Ando berš 2017 kerdas o Kál-lai András, artista. Ando berš 2021. april 8. po Internacionalno Dyes le Romengo, e Idetartozunk Organizacia mardas pes njevo anav te den e Nyugati zibaneske placeske kaj le vurdonas ašen, kade kerdilas Puczi Béla agrin.

Anda 26 reprezentacii pala 23 žanas (so maj xurdikanes sikavas ande kadi pustik) kon kerde e reprezentacia, thaj vi kodi žanas ke anda 26 reprezentacia 6 si andral vaj pe avlin, so sikavel ke 65,38 procento le reprezentaciengne naj phandade angla le manuša. Te dikhas le reprezentacii pe publikane placura, o berš 2006 but vasno sas.

#### 7.2.1 LE ROMANE REPRESENTACII PE PUBLIKANE PLACURA ANGLA O BERŠ 2006 ANDO FORO BUDAPEST

Angla o berš 2006 majfeder le gaže vazdade seripeske tabli pe publikane placura vaš le roma. Maškar kadala vasni si e skulptura vaš o Bihari János lavutari, so po Margitsziget vazdade thaj ando angluno parto ando 1900 berša seripeski tabla xuterdas ando IX. krujalo. Pala o Dankó Pista jekh vulica xuterdas pesko anav ando VIII. krujalo.

O Bihari thaj o Dankó romane bašavne sas, ama kado na dičol pe seripesko than. Vasno si te phenas ke o Bihari thaj o Dankó vaš pengi butji vaš e ungrikani identiteta xuterde seripe, lengi romani etniciteta na sas kasavo vasno sar e butji so o Bihari János kerelas vaš o ungrikano verbunk muzika thaj anda kadi nacionalno hatjaripe del leski butji. O Dankó thaj leski butji konekcia kerel e ungrikani folk muzikasa. Sol duj romengi butji but vasno sas ande ungrikani identiteta thaj nacionalno hatjaripe, thaj vasne simboluma si kadalenge. Na sas phari te primis-





aren len ande ungrikano nacionalno seripe, ke sar „romane baševne” dikhle pe lende, so sakana bi problemengo primisardas e ungrikani nacia. O Rácz Aladár, pala kaste vulica xuterdas pesko anav, romano bašavno sas, bare baxtagora reslas ande luma thaj bare reformura kerdas sar te labjaren e cimbalma thaj vi le pinžarde klasikalne muzikake bašavne čudasa dikhle peski butji. Vaš peski bari butji ande kultura thaj muzika thaj ke baro prestižo kerdas e Ungrikone Themeske, ando berš 1948, kana line te den o Kossuth pursak, vi les dine. O Cziffra György po piano bašavelas thaj but pinžardo sas ande luma, vaš peski butji xuterdas seripeski tabla, vulica thaj kulturalno centro. O Radics Béla pe gitara bašavelas leski skulptura ando XIII. krujalo si, but pinžardo sas ande rock muzika. Šaj dikhas ke le gaže kodola romen pinžarde kon bašavne sas. Niš jekh reprezentacia na rakhlam so angla o berš 2006 vazdadenas vaš romane authora, piktora vaj kon marenas pen ande slobodipeske maripe, kadala roma na xuterde than ando khetanutno seripe.

#### 7.2.2 ROMANE REPREZENTACII PE PUBLIKANE PLACURA PALA O BERŠ 2006 ANDO BUDAPEST

Ando Budapest ando berš 2006 vazdade o seripe vaš o romano holokausto, so romane aktivisti thaj organizacii kerde. E seripeski reprezentacia but vasni si ke e angluni si sar romani reprezentacia so roma kerde thaj vasni si ke e romani historia jekh kaver narativa sikavel thaj vazdel la kathar o konteksto so e muzika thaj e gažikani identiteta zorardas. Le romengo holokausto, lengi pharimata thaj o fakto ke o naci režimo vi le romen mudardas naj ande europikani thaj niš ande ungrikani historia. Vi adyes bute historikalne manuša xan pen pala e tema, ama o seripe pala o romano holokausto aba na bistras thaj na žanen te xosen kadi ke pe bute gava thaj forura seron pe mule. Le romane movementura njeve methodenca mangen te primisaren kadi sar hakaj. E Idetartozunk Romani Komunitetaki Organizacia jekh informalno grupa thaj Facebook-komuniteta si





thaj e online thaneski zor labjaren thaj keren seripe sa ando them, thaj sas kasave berša kana ande 120-140 gava thaj forura serelas po romano holokausto.

Le romane komunitetengi khetanutni akcii pe inke maj but gava thaj forura (Kalocsa, Szalonna, Pécs, Nyíregyháza, Nagykanizsa, Salgótarján tmd.) le seripeske tabli thaj reprezentacii sikaven le romengi khetanutni historia, seripe thaj narativa keren.

O berš 2006 vasno sas ke las pes o proceso ke le roma (korkore) marenas pen vaš le reprezentacii pe publikane placura, anda kadi von keren pengi reprezentacia. Kasavi si e seripeski tabla vaš o Lakatos Menyhért authoro ando III. krujalo, o monumento vaš le roma, kon marenas pen ando 1956 ando IV. krujalo, o Romano Bašavnengo Parko ando VIII. krujalo, e seripeski tabla vaš o Pege Aladár ando VIII. krujalo vaj e seripeski tabla vaš o Péli Tamás ando IX. krujalo.

Kado proceso zorardas e Idetartozunk Orgazinzacia kana ando berš 2017 seripeski tabla kerdas po Nyugati zibanengo placo vaš o Puczi Béla (na butara pala leste xuterdas o than lesko anav, sar aba ramosardam) kon jekh pinžardo rom sas kathar o Marosvásárhely. Ande jekh rig, politkako maripe sas, pe kaver rig but vasno sas ande media anda kadi e manušikane hakajengi organizacia – ando them thaj vi ando Budapest – kerdas ke le romane komuniteti line te maren pen (korkores) vaš njeve seripeske tabli.

Ando berš 2018 e Idetartozunk Organizacia – kethane le Budapestako Romano Nacionalno Guvermentosa – vazdadas jekh seripeski tabla vaš le roma kas mudarde ande 2008/2009 rasistikane mudaripe. E tabla ando berš 2018 kaj e Budapestako Romano Nacionalno Guvermento vazdade. Pala kadi na butara parude e tabla thaj ando berš 2021. avgusto 2., pe seripesko dyes le romane holokaustesko o Budapestako Romano Nacionalno Guvermento thaj e Idetartozunk Organizacia jekh nevi tabla vazdadas le romane martirenge pe II. János Pál pápa vulica. Vasno si te phenas ke ando Nagycsécs thaj ando Miskolc njeve seripeske tabli vazdade – vaš le roma kon mule ande rasistikane mudaripe ande 2008/2009.



### 7.2.3 PUŠIPE PALA E ROMANI IDENTIFIKACIA

Amaro rodipe ando Budapest na numa o numero dikhlas le romane reprezentaciengne pe publikane placura, ba/ama vi kodo ke sar žanas te keras romani etnikalni identifikacia pe reprezentacii.

Anda 26 reprezentacii pala 10 žanas te phenas ke e reprezentacia romani si: Romane Bašavnengo Parko, Romano Holokaustesko seripe, seripeske tabli pala o romano holokausto (ande VII. thaj XXI. krujalura), seripeske tabli ande Rajkó-Talentum Khelipeski thaj Muzikaki Škola (Farkas Gyula, Mészáros Tivadar) seripeski tabla vaš o Puczi Béla (ando VI. krujalo), kaštuno monumento vaš le roma kon marenas pen ando 1956 (angla o Rác Gyöngyi Romano Komunitetako Centro), peripesko barr vaš o Dráfi József kon jekh rom sas kon mulas ando holokausto (angla o Rác Gyöngyi Romano Komunitetako Centro), seripeski tabla vaš le roma kon vaš o Ungro marenas pen (Inkestongi Institucia thaj Muzeumo). Pala 16 seripeske thana numa gindinas ke but žene žanen: ke o seripe pala roma si. Kadala 16 kazura: seripeske tabli vaš o Péli Tamás thaj o Pege Aladár, o monumento vaš o Péli Tamás, seripeski tabla thaj monumento vaš o Radics Béla, seripeski tabla vaš o Cziffra György, seripeski tabla thaj skulptura ando Margitsziget vaš o Bihari János, seripeske tabli ando krujura XII. thaj XVI. vaš o Rác Aladár, monumento vaš o Bogdán János thaj seripeski tabla vaš o Choli Daróczi József.

Anda kadi kade gindinas ke naj problema niš le gaženge niš le romenge kana le gaže kerde seripe pala roma, ke o Bihari János thaj o Dankó pinžarde si ando ungrikano seripe thaj žanipe, lengo seripe dičol/mezil ande muzika, media, kultura. Ba/ama naj problema niš le romane reprezentaciengi etniciteta save ande romane institucii si vaj ramosarde si ke e reprezentacia vaš roma kerde.

Le seripeski skulptura vaš o Bogdán János, – kon vazdadas e Gandhi Maškarutni Škola thaj kon fiozofa sas – jekh kaver butji si. E institucia kaj vazdade leski skulptura maj anglal jekh romani organizacia (Roma Polgárjogi Organizacia) labjardas ba/







ama akanak kasavo than si, kaj le bi khereske manuša žuven. Pala e skulptura na dičol khanči ke abstrakto si. O Bogdán János andre phagel le zidura ande societeta, lesko trupo kade mezil. Naj ramosaripe/iskiripe paša o monumento so phagel o zido. Anda kadi le manuša na xutren khanči informacia. Kana fotografia kerdam pala o monumento, le manuša phende, ke o Kómúves Kelemen si pe skulptura.

#### 7.2.4 ROMANI IDENTIFIKACIAKE PHARIPE (THEORETIKALNE THAJ PRAKTIKALNE) ANDO FORO BUDAPEST

Primisaras kodolengo gindisaripe kon phenen ke naj vasni e etniciteta le manušenge kon bari butji kerde, ke na e etniciteta ba/ama e butji mol kana seripe vazden lake/leske. But romane pinžarde manuša hatjaren kado gindisaripe thaj phenen ke von na romane authora si, ba/ama authora. O Lakatos Menyhért authori phendas ke vov „na romano authori si, ba/ama authori kon romano-j”. Kade gindinen si ke lengi butji jekh kotor si ande lumaki literatura, dombipe, tmd.

Hatjaras kado gindisaripe ama si te phenas ke kana varikon romano piktori, romano authori si – jekh „maj nasul” interpretacia si. Pe kadi mišto si te sikavas le deklaracii kathar e Daróczy Ágnes, kon pala o romano kulturalno mižgipe vakerel ande berša 1970 thaj 1980, thaj phenel ke le gaže le romane piktoren sar „naivne” dikhen, ba/ama miselake o Péli Tamás pe Nederlandikani Rajikani Akademia siklilas.

Dikhlam misela vi pe referencia. Pe seripeski tabla vaš e Szabó Ilonka kon ande Corvin vulica marelas pes ande slobodisaripesko maripe kadi si: „e cikni Cinka Panna”, sar referencia, ba/ama šaj phenas ke kade sikaven ke e Szabó Ilonka romani sas. Na žanas ke e terni šej bašavelas vaj na, e referencia klaro si. Po agor si te phenas ke hatjaras kodolengo aspekto kon phenen ke vasno si te sikavel e reprezentacia e etniciteta. Pala kado gindisaripe maškar e romengi emancipacia si kon butivar maren pen mamuj e stigmatizacia thaj o rasizmo thaj anda kadi kamen egalno





patjiv te den len. Hatjaras sol duj gindisaripe, kodi phenas ke sakones hakaj si te phenel peski identiteta thaj dombipe thaj primisaras kana jekh pinžardo manuš na kamel sama te lel pe peski identiteta kana pala peski butji si vorba/vakeripe. Ba/ ama primisaras e komunitetako glaso kana phenen ke lengo prestižo thaj primis- aripe avelas te o pinžardo manuš vasneske hatjarelas te phenel peski etniciteta.

#### 7.2.5 LE MANUŠA/ORGANIZACII/INSTITUCII KON MARENAS PEN TE VAZDEN ROMANE REPRESENTACII PE PUBLIKANE PLACURA ANDO FORO BUDAPEST

Sar dikhlem majanglal le gaže e Bihariske thaj e Dankóveske kerde seripe. Si te sikavas maj but reprezentacii ande soste vi o them kerdas variso.

1. E Budapestaki Municipaliteta žutisardas te vazden o romano holokaust seripe po Nehru parto.
2. Paša kadi žutisardas te vazden deš beršenca maj palal e Romane Bašavnengo Parko, vaš soste vi o Raduly József but butji kerdas, sar romano politikako manuš ando Budapest.
3. E Municipaliteta ando V. krujalo žutisardas te vazden seripeski tabla ando berš 2018 vaš o Csemer Géza, kon romano authori thaj koreografo sas.
4. O governmentipe perdal jekh tendero žutisardas te vazden o Romano Holokaustesko Seripesko Kher, so adyes aba naj puterdo.

Paša o them le manuša, komuniteti thaj civilne organizacii maj but butji kerenas.

1. Romano holokaustesko seripe po Nehru parto – Roma Polgárjogi Organizacia thaj Romedia Organizacia širdisardas.
2. Romano Historikalno Kulturalno Edukaciako thaj Holokaust Centro ando Csepel – Roma Polgári Khetanipe širdisardas.
3. Pege Aladár seripeski tabla – Pege Aladár Khetanipe širdisardas.





4. Péli Tamás-seripeski tabla– e familia thaj o Fátyol Tivadar širdisarde.
5. Lakatos Menyhért-seripeski tabla – Lakatos Menyhért Organizacia širdisardas.
6. Bogdán János-seripeski skulptura– Roma Polgárjogi Organizacia širdisardas.
7. Radics Béla-skulptura – Radics Béla Khetanipe širdisardas.
8. Puczi Béla-seripeski tabla– Idetartozunk Organizacia – Roma Sajtóközpont širdisardas.
9. Roma holokausteski seripeski tabla –Themutno Romano Guvermento
10. Szabó Ilonka-seripeski tabla – '56 organizacia.
11. Dilinkó Gábor-seripeski tabla – '56 organizacia.
12. '56 roma – seripesko xamb – Eötvös József Cigány–Magyar Pedagogikani Khetanipe kerdas ando berš 2016 ande institucia ando Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento ando Újpest.
13. Dráfi József-peripesko barr – Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento ando Újpest.
14. Roma kon marenas pen – seripeski tabla – Lurdikani Institucia thaj Muzeo, Farkas János Organizacia
15. Choli Daróczi József seripeski tabla – Pofa Organizacia (XV. krujalo).

Anda sa le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura ando Budapest numa trin-en rakhlam so kuč si: o romano holokaustesko seripe po Nehru parto, o seripesko than vaš o holokaust ando Csepel, so adyes aba naj puterdo thaj e Romane Bašavnengo Parko.

Andar e lišta šaj dikhas ke le civilne, le manuša kasave publikani reprezentacii žangle te keren save numa cerra šel miji forinto sas. Ke maj kuč reprezentacii o them vaj le Budapestako Guvermento žutisardas lovenca. Ande kadala kazuri le roma širdisarde o proceso.





Te dikhas e konkluzia pala e romani reprezentacia ando Budapest amaro rodipe ando 2018/19 phenel: but cerra<sup>6</sup> si le reprezentacii so romane si ando Budapest. O rodipe so sa o Budapest dikhlas phenel ke: le reprezentacii so ando Budapest si majfeder kulturalne vaj historikalne si, pala e režimesko paruvipe ando berš 1989/1990 o seripe vaš o romano holokausto but vasno sas so ando berš 2006 vazdade, ke kado sas o angluno so roma širdisarde thaj le Budapestako Guvermento thaj civilne organizacii žutisarde. Ama le maj but roma na ando Budapest žuven (Pénzes, Tátrai, Pásztor, 2018), vasno sas te boxjaras amaro rodipe thaj te dikhas sa o them ando 2020-2021 berša te dikhas thaj te keras komperacia soske reprezentacii si ande gava thaj ando Budapest thaj soske historikalne, kulturalne vaj kavera temi dičon pe reprezentacii.

### 7.3. Romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro (2020-2021)

#### 7.3.1 E ŠTACII PALA ROMANI IDENTITETA: DROM KAJ LE NJEVE RODIPESKE REZULTATURA

Le ekspertura ando rodipe Romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro (Bogdán Péter, Fejős László, Molnár István Gábor, Setét Jenő) – sar majanglal ramosardam/iskirisardam – jekh kasavi tema dikhen so naj pinžardi. Vasni si e idea, ke e reprezentacia pe thana, publikane placura konekcia kerel e komunitetaki primisaripesa ande politika thaj ande societeta, anda kadi e reprezentacia pe publikane placura šaj sikavel soski si e konekcia maškar e majoriteta thaj e minoriteta.

<sup>6</sup> E maj bari kolekcia pala la datura (kozterkep.hu) phenel ke 8000 (100 procento) reprezentacii si ando Budapest. Ama po cenzuši ando berš 2011 le romengo numero ando Budapest 1 procento si, so čačikanes 14 procento si, ba/ama o rodipe numa 26 (0,32 procento) reprezentacii rakhlas so romanenge šaj phenas.





Le ekspertura dikhen ke e manuŝengi identiteta konekcia kerel e zorasa thaj determinacia. Le palune rodipe pala e romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura sikaven ke pala e ungrikone romengi identiteta e majoriteta kerel definicia.

Le romengi historia sakana kavera ramoserde/iskirisarde, e majoriteta, ke le romen na sas iskiripe thaj niŝ institucii. Lengi historia anda le gaŝenge lila, dokumenti ŝaj pinŝaras.

Kadi situacia sikavel ke naj narativa le romen. Naj le romen politikani zor thaj narativa anda kadi e romani piktura bi lengo (romengo) kerde, so primisarel e societeta. Kadi „romani piktura” diĉol ande ungrikani historia thaj literatura perdal ŝeliberŝa.

Perdal e ungrikani historia le romen sar etnikalni komuniteta, sar „nepo” na primisarde. E absolutista krajaskinja e Mária Terézia na mukhlas te labjaren o alav „roma”<sup>7</sup> sar e komunitetako anav, phendas ke lengo anav „njeve ungrikone” si (so vi adyes labjaren ironiasa), na mukhlas te prandisajven, romnja te len vaj romeste te ŝan le roma maŝkar pende, na mukhlas romanes te vorbinen, na dyas le romane inkeston slobodne dyesa thaj na mukhlas grasta te avel len. Voj kerdas (e Mária Terézia) ke le romane ŝavoren las kathar lengi dej thaj dad thaj gaŝenge das len (Ligeti, Gy., Varga, I., 1998). Lake hakaja – so kathar o berŝ 1773 kerdas – ŝi ke lake ŝavesko, (II. József) meripe (1790) ŝude. E krajeske („*kraji stadyikesa*”) na sas vasno e romani politika (sar peske dake), ama vi kade but diskriminacia kerde mamuj le roma pala o berŝ 1790. Anda kadi zurales nasul sas, ŝaj phenas ke mudardas e identiteta kana perdal o komunizmo o MSZMP parto jekh deklaracia kerdas ando berŝ 1961 ke le roma „numa” jekh socialno grupa si, kas specialno situacia si (Ligeti, Gy., Varga, I., 1998). Anda kadi le romen na sas kasave egalne

<sup>7</sup> O alav 'cigány' grekikanes **athinganoi si** (karing soste o Del na inzol: bi Devlesko). Ando berŝ 1971 o I. Romano Kongreso phendas ke e vorba/o lav diskriminativno si, anda kadi roma=manuŝa trubun te labjaren. Anda kadi ando rodipe, ande kadi pustik numa te na aven stilstikalne doŝa labjaras o alav 'cigány' (Bogdán, P., 2021).





hakaja sar le kavera nacionalne minoriteten. O romano mižgipe ande berša 1970 kamlas te resel o nacionalno statusi thaj le kulturalne hakaja.

Kado politikano gindosaripe na kerdilas maj kovli ande berša 1990, kana parude o režimo-komperacia te keras le kavera naciencia – le romen sar etnikalni grupa dikhle. O nacionalno statusi ando berš 2011 xuterde.

Ande palune dešiberša e romengi situacia e ungrikani societetaki politika iskirinel perdal žuvipesko than, edukacia, butji, sastipe dikhle le romen, kerde rodipe, analizacia pala lende, so ande bute situacii vasne si. Le ekspertura kadale rodipeske phenen, ke le analizacii thaj rodipe vasne si ama trubul te phenen, ke na den jekh holistikani piktura pala le roma thaj pala lengi situacia ande societeta.

Angla kadala punktura ando rodipe – phenen le ekspertura – si te hatjaras e romani identiteta thaj te hatjaras le majoritetako gindisaripe. O primisaripe kathar e majoriteta-egalnes te dikhen e romani identiteta – šaj žutinel e romen ande maj laši edukacia, bešipeski situacia, butji thaj sastipe. Te naj slobodno thaj egalno e romani identiteta, kade maj phares resen le roma laše situacii ande edukacia, bešipeski situacia, butji thaj sastipe.

Kadala procesura ande societeta baro impakto kerde pe romengi reprezentacia pe publikane placura ando Ungro, so sikavas ande kadi pustik.

### 7.3.2 LE NUMERA, DATURA THAJ GEOGRAFIKALNE THANA LE ROMANE REPRESENTACIENGE PE PUBLIKANE PLACURA

Sar sikavas ande pustikaki methodikani rig ando rodipe pe themesko niveli majfeder pe romane reprezentaciengi lokalizacia lam sama, sar baza o interneto ([www.kozterkep.hu](http://www.kozterkep.hu), [www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org) thaj kavera specialne/tematikalne web riga) dikhlam thaj e jivendeski lopta methoda labjardam. Paša kadi pe 92 gava kerdam empirikalno rodipe ande soste manglam te dikhas le informacii pala e romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura (so na rakhen virtualnes).



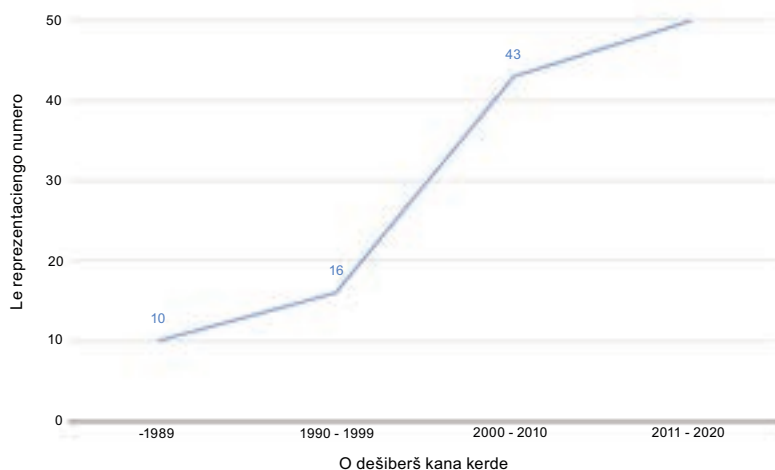
Amare rezultatura sikaven ke 128 romane reprezentacii si pe publikane placura ando Ungro, sikavas sode si ande regiona/regii: Baranya regia: 17, Somogy regia: 11, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok regia: 10, Csongrád-Csanád regia: 10, Nógrád regia: 9, Veszprém, Bács-Kiskun, Békés, Pest thaj Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg regii: 8-8, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Vas regia: 7, Tolna regia: 5, Zala regia: 4, Komárom-Esztergom regia: 2, Hajdú-Bihar thaj Heves regii: 2-2, Fejér thaj Győr-Moson-Sopron regii: 1-1 reprezentacii.

E geografikalni lokacia le romane reprezentacieng e sikavel le romengo numero ando them. Te dikhas le datura, sikaven ke ande regiona le maj bute reprezentacii pe Mesmerigutni-Dunántúl regia si (Baranya, Somogy thaj Tolna regii), pe Mesmerigutni-Alföld (Bács-Kiskun, Csongrád-Csanád thaj Békés regii), Vordorigutni-Alföld (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hajdú-Bihar thaj Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg regii) thaj pe Vordorigutni-Ungro regia (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves thaj Nógrád regii) si le maj but. Ande kodola regia (Komárom-Esztergom, Fejér, Veszprém, Zala, Vas, Győr-Moson-Sopron regii) kaj le romengo numero cerra si, vi maj cerra romane reprezentacii si. Ande kadi tendencia o Pest thaj Heves si kavera ke kathe but roma trajon, ama ande Pest regia 8, ande Heves regia 2 reprezentacii rakhlam.

Te dikhasa kana vazdine le romane reprezentacii šaj čitri-nas e tendencia, te phenas ke anda 128 romane reprezentacii pala 118

2. abra  
Romane reprezentaciengi  
lokacia pe publikane  
placura ando Ungro  
(2020)





3. abra  
Le romane  
reprezentaciengi  
vazdipeski vreme ži ko  
2020. decembra 31.

vi preconcepții, ama vaš e rodipeske limitura na žanglam te rakhas evidencija. Te rakhas len, perdal but berša trubulas te keras historikalne analizacii.

Amare datura sikaven ke ando Mismorigutno – thaj Mismorigutno-Ratorigutno – Ungro (Baranya, Somogy, Tolna thaj Zala regii) le romane komunitetenge zurali advokacia si, 37 reprezentacienca, so 28,90 procento si anda le 128 reprezentacii, paša kadi šaj phenas ke ando Vordorigutno-Ungro (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves thaj Nógrád regii) kaj maj but roma bešen, le romenge kovli advokacia si ande romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura, ke 18 reprezentacii si, so 14,06 procento si te dikhas sa le romane reprezentacii.

žanas kana vazdine len. Angla e režimesko paruvipe (1989/1990) 10 reprezentacii rakhlam thaj kerdam registracia pala lende thaj 16 reprezentacii rakhlam pala deš beršenca e režimesko paruvipe (1989-1999). Le reprezentaciengo numero maj but kerdilas pala kadi. Ande anglune berša ando 2000 (2000-2010) 43, pala kadi 49 reprezentacii vazdade pe publikane placura. Le motivacii e tendenciake šaj rakhen ande amari pustik perdal le kazura, thaj si amen

### 7.3.3 LE ROMANE REPRESENTACIENGE TEMATIKA THAJ LE MANUŠA KON ŠIRDISARDE LEN

Paša e lokalizacia le romane reprezentacienge pe publikane placura, kamlam te dikhas soske tematiki si pe reprezentacii thaj sosko impakto sas/šaj avlasas le romane organizacien, mižgipen pe romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura.

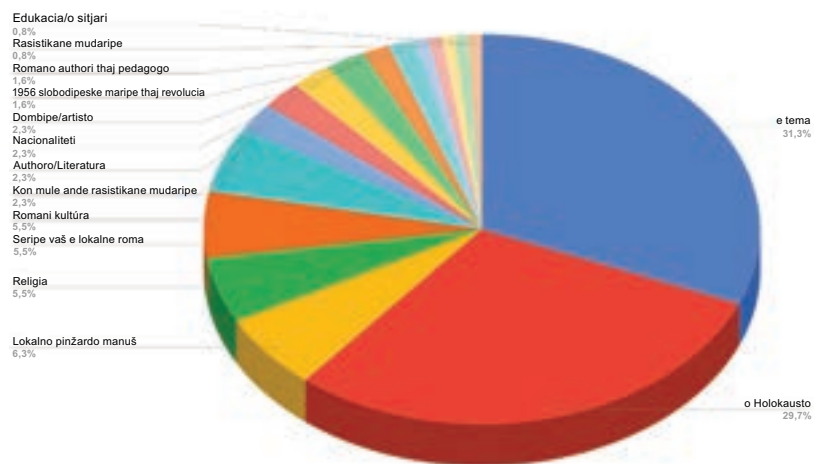






128 romane reprezentacii si thaj  
17 tematiki si maŝkar lende:

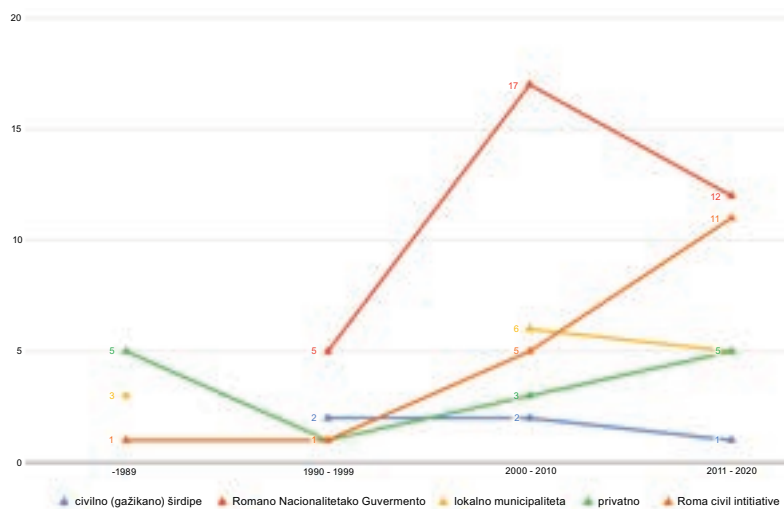
1. baŝavne (40 reprezentacii),
2. holokausto (37),
3. lokalno pinŝardo manuŝ (8),
4. religia (8),
5. lokalne romengo seripe (7),
6. romani kultura<sup>8</sup> (7),
7. rasistikane mudaripe mamuj  
le roma (3),
8. romano authoro/poeto (3),
9. romano dombipe (3),
10. nacionaliteti (3),
11. '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinŝarde manuŝa (2),
12. romane authora-sikljara (2),
13. romano sikljaro (1),
14. kon mule vaŝ e inundacia (1),
15. rateski akuzacia ando berŝ 1782 ando Kemence (1),
16. roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe (1),
17. rasistikano mudaripe (1).



4. abra  
Le tematiki pe romane  
reprezentacii

Vasno si te phenas ke perdal o rodipe but romane reprezentacii dikhlam kaj ungriko iskiripe/ramosaripe sas (maj but kasave sas) ama numa cerra reprezentacii sas kaj paŝa o ungriko iskiripe/ramosaripe vi romano (4) vaj beaŝikano (2) teksto sas. Numa o seripe pala o romano holokausto ande Kalocsa sas kasavo kaj e lovarikano dialekto sas maj buxlo thaj jekh cikni tabla sikadas pe ungriko ĉhib,

<sup>8</sup> Ande romani kultura andre si e muzika, e literatura, o dombipe, ama anda kodi alosadam len khrigal, ke pe thana le kulturalne butja korkore si, thaj ande generalno romani kultura kasave reprezentacii sikadam/thodam so ande jekh keren konekcia e romani kulturasa.



## 5. abra

Kon širdisarde le romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura maškar le berša 1989 ži ko 2020

mentosa sas (angla o berš 2011 e Romano Minoritetako Guvermento). Kadalen – sar amare rodipesko kategoriako sistemo phenel – sa romane širdipeske dikhlam, sar le kodole romane reprezentacien saven romane civilne organizacii kerde.

Ando rodipe dikhlam kon kerdas le maj bare širdisaripe ande palutne dešiberša. Šaj dikhas ke le romane nacionalne municipaliteti maškar le berša 2000-2010 sas le maj butjake ama lengi aktivitetura maj cerra si ande palune deš berša. Le romane civilne organizacii kathar e režimesko paruvipe but thaj majbut butji kerde te širdisaren o vazdipe le romane reprezentacienge.

Le majbute gažikane reprezentacii (individualnes vaj ande organizacii) le lokalne (ande gava vaj forura) municipaliteti širdisarde. Numa o Cserdi gav sas kaver ke maškar le guvermentesko šerutne maj but roma sas sar gaže. Gažikane širdisaripeske dikhlam sa le reprezentacii pe publikane placura save le gažikane civilne organizacii, lokalne (gažikane) nacionaliteti vaj individualne kerde.

Paša kadi but reprezentacii dikhlam kaj khetanutne (romane thaj gažikane) širdisaripe vazdine reprezentacii, ama te dikhas le informacii šaj phenas ke vi

kon kerdas thaj širdisardas e tabla. Numa romani vaj beaš reprezentacia na dikhlam.

Maškar le 128 romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura na sakana žanglam te phenas kon kerde vaj kon širdisarde e romani reprezentacia. Ande 102 kazura žanglam te keras identifikacia thaj ande 41 kazura (komperacia te keras ko 102 itemo: 40, 19 procento) kon širdisardas (individualnes vaj diferentne organizacienca): o lokalno Romano Nacionalno Guver-



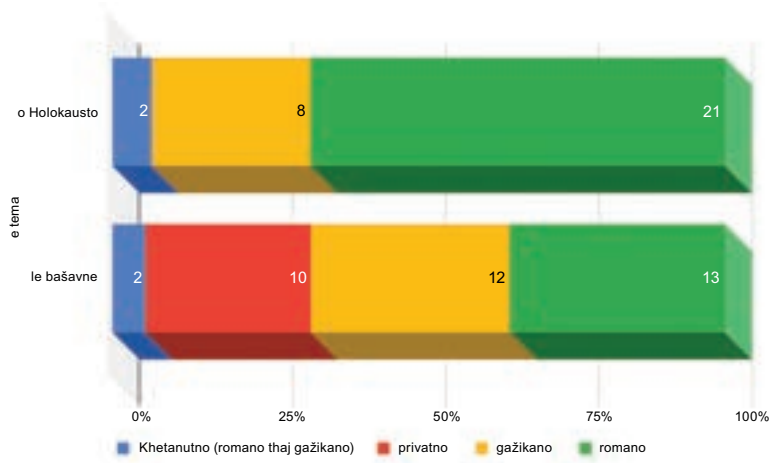


kade le romane širdisaripe sas maj but-save romane reprezentacii kerde.

Kon širdisarde thaj maškar le romane reprezentacii kadala fakturi rakhlam. Le temi so le gaže širdisarde butivar jekhipi sikaven kodolenca so le roma širdisarde. Ama duj diferencii si: si temi, save bi romengo na kerdesas (sar le rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma vaj e rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence), thaj si kasave temi save bi gaženge na kerdesas – mise-lake ande Nyíregyháza e Dandos Gyulasko seripe kon ando '56 slobodipesko maripe marelas pes.

Anda le 128 romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura le roma, gaže thaj kethanes (roma thaj gaže) ande kodi hatjarde jekh ke le bašavnenge thaj le romane manušenge, kon ando holokausto mule, si te keren seripe (anda 128 reprezentacii 76 reprezentacii), so ašilas (52 reprezentacii) le temi diferentne si maškar le štar formacii – so phendam majanglal – thaj 15 kavera temi si (lokalne romengo seripe, religia, romani kultura, rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence, rasistikane mudaripe, lokalne romengo seripe, romano authori/poeto, '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša, nacionaliteti, roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe, romane authora-sikljara, romane domba, roma kon mule ande inundacia.

Anda le 128 reprezentacii pala 102 žanglam te phenas kon širdisarde len, so akanak iskirinas na sa pe reprezentacii si čače, ama sikaven jekh tendencia. **Le roma** ande seripeske reprezentacii kerde pala holokausto, romano



6. abra  
Kon širdisarde le temi  
- o holokausto thaj  
bašavne



authori/poeto, religia, lokalno pinžardo rom/ni, bašavne, seripe pala lokalne roma, rasistikane mudaripe, rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence, roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe, romani kultura, ama na kerde reprezentacia pala '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša, nacionaliteti, romane sikljara, romane authora-sikljara. **Le gaže** reprezentacii kerde pala lokalne pinžarde roma, holokausto, romano authori/poeto, bašavne, ama na kerde reprezentacia pala religia, lokalne romengo seripe, romane sikljara, romane authora-sikljara, rasistikane mudaripe, rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence, rasistikane mudaripe, roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe, '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša. **Kethane (roma thaj gaže)** reprezentacii kerde pala le bašavne, lokalne pinžarde roma, holokausto, rasistikane mudaripe, ama na kerde pala religia, romano authori/poeto, lokalne romengo seripe, rasistikane mudaripe, rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence, roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe, romani kultura, nacionaliteti, '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša, romane sikljara, romano authori-sikljari.

Le **individualne** reprezentacii kerde pala le bašavne, lokalne romengo seripe, romani kultura, romane sikljara, religia, romane authora-sikljara, ama na kerde seripe pala o holokausto, rasistikane mudaripe, lokalne pinžarde roma, romane authori/poeto, rasistikane mudaripe, rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence, roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe, nacionaliteti.

Anda 128 reprezentacii pala 118 žanglam te phenas kana kerde len: ando angluno parto ando XX. šeliberš numa pala bašavne kerde seripe (1 reprezentacia), ando dujto parto ando XX. šeliberš (ži ko 1989/90 režimesko paruvipe) inke numa pala bašavne kerde seripe (6 reprezentacii), ama ando berš 1968 ande religiaki tema (1 reprezentacia) thaj ando berš 1984 pala o holokausto (1 reprezentacia) kerde pe publikane placura thaj ando berš 1982 pala e rateski akuzacia ando berš 1782 ando Kemence kerde (1 reprezentacia).





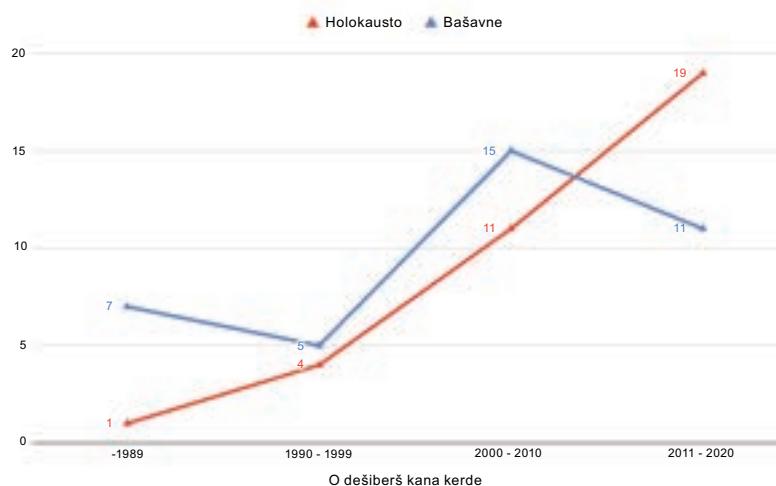
Ande berša 1990 pe publikane placura pala kadala temi kerde seripe: bašavne (6 reprezentacia), holokausto (4), lokalne romengo seripe (2), religia (2), '56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša (1), roma kon mule ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe (1), romano dombo (1), lokalne pinžarde roma (1), romani kultura (2).

Ande berša 2000-komperacia te keras le palutne deše beršenca – sas temi so maladyile, ama sas vi njeve temi, kade žanas te keras konkluzia: bašavne (14 reprezentacii) holokausto (11), lokalne romengo seripe (4), romani kultura (2), nacionaliteti (2), lokalne pinžarde roma (2), romane dombi (2), 56 slobodipeske maripeske romane pinžarde manuša (1), religia (1), romano authori-sikljarno.

Ande berša 2010 inke sas kana le temi maladyile le palutne deše beršenge tematikasa, ama kerdile kasave njeve temi save jekh njevi piktura sikadas pala le roma ando Ungro: holokausto (18), bašavne (11), lokalne pinžarde roma (5), rasistikane mudaripe (3), romano authori/poeto (3), romani kultura (3), religia (2), romano sikljari (1), romano authori-sikljari (1), nacionaliteti (1), rasistikane mudaripe (1).

Anda le berša 2020 (maj xurdikanes kathar o 2021) pala 10 romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura žanas:

1. Budapest VIII. krujalo (Váradi vulica 15/a) – romano holokausto – seripeski tabla,
2. Budapest VIII. krujalo (II. János Pál pápa agrin)-rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma, seripeski tabla,



7. abra  
E vremako paruvipe  
ande tema: holokausto  
thaj bašavne



3. Cserdi – Bogdán László-seripeski tabla,
4. Hódmezővásárhely –romano holokausto-seripesko keripe,
5. Kaposfő – romano holokausto-seripesko keripe,
6. Kisbér – romane bašavnengi seripeski tabla, kon ando Kisbér trajonas,
7. Mátraterenye (Homokterenye) –romane mule bašavne, seripeski tabla,
8. Miskolc – romano holokausto-seripesko keripe (skulptura),
9. Szeged – Dankó Pista-monumento,
10. Budapest XIII. krujalo – Cziffra György-skulptura.

Anda 10 keripe pala 7 šaj phenas: Romano Minoritetako Guvermento/Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento thaj romane civilne organizacii širdisarde len, anda kadi le romane komuniteti aktivnes širdisaren romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura. (Ando berš 2020 jekh njevi seripeski tabla širdisarde vaš o Puczi Béla, ama na ando VI. krujalo, ba ando XXII. krujalo, ando Budafok-Tétény, so o Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento ando XXII. krujalo širdisardas. E seripeski tabla gata sas, ba ando berš 2021 inke na vazdade la (kana iskirisardam e pustik) ke o Guvermento/forosko kher ando Budafok-Tétény thaj o Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento na hatjarde jekh ande kodi tema, kaj te vazdaven e tabla ando XII. krujalo).

Le informacii sikaven, ke kathar o XX. šeliberš ži ko 1989/90 režimesko paruvipe majfeder pala le romane bašavne kerde reprezentacia ando Ungro, thaj kade sas vi ande berša 1990, 2000 thaj 2010. Ande Kádár-vrema aba sas jekh njevi tema, o holokausto, ama maj vasni tema ando 1990 berša kerdilas thaj ande berša 2000 jekh vasno kotor sas ande seripeski politika.

Šaj phenas ke kathar le berša 2010 e rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma but vasne kerdile, ama kadalengi reprezentacia maj cikni si sar e holokausteski thaj pala le roma kon ando '56 slobodipesko maripe marenas pen naj vaj numa cerra seripe si.





#### 7.3.4 GINDISARIPE PALA LE ROMANE REPRESENTACIENGI EMPIRIKALNE REZULTATI

Amare eksperiencii krujal duj punktura sikavas perdal e butji pala romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura:

Anglunivar, le reprezentacii majfeder pala romane bašavne sas vaj pala o romano holokausto. Šaj lošavas ke (te na dikhas e datengi baza po internet thaj le xainga) pe maj but thana, pe 92 thana rakhlam seripeski tabla, so maj but si so žanglam, thaj pala soste niš amen thaj niš o romano mižgipe na žanglas (vaj numa cerra) vaj na sas e informacia pe jekh than kidime. Kadala reprezentacii-anda kadi – na žangle te aven jekh kotor ande khetanutno romano seripe niš pe komunitetako, niš pe societetako niveli. Pe maj but thana rakhlam romani reprezentacia sar gindisardam, ama kado numero vi kade (te dikhas vi le datengi baza thaj xainga: 128) cikno si so le roma žanen pala e reprezentacia ande ungrika gava, forura. Anda 3200 ungrikane gava thaj forura ande 2000 gava thaj forura žuven roma, thaj ande 1100 gava, forura si romani advokacia (minimum o lokalno romano nacionalitetako guvermento). Akana khonik na žanel te phenel ke maškar le 1100 gava, forura pe sode si civilno romani organizacia paša o lokalno romano nacionalitetako guvermento.

Te dikhas le gava, forura kaj si advokacia (1100) thaj le romane reprezentaciengo numero pe publikane placura, 128, numa 11,63 procento si, so but cikno si, te dikhas ke romano civilno mižgipe aba 30-35 beršengo si thaj o sistemo le nacionalitetengo guvermentosko 25 beršengo si.

Le duj temi: o seripe pala le romane bašavne thaj o romano holokausto duj rezultati den.

Le romane bašavne si kodola manuša, kas e majoriteta primisarel bi pharipengo. But misela rakhlam pe kadi, thaj but romane komuniteti na ašen korkore kana seripe kamen te vazden, pe kadi laši misal si o foro Makó, Hódmezóvásárhely thaj Szeged kaj but pinžarde romane bašavnenge vazdade laše kvalitetake seripe, monumentura (ando Szeged: vaš o Dankó Pista, ando Makó vaš o Fátyol Mihály,





ando Hódmezővásárhely vaš o Czutor Béla). Pala kadala seripe laši thaj bari soci-etetaki thaj politikalni zor si thaj dosta love, thaj vi gažikani žutisaripe.

Kana dikhas sa le seripeske thana, šaj phenas ke kana numa roma širdisarde le seripeske thana, kodola maj cikne thaj maj čorre niveleske si, ke na sas len dosta love. Maj butivar seripeske tabli vazdade vaj seripeske kašta pe soste na trubun but love. Na rakhas kasavo than kaj le roma širdisardenas jekh romano monumento. Numa duj bare regienge hakajenge forura si, e Nyíregyháza thaj o Nagykanizsa kaj ande berša '90 but love dine te keren seripe pala o romano holokausto.

Kana le romane Bašavnengo seripe dikhas, sas gaže kana love dine vaj žutisarde o proceso, ama o seripe pala o romano holokausto majna numa roma širdisarde. Vi kathe sas cerra gaže kon vazdade (miselake: ando Istvándi, Komárom, Szigetvár vaj Torony). Pe bute thana na žanglam kon širdisarde o seripe, numa roma, numa gaže vaj roma thaj gaže kethane.

Si te phenas pala o rodipe: naj sakofelo lašo ando seripe pala o romano holokau-sto thaj ando proceso te manuškano hakaj te kerdyol andar o seripe, ama but lašipe pecisajlas perdal le vremi. Na žanglam khanči pala e tema ži ko '80 berša, ba akana pe bute thana le romane komuniteti širdisarde te keren seripeske thana thaj dine pengi zor, energia thaj love – so but šukar thaj bari butji si.

O kaver so kamas te phenas, ke na numa le gažengo žutisaripe naj ande romane reprezentacii pe publikane placura, ba niš o romano mižgipe na šudas ande pesko centro e tema.

O romano mižgipe ando Ungro but kovlipe sikavel, ba but laši butji kerdas ande palune tranda berša, majfeder perdal o romano civilno sistemo – miselake kana širdisarde vaj paruvde le hakaja. Vi kodo pozitivno si ke perdal le tren-dura siklipeske thana, komunitetenge khera kerde, kulturalne, literaturake, dombikane programura kerde, šaj phenas ke pe jekh „moda” line sama, thaj ando mižgipe diferentne temi sas vasne. Si te phenas ke akana kodi dikhas ke niš e oficialno politika niš o romano mižgipe na las sama pe romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura sar majvasni butji.







Anda kadi bi planengi si kaj, kana thaj sar kerde/keren romane publikane reprezentacii. Vi kodo fakto si ke but romane reprezentacien na len sama thaj pe but thana – miselake po Szigetvár thaj ando Lengyel – kasave romane reprezentacii rakhlam savengi nasul sas lengi kondicii.

Ando romano mižgipe – kathe hatjardon le civilne organizacii thaj vi le nacionalitetengo guvermento – adyes naj institucii vaš e kultura, seripeski politika thaj mule – sar si ande majoritetaki societeta. Na žanas te phenas kasave komisii, butjake grupura – thaj love pe kadala – niš ande civilno societeta thaj niš ando Themutno Romano Guvermento.

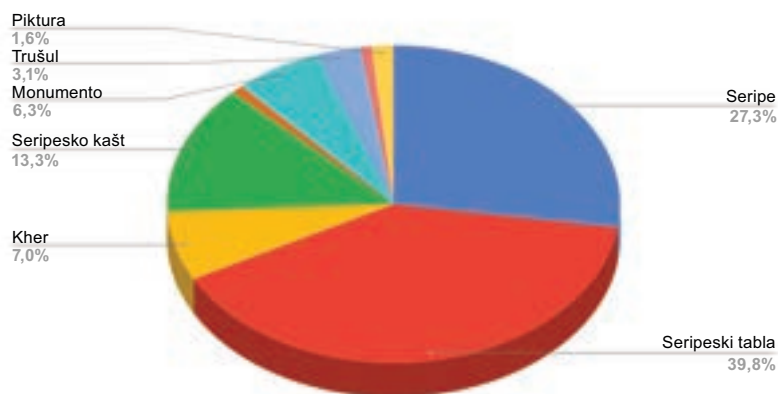
Perdal amari eksperiencia šaj phenas e konkluzia: le roma vaš pengo minoritetikano statuso na žanen sama te len pe romani reprezentacia pe publikane placura. Anda kadi kadala (adyes) numa ad hoc vazdadyon, ke but mol pe lokalne šerutne sar keren butji kethane le romenca thaj sar den lenge than korkore te anen decizii pala le reprezentacii thaj pala o vazdipe. Ke pustik, sar jekh „atačmento” dam kazura, kaj si o kazo pala o Salgótarján so šukares sikavel e khetanutni butji le romenca. Ande regiako centro ando Nógrád le lokalne šerutne puterde si pe butji le romenca ke o Salgótarján jekh centralno foro kerdilas le romane reprezentaciengo. Ama vi kothe dikhlam: vi kothe na sas partnera<sup>9</sup> te keren jekh seripe vaš o Danyi Zoltán, kas le skinheadura mudarde. O Miskolc-te dikhas le romane reprezentacii-jekh nasul misal si.

### 7.3.5. LE UNGRIKANE ROMANE PUBLIKANE REPRESENTACIENGI ESTETIKA

Perdal o rodipe ando Budapest thaj ando them rodam le reprezentacii, seripeske thana thaj fotografii kerdam pala lende ba ande pustik dikhas e estetika le reprezentaciengo, seripeske tablenge thaj monumentenge, ke e etikani analizacia but vasno

<sup>9</sup> Pala kado misal maj xurdikanes vakeras ande laše kazurengo parto.





8. abra  
Le romane publikane  
representacienghe tipura

Po zido ando Themutni Romano Guvermento o seripe pala o romano holokau-  
sto sikavel e problema ke jekh majna mainstream institucia sar na lel sama pe  
estetika, so laše šajipe avenas te seron pe romane historikane momentura. E pal-  
uni kaza – e romane publikane representacienghe konsistencija – šaj dikhas pe  
kavera representacii sar o holokaust seripe ando Szigetvár vaj o seripesko kašt vaš  
o Nagyidai Sztojka Fardi ando Uszód, ba e romani komunitetake but mol lengi  
representacia laši tematika te sikavel pe publikane placura.

Po zido ando Themutno Romano Guvermento, pe jekh kalo granitikano barr  
sommakune lavenca kadi šaj ginavas:

„SERIPESKI TABLA  
PO ROMANO HOLOKAUSTESKO 60. BERŠ  
SERIPE KON TRAGIKANES MULE  
PATJIVASA VAZDADAS/ANDO BERŠ 2004. JULIUŠ 31-TO DYES  
THEMUTNO ROMANO GUVERMENTO THAJ E NACIONALNO  
MINISTERIA VAŠ E KULTRURALNO BARVALIPE”





Tela kadi trin karfin pe soste čepani šaj šuven. Perdal amaro rodipe kado sas numa kasavo seripe kaj e vorba SERIPESKI TABLA sas e maj bari, kade sar pe jekh khelipesko than pe dolelin iskirime avelas „dolelin”. Kaver so but interesanto sas, ke e data thaj kon vazdade (Themutno Romano Guvermento, Ministeria) kasave vasne si sar o seripe. Numa anda kadi phenas sar precedenso ke Themutno Romano Guvermento (sar majanglal phendam) musaj avelas misal te avel laše ideanca kavera majbut, sar jekh miji romane guvermentonge.

Sas kaza kana na dikhlam sostar vazdade e reprezentacia. Anglunivar – te na žanglam khanči pala e vazdipeski motivacia – na das amenge jekh klaro mesažo. Naj dosta e informacia. Maj butivar kadi sas e problema.

Vaš o romano holokausto ando Ungro but seripesko kašt thaj tabla si maškar le berša 1994 thaj 2020, kaj palpale aven le simboli: e rota, le šinja kaj o zibano phirel. Kathe phenas: vasno si ke sakon te hatjarel o mesažo ke butivar na sas klaro jekh manušeske kon na pinžarel le romen, soski konekcia si maškar e rota, le roma thaj lenge pharipenca ando XX. šeliberš.

Te naj iskiripe so mišto dičol, kana naj klaro o mesažo, kade maj cikni si e informaciako barvalipe. Vasno si ke jekh lašo monumento, publikani reprezentacia, muzika atunči si šukar kana mišto si e kompozicia-numa na le kanenge, ba le jakhenge žutinel. E kompozicia laši, klaro thaj uži trubul te avel. Kon kerel si te pinžarel e tema xurdikanes. Šaj aven but seripe pala jekh kontento, anda kadi kon kerel mišto si te hatjarel e tema, e butji. Miselake „o horno” butivar šaj dikhas sar holokaust-simbolo. O artista si te rodel sar te phenel užes, sakon te hatjarel o mesažo, le diferentne materii (po kašt, metalo, barr), o than thaj e perspektiva. Trubul te žanel: kathar dikhen o seripe, sar žanel te xutrel e atencia, sosko dural si te dikhen e reprezentacia te hatjaren la? Pe kasave pušipe si te gindinel o manuš kana ande planengi proceso si.

O artista maškar o hatjaripe thaj superficialipe si te rakhel – ande laši situacia – e kompozicia so originalno si. Vi dural interesanto si le manušenge. Kathe si





vasno e thanesko pušipe. Le publikane reprezentaciengo, tablengo than o lokalno guvermento del. Kana decizia anel e guvermento sama lel pe reprezentaciako lungipe, boxlipe, materia, statistikane kvaliteti, targeto. O than sar jekh limito si ande šajipe. O lungipe, boxlipe vasne si thaj sar dičol ando environmento. E materia vasni si: miselake o kašt maj tato hatjaripe del, o barr thaj o metalo maj šudre si, ba e kaštesa maj but problema si. Kana butji keren e kaštesa maj kovli si ama perdal le berša sama trubun te len pe kirme thaj pe nasul vreme.

### 7.3.6 PHENIPE, ATENCIAKO VAZDIPE, SERIPE

Maj butivar le maj bare reprezentacii vaš le I., II. lumako mudaripe, '56 slobodipesko maripe si kaj šaj dikhas romane inkestenge nava. Lengi nacionaliteta numa penge familiake nava sikaven, kaver na. Kade dičol ke na kamen le pinžarde manušen ande „nasul situacia te anen”, te phenen ke roma si le. Le majoritetako gindisaripe pala e vorba 'roma' sar anavni dikhen thaj na jekh nacionalno grupa, majfeder sar jekh socialno kategoria.

Si kas „primisarel”, „vazdel” ke peste e majoriteta: kade kerdilas o „maj baro ungrikano bašavno pe gitara” o Radics Béla, kon ando Angyalföld žuvelas, o Bihari János o „ungrikano Orfeusz” tmd. Len e anavni so indikatoro kerdilas, ama le romenge trubunas le pozitivne pinžarde manuša, artistura, pe kaste phutjarde šaj aven.

Le 128 reprezentacia pala soste registracia kerdam, sar majanglal phendam sa, vaj but maškar lende-mamuj le romenge hakajenca – ande nasul kondicia si. Čače-j ke si vi kasave reprezentacii save ande laši kondicia si, ama maškar lende but si kasave saven but manuša na dikhen. Te sikavas kadala kazura (perdal diferentne dikhipe) 16 gavenge, forenge (kaj roma si) reprezentacii sikavas:

**Lengyel (Tolna regia):** O maj originalno artistikano iskiripe, seripe ande jekh murmunco/limorestan si. Ando Lengyel le šingale mudarde le romen-kathar o 1 beršeske ži ko 69 beršenge romen. Kasave bare doša šaj sas len vaš soste le





„hakajenge manuša” sa e familia mudarde sar ande maškarutne šeliberša? O seripe jekh brigali reprezentacia si pala o bi hatjardo nasulipe. Estetikanes šukares kerde e seripesko kašt, ande agrin avri boldo/lisardo, iskirime si le mulenge nava thaj lenge berša pe tabla thaj opral jekh jag kerde andar kašta. O seripe maj palal si ando murmunco. Korkores. O kašt nasvalo si, na lel sama pe leste khonik, sar kodol manušesko odyi, kon maj palal šudas les ando murmunco (187. rig).

„Salgótárján, le romane seripeske centralno foro” (Nógrád regia): O foro but phutjardo si po Balázs János (1905-1977) kon artista sas. O monumento paša le panel khera si thaj vi informaciengi tabla si paša leste. E bronzikano skulptura o Szabó Tamás kerdas, kon Munkácsy Mihály-pursakesko artista si, kon vi ando MMA si, ando berš 2006 kerdas. Le Balázs Jánoskeske piktorenge reprezentacii vi pe lesko kher šude kade jekh avrutni ekspozicia kerde. Zurales šukar butji, seripe si. Si te sikavas: le Szepesi Józsefeski seripeski tabla, kon poeto sas, e Oláh Jolánaki seripeski tabla andar barr. Lake romeski, le Balogh Balázs András artistoski tabla xasajlas, inke naj les njevi tabla. E Gabora Károlyeski tabla kon romano lavutari sas, pe lesko kher si. E Evangelikane Phralenge Khetanipe jekh seripeski tabla kerdas vaš o romano holokausto so ande zibaneski stacia vazdade (so but žene andre mejaren), ande jekh panel khereski angluno etažo Romano Keripesko/Kethanimasko Than kerde, ande forosko centro jekh seripeski tabla šude pala o romano holokausto (222. rig).

**Kevertmes (Békés regia):** O Kevertmes jekh gav si paša le Romaniaki granica, kaj 2000 manuša žuven. Le lokalne roma e Sunto Mariake kerde jekh seripe anda gipso thaj makhlo barr ando berš 2014. O iskiripe (sar le patrana sikaven): F.L. B.A. B.J. thaj K.Z. romani minoriteta (došasa iskirisarde pe ungrikani šib). Naj vasno kon kerdas e doš, le roma vaj o butjari, tubulas korekcia te keren. Pe publikane placura, ande školake pustika naj slobodo te aven doša vaj nasula informacii (257. rig).

**Várpalota (Veszprém regia):** O Grábler-dorav si le ungrikane romengi dujto maj baro murmunco pala o Csillagerőd ando Komárom. Pe lengi tragedia jekh barr serol. Le mule na xuterde niš jekh cerra patjiv. Inke na line le mulen avri anda





o murmunco, o dorav sordilas pe lende thaj o agrin kaj o murmunco privatno si. E seripeski tabla pe jekh barr si, 100 meterenca maj dur pe strada, pe leste jekh kvotacia<sup>10</sup> kathar o Choli Daróczi József *Ingerde le romen* poezia. Naj patjivali butji-phares žanen te rakhen la. O Csillagerőd pala soste iskirindam majanglal o maj baro romano murmunco (sar žanas) si vaš o holokausto ando Ungro. Ando jivend ando berš 1944 šavore, deja, inkeste kon našle, murša pahunde pen, mule kathar e bokh tela o čeri. Akana rekonstrukcii keren ko Csilagerőd thaj pušipe si ke le seripe palpale ingren vaj na (173. rig).

**Zalaegerszeg (Zala regia):** O seripe e deportacia sikavel thaj kana ažukarenas pe deportacia. E bronzikano skulptura vaš o holokausto jekh kompozicia si pala „e dej thaj lako šavoro”, laši kvalitetaki si thaj pe lašo than si pe zibaneski gara/cirdelinjako maj vasno than (163. rig).

**Nagykanizsa (Zala regia):** o seripe anda kašt si, so amen phares hatjardam thaj pe but nasul than si. Ba o Bogdán János Kethanipesko Kher – bibliotekasa, školake klasenca thaj o lokalno muzeumosa-laši misal thaj butji sikavel averenge (158–159. rig).

**Galambok (Zala regia):** O „romano barok” po holokaustesko seripe jekh cerra but si e ornamentika. O romano guvermento vazdazdas o seripe ando berš 2017, opral po seripe jekh rota si drakhenge patrenca. Na hatjardam so si e konekcia maškar e rotaki lampa, e vering so ande berša 1970-80 sas jekh moda thaj maškar e tragedia. Tela leste jekh xojarni romni del čuči peske „zurale punrengone” cine šavoreske (157. rig).

**Nyíregyháza (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg regia):** Kathe vazdade majanglal holokaust seripe le romenge. Andar barr kerde jekh vurdoneski rota. Kana maj pašal dikhas o seripe, manušengo šere dičon ande rota. Ziand si ke numa ando murmunco tordyarde kado seripe (239. rig).

<sup>10</sup> „Le bute romen sa ingerde,/bare xoxojen te bunžaren./ O baro xoxoj lokhes xoraren,/paji sordyol andar e xor.” (O boldipe e poeziake kerdas pala e ungrikani čhib pe romani čhib e Ferkovicsné Vajda Melinda).





**Alsószentmárton (Baranya regia):** O romano holokaustesko seripe cikno, ama šukar seripe si. Palal naj khanči, anglal fimlali marmura si, iskiripesa (176. rig).

**Szigetvár (Baranya regia):** O Kosztics László jekh bare talentesko romano artista si, pinžardo butjarno si ando folkloro, but ekspozicii sas les aba. Vov kerdas o holokaust seripe ando Szigetvár so adyes aba pharrado si. Kade gindisaras ke vandala phagle le vasta anda o seripe, so trubulas te njevaren thaj te lašaren o pharripe (199. rig).

**Pécs (Baranya regia):** O Horváth Zoltán, monumentesko artista – kon ando Mohács žuvel – kerdas o holokaust seripe ando Pécs, so but lašo si, šaj phiren krujal o monumeno so jekh historia phenel, ama ziand si ke pe nasul than si. (193. rig)

**Mohács (Baranya regia):** O Horváth Zoltán kerdas le seripeske tabli vaš le bašavne ando Mohács, so o lokalno romano minoritetako guvermento kerdas. O prezidento o Kovács István bašavno si, anda kadi naj njevi butji, ke le bašavnenge seripe vazdadas: vaš o Gertner János, kon pe harfa bašavelas, vaš o Peti Bogdán Péter, kon pe tambura sas primaši, vaš o terno „Peti” Kovács István Cini, kon pe harmonika bašavelas. O portre-seripe so o Horváth kerdas but lašo si, kade mezinen sar le bašavne. Paša kadi zurales šukar si, ke ando foro si jekh Klubesko Kher so pala o Szentandrásy István lias pesko anav, kon Kossuth-pursakesko artista si (188–190. rig).

**Cserdi (Baranya regia):** Ando gav but publikane reprezentacii si, so o Bogdan László širdisardas, kon aba mulas, kon naivno societetako džantrikano manuš sas, guvermentosko šerutno, le gavesko godyaver rom, perdal e televiziako pinžardo manuš sas. Si jekh seripe so jekh globo formako xaing sikavel, soski thavdlin vrasardime si. Si inke holokaustesko seripe, trušul krujal kanrali sirmasa, cikno podo, so konekcia kerel maškar le manuša opral po paji. Si jekh Europaki mapa le uniake themenca. E koncepcia kathar o Bogdán László anda lašo jilo avilas, ama but žene na hatjaren la, so jekh misal si te na keras but reprezentacii anda amare personalne, naivne gindisaripe (180. rig).

**Véménd (Baranya regia):** angla o Romano Minoritetako Guvermento jekh purano seripesko kašt si. E kompozicia sa ranga si ama vi kade šaj kamen les (202. rig).



**Rinyaújlak (Somogy regia):** Šukar thaj godyaver idea: romano skanzeno trine kherenca, bovesa, thaj jekh thanesa kaj šaj keren jag (196. rig).

**Budapest, Romane Bašavnengo Parko:** Dore e maj bari reprezentacia si, ama vi but doša sikavel: O Boross Lajos 'ss'-sa iskirinlas pesko nav (na jekh 's'-esa). Ba na kadi si e majbari doš, leski reprezentacia na mezil ke vov si. Naj dosta te keren e mustaca, e šor, e bala – kathar kadi maj but trubul. O romano pinžardo manuš, o Puczi Béla pe seripeski tabla po Nyugati placo – so o Kállai András romano skulpturengo artisto kerdas – mezil ke vov si. Vasno si ande profesia ke anda profilo te na keren portrevo. O Buffó Rigó Sándor primaši anda kadi na mezil, ke vov si pe seripeski tabla. Na žangle te keren o phuro Járóka Sándoresko muj thaj falka. Našti pinžaras po Berki László thaj po Cziffra György. Po agor: sostar na po Mátyás placo kerde kado seripe, ke perdal but deše berša kothe sas e romane Bašavnengo centro (148. rig)?

## 8

## Ilustrativne Kazura

### 8.1 Generalno introdukcia ke ilustrativne kazura

Perdal o themutno rodipe pala romane publikane reprezentacii rakhlam pozitivne, negativne thaj atipikalne (ande soste si pozitivne thaj negativne) misela pala o vazdipe le romane monumentenge, seripenge, seripeske tablenge thaj seripeske kaštenge.

Ande amari pustik sikavas tipikalne misela sar ilustracia ande soste o Salgótarján si e pozitivno misal, „o centro le romane publikane reprezentaciengé” (perdal o interju e Hranek Ferencesa thaj Berki Juditasa, kon romane ekspertura si ande Nógrád regia), o Miskolc sar nasul misal si, kaj e xaing o Váradi Gábor sas (paluno) prezidento kaj o Romano Nacionalno Guvermento.







Sikavas jekh atipikalno misal, ando Kemence, so bezex si, kaj but žene bisterde so pecisajlas ando berš 1782 rateski akuzacia ando Kemence, thaj maj zabades ando berš 1982, paleš angle line kadi tema. Brigaslo fakto si, ke o romano emancipaciako mižgipe numa pe oxto berša kerdas impakto pe romane thaj gažikane komuniteti thaj sa so pala kado žanenas – pe 30 berša – paleš bisterde. (O atipikalno misal o Bársony János minoritetengo rodari phendas ando intervju).

## 8.2 Salgótarján, o centro le romane publikane reprezentacienge – Jekh pozitivno misal

### 8.2.1 PALA PHUTJARIFE (ROMA THAJ GAŽE KETHANE)

Ando Salgótarján ando berš 1990 širdisardas o romano mižgipe. Atunči vasno pušipe sas sar dičon/mezin le romane kulturalne barvalipe ando maj baro foro ande Nógrád regia. E Hranek Ferenceske, kon ande Phralipe<sup>11</sup> organizacia kerdas butji, vasno sas te primisaren le romen, kon sar vasne manuša ande societeta but butji kerde vaš o Salgótarján. Anda kadi vov thaj leske kolegi kathar le berša '90 but marenas pen thaj vakerenas le foroske šerutnenca. E lokalno romane mižgipeske niš atunči na sas thaj niš akana naj but love, anda kadi žangle ke le foroske but vasno kotor ašel, sar financialne sar humana butja te kamen te keren variso. O Hranek Ferenc phendas ke but roma žuven ande Nógrád regia, kon ingerde e vorba pala o Salgótarján vi atunči kana but žene avral o Ungro na šunde pala o foro. Kasave kondicienca vakerenas le forosa te keren monumento vaj seripe le mule pinžarde romane manušenge.

<sup>11</sup> Pharlipe Independento Romani Organizacia: themutni romani civilno organizacia pe sistemesko paruvipe, so o Osztojkán Béla širdisardas ando berš 1989, kon romano authori, poeto thaj publikano manuš sas.





O angluno padmad (40 beršenca maj anglal) o Balázs János – kon o maj baro impaktesko romano artisto sas ande berša '70 – seripeski tablako vazdipe sas (le artistesko murmunco), o dujto (paleš pala o Balázs János) e monumentesko vazdipe sas ando forosko centro. O dujto o romano mižgipe širdisardas, ama na korkores, kethane le foroske šerutnenca. O guvermento ando Salgótarján ande sako butji partnero sas thaj žutisarde e romen, anda kadi pala e poltikake manušengi decizia le guvermentoske ekspertura sa pengi zorasa (thaj inke lovenca) kerde butji te vazden o monumento vaš o Balázs János. E artistes bari patjiv si ke ando guvermento ando Salgótarján si jekh Balázs János-soba kaj diferentne eventura keren thaj ande lokalno muzeo si les jekh sadajekhutni ekspozicia.

Paša thaj pala o Balázs János kavera artistura avile kathar o Salgótarján (domba, poeti, authora), sar: Oláh Jolán, Balogh Balázs András, Szepesi József. Paša kadi vazdade jekh seripeski tabla vaš o Gabora János, kon bašavno sas, thaj ando foro vi jekh holokausteski seripeski tabla si.

E romani seripeski politika so drom puterdas ando Salgótarján ando 1990 – to berš, na agordilas. Vi ando 2020 – to berš but vasno si ke le foreske šerutne sama len pe romane kulturalne barvalipe ando Salgótarján, so e Nógrád regiako centro si. Ando Salgótarján le seripeske thana but konekcia keren le Hranek Ferencesa kon ande Phralipe organizacia kerelas butji, thaj kon šerutno sas kaj o lokalno Romano Minoritetako Guvermento<sup>12</sup>, ba vi kaver organizacii thaj manuša but butji kerenas. But vasni si te liperdol e Berki Judit thaj o Szomora Szilárd, kon pe regiako niveli kerenas butji ande Nógrád Regiake Romane Minoritetengi Politikake Manušengi thaj Vakernengi Organizacia (NRRMPMVO).

Kodi filozofia si pala e romani komuniteta ando Salgótarján thaj pengi romani publikane reprezentacii ke si te primisaren o talento bi nacionalitetako. Romano te si o artisto, maj vasno si e komunitetake ke jekh pozitivno misal, jekh motivacia

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<sup>12</sup> Po Romano Guvermento ando Salgótarján – sar ande politikaki praktika-si kana Romano Minoritetako Guvermento thaj si kana Romano Nacionalitetako Guvermento phenas.





si le romenge, perdal soste šaj zoraren e romani identiteta. Perdal kadi e romani komuniteta šaj sikavel: si kasave roma pe save šaj aven phutjarde, so but vasno si, ke ande akanutni societeta le romenge maj but butji trubun te keren, te primisaren len.

Ando Salgótarján but vasno si te sikaven le romane publikane reprezentacii thaj ande le gaženge gindisaripe te aven. Vi ande gažengi foroski identiteta jekh vasno kotor si le pinžarde roma kon ando foro, ando them thaj avral o them žuvenas thaj vi von primisaren len. Kade gindisaren ke phutjarde si pe roma kon pe publikane placura si sar reprezentacii.

E romani komuniteta ando Salgótarján but čorri si, anda kadi čorripe na žanen sama te len pe seripe ke romane publikane reprezentacii. Ama e butji kathar o Balázs János but vasno si le ternenge thaj phurenge, jekh kotor si ande pengi identiteta. E lokalno romani komuniteta žanel kon sas o Balázs János thaj sosko vasno si e romani komunitake.

Ando Salgótarján e Hranek Ferenceske thaj leske kolegeni seripeski politika si te šuven luludya ke romane seripe. Adyes kamen te sikaven ande edukacia le foroske lokalne romane artisten. O Hranek Ferenc mangel te sikaven le romane dombenge pikturi kathar – o Salgótarján vaj Nógrád – ando njevo turistikano centro ando Salgótarján kaj šaj kerenas jekh galeria vaj internacionalne ekspozicii. Vasno si te phenas ke but puterde sas pe kadi le gažikane šerutne. Thaj sar majanglal phendam, ando Salgótarján si jekh Romano Artistikano Kher.

### 8.2.2 PALA E LAŽ (LE ROMA KORKORE)

E maj njevi lokalno seripeski tabla (2020) vaš o Danyi Zoltán vazdade, kas mudarde. Sar vakeren, o Danyi Zoltán jekh pačako, terno butjari sas, na azbadas khanjikas nikana. Ando 1992 sar gelas khere le skinheadura kecinas pen lesa, azbade les thaj kade marde les ke vi mulas. E seripeski tabla so pe martirikano meripe serol e Berki Judit thaj o Szomora Szilárd širdisarde e vakeripeske





organizacijas (NRRMPMVO). Kana vazdade e seripeski tabla ando 2020 e romani komuniteta pala 28 berša sikadas patjiv le Danyi Zoltáneske thaj leske familiake. Anda kadi vazdade pala but berša e tabla-maškar but butja – ke e Berki Judit kathar o foro ažukarelas pe angluno padmad. Ke o foro but aktivno si te keren romane publikane reprezentacii. Ama kade mezinelas ke po Balázs János phutjarde si, ama po Danyi Zoltánesko pecipe, sar lažavo dikhen, anda kadi na kerenas khanči. Le rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma ande berša 2008-2009, dine zor e Berki Judita thaj lake koleguren te keren variso, ke „vi len si variko pe kaste si te seron”, thaj kade širdisarde e seripeski tabla vaš o Danyi Zoltán.

O seripe vaš o Danyi Zoltán aba kathar o berš 2015 manglas te kerel e Berki Judita-ki organizacia. Vasni municia sas ke o Hranek Ferenc ande jekh kidas le njevimata ande media pala o Danyi Zoltán. Kade kethane o Romano Nacionalno Guvermentosa ando Salgótarján jekh grupa kerdilas thaj kerde o seripe vaš o Danyi Zoltán.

Kana kerde e tablako vazdipe vi ande media njevipe sas, ba but organizaciake doša sas thaj na kasavi bari si e tabla soski bari šaj avelas. Ando lokalno gindisaripe naj kasavi vasni e kaza, ba kamen te keren but civilne butja maj but žene te žanen pala e Danyi Zoltaneski kaza. Kana vazdine e tabla na sas kothe le foroske šerutne, ba duj politikalne grupura sas kothe. But šavoren ande kathar le školi ke mangle te sikaven lenge e romani seripeski politika thaj ke sostar si vasno.

### 8.3 Miskolc: e romani komunitetako maripe vaš o primisaripe – Jekh bibaxtali kaza

Ando Miskolc e Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteta ando berš 2018 novembro 3, kana o šerutno o Váradi Gábor sas, jekh tabla vazdade vaš le rasistikane mudaripe po Nagycséc – pala deše berša-pe Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipalitetako zido.

Kana o Váradi Gábor las o šerutnipe kathar e Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteta ando berš 2010, peske kolegenca kethane – le romenge kon ande Borsod





regia, ando gav žuven – seripesko dyes kerdas o 3-to novembro. Pala kadi avilas e idea pala e seripeski tabla, te si seripesko dyes, atunči trubulas te avel vi seripe. Vi kade vasneske dikhen le seripeske thanen ba ando Miskolc naj kasave thana save laše avenas te seron pe ungrikane roma kon tragikanes mule (miselake ando romano holokausto, rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma).

O Váradi Gábor kade gindisarel ke e Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipalite-tako zido na o maj lašo than si jekh seripeski tablake. Sar phenel, mišto avelas te rakhen jekh than ande forosko centro, te na numa kodola manuša te dikhen, kon kothe žuven, ba sakon kon ando foro žuven. Te pe maj lašo than avelas ando cen-tro, sakon šaj ašadyolas jekh cerra thaj šaj gindisarelas pala le tragikalne kazura. Kasave seripe mangen te keren so na numa serol, ba žutinel le manušen te seron. Kade gindisaren ke e seripeski tabla na numa pe mule manuša serol, ba jekh mesažo del, te na pecisajvel inke jekhvar e tragedia.

Anda kodi ašade o seripe numa deš beršenca maj palal vaš o rasistikano mudaripe ando Nagycséc ke maj anglal ando Diósgyőr-kaj o Romano Teatro sas – kerde jekh romano holokausteski seripeski tabla, kaj sas than po seripe. Ando Miskolc von sas le anglune kon kerder romani publikani reprezentacia. Pala kadi problema sas ke phangle e romani teatroski oficia, anda kade sas te ingren penca e tabla – kana sas jekh evento vaj seripe, kothe ingerde penca e seripeski tabla. Atunči avilas e idea te keren jekh tabla pe seripesko than thaj kaj šaj keren diferentne seripe.

Ando Miskolc sakana rodenas le droma sar te širdisaren kadala butja. Laši misal sikavelas e Idetartozunk Organizacia, ke lengi butji but zor das le romenge ande kadi kaza ando Miskolc.

O Váradi Gábor kodi phendas ke vasno si e komunitetake te serol pe komu-nitetake martira – thaj na numa le romenge trubulas vasno te avel. Le rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma trubundasas te sikavel ke kathe ingrel e rasistikani ide-ologia. Anda kadi avelas vasno te šuven e tabla ande forosko centro, ba vaš le but problemi so e lokalne autoriteti kerde, aba na širdisarde le roma. Kade ašilas e Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipalitetako zido, kaj bi problemenge vazdade e tabla.



Kana o Váradi Gábor sas o šerutno ke Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteta, na bisterdas niš jekh seripe (ke Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteti oficia vaj pe kavera thana) ke kodi phenel ke naj slobodo te bistren so pecisajlas ande berša 2008-2009. Naj slobodo te bistren so sas ande kadala berša, ba niš o holokausto naj slobodo te bistren: ando Miskolc e angluni seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto o Romano Teatro keradas. Ande Borsod regia, ando Miskolc but roma žuven, kon aktivne sas ando romano publikano trajo ba vi kade pala but berša le sistemsko paruvipe žanenas te vazden jekh njevi seripeski tabla. O Váradi Gábor kodi phenel ke (o lokalno autoritet) maj bari butji kerdas krujal e tablako vazdipe so vi čače sas. Kana o Váradi Gábor širdisardas e butji, but dokumento pala planura, primisaripenge lila, oficialne lila mangle kathar leste, ama numa 60 miji forinto trubulas ko vazdipe. E Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteta anda kadi andas e decizia ke pe pengo zido šuven e seripeski tabla.

Ba o foro lošalas e seripeske tablake. Ando berš 2019 novembro 3, kothe sas o forosko šerutno thaj lesko angluno kolego. Kadi sas e angluni kana andar e municipaliteta le maj bare šerutne gele po evento. Maj anglal e forosko šerutno niš jekhvar na gelas thaj niš na žanglas pala e seripeski tabla, thaj na sas lenge vasni. Kado dyes paruvipe sas: kana vazdade e tabla e municipaliteta pe publikane politikako niveli vazdas o seripe.

E seripeske tablako vazdipe numa cerra njevipe kerdas ande lokalno media. Vaš politikalne motivacia na las sama e foroski thaj e regiaki media, vi generalnes na den njevipe so pecisajvel ande Romani Nacionalitetaki Municipaliteta ando Miskolc.

Ande romani komuniteta kon žanen pala e seripeski tabla (15-20 procento) lošaven lake, ba vi von phenen ke naj pe laše thaneste, ke pe foroske avrutno than si kaj niš na roma žuven. Le romane organizaciji na žangle te len penge o seripesko than, ba kamle. Vaš komunikaciake doša thaj zil si pala kadi.

Maj vasno te avel e seripeski tabla, maj lašo than trubulas te rakhen lake, kaj šaj kerenas seripeske eventura pe soste e komuniteta šaj žalas. Maj zurales hatjaren le roma ando Miskolc ke trubul te maren pen vaš o maj lašo than. E seripeski tabla vi





kade baro impakto kerdas pe gava, forura so paše si: le romane komuniteti vi ande kadala gava, forura kamen te keren kasave butja so le roma keren ando Miskolc.

Ando Miskolc si te phenas ke ando berš 2021 jekh romano holokaustesko seripe kerdas e Episztemé Organizacia. So ande nakhli vrema na kerde, akana kerde thaj šajipe dine le romenge te šaj seron ande avendipe.

## 8.4 Kemence – Seripengo vazdipe thaj bistripe – Jekh atiplikalno kaza

### 8.4.1 KEMENCE – HISTORIA PALA RATESKI AKUZACIA

Kana o II. József (1780-1790) sas o kraji le romenge na sas slobodo te dromaren aba perdal berša. Le autoriteti te trubulas vi zorasa ke jekh than „phangle” len thaj na mukhle te žan tar. Paša kadi na mukhle te vakeren e romani šib.

Pe kasave thanende sas te žuven kaj na sas aba slobodne phuvanutne phuva, kade na sas khanči ande soste šaj trajinenas. Penge tradicionalne butja so perdal o dromipe kerenas, aba na mukhle te keren, na sas lenge slobodo te kinen thaj bikinen, na sas slobodo butji te keren perdal o dromipe anda jekh gav ando kaver. Le romane komuniteti xasarde penge butja, penge šavoren line kathar lende thaj ke gaže dine len. Phende, ke love del o them vaš kadi, ama xoxavenas. Le hakaja mamuj le roma e Mária Terézia kerdas, thaj lesko šavo o II. József inke maj zurale hakaja andas.

Pala le hakaja mamuj le roma jekh bužangli idea sas. Sa le lurdipenge/xeladipenge, kade vi le ungrikane kurucenge trubulas jekh industria. Pala le lurde žanas le kovača kon sastrina, puškaki poš vaj khera kerde. Pala le lurde žalas o vurdon. Le foroske industrii kon pe jekh than kerenas butji, na žangle butji te keren le lurdenge. Le butja po drom – kovača, puškaki poš kon kerde thaj kon petala kerde le grastenge – sa roma kerenas, sas ke ande gava vaj perdal o maripe kana pala le lurde žanas. Bi kadala butja na žanenas te maren pen.



E Mária Terézia, o II. József thaj o II. Lipót žanenas ke le ungrikane šaj uštjen mamuj le austrikane thaj avenas len vi sastrina-anda kadi kerde le hakaja. Maškar le berša 1768 thaj 1784 kerde le zurale hakaja mamuj le roma. E regia trubulas te kerel notifikacia sode romane šavoren line kathar pengi dej thaj dad, kaj si le roma, sode žuven pe jekh than (na dromaren) vaj sode romen xuterde kon dromarenas. Maškar le roma but bašavne roma sas vaj kovača vaj kon ande industria kerenas butji ba sa tala terori žuvenas.

Po milaj ando berš 1782 ande Hont regia kodi phenenas ke si jekh grupa savi čorel le manušen. Anda kadi le gaže line te roden so pecisajvel. So žangle: roma kon dromaren phagle ko masari thaj čorde les. Pala kodi vi len xuterde. Kadala roma slovakikanes vakerenas kas line thaj ingerde ando Kemence, so o centralno foro sas ande regia.

Vaš o phagipe e regia phendas ke razia kerel. Le šingale kide sa le romen te sikaven ke vasne si le hakaja. Kade mezinelas ke na žangle sa le romen pe jekh than te phanden, anda kadi ande jekh khereski deri phangle len. Zorasa pušle len kaj si le manuša kon xasale. Marenas thaj furlazinenas len sastrenca, kikidipeske butjenca. Jekh rom aba bari dukh hatjarelas thaj kana pušle les kaj si le manuša kas čorde kodi phendas: na žanel te sikavel o than, ke sa xale le roma len. Pala kadi kadalesko than pušenas, thaj maj dur marenas len. Pe jekh-duj thana ingerde le romen-kaj kodi gindisarde kaj si le manuša kon xasale-kathar zumade te našen le roma, ama na žangle. Le gaže na rakhle khanči, niš manušen ba le romen marenas thaj furlazinas thaj „phende” ke „čačes” xale le manušen. O gažikano mujalipe 30 romen mudardas andar e Hont regia thaj andar le gava kaj xuterde le romen. Pe trine thana, Kemence, Bát thaj Csáb muderde len. (O paluno duj perdal e Ipoly len si, so adyes ande Slovakia si, ba o Kemence ando Ungro si). Ando Nyúzóvölgy ando Kemence šov romen mudarde, sas kas ande rota phagle thaj sas kas umblade.

Po agor ando XVII. šeliberš ande Europa e Dušlipeski Vrema sas, anda kadi bari senzacia sas ke ando Ungro ksasve romen mudaren kon manušen xale. Perdal le







njevipe ži ande Viena gelas o pecipe. E stadyikesko kraji, o II. József manglas peske manušes te dikhel maj xurdikanes e kaza, ke na patjalas. O manuš phendas ke čačas mudaren le romen, ba le manuša na xasale, numa na sas kothe kaj rodenas len.

O kraji jekh lil iskirisardas thaj phendas te ašaven o mudaripe thaj pala kadi le regii – sar maj zurali birand – e robija šaj denas le manušenge. O kraji ašadas te zorasa pušen thaj maren le manušen thaj o mudaripe numa o amperato/prathagar šaj delas.

Vasno si te phenas: o amperato na le romen manglas te žutinel, numa peske themeski reputacia daravelas. Xojalas, ke manušen mudaren pe kaste kodi phenen ke manušen xan, ba na sas les interesi ke azbaven le romen, majfeder kodolen kon dromaren thaj na le gaženge keren butji pe phuva. Ba le roma le gavenge manušenge žutinenas thaj kadala gaže kamenas len. Le roma kinenas thaj biki-nenas, vi le regii žutisarde len, vi hakaja sas le romen ke o vajda/bulibaša taksa potjinelas e regiake.

E historia ando Kemence bute bisterde ama le aktivistura ando romano emancipaciako mižgipe kerde jekh seripesko kašt. O proceso kathar o berš 1978 lelas pes kana le aktivistura romane maškarutne školake studenturenge ginavipesko tabori/kampo kerde ando Budapest. Kana o tabori ando Kemence kerenas jekh idea sas te keren jekh „gavesko-rodipe” le studentenca, thaj ingerde len ando Kemence kaj dikhle e gavesko trajo. Le manuša kon kerde o tabori rode vi le autoritetura. Maškar but žene e Bódi Zsuzsa žutinelas len kon ande kodi vreme romane kazengi sekretarica sas ande Pest regia. Lake žutipesa vakerenas le šerutenca ando gav te šaj ingren romane studenturen ando Kemence kaj šaj pušen pala e gaveski nakhli vreme, thaj le šerutne žutinen o programo.

Angla o tabori, ando berš 1978 o Bársony János, e Daróczi Ágnes thaj o Osztojkán Béla aba pinžarenas e historia pala e rateski akuzacia thaj vakerenas le Puskás Péteresa kon historiasa kerelas butji: po 200-to aniversari, ando avgusto-septembra ando 1982 trubulas te keren jekh seripe vaš le roma kon mule ando Nyúzóvölgy. O Puskás Péter phendas ke vi čače si jekh gav so vi adyes Nyúzóvölgy



akharen thaj vov aba dikhlas e tema. Anda kadi mangle les te žal ando tabori te vakerel pala e tema, so thaj sar pecisajlas. O Puskás Péter ande kodola vremi ande jekh kaštengi fabrika kerelas butji thaj phendas ke ingrel jekh berand thaj le studentura šaj čolen thaj šaj keren jekh seripe ando Nyúzóvölgy.

Kade ando 1982 avgusto angla o dyes kana kerde e seripesko kašt, o Puskás Péter pala e rateski akuzacia vakerelas ando tabori, thaj le romane terne po kaver dyes vi gele ando gav rodipe te keren. Deš grupura kerde, trine-trine manušenca, gele ando gav, pušenas le manušen so žanen pala e rateski akuzacia thaj pe soste serol o gav. Pušenas vi pala e regiako kher so adyes škola si. Sa le grupura trubunde te keren trin vakeripe thaj sa le manuša phende ke mudaripe sas ando Nyúzóvölgy. Kana kerde le interjuvi le terne xanas thaj gele ando Nyúzóvölgy te vazden e seripesko kašt. Vakerenas thaj seronas pe mule po 200-to aniversari. O Kosár Ferenc čolelas o kašt. Jekh themutno njevipe iskirindas pala o seripe. Kana maj palal tabori kerde, phende ke paše si o Kemence, šaj žan kothe, ingren luludya thaj kade tradicia kerdilas andar o seripe. Vi ekskurzii ingerde kothe ba le gaže na but žangle pala o pecipe. Numa ando Kemence thaj le ekspertura kon pinžarenas e tema žanenas e historia. Maškar le roma – perdal le klubura thaj le romane intelektuala – maj dur žuvelas e seripesko seripe.

Kana palpale dikhas po 1982 kathar o 2021 si te phenas ke tromani butji sas seripesko kašt te vazden, te seron pe jekh azbavipe mamuj le roma. O sistemo mukhlas e akcia, akathe si sostar: ke o romano mižgipe aba zurali sas. Marenas pen vaš kodi te xosen andar o 1961 beršesko hakaj ke kodo si rom kon čorel thaj nasulimata kerel thaj (po agor e '70 beršeske) kerdas e koncepcia ke duj drom si angla le roma: asimilacia vaj integracia. Thaj integracia te keren atunči o manuš phutjardo si pe peste thaj pe peski kultura, historia. Anda kadi mukhle te keren klubura, muzikake grupura thaj te avel romano dombipe.

Pala e adyesutni luma: pala e rateski akuzacia ando Kemence cerra žene žanen, ba bute romane aktivistura si ando mižgipe. E kaza na kerdilas pinžardi ando





mižgipe, vi kade ke aba 39 beršenca maj anglal kerde e seripesko kašt. Šaj pušas: ande paluni vreme sama las varikon pe kaza-ando gav, ande regia, ando them maškar le politikake manuša vaj authoriteti – te vakeren pala o seripesko than, te sama len pe seripesko kašt vaj te njevaren les. Pala kodi si amen informacia, ke o Puskás Péter-ži kaj žuvelas thaj kothe bešelas, perdal oxto berša-ži ko sistemesko paruvipe losarelas pe seripesko kašt. E seripesko kašt akana avral si andar o Kemence, pe privatno than, kade na žanen kothe te žan thaj sama te len pe leste.

## Konkluzia

# 9

E pustik peske empirikalne rezultetonca pala le publikane reprezentacia ando Ungro but informacia del pe bibliografia ande kodi relacia – ke ando Ungro (thaj vi ande Europa) – anglunivar dikhel o pušipe kathar romano aspekto.

O rodipe sikavel: ando Ungro naj datengi baza niš virtualnes niš ande pustika pala romane publikane reprezentacii. Na sas pala e tema khanči ži ko berš 2018-niš ande romani niš ande gažikani komuniteta. Amari pustik njevipe kamel te sikavel thaj te phenel kana le manušenge kon ginaven das 164 itemo<sup>13</sup> (kethane le tekstikane interpretaciasa) pala e romane publikane reprezentacii thaj pala le rodipeski konkluzia.

O rodipe sikadas ke majfeder kothe si romane publikane reprezentacii ando Ungro kaj maj but roma žuven, kaj cerra roma žuven, kothe naj vaj but cerra romane reprezentacii si. Le maj but publikane reprezentacii pe Mesmerigutno-Dunántúl si (Baranya, Somogy thaj Tolna regia), Mesmerigutno-Alföld

<sup>13</sup> Ando Ungro ži ko berš 2018, 128 romane publikane reprezentacii si, plus ando Budapest inke 26 reprezentacii si. Sar žanas ando berš 2021 inke 10 reprezentacii dine perdal.



(Bács-Kiskun, Csongrád-Csanád thaj Békés regia), Vordorigutno-Alföld (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Hajdú-Bihar thaj Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg regia), thaj po Vordorigutno-Ungro regia si (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Heves thaj Nógrád regia).

Vasno rezultato si ando rodipe: e gažikani komuniteta majfeder pe romane bašavnengi kultura kamel te zorarel, o romano holokausteski romani publikani reprezentacia majfeder le romenge si vasni. Kethane (roma thaj gaže) seripe kerde vaš bašavne, lokalne pinžarde roma, romano holokausto, rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma, ba butivar na lenas sama pe religia, romane authora/poetura, lokalne roma vaj pe le roma kon marenas pen ando '56 slobodisaripesko maripe.

Le informacii phenen ke kathar o angluno parto ando XX. šeliberš ži ko 1989/1990 sistemsko paruvipe majfeder bala romane bašavne kerde seripe ando Ungro, so kade sas ži ko 1990, 2000 thaj 2010 berša. E tema pala o romano holokausto pinžardi sas ande Kádár-vrema ama numa ande 1990 berša kerdilas publikani tema thaj ande 2000 berša jekh kotor kerdilas ande seripeski politika. O rodipe phenel ke le rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma ande publikano gindisaripe si, ama cerra publikane reprezentacii si ande kadi tema komperacia te keras le bašavnenca vaj e holokausteske seripenca, thaj inke maj cerra reprezentacia si pala le roma kon marenas pen ando '56 slobodisaripesko maripe.

Amare eksperiencii sikaven ke le maj bare seripe – ande romani tematika – numa le gaženge žutipesa kerde, ke le romen thaj le civilne organizacien maj cerra love si thaj anda kadi maj cikne seripe žangle te keren pala le romengi historia, tražo, dukha, laše butja.

Trubulas te keren jekh butjaki grupa vaj organizacia pala romani historia thaj seripe so sama lel pe seripe so aba kerde thaj so love rodel te keren njeve seripe, sistematikalnes kerel butji pala e publikacia ande mainstream thaj publikane datengi baza. Butji trubulas te kerel e grupa te keren politikane decizii thaj te lel e Themutno Romano Guvermento kadi butji ande pengo butjako plano, thaj te den love pe tema.





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Representations in  
Budapest

Seripeske thana ando  
Budapest



Lakatos Menyhért memorial plaque  
BUDAPEST, 3RD DISTRICT

Seripeski tabla vaš o Lakatos Menyhért  
BUDAPEST, III. KRÚJALO







Gyöngyi Rácz Community Center and Stolperstein  
(stumbling stone) of József Dráfi

**BUDAPEST, ÚJPEST**

Rácz Gyöngyi Komunitetako Centro thaj o  
peripesko barr vaš o Dráfi József

**BUDAPEST, ÚJPEST**



Statue of János Bihari  
**BUDAPEST, MARGARET ISLAND**

Skulptura vaš o Bihari János  
**BUDAPEST, MARGIT-SZIGET**





Memorial plaque of Géza Csemer  
BUDAPEST, 5TH DISTRICT

Seripeski tabla vaš o Csemer Géza  
BUDAPEST, V. KRUIALO

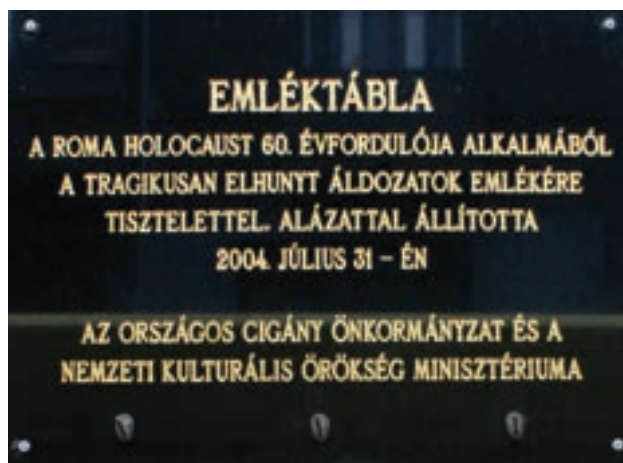




Memorial plaque of Béla Puczi  
BUDAPEST, 6TH DISTRICT, PUCZI BÉLA SQUARE

Seripeski tabla vaš o Puczi Béla  
BUDAPEST, VI. KRUIJALO, PUCZI BÉLA PLACO





Roma Holocaust memorial plaque

BUDAPEST, 7TH DISTRICT

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto

BUDAPEST, VII. KRÚJALO





Memorial plaques of Ilona Szabó and Gábor Dilinkó  
 BUDAPEST, 8TH DISTRICT

Seripeski tabli vaš e Szabó Ilona thaj vaš o Dilinkó Gábor

BUDAPEST, VIII. KRUIALO







Memorial plaque of Aladár Pege

**BUDAPEST, 8TH DISTRICT**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Pege Aladár

**BUDAPEST, VIII. KRÚJALO**





## Gypsy Musicians' Park

BUDAPEST, 8TH DISTRICT

## Romane Bašavnengo Parko

BUDAPEST, VIII. KRUALO







Memorial plaque of Tamás Péli

**BUDAPEST, 9TH DISTRICT**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Péli Tamás

**BUDAPEST, IX. KRUGALO**

Ebben a házban élt és alkotott Péli Tamás festőművész  
(1948 - 1994)

*A naptól raboljatok fényt,  
Nagy halottainktól alázatot.  
Jótiszatok az örökkévalósággal  
(Péli T.)*



Roma Holocaust memorial plaque  
**BUDAPEST, 9TH DISTRICT, NEHRU RIVERSIDE**

Monumento vaš o romano holokausto  
**BUDAPEST, IX. KRÚJALO, NEHRU-PARTO**





Memorial plaque of János Bihari

**BUDAPEST, 9TH DISTRICT**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Bihari János

**BUDAPEST, IX. KRÚJALO**



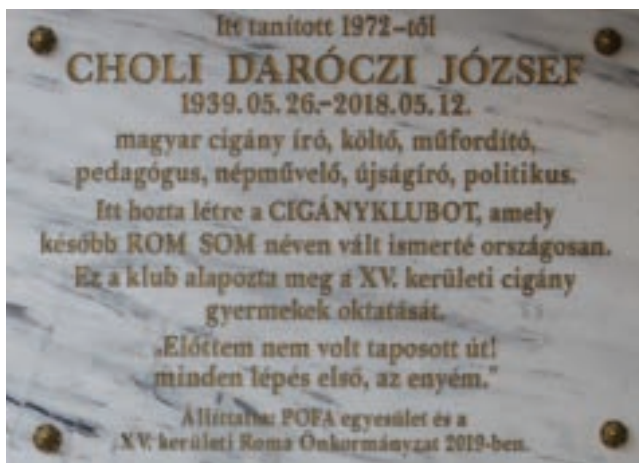


Statue and memorial plaque of Béla Radics  
BUDAPEST, 13TH DISTRICT

Skulptura thaj seripeski tabla vaš o Radics Béla  
BUDAPEST, XIII. KRUALO







Memorial plaque of József Choli Daróczi  
BUDAPEST, 15TH DISTRICT

Seripeski tabla vaš o Choli Daróczi József  
BUDAPEST, XV. KRUJALO





Representations in  
Western Transdanubia

Seripeske thana ande  
Ratorigutni-Dunántúl  
regia



Memorial to the Roma and Jewish victims  
of the Holocaust

**BÜK, VAS COUNTY**

Seripe vaš le roma thaj bibolde,  
kon mule ando holokausto

**BÜK, VAS REGIA**



A II. VILÁGHÁBORÚBAN  
A HOLÓKAUSZT ÁLDOZATÁVÁ VÁLT  
ROMA ÉS ZSIDÓ ÁLDOZATOK  
EMLEKÉRE ÁLLÍTTATTA  
BÜK VÁROS ROMA NEMZETISÉGI  
ÖNKORMÁNYZATA







Roma Holocaust Memorial  
GALAMBOK, ZALA COUNTY  
Romano holokaust monumento  
GALAMBOK, ZALA REGIA



Roma Holocaust Memorial  
NAGYKANIZSA, ZALA COUNTY

Romano holokaust monumento  
NAGYKANIZSA, ZALA REGIA





János Bogdán Community Center for the Roma minority

**NAGYKANIZSA, ZALA COUNTY**

Bogdán János Romani Minoritetako Komunitetako Kher

**NAGYKANIZSA, ZALA REGIA**



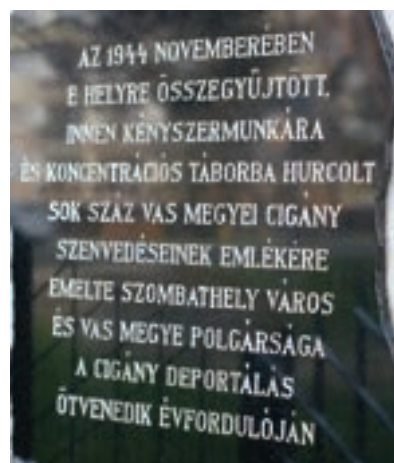




Memorial for the Roma musicians of Szany  
SZANY, GYŐR-MOSON-SOPRON COUNTY

Monumento vaš le romane bašavne ando Szany  
SZANY, GYŐR-MOSON-SOPRON REGIA





Roma Holocaust Memorial  
SZOMBATHELY, VAS COUNTY

Romano holokaust monumento  
SZOMBATHELY, VAS REGIA





Holocaust memorials

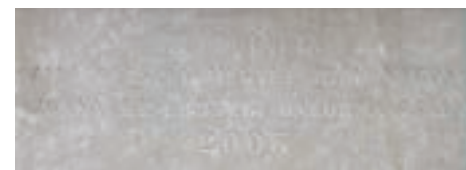
TORONY, VAS COUNTY

Seripeske tabli vaš o holokaust

TORONY, VAS REGIA







Memorial to the Roma victims  
of the Holocaust  
**ZALAEGERSZEG, ZALA COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le roma,  
kon mule ando holokaust  
**ZALAEGERSZEG, ZALA REGIA**









Representations in the  
Central Transdanubia

Seripeske thana ande  
Centralno-Dunántúl regia



Roma Holocaust Memorial  
**BAKONYTAMÁSI, VESZPRÉM COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto  
**BAKONYTAMÁSI, VESZPRÉM REGIA**





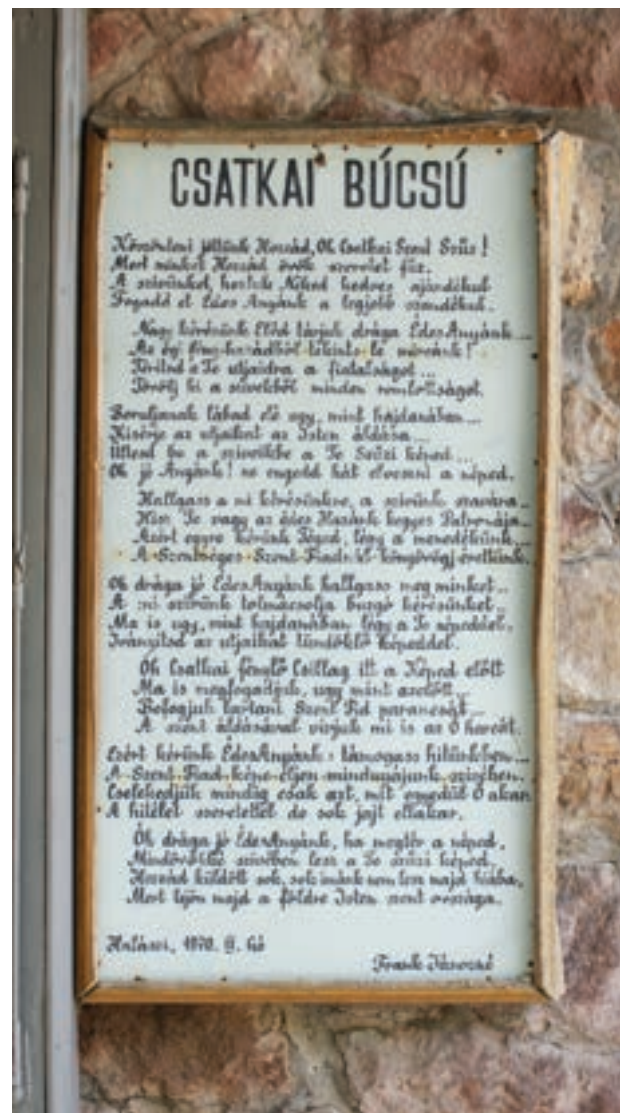
Márton Kecsendi Kiss  
Memorial House  
**BICSKE, FEJÉR COUNTY**  
Kerecsendi Kiss Márton  
seripesko kher  
**BICSKE, FEJÉR REGIA**

## Gypsy Chapel

CSATKA, KOMÁROM-ESZTERGOM COUNTY

## Romani Khangeri ande Csatka

CSATKA, KOMÁROM-ESZTERGOM REGIA







Gypsy musicians' memorial  
**KAPOLCS, VESZPRÉM COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le romane  
bašavne ando Kapolcs  
**KAPOLCS, VESZPRÉM REGIA**



Sallai Misi memorial plaque  
TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Sallai Misi  
TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM REGIA





Sallai Misi memorial plaque

TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Sallai Misi

TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM REGIA



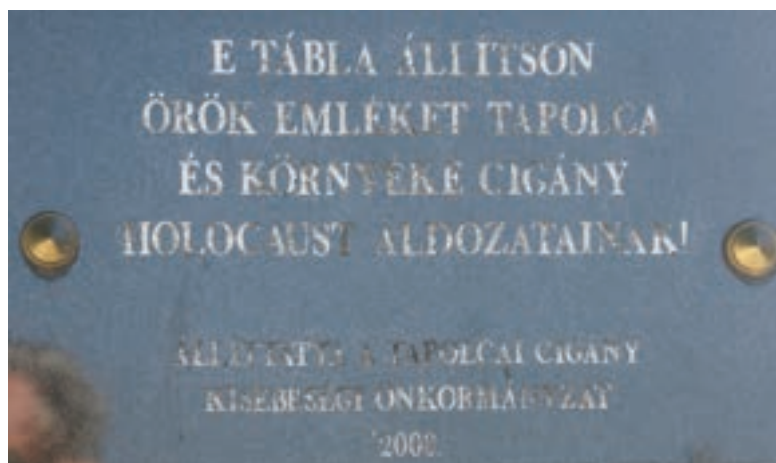


Memorial to the victims of the  
Roma Holocaust

**TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le roma kon mule  
ando holokausto

**TAPOLCA, VESZPRÉM REGIA**







Memorial to the victims of the Roma Holocaust

VÁRPALOTA (LAKE GRÁBLER), VESZPRÉM COUNTY

Monumento vaš le roma kon mule ando holokausto

VÁRPALOTA (GRÁBLER-LEN), VESZPRÉM REGIA







Representations in  
Southern Transdanubia

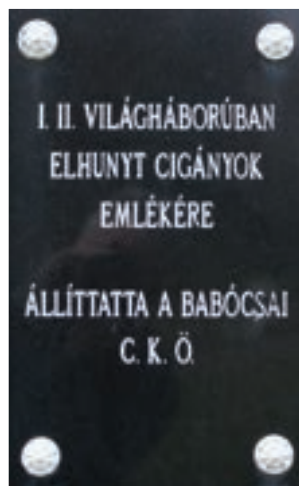
Seripeske thana ande  
Mesmerigutni-Dunántúl  
regia



Memorial to the victims of the Roma Holocaust  
**ALSŐSZENTMÁRTON, BARANYA COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le roma kon mule ando holokausto  
**ALSŐSZENTMÁRTON, BARANYA REGIA**





Memorial to the Roma victims  
of World War I and World War II  
**BABÓCSA, SOMOGY COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le roma kon mule  
ando I. thaj II. lumako mudaripe  
**BABÓCSA, SOMOGY REGIA**







Orsós-Bogdán cross

BALATONSZENTGYÖRGY, SOMOGY COUNTY

Orsós-Bogdán trušul

BALATONSZENTGYÖRGY, SOMOGY REGIA





Wooden headstone (kopjafa) for  
the victims of the 1956 flood

**BÁTA, TOLNA COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš le roma  
kon mule ande inundacia  
ando berš 1956

**BÁTA, TOLNA REGIA**



Wall of Europe  
CSERDI, BARANYA COUNTY

Europa-zido  
CSERDI, BARANYA REGIA







Tree of life  
GÖDRE, BARANYA COUNTY  
Trajosko kašt  
GÖDRE, BARANYA REGIA



Memorial to the demolition  
of the Gypsy settlement

**HETVEHELY, BARANYA COUNTY**

Monumento pala o xosipe  
le romane teleponge/mahalenge

**HETVEHELY, BARANYA REGIA**





Memorial plaque for  
the Roma Holocaust  
**ISTVÁNDI, SOMOGY COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš  
romano holokausto  
**ISTVÁNDI, SOMOGY REGIA**







Wooden headstone for the victims of  
the Roma Holocaust

**ISTVÁNDI, SOMOGY COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš le roma, kon  
mule ando holokausto

**ISTVÁNDI, SOMOGY REGIA**





Memorial plaque of Jancsi Rigó  
KAPOSVÁR, SOMOGY COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Rigó Jancsi  
KAPOSVÁR, SOMOGY REGIA



Memorial to the victims of the Roma Holocaust  
and the serial killings committed against Roma  
**KOMLÓ, BARANYA COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le roma, kon mule ando  
holokausto thaj ande rasistikane mudaripe  
mamuj le roma

**KOMLÓ, BARANYA REGIA**







Wooden headstone for the Roma victims of killings committed by the gendarmerie

**LENGYEL, TOLNA COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš le roma kas mudarde le šingale

**LENGYEL, TOLNA REGIA**





János Gertner memorial plaque

MOHÁCS, BARANYA COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Gertner János

MOHÁCS, BARANYA REGIA





Péter Peti Bodgán memorial plaque  
MOHÁCS, BARANYA COUNTY  
Seripeski tabla vaš o Peti Bogdán Péter  
MOHÁCS, BARANYA REGIA



István Kovács Peti Jr. memorial plaque

MOHÁCS, BARANYA COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o terno Peti Kovács István

MOHÁCS, BARANYA REGIA







Roma Holocaust memorial plaque  
**ÖTVÖSKÓNYI, SOMOGY COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto  
**ÖTVÖSKÓNYI, SOMOGY REGIA**





Wooden headstone for  
the local Roma heroes

**PÁLFA, TOLNA COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš  
le lokalne pinžarde roma

**PÁLFA, TOLNA REGIA**



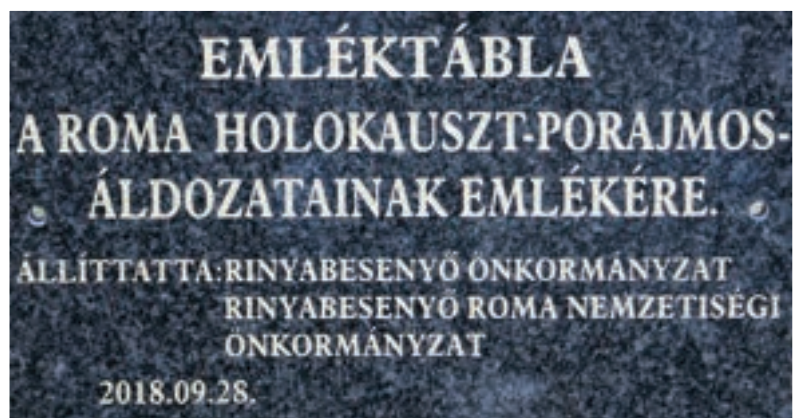


Roma Holocaust Memorial  
**PÉCS, BARANYA COUNTY**

Monumento vaš o romano holokausto  
**PÉCS, BARANYA REGIA**





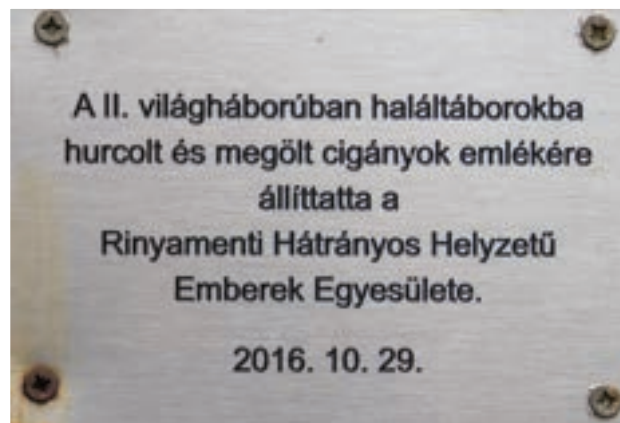


Wooden headstone for the Roma Holocaust  
RINYABESENŐ, SOMOGY COUNTY

Seripesko kašt vaš o romano holokausto  
RINYABESENŐ, SOMOGY REGIA







A II. világháborúban haláltáborokba  
hurcolt és megölt cigányok emlékére  
állította a  
Rinyamenti Hátrányos Helyzetű  
Emberek Egyesülete.

2016. 10. 29.

Wooden headstone for  
the Roma Holocaust  
RINYAÚJLAK, SOMOGY COUNTY

Seripesko kašt vaš  
o romano holokausto  
RINYAÚJLAK, SOMOGY REGIA



Roma cultural and traditions (hagyományörző) park  
**RINYAÚJLAK, SOMOGY COUNTY**

Parko vaš e romani kultura thaj tradicia  
**RINYAÚJLAK, SOMOGY REGIA**





Roma Holocaust memorial plaque  
SEGESD, SOMOGY COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto  
SEGESD, SOMOGY REGIA





Memorial plaque of „Beás” Roma  
SZEDRES, TOLNA COUNTY

Monumento vaš le Beaša  
SZEDRES, TOLNA REGIA





Roma Holocaust  
Memorial Plaque  
**SZIGETVÁR, BARANYA COUNTY**  
Monumento vaš o romano  
holokausto  
**SZIGETVÁR, BARANYA REGIA**



Memorial to the „Beás” Roma  
**TENGELIC, TOLNA COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le Beaša  
**TENGELIC, TOLNA REGIA**







Memorial plaque to the „Beás” Roma

VÉMÉND, BARANYA COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš le Beaša

VÉMÉND, BARANYA REGIA







„Beás” Roma wooden headstone

VÉMÉND, BARANYA COUNTY

Seripesko kašt vaš le Beaša

VÉMÉND, BARANYA REGIA

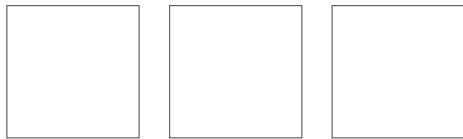




Gypsy wooden headstone  
VOKÁNY, BARANYA COUNTY  
Romano Seripesko kašt  
VOKÁNY, BARANYA REGIA







Representations in  
Central Hungary

Seripeske thana ande  
Centralno-Ungro regia



Memorial plaque of the Gypsy Musicians of  
Abony and Relief of János Bihari

**ABONY, PEST COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš le romane bašavne ando  
Abony thaj skulptura vaš o Bihari János

**ABONY, PEST REGIA**







Tree of life for the minorities  
**CSOBÁNKA, PEST COUNTY**

Nacionalitetenge trajoske  
kašta - seripesko parko  
**CSOBÁNKA, PEST REGIA**





Roadside cross  
MONOR, PEST COUNTY

Trušul paša o drom  
MONOR, PEST REGIA





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Roma Holocaust wooden headstone  
**PILISCSABA, PEST COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš o romano  
holokausto  
**PILISCSABA, PEST REGIA**





Ancestors Park  
**PILISCSABA, PEST COUNTY**

Phurengo parko  
**PILISCSABA, PEST REGIA**







Roadside cross  
TURA, PEST COUNTY

Trušul paša o drom  
TURA, PEST REGIA





Representations in  
Northern Hungary

Seripeske thana ande  
Vordorigutni-Ungro regia





Memorial for the Gypsy musicians  
of Abaújszántó

**ABAÚJSZÁNTÓ,  
BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le romane  
bašavne ando Abaújszántó

**ABAÚJSZÁNTÓ,  
BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA**





Roma Holocaust  
memorial plaque  
**BALASSAGYARMAT, NÓGRÁD COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o  
romano holokausto  
**BALASSAGYARMAT, NÓGRÁD REGIA**





Memorial plaque for Dezső Baranyi „Rekett”

**BALASSAGYARMAT, NÓGRÁD COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Baranyi Dezső „Rekett”

**BALASSAGYARMAT, NÓGRÁD REGIA**





Memorial plaque for Alajos Lakatos  
**HALMAJUGRA, HEVES COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Lakatos Alajos  
**HALMAJUGRA, HEVES REGIA**







Memorial plaque to the Roma victims of  
racially motivated killings

**MISKOLC, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš le roma, kon mule ande  
rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma

**MISKOLC, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA**



Memorial plaque for the first victims of the racist serial killings

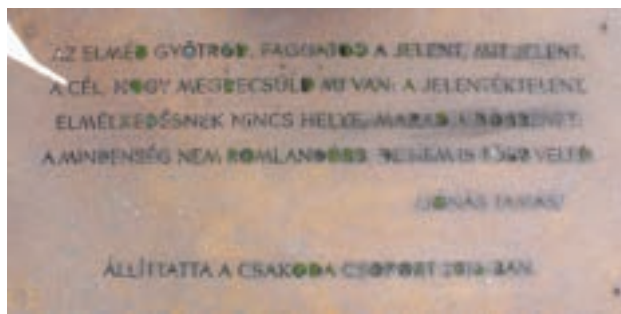
NAGYCSÉCS, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš le anglune roma kon mule ande rasistikane mudaripe mamuj le roma

NAGYCSÉCS, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA







Tamás Jónás poem memorial  
ÓZD, BORSOD - ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY

Poeziaki kvotacia kathar o Jónás Tamás  
ÓZD, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA





Zoltán Danyi memorial plaque  
**SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Danyi Zoltán  
**SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD REGIA**



Statue of János Balázs  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD COUNTY

Skulptura vaš o Balázs János  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD REGIA





József Szepesi memorial plaque  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Szepesi József  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD REGIA





Jolán Oláh memorial plaque  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš e Oláh Jolán  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD REGIA





Károly Gabora memorial plaque  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Gabora Károly  
SALGÓTARJÁN, NÓGRÁD REGIA





Gypsy Holocaust memorial plaque  
SZALONNA, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto  
SZALONNA, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA





Roma Holocaust memorial plaque  
VÁRASZÓ, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto  
VÁRASZÓ, BORSOD-ABAÚJ-ZEMPLÉN REGIA







Representations in the  
Northern Plains Region

Seripeske thana ande  
Vordorigutni-Alföld regia



Memorial for the Roma musicians of  
Berekböszörmény

**BEREKBÖSZÖRMÉNY, HAJDÚ-BIHAR COUNTY**

Monumento vaš le romane bašavne ando  
Berekböszörmény

**BEREKBÖSZÖRMÉNY, HAJDÚ-BIHAR REGIA**





Church community of the Roma  
**HODÁSZ, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY**

Romani Khangeri ando Hodász  
**HODÁSZ, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA**





Roma Cultural Center

**HODÁSZ, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY**

Romano Muzeo ando Hodász

**HODÁSZ, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA**





Ferenc Sánta memorial plaque  
JÁSZBERÉNY, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY  
Seripesko than vaš le romane bašavne  
ando Jászfényszaru  
JÁSZFÉNYSZARU, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA



Memorial for the Roma musicians  
of Jászfényszaru

**JÁSZFÉNYSZARU, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK  
COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Sánta Ferenc

**JÁSZBERÉNY, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA**







Holocaust victims' memorial  
**JÁSZKISÉR, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY**

Seripesko than vaš le roma kon  
mule ando holokausto  
**JÁSZKISÉR, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA**



Zoltán Burai memorial plaque

**KISÚJSZÁLLÁS,**

**JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Burai Zoltán

**KISÚJSZÁLLÁS,**

**JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA**





Well of Lovers  
NAGYECSED,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY  
Kamadengi xiang  
NAGYECSED,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA







Roma Holocaust Memorial  
NYÍREGYHÁZA,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY

Monumento vaš o romano  
holokausto  
NYÍREGYHÁZA,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA





Gyula Dandos wooden headstone  
NYÍREGYHÁZA,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY

Seripesko kašt vaš o Dandos Gyula  
NYÍREGYHÁZA,  
SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA





Gyula Dandos memorial plaque  
NYÍREGYHÁZA, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Dandos Gyula  
NYÍREGYHÁZA, SZABOLCS-SZATMÁR-BEREG REGIA



János Kállai memorial plaque  
SZOLNOK, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Kállai János  
SZOLNOK, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA





József Lukács memorial plaque  
SZOLNOK, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY  
Seripeski tabla vaš o Lukács József  
SZOLNOK, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA







Roma Holocaust memorial plaque

TISZAPÜSPÖKI, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto

TISZAPÜSPÖKI, JÁSZ-NAGYKUN-SZOLNOK REGIA





Representations of the  
Southern Plains Region

Seripeske thana ande  
Mesmerigutni-Alföld regia



Memorial plaque for work on the advancement of Roma

**BÉKÉS, BÉKÉS COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš e butji so vaš  
le romengo vazdipe kerde

**BÉKÉS, BÉKÉS REGIA**

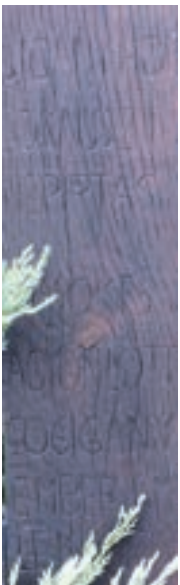




Pista Dankó Memorial  
CSENGŐD, BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY

Monumento vaš o Dankó Pista  
CSENGŐD, BÁCS-KISKUN REGIA





Wooden headston for the Roma victims shot  
by the gendarmerie

**DOBOZ, BÉKÉS COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš le roma kas mudarde le šingale

**DOBOZ, BÉKÉS REGIA**





Roma Holocaust Memorial

**DOBOZ, BÉKÉS COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto

**DOBOZ, BÉKÉS REGIA**







Virgin Mary Memorial Park  
GÁDOROS, BÉKÉS COUNTY

Sunto Maria seripesko parko  
GÁDOROS, BÉKÉS REGIA





Roma musicians's memorial  
GYOMAENDRÓD, BÉKÉS COUNTY

Monumento vaš le romane bašavne  
GYOMAENDRÓD, BÉKÉS REGIA



Béla Czutor relief

HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY

Skulptura vaš o Czutor Béla

HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA







Béla Czutor, „Gypsy Béla” memorial  
HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGÁRD-CSANÁD COUNTY  
Skulptura vaš o „Béla Cigány”, Czutor Béla  
HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA

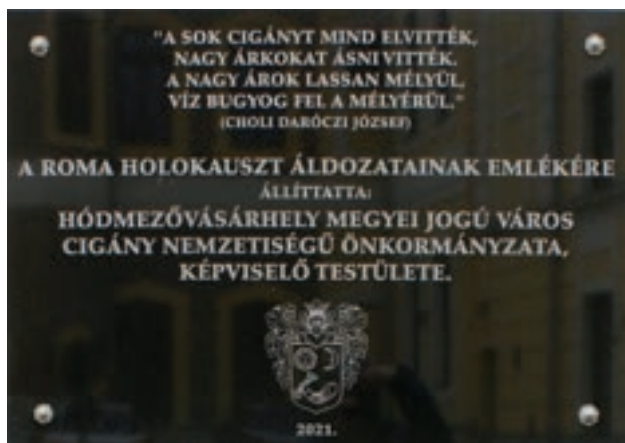


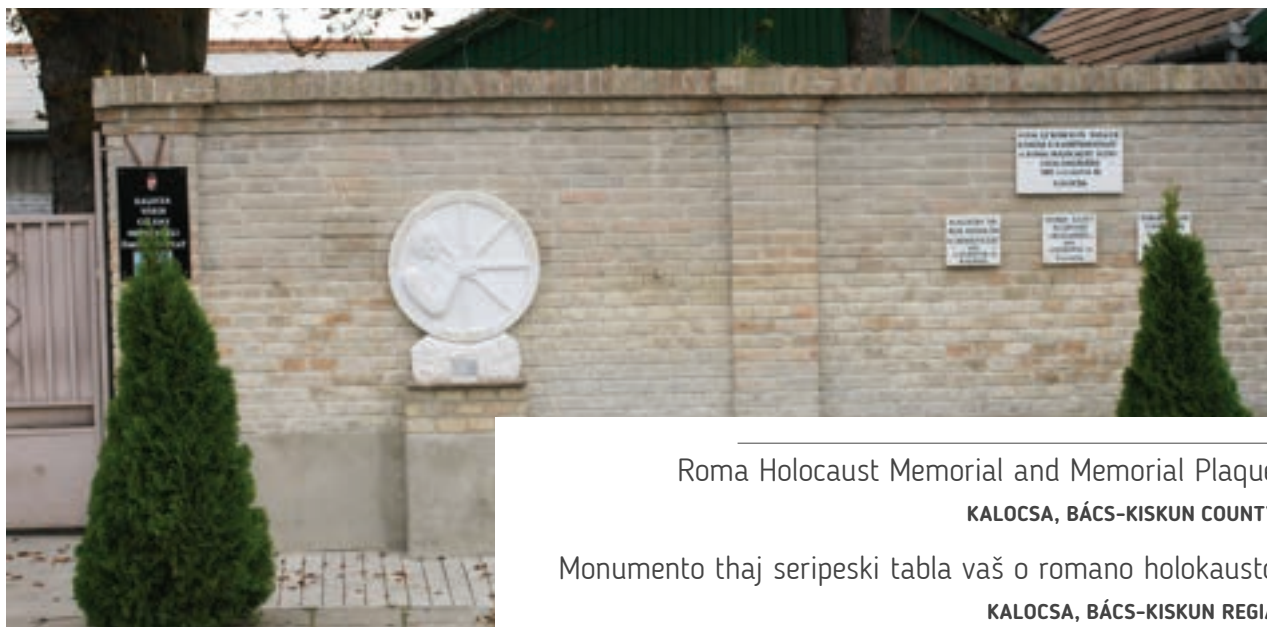
Memorial plaque for the victims  
of the Roma Holocaust

**HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš le roma, kon  
mule ando romengo holokausto

**HÓDMEZŐVÁSÁRHELY, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA**





Roma Holocaust Memorial and Memorial Plaque  
KALOCSA, BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY

Monumento thaj seripeski tabla vaš o romano holokausto

KALOCSA, BÁCS-KISKUN REGIA



ANEA LE ROM KON KASAJLE  
KHADAR E KASSTENGOVAST  
A ROMA HOLOCAUST ÁLDÓ-  
ZATAI EMLÉKÉRE  
2003 AUGUSZTUS 02.  
KALOCSA

KALOCSA VÁ-  
ROS ROMA-ŰN  
KORMÁNYZAT  
2003  
AUGUSZTUS 02.  
KALOCSA

ROMA SAJTÓ  
KÖZPONT  
- BUDAPEST -  
2003  
AUGUSZTUS 02.  
KALOCSA

PIRILIFE OR-  
GANIZÁCIA  
- KALOCSA -  
2003  
AUGUSZTUS 02.  
KALOCSA





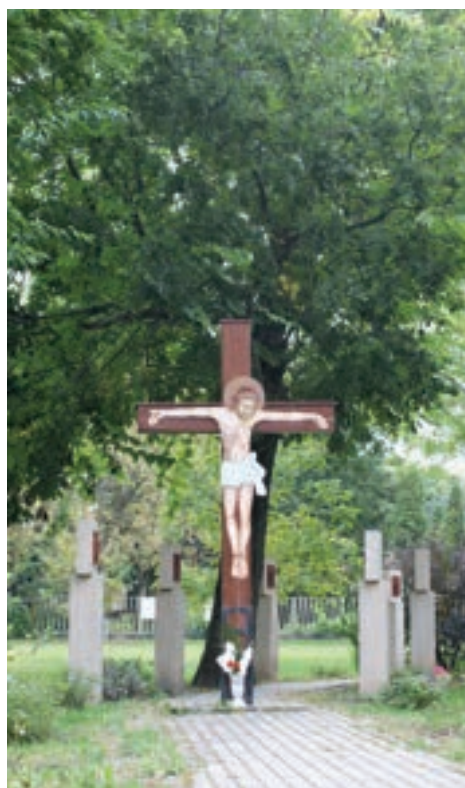


Gypsy cross

KECSKEMÉT, BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY

Romano trušul

KECSKEMÉT, BÁCS-KISKUN REGIA





Virgin Mary statue  
KEVERMES,  
BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY  
Sunto Maria skulptura  
KEVERMES, BÉKÉS REGIA





## Kálmán Banyák Memorial

**KUNSZENTMIKLÓS, BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY**

Monumento vaš o Banyák Kálmán

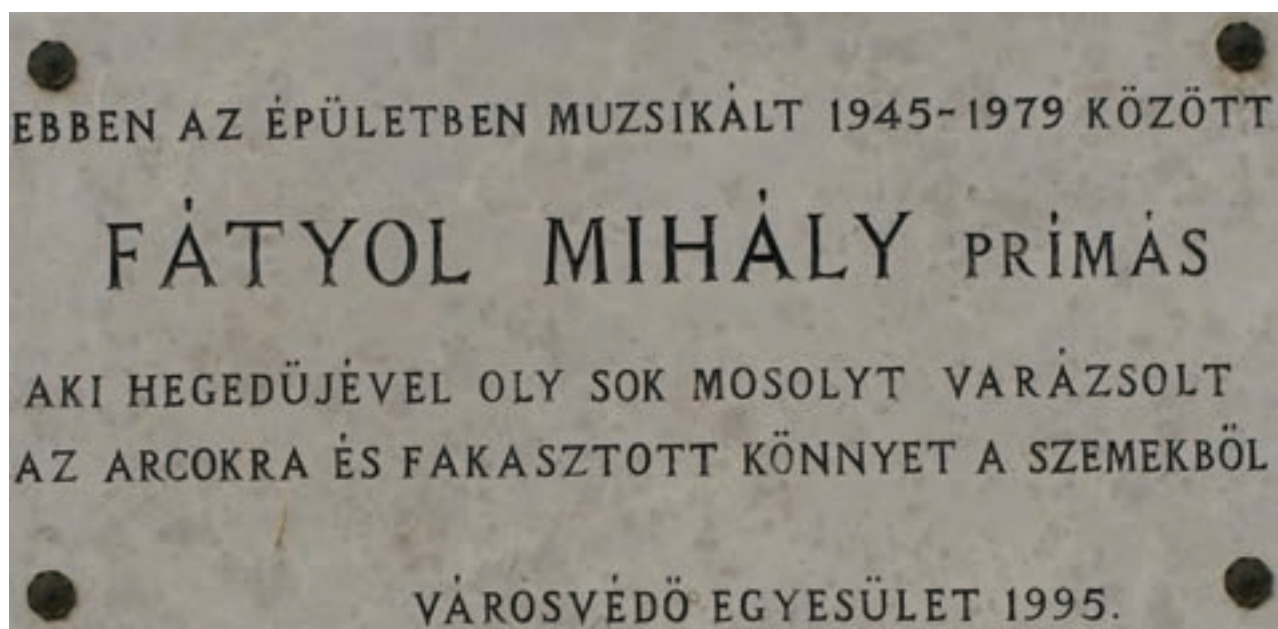
**KUNSZENTMIKLÓS, BÁCS-KISKUN REGIA**





Misi Fátyol statue  
MAKÓ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY  
Skulptura vaš o Fátyol Misi  
MAKÓ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA





Mihály Fátyol memorial plaque  
MAKÓ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY

Seripeski tabla vaš o Fátyol Mihály  
MAKÓ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA







József Kovács memorial plaque

**SARKAD, BÉKÉS COUNTY**

Seripeski tabla vaš o Kovács József

**SARKAD, BÉKÉS REGIA**







Pista Dankó Relief

**SZATYMAZ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY**

Skulptura vaš o Dankó Pista

**SZATYMAZ, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA**



Pista Dankó statute  
SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY  
Skulptura vaš o Dankó Pista  
SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA





Pista Dankó relief

SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY

Skulptúra vaš o Dankó Pista

SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA





Pista Dankó statúte  
SZEGER (KISKUNDOROZSMA), CSONGRÁD-CŠANÁD COUNTY

Skulptura vaš o Dankó Pista  
SZEGER (KISKUNDOROZSMA), CSONGRÁD-CŠANÁD REGIA





Roma Holocaust Memorial  
**SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD COUNTY**  
Seripeski tabla vaš o romano  
holokausto  
**SZEGED, CSONGRÁD-CSANÁD REGIA**





Wooden tombstone for Fardi Sztojka of Nagyida  
**USZÓD, BÁCS-KISKUN COUNTY**

Seripesko kašt vaš o Nagyidai Sztojka Fardi  
**USZÓD, BÁCS-KISKUN REGIA**



