

Roma as Alien
Music and Identity of the Roma in Romania

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2018

Roderick Charles Lawford



DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed Date

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

Signed Date

STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated, and the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by Cardiff University's Policy on the Use of Third Party Editors by Research Degree Students. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed Date

STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed Date

To Sue Lawford

and

In Memory of

Marion Ethel Lawford (1924-1977)

and

Charles Alfred Lawford (1925-2010)

Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
List of Plates	vii
List of Tables	ix
Conventions	x
Acknowledgements	xii
Abstract	xiii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1 - Theory and Method	7
Borderlands and Frontiers	10
Identity, Alterity and Difference	14
Theory in Practice	21
Chapter 2 – The Roma of Romania	30
Romania: Geography	31
Romania: History	37
Roma in Romania	42
Romani Music in Romania	60
Chapter 3 – Taraf de Haïdouks: Tradition	72
Taraf de Haïdouks: A Personal View	73
Taraf de Haïdouks and the Lăutar Tradition	75
Hopa, Tropa, Europa	84
Outlaws of Yore	93
Chapter 4 - Taraf de Haïdouks: Modernity	103
A Journey to Clejani	103
Taraf de Haïdouks and ‘World Music’	113
‘Orientalist Fantasy’: Bartók and ‘Gypsy’ Music	133
Chapter 5 – Manele: At Home	137

A Diversion to Ferentari	140
Manele	149
Manele on the Internet	151
Manele: A Contested Genre	166
Chapter 6 – Manele: Abroad	179
Manele and Non-European Popular Music	179
'Saint Tropez'	195
'Saint Tropez' – Visual, Textual and Musical Contexts	199
Commodification	212
Conclusion	219
Appendix 1	224
Bibliography	233

List of Figures

Figure 0.1 – Map of Romania showing Braşov (starred)	4
Figure 1.1 – Map showing the Hungarian population in Romania	11
Figure 1.2 – Map showing the relative distribution of Roma in Romania	12
Figure 2.1 – Map outlining the ‘Greater’ Balkan area	31
Figure 2.2 – Map of modern Romania	32
Figure 2.3 – Physical Map of Romania	33
Figure 2.4 – Map showing Romania and its neighbours	34
Figure 2.5 - Location of Transnistria	56
Figure 4.1 – Bucharest	103
Figure 5.1 – Bucharest metro map	141
Figure 5.2 – Bucharest Surface Public Transport Map	142

List of Plates

Plate 0.1 - Piața Sfatului, Brașov	5
Plate 2.1 – General Ion Antonescu (1882-1946)	40
Plate 2.2 – Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu as they appeared after their arrest and on trial	41
Plate 2.3 – 1852 poster advertising ‘gypsy’ slaves for sale	50
Plate 3.1 – Cover of liner notes accompanying Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie	77
Plate 3.2 – <i>Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie</i> , rear of liner notes	77
Plate 3.3 - Nicolae ‘Culai’ Neacșu	88
Plate 3.4 - Gheorghe ‘Fluierici’ Fălcaru	89
Plate 3.5 - <i>Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)</i> – Covers of the liner notes	96
Plate 4.1 – En route to Clejani – Roderick Lawford	105
Plate 4.2 – ‘Strada Lăutarilor’ – Roderick Lawford	106
Plate 4.3 – Caliu’s kitchen – Roderick Lawford	107
Plate 4.4 – Gheorghe ‘Caliu’ Anghel (l) and Marin ‘Marius’ Manole (r) – Roderick Lawford	109
Plate 4.5 - <i>Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie</i> – Cover of the liner notes	114
Plate 4.6 - <i>Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie</i> – inside liner notes	115
Plate 4.7 – Photograph from the liner notes of <i>Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie</i>	116
Plate 4.8 – <i>Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye</i> - liner notes, front and rear	121
Plate 4.9 – <i>Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye</i> - inside the liner notes	121
Plate 4.10 – <i>l’orient est rouge</i> - front and back of liner notes	126
Plate 4.11 – <i>l’orient est rouge</i> (l) and <i>Band of Gypsies</i> (r) - a comparison of artwork	126
Plate 4.12 – <i>Band of Gypsies</i> –illustration inside the liner notes	127
Plate 4.13 – Artwork on cover of <i>Mașkaradă</i> album	129
Plate 5.1 – Facebook publicity poster for Sistem ca pe Ferentari	140
Plate 5.2 - A Wedding in Apărătorii Patriei – Roderick Lawford	143
Plate 5.3 - Mitzu din Sălaj performing at Sistem ca pe Ferentari – Roderick Lawford	145
Plate 5.4 - Stall in the Piața de Flori (en. Flower Market), Calea Rahovei, Bucharest	148
Plate 5.5 – Still from ‘Îți mănânc buzele’	153
Plate 5.6 – Mr Juve - ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric!’	154
Plate 5.7 – Still from ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric’	158
Plate 5.8 - Leo de Vis - Sisemul Seicilor on Wowbiz	166
Plate 5.9 - Anca de la Strehaia	167
Plate 5.10 - Still of ‘Sistemul Seicilor’	171
Plate 5.11 - Arguing For and Against <i>Manele</i>	175
Plate 6.1 - Vasil Troyanov Boyanov – ‘Azis’	196
Plate 6.2 – Still from ‘Saint Tropez’	199
Plate 6.3 – Still from ‘Saint Tropez’	199
Plate 6.4 – ‘Femeie regină’	208

Plate 6.5 - Livia Pop – ‘Omule hai si petrece’ (en. ‘Man, let’s celebrate’)	215
Plate 6.6 – Diapason Records homepage	217

List of Tables

Table 3.1 – Taraf de Haïdouks discography	74
Table 3.2 – List of songs and dances on <i>Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie</i>	78
Table 3.3 – List of tracks on <i>Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I)</i>	97
Table 3.4 - List of tracks on <i>Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II)</i>	99
Table 4.1 – Music played for me by Caliu and Marius	108
Table 4.2 – List of tracks on <i>Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie</i>	114
Table 4.3 – List of tracks on <i>Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye</i>	123
Table 4.4 - List of tracks on <i>Dumbala, Dumba</i>	124
Table 4.5 - List of tracks on <i>Band of Gypsies</i>	128
Table 4.6 - List of tracks on <i>Mașkaradă</i>	130
Table 4.7 - List of tracks on <i>Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts</i>	132
Table 5.1 – Sistem ca pe Ferentari line up	144
Table 5.2 - Best of Manele Top Hits Vol. 1	151
Table 6.1 – Versions of ‘Saint Tropez’ in chronological order of publication	196
Table 6.2 – The text of ‘Sen Trope’ by Azis	201
Table 6.3 – The text of ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam	203
Table 6.4 – Turkish text of ‘Alayına Zam’ by Enka Mutfağı	205
Table 6.5 – Summary of the structure of ‘Saint Tropez’	207

Conventions

This thesis concerns Romanian musicians who are Roma, and Romanian music. Some of the terms used here are prone to cause confusion, and can also be problematic. I have taken the interpretation of the definitions given by Carol Silverman (2012:295n1) as my model. Roma is the plural of Rom, which is preferred nowadays to the more popular 'gypsy', a term generally considered to be pejorative. The corresponding adjective is 'Romani'. I have found that 'Romani', 'Roma' and 'gypsy' can be used interchangeably in literature on the subject, depending on the source and when it was written. Where possible, I have tried to use 'Roma' ('Rom') and Romani. However, where I make frequent references to a writer who tends to use 'gypsy' or a derivative or cognate of this term, I defer to that author's usage. For example, where I reference Béla Bartók, 'gypsy' may appear more frequently, because this is the expression that he uses.

Because 'gypsy' is a contentious term, I tend to enclose it in inverted commas, whether or not its use is authentic in the context in which I am using it. I adopt the same convention for other expressions that are hard to define. The most commonly encountered of these are 'world music' and the categorisation of culture by means of points of the compass, such as 'the east'.

The first language of most Romanian Roma is Romanian. Consequently, in the text there are numerous references and quotes in this language. Other languages also appear. Most of these are written in a version of the Latin alphabet. The languages together with their abbreviations are as follows: English (en.); French (fr.); German (gr.); Hungarian (hg.); Romanian (ro.) and Turkish (tr.). Where the language is written in a script that does not use the Latin alphabet, I provide a transliteration. These languages are as follows: Arabic (ar.); Bulgarian (bg.); Greek (gk.); Hebrew (hb.) and Russian (rs.). If the transliteration is that

employed by other authors, I use their transliteration. See, for example, my representation of Hebrew following Horowitz (2010).

I employ some other abbreviations. To represent singular and plural respectively, I adopt the abbreviations 'sg.' and 'pl.'. Upon the first reference to an individual, I give the dates of that person's lifespan, where available. If they were still alive at time of writing, I precede their year of birth with the abbreviation 'b.'; for example, Laurent Aubert (b. 1949). In the case of politicians and royalty, I provide the relevant dates that concern service ('s') and reign ('r.') respectively.

Where I refer to musical pitch in the text (as in Chapter 6), I adopt the nomenclature devised by Helmholtz. For example, 'western' concert A (c. 440 Hz) is represented as the note [a'] and the octave below that (c. 880 Hz) as the note [a]. The next lower octave (c. 1760 Hz) is shown as the note [A], and so on.

Acknowledgements

Before thanking any individuals, I must first pay tribute to my family and friends who, through their indulgence and patience, gave me the encouragement and fortitude to engage with this project.

I am grateful for the assistance in the form of a doctoral scholarship awarded to me by the School of Music at Cardiff University.

I reserve especial individual thanks for my PhD supervisor, John Morgan O'Connell, whose constant attention and support were invaluable. I am further indebted to other academic staff at Cardiff University who have assisted my doctoral work and/or guided me through my MA studies there: Dr David Beard; Dr Carlo Cenciarelli; Dr Keith Chapin; the sadly-missed Professor Ken Gloag; Dr Sarah Hill; Professor David Wyn Jones; Dr Clair Rowden and Dr Amanda Villepastour. I also extend thanks to the music librarian, Charity Dove, and other library staff, Mary, Judith and Catherine in particular. I would also like to thank the Music School office staff, especially Victoria Parkin.

My doctoral colleagues in the Music School and in the wider university have also given me direct and indirect help in the writing of this thesis. Of those, in particular I thank Kathy Baneva, Jeffrey Charest, Nicki Maher, Alessandra Palidda and Trimmis Konstantinos. I am grateful to Onur Pasha for helping me with some Turkish translations in context.

In Romania, I made the acquaintance of the following individuals who kindly gave me some of their time: Paul Breazu, Ion Dumitrescu and Florin Iordan. Of course, I also thank Gheorghe 'Caliu' Angel and Marin 'Marius' Manole of Taraf de Haïdouks who indulged me with their music making.

Last, and by no means least, I give sincere thanks to Max Thornton and Sue Lawford, who have to put up with me on a day-to-day basis.

Abstract

Central and Eastern European Romani ('gypsy') musicians feature greatly in both the European musical imagination and in reality. Their brand of musicianship has been criticised and idealised at the same time as it has been recognised that the musicians themselves have had a significant role to play in the context of European music. These apparent contradictions are more clearly understood when it is appreciated that European Roma are beyond doubt Europe's most marginalised people, despite genetic research suggesting that they have probably had some presence on the European continent for fifteen hundred years. They belong to what Herder portrays as an 'alien' people, being forever internal outsiders within the nation state. The circumstances of the Romani musicians of Romania (known as *lăutari* in Romanian) typify these paradoxes in some measure.

In order to add to our understanding of the *lăutari*, and the subaltern group of which they are representative, it is important to comprehend something of the history of the Roma in Romania and the genesis of Romania itself. The geographical area that modern Romania now occupies has provided over the centuries a liminal space where contrasting identities and ideologies have come into contact and frequently clashed. Given its position as a natural European borderland then, it is surprising that Romania is relatively understudied and even misunderstood in western European (and particularly Anglophone) scholarship. This neglect extends to the realm of music, especially with regard to the representation of the *lăutari*. Although the *lăutari* are afforded a higher standing amongst Roma in general because of their valued skills, they nevertheless occupy a position in a hierarchy of difference, a chain that has been theorized as 'nested orientalisms' or 'nested alterities'.

Evidence that the *lăutari* are regarded as representatives of a society's 'other' can be detected in the negative reception that their music has attracted at various times. One criticism of the art of the *lăutari* (and Romani musicians in general) is that they are prone to 'orientalise' or 'exoticise' music. These charges have been connected with accusations (among others) that Romani musicians appropriate music that does not belong to them (Béla Bartók), or that their 'oriental' style is a painful reminder of a past that many wish to disregard (Romania). I investigate these phenomena from two different, but related, points of view. First, I look at the work of the Romanian Romani band Taraf de Haïdouks in the context of 'world music'. Second, I examine the popular genre, *manele*. Here, I explore the ways in which *manele* performers parody and exaggerate the 'oriental' in their work.

Introduction

Musical scholarship frequently refers to the subaltern status occupied by musicians in many societies around the world, and theorizes what causes this situation to arise (Bellman, 1998; Bohlman, 1988; Hooker, 2007; Merriam, 1964 and 1979; Nettl, 1983; Stokes, 1992). The European 'gypsy' (or 'Romani') musician epitomises this state of affairs. Nowhere is this more apparent than in those parts of Europe prefixed by 'Central', 'Eastern' or, more specifically, described as 'Balkan'. Central to my thesis, are the Romani musicians of Romania, known as *lăutari* (sg. *lăutar*), who have been part of the cultural fabric of that country for at least five centuries.¹

The circumstances of the *lăutari* present a paradox. Compared with the experience of their fellow Roma, the *lăutari* have enjoyed a relatively privileged position, providing for the majority population's need for musical entertainment. Nevertheless, they are still members of the Roma ethnic minority in Romania, who collectively remain subject to pervasive racial discrimination, which, as a consequence, obliges them to inhabit the bottom echelon of Romanian society. This inequitable situation persists despite the fair treatment of Roma being a condition for accession to the European Union (EU), of which Romania became a member on 1 January 2007.² Furthermore, whilst the *lăutari* have been acknowledged as conservators of the traditional music of Romania (Bercovici, 1983; Kertész-Wilkinson, 2001), at the same time, they are denied scant entitlement to the tradition they represent.

¹ Whilst the *lăutari* are not exclusively from the Romanian Roma community, the fraction that are not is small enough to be proportionally insignificant.

² Far-reaching resolutions had been passed in the Roma's favour by the EU Council of Ministers in May 1989 (Acton, 2013), coincidentally, a few months prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall in November of the same year. and the ensuing collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

My interest in this subject is long established. I graduated with a BMus from the University of Birmingham at a time when music as an academic subject was generally restricted to the study and the performance of the western classical tradition. In this context, I learned a singular evolution of western music, one that started with Gregorian chant and ended with twentieth-century modernism.³ The idea that anything falling outside this narrow understanding of musical history warranted study (such as Jazz or non-western musics) was an anathema and was accordingly resisted. Although George Gershwin, for example, might have been considered an acceptable subject, I felt dissatisfied since I wished to consider music in extra-musical contexts: from the perspectives of the social, the philosophical, and the historical, amongst others.

Some considerable time later, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to read for a Master of Arts (MA) in Music, Culture and Politics at Cardiff University, which went a significant distance towards helping me address the gap in my knowledge that I had sensed. During my time away from academia, I endeavoured to learn new skills and I continued to read widely, latterly developing an interest in philosophy.⁴ Without fully realising it, and for the continuing want of a conclusive definition of 'postmodern' (see Gloag, 2012), I suggest that I had developed a 'postmodern' appreciation of culture. Such eclecticism was reflected in the wide range of modular essay topics that I covered during my MA year.⁵ Furthermore, I had not given much concern to 'popular music studies' previously, but exposure to what was a new discipline (for me) certainly helped to broaden my thinking.

³ Music was ordained to have begun with Gregorian chant, and then traced a direct line from the early second millennium CE and the organum of Léonin and Pérotin and later Middle Ages, via the Renaissance, the Baroque and Classical canon, the Romantic era, various Twentieth Century genres, and ended (in my case) with the modernists, such as Luciano Berio (the subject of my undergraduate dissertation), Pierre Boulez, György Ligeti and Karlheinz Stockhausen.

⁴ I read *Wagner and Philosophy* by Brian Magee (2000), and this book greatly influenced my further reading. From this, I was led to the work of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

⁵ These included Adorno and Ian Dury, Beethoven in E.M. Forster, Giuseppe Verdi and Youssou N'Dour.

When it came to deciding what to choose for my dissertation subject, I decided reasonably early on that I would look at the Romanian Romani band Taraf de Haïdouks (ro. Tariful Haiducilor), starting with an initial premise which questioned the paradox that, whilst ‘gypsy music’ is highly revered, the people who the musicians are considered to epitomise are consistently a target for popular xenophobia and racism, behaviour in which the state itself is often complicit. The extent to which music helps to clarify the subaltern status of the *lăutari* drives the research into my chosen topic and inevitably triggers several subsidiary issues, which I have summarised as follows:

- 1) In what ways do the *lăutari* provide insight into Romanian music?
- 2) How has the music industry transformed *lăutari* musical production?
- 3) What are the historical and political factors that affect *lăutari* music?
- 4) How does recent *lăutari* music-making relate to music beyond Romania?

Additionally, the concept of the ‘alien’ is central to this thesis. In particular, I look at the subaltern status of Romanian Romani musicians as internal ‘aliens’. Furthermore, alterity with regard to Roma is frequently reinforced by registering the ‘gypsy’ as ‘oriental’. Hence, I will investigate these issues through two case studies presented over four chapters. First, I will examine the role of *lăutari* in Romanian traditional music with particular reference to Taraf de Haïdouks, before surveying their ‘world-music’ career. Here, I will look at complex notions of exoticism that are tailored to suit the taste of western consumers. Second, I will study the controversial genre known as ‘*manele*’ from a local and global point of view. In this context, I will interrogate contemporary constructions of orientalism, especially from the perspectives of social aspirations and engendered positions. I have not explicitly endeavoured to write an ethnomusicological study of Romani music in Romania. Rather, I have employed the critical tools available in popular music studies to present a richly textured and historically informed analysis of a musical culture that is widely

recognised as a global expression of subaltern status.⁶ However, I am aware that the ethnomusicological and the musicological converge in the study of music in application (see Pettan and Titon, 2015). The relatively modern discipline of applied ethnomusicology is a field that empowers musicians from marginalised groups through advocacy. To this end, I undertook graduate seminars in the theory and method of ethnographic research as it relates to music. Here, my approach to field research is informed by a hermeneutic precedent, an interpretative approach to musical ethnography founded upon the principal tenets of ‘thick description’ (see Geertz, 1973) and ‘scholastic distancing’ (see Rice, 1994).

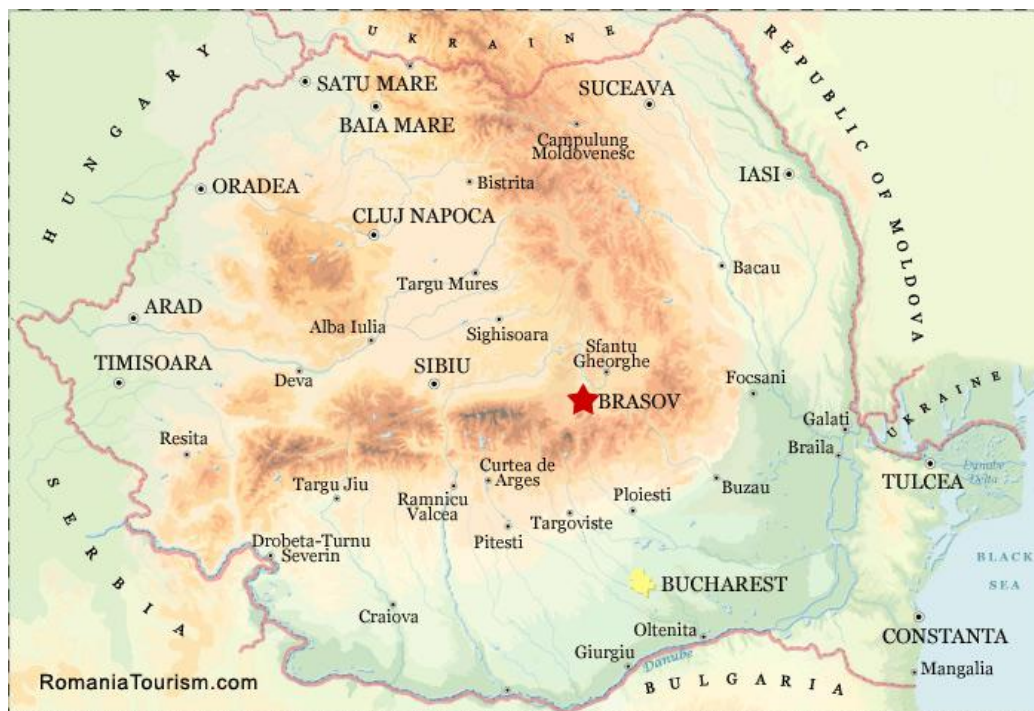


Figure 0.1 – Map of Romania showing Braşov (starred)

⁶ See for example Hemetek, 2000; Pettan, 1996; Seeman, 2007.



Plate 0.1 - Piața Sfatului, Brașov

My research benefited from two extended visits to Romania. These took place during the summers of 2015 and 2016. The main objective of the first trip was to improve my capability in the Romanian language, which I had begun to teach myself upon commencement of my PhD studies. I attended a four-week summer school in Brașov (see Figure 0.1 and Plate 0.1) run by the Romanian Cultural Institute (ro. Institutul Cultural Român).⁷ During my second visit, I returned to the same language course at the next level, after which I spent a month in Bucharest in order to absorb myself in the culture. Some of these experiences form the vignettes that preface my enquiries in Chapters 4 and 5.

In contrast to ethnomusicological studies of this kind, I have organised my thesis into discrete sections founded upon the hermeneutic categories of description, reflection and interpretation (see Spradley, 1980). Rather, I provide a historical study showing inter-textual connections between the folk and the popular, the national and the transnational. In this context, I trace the re-inscription of musical materials over time by different

⁷ Information about Institutul Cultural Român can be found at www.icr.ro [Accessed 24 September 2018].

musicians in distinctive genres (see O'Connell, 2005). That is, I show how music is polyvalent, how it means different things to different people at different times. In Chapter 1, I present a theoretical and practical introduction to the topic. In Chapter 2, I provide a general overview of Roma in the Romanian lands in the context of Romanian geography, history, identity and music. In Chapters 3 and 4, I look at Taraf de Haïdouks by showing how this ensemble represents a musical bridge between tradition and modernity; and between the local and the global. In Chapter 5, I interrogate the position of the *lăutari* in the popular genre called 'manele' (sg. *manea*). Here, I analyse *manele* from the critical perspective of orientalism. In Chapter 6, I position *manele* in a wider cultural context by looking specifically at the *manea* entitled 'Saint Tropez', a transnational number that has become a paradigm for Balkan popular music. In sum, I show how the Roma are marked as alien by an extended scrutiny of different genres in time and space.

Chapter 1 - Theory and Method

*Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth!*

'The Ballad of East and West' (1889 [Kipling, 1994:245])

The use of 'alien' in the title of this thesis requires explanation. It originates in a translation from the German by Nicholas Saul (2009:153) of Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) description of 'gypsies' that he presents in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (en. *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*), written between 1784 and 1791. Here he portrays 'gypsies' as a 'zahlreiches, fremdes, heidnisches, unterirdisches Volk' (en. 'multitudinous, alien, pagan, subterranean people'). Earlier, the same translator had preferred 'strange' to 'alien', noting that when it came to 'gypsies', even the normally beneficent Herder temporarily suspended his humanism (Saul, 2007:1). Whichever adjective is preferred — 'alien' or 'strange' (*fremdes* could also be interpreted as meaning 'foreign') — the readiness to put such terms to use indicates that for many, 'gypsies' or Roma embody the ultimate representation of alterity amongst the many groups of people who have had some presence in Europe from at least the beginning of the modern period. I think that it is reasonable to state that contemporary attitudes towards Roma in Europe are not materially so different from those expressed by Herder over two centuries ago.

Discourses on alterity, 'otherness' and difference are usually (and understandably) conducted by referring to the 'orientalism' debate following Edward Said's seminal eponymous work, first published in 1978. As such, discussions within the orientalism framework often refer to the 'exotic' and other associated vocabulary (the 'alien', the

‘foreign’, the ‘mysterious’, the ‘strange’), which would seem to equate difference with physical distance. But wariness of the other exists between communities who live adjacent to each other. In the United Kingdom we are frequently reminded of the mistrust that exists between the Loyalist/Unionist (notionally Protestant) and Nationalist/Republican (notionally Roman Catholic) communities in parts of Northern Ireland. This is a political and religious mistrust, rather than one (in general) based on physical appearance or language. Roma communities live alongside, but distinct from, the population in Romania (and elsewhere) who do not identify as Roma.

Staying in the United Kingdom and drawing on an example from British popular culture, the Mancunian stand-up comedian Jason Manford innocently introduces as part of his routine the concept of ‘nesting orientalisms’ using an illustration to which his audience can readily relate. Starting with the competition and sometimes enmity that exists between supporters of his favoured football team, Manchester City, and those of Manchester United, he moves through a sequence of rivalries involving larger and larger entities, where at each stage opponents unite against a bigger other who becomes the new focus for concern. The binary oppositions proceed in something like the following order: Manchester City/Manchester United; Manchester/Liverpool; North West of England/Other English Regions;¹ England/Other Home Nations (or England/Other European Nations perhaps); United Kingdom/Rest of the World. Thus the rivalries evolve from the local, through the regional and national, to the global. At each stage a new other is identified, and a further, more distant orient is revealed if you will.

‘Nesting orientalisms’ is a concept developed by Bakić-Hayden in an article written for the *Slavic Review* (1995). In the context of the former Yugoslavia and with reference to

¹ London and the south east in particular.

Ottoman influence in the region, Bakić-Hayden illustrates how a hierarchy of 'others' and 'orients' is constructed in the Balkans. Thus, even within a relatively small physical area, one constituent might regard the 'other' as more 'oriental' from a cultural point of view, regardless of their verifiable longitudinal position. The Balkan case demonstrates a micro-example of nesting orientalisms, and the model can be extended Europe-wide. Working from the micro to the macro, the Balkans defer to the rest of eastern Europe, which in turn must yield to western-central Europe. Beyond Europe, a greater orient is imagined, its starting point and location ill-defined.² Given their status as internal 'oriental aliens' in the Balkans and eastern-central Europe, it is clear that the Roma occupy the very bottom of the chain of 'nesting orientalisms'.

The 'nesting orientalisms' theory can be similarly expressed as nesting (or nested) alterities, and this term (nested alterities) was adopted in an ethnomusicological context by Sonia Seeman (2014). She argues that the manipulation of nested alterities was applied in the period 1920 – 1940 in Turkey in order to facilitate the construction of a bourgeois ethno-national Turkish art music. Citing thinkers such as Hobsbawm, Barthes and Bourdieu, she shows how a dominant elite unwittingly engaged in the process of inventing tradition in a musical context. Again in relation to Turkey, O'Connell (2013:xv) considers the east-west continuum in connection to Turkish music for part of the same era. Indeed, he implicitly challenges Kipling's initial proposition that the twain can never meet by asking another rhetorical question that queries where the border between 'west' and 'east' might be,

² One possible historical interpretation of the 'Orient' both within and beyond Europe could be based on religious observance. Orthodox Christian Europe (which includes Russia and a good portion of the Balkans) is perhaps regarded as being different and hence more 'exotic' from a western-central European point of view, where the Roman Catholic and Protestant confessions (notwithstanding their own historical differences) have dominated. But the Orthodox rite is still Christian, and it is therefore not considered to be so different from what lies beyond in the Islamic east.

should such a frontier exist at all. Returning to the idea of nested orientalism, what is ‘west’ to one, is ‘east’ to another and vice versa.

Borderlands and Frontiers³

This thesis looks at the role of Romani⁴ musicians in the music of Romania, a nation in south-east Europe that materially occupies a geographical space that was once part of the Roman Empire. Although their etymologies differ, it is evident that some of the key adjectives and definitions necessarily employed here are very similar, and could possibly confuse a casual reader. Romania and its corresponding adjective, Romanian, has a direct connection to a Roman legacy. On the other hand, Romani is the reciprocal of the noun ‘Rom’ (pl. Roma) which is derived from the word for ‘man’ or ‘husband’ in a language (also known as Romani) spoken by many Roma, especially in the Balkans.⁵ The potential for confusion has been put to use for dishonest purposes. A tendency to conflate Romanians with Roma by the British public was unashamedly exploited by sections of the British press to stir up fear of substantial migration from Romania and its southern Balkan neighbour, Bulgaria. This followed the relaxation of travel and work restrictions for nationals of these two countries across the European Union (EU) from January 2014.⁶

³ See Donnan and Wilson (1999) for investigations into the role that borders and frontiers play in nationalism and the formation of a national culture and identity.

⁴ See my Conventions for an explanation of the terminology used when referring to Roma and the Romani people.

⁵ Possibilities for misunderstanding continue in the Romanian language, where *români* (m. sg. *român*) translates as ‘Romanians’ and *romă* is the feminine form of *rom* (sometimes *rrom*), meaning ‘gypsy’. *Țigan* (pl. *țigani*) is a colloquial term for *rom*, which remains in common use and, similar to ‘gypsy’, can also be considered derogatory depending on circumstance. *Țigan* is cognate with words with the same meaning in several European languages (for example, Hungarian: *cigány*; French: *tsigane*; German: *Zigeuner*). For this reason there was a move to persuade the Romanian parliament for *țigan* officially to take preference over *rom* in the lexicon to avoid confusion between ‘Roma’ and ‘Romanian’ etc. The proposal was rejected (see Vamanu and Vamanu, 2013:275). See also www.balkaninsight.com [Accessed 3 May 2018].

⁶ See www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/20/romania-hellhole-or-mysterious-romanticism-europe-uncovered [Accessed 7 May 2018].

Although they cannot be confused in quite the same fashion, the discourse on the culture and politics of south-east Europe is peppered by other words which are often used interchangeably, in innocence or for more sinister purposes. ‘Balkan’, ‘gypsy’, ‘oriental’ and ‘Turkish’ are prime examples of the words in question. In the Balkans, there are nationalists on both the political left and right who regard ‘orientalisation’, or ‘turkification’, as a threat to the identity of the majority. There are also instances where this apparent danger is connected to the perceived menace that Roma represent. For example, the xenophobic Bulgarian nationalist party Ataka (en. Attack) has been reported using the slogan ‘No to Gypsification. No to Turkification’ (cited in Silverman, 2012:13).

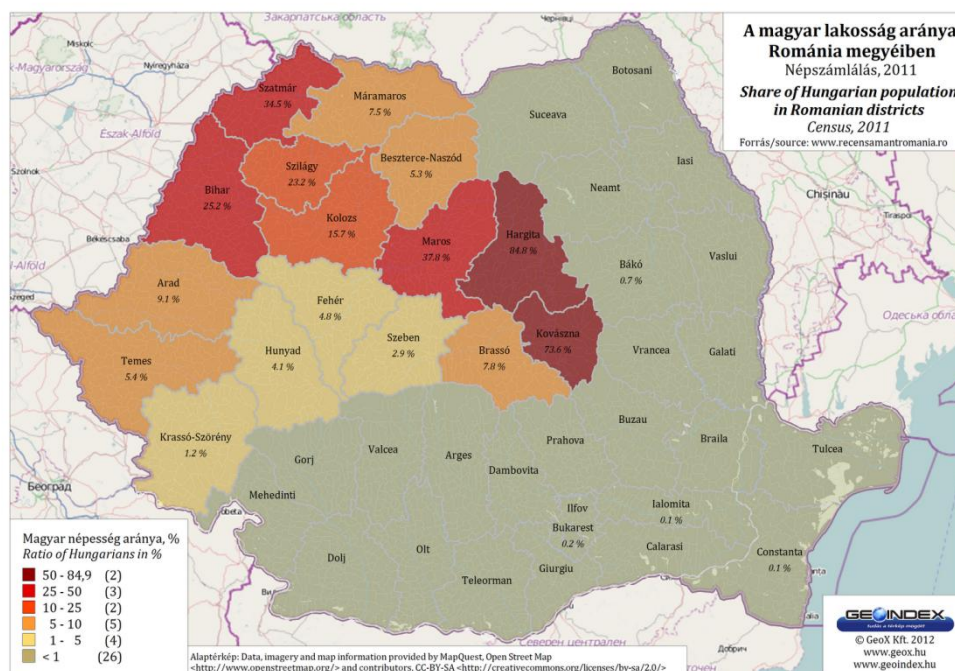


Figure 1.1 – Map showing the Hungarian population in Romania⁷

This fluidity of language and the exchangeability of the terminology employed here can be viewed as a metaphor for the porosity and flexibility of physical and ideological frontiers in regions where several different peoples and cultures meet. In our age, after a

⁷ See www.recensamantromania.ro [Accessed 1 August 2018].

period when it seemed they were breaking down, the borders of nation-states are again being accepted as rather rigid markers of nationhood and national identity for the majority contained within. In reality of course, frontier lands are usually peopled by communities from both sides of the divide, and in many cases members of the minority population may extend well into the territory of a host nation as a kind of land-locked human peninsula or archipelago. The Hungarian minority in Romania is a pertinent case in point here, as they form a significant proportion of a wider Hungarian eastern-European diaspora that extends beyond Hungary itself (see Figure 1.1).

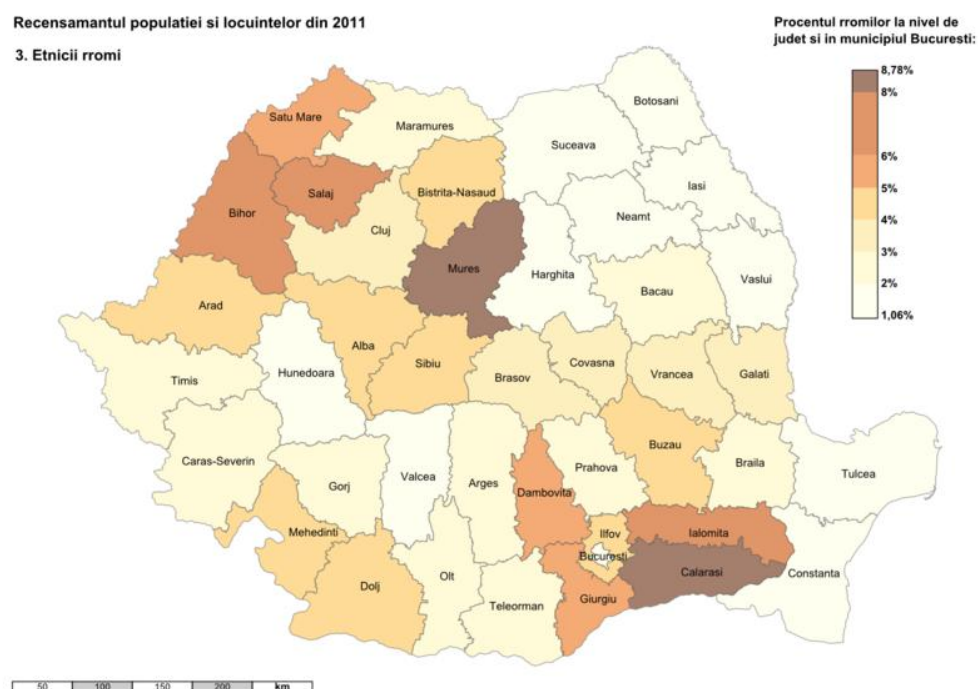


Figure 1.2 – Map showing the relative distribution of Roma in Romania⁸

The situation regarding Roma in Romania can be differentiated from the Hungarian example in that, although Roma have a genetic relationship to each other worldwide, there is nowhere in the modern world (and certainly not in a European context) that can be considered to be their homeland. Furthermore, even though most European Roma are now

⁸ See www.recensamantromania.ro [Accessed 1 August 2018].

settled, for some non-Roma this group continue to represent Europe's last connection to a pre-industrial agrarian nomadic past, before there was any notion of the nation state.

Figure 1.2 shows that the distribution of Roma in Romania is much more of a patchwork than is the case for Hungarians, and illustrates that there is no particular Romani heartland in Romania itself, although there are areas that clearly contain higher concentrations of Roma.

Roma have to negotiate borders and frontiers on several fronts, physical and social. The international Romani community has not achieved the same level of homogeneity that has been established by other stateless nations, such as the Kurds and Palestinians in the Middle East and the Basques of south-west Europe. This state of affairs is undoubtedly due to the Roma not having any recognisable home territory, as is the case for the two examples given above. The Romani 'nation', such that there is one, exists in pockets, each group having to define its own boundaries. At the local level in Romania, the Romani populations mostly live in the same communes as the non-Roma majorities in separate parts of town, within limits that are unofficial but actual nevertheless. This physical division also marks a social exclusion, which restricts satisfactory access to education, employment, healthcare and welfare.

The need for the compound 'nation state' illustrates that there is no expression that adequately describes a condition where a state and the land it occupies and controls, and its people(s) exist in a condition of perfect symbiosis. This is because it is unlikely that such a phenomenon can exist in reality. A 'state' has central jurisdiction over a physical body of land and the resources and people contained within its borders. 'Nations' are bodies of people drawn together by shared characteristics and values, especially ethnicity, language, religion and tradition (longstanding, or of more recent invention [see Hobsbawm & Ranger,

1983])). Where there is the will, both state and nation (in union or separately) are potent forces. The fractured history and existence of the Roma has rendered them stateless and inhibited their potential to evolve as a cohesive nation at both the local-national and international levels. Indeed, it is only comparatively recently that land with a Romanian-speaking majority has corresponded materially with territory controlled by the Romanian state.⁹

Thus, the disjointed experience of the Romanian Romani existence coupled with the relative newness of the idea of 'Romania' as nation-state provides a framework for attempting to answer questions about Romanian Romani musicians and Romanian music. I use these relationships as a basis to investigate local, national and global issues. The romantic image of the 'gypsy' and the geographical reality of their population distribution could be seen as similes for the cross-border and cross-cultural transmission of popular music,¹⁰ which does not hold great concern for frontiers of nation and state. In this thesis, I take this idea and investigate the phenomenon through case studies, which draw from subjects as seemingly disparate as Béla Bartók and Romanian popular music.

Identity, Alterity and Difference

Human existence is perhaps better represented as a liminal reality where linguistic, geographical and cultural thresholds are blurred,¹¹ rather than as a strictly delineated one where rigid physical boundaries and values are inscribed through the hegemony of the nation-state. Furthermore, the forces at work on behalf of the state define the historical narrative from their position of power, a narrative that must support the ideology. All humans are frontier people to some extent, having to negotiate positions either side of

⁹ In fact, 2018 sees the centenary of this event. The circumstances are discussed briefly in Chapter 2.

¹⁰ I am using 'popular' both in the sense of 'of the people' and in the modern meaning, as in 'pop' music.

¹¹ See Turner (1967) for an understanding of liminality in anthropology and its broader application.

boundaries. This post-colonial, post-modern standpoint can be expressed through the 'third space' concept attributable to Homi Bhabha,¹² a hypothetical region with elastic borders that exists outside the confines of the nation state and beyond the ownership of any particular community (see Bohlman, 2004:268).¹³ Despite the seemingly limitless possibilities that this model opens up and our natural human tendency to categorise and classify, it is nevertheless representative of the post-colonial approach to critical thinking which developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

This method challenges a weighted narrative that interprets civilization from a perceived position of western superiority, to the extent that it was seen as the duty of western thought to critique non-western 'inferior' ('oriental') cultures on their behalf. *Orientalism* (Said, 1995) has spawned a vast array of subsidiary scholarship in cultural studies, directly and indirectly, including in musicology and ethnomusicology.¹⁴ Much has been written now about alterity in the context of music. Foci range from representations of the 'other' in western art music (Bellman, 1998; Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000), through (for example) the study of non-western music from a western point of view (Stokes, 1992),¹⁵ to the participation and reception of subaltern groups involved in the transmission of music both at the local level and globally (Silverman, 2012). This thesis is written with the latter concerns particularly in mind.

It is fair to say that most of the study of alterity in music is conducted from a western scholarly perspective or, at the most, by academics closer to, but nevertheless usually still

¹² See Homi K. Bhabha *The Location of Culture* (1994).

¹³ See O'Connell (2010) for an application of the 'third space' idea in a musicological context. Also, Bob White (2012) invokes Bhabha, to support his description of 'world music' as occupying a liminal position in between different world-views.

¹⁴ Said's later *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) is also a highly influential work in this area of scholarship.

¹⁵ Little of consequence appears to have been written from a reverse standpoint; that is, studies of western music from a non-western position.

distinct from the particular culture they write about. The difficulty of imagining an 'other's' standpoint from one's own is recognised as an unsolvable problem, one that has been highlighted by O'Connell (2005:201n35) in an ethnomusicological context by considering work by the likes of Derrida (1967a and 1967b) and Taussig (1993). As a marginal subaltern and, albeit, heterogenous group, Romani musicians and their music have become of greater interest to academics relatively recently (Silverman, 2012:21). Again, it is true that most scholars working in this area are not members of the community about which they write.¹⁶

As I note in my introduction, my research begins by posing a question, the essence of which I restate here: Why is 'gypsy music' so admired, whilst the performers and the people they represent so vilified? At the time, I was unaware to what extent this paradox had already been considered. I typed something along these lines into an internet search engine and quickly became aware that it had been comprehensively addressed - very recently in fact. Carol Silverman's book, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora* (2012) starts from the same premise that I had formulated for myself independently, and in so doing covers many of the subsidiary matters that must be taken into account in order to develop conclusions.

Her argument is constructed in the context of the 'world music' market's taste for 'gypsy music'. It discusses how globalisation, identity and representation relate to this overarching topic, set against a backdrop of cultural appropriation and prejudice. In the process, Silverman draws upon the entire body of worthwhile work that had been written to

¹⁶ There are some exceptions of course. Dr Petra Gelbart is Czech-Romani on her mother's side. She is currently curator of the music section of the Digital Archive of the Roma (see <https://blog.romarchive.eu> [Accessed 12 May 2018]) and co-founded the Initiative for Romani Music at New York University. She completed her PhD in musicology and ethnomusicology at Harvard University. Outside music, Dr Adrian Marsh (see www.linkedin.com [Accessed 12 May 2018]) and Dr Ian Hancock are both British academics with a Romani background who specialise in Romani Studies. Dr Hancock is named as the first Rom to gain a PhD in Great Britain (see www.romove.radio.cz [Accessed 12 May 2018]).

date on the subject of Romani music, and refers to a great deal of supporting literature on depictions of the 'other' in western music. One of the most important issues to emerge from the volume in relation to my work concerns how verbal and visual stereotypes are exploited in the construction of 'gypsy music' as a sub-genre. Silverman considers the manner in which the Romani musicians allow themselves to be portrayed and the degree to which they self-represent. She emphasises that representation becomes such an important issue in this arena for marginalised groups because they '[...] have little control over how they are depicted in discourse and image', although she proposes that they do have more control over the choice of repertoire (ibid.:7). Whilst there is truth in this latter point, my work on Taraf de Haïdouks in particular has led me to propose that the musicians are often encouraged for commercial reasons to go in directions musically that they would not necessarily have chosen for themselves.

The interchangeable vocabulary that appears with high frequency in general, historical and political discourses concerning south-east Europe (e.g. 'Balkan', 'Oriental' etc.) also features considerably in descriptions utilised in the 'world music' arena concerning music from the same region. This is particularly true where Romani music is concerned, to which other less specific, but equally subjective, attributes are often added: 'exotic' or 'passionate', for example. There is also a long-held mythology that the Roma are blessed with a natural gift for music, and expressions such as 'genetically talented' and 'soulful' are

sometimes employed to reinforce this belief (ibid.:7).¹⁷ These labels are used by the ‘world music’ industry to sell its products to audiences, who accept the epithets with innocence (see Taylor, 2007). Whilst the cultural, ethnic and regional words might be received positively or, at least, with indifference by the western consumer, in some cases in a local context they can prove controversial, because they suggest bonds with histories and ideologies that the elite seek to deny in order that a modern present can be defined.

This phenomenon is certainly true for Romania, and the Roma there are implicated as being partly responsible for the problem (such that there is one). But, it is only recently that it has been written about to any great extent, certainly in the medium of English (see Beissinger, 2007; Beissinger, et al., 2016). However, considerably more attention has been paid to Romania’s southern neighbour, Bulgaria, and the role that Romani musicians play in Bulgarian musical culture. Although she looks at Romani music and musicians in general, much of Silverman’s work has concentrated on circumstances pertaining to Bulgaria. Highly important work on the music of Bulgaria has also been undertaken by other scholars (see Buchanan, 1996 and 2006; Rice, 1994). Buchanan (1996: 200) suggests that the extensive work done on the Bulgarian situation can be used as a model for investigating similar circumstances in other former-communist Balkan states.

¹⁷ See ‘These Roma Students Make Better Physicians than Musicians’ at www.opensocietyfoundations.org [Accessed 15 May 2018]. It features a www.activewatch.ro YouTube video entitled ‘Roma medical students out into the street’ made by some medical students who are Romanian Roma. They board a tram in Bucharest, and whilst one of them makes random noises on an accordion, they offer free medical advice to the passengers. “‘I was not born with music flowing through my veins”, says Madalina in the video [...], explaining that the prevalent Roma-as-musician stereotype does not apply to her and her fellow medical students [...]. In fact, as the video shows, they make lousy buskers.’ This initiative is part of a campaign which provides scholarships to encourage more students from the Roma community to train as medical doctors. The belief that Roma have a natural aptitude for music is, of course, not unique to them. Other groups are often endowed with similar collective attributes. For example, there is a popular perception that people with an ‘African’ heritage are naturally ‘rhythmic’ or that the Irish are also possessed of an innate musicality.

Rice (1994) provides insight as to how real people were involved in the socialist government's project to procure the services of peasant musicians and to commodify folk music for the benefit of the state. Both he and Silverman (2012) describe in detail the rise of wedding music (bg. *svatbarska muzika*) as a means of dissent, not least because it popularised 'gypsy' dance forms such as the *kyuchek*. A major objective of communist states' cultural policy was to create a uniform idea of nationalism and identity. In Bulgaria this meant the attempted eradication of any 'foreign' influences and proscription of anything religious, frequently anathema under Marxist dogma. The fusion of 'Turkish' with 'Islam' was probably the most potent combination to be avoided as it recalled previous Ottoman domination of Bulgaria (1396-1878). This stance affected musical life in several ways. It resulted in the prohibition of any instruments specifically deemed to be Turkish, such as the *zurna*, a double-reed instrument related to the shawm or oboe. It also decoupled much of the music from its primary function as accompaniment to the rituals marking significant rites of passage that more often than not had a religious purpose. The assumed spontaneity of the musical performance arises from traditions and practices that have developed over a considerable time and rely on the wellbeing of its performers. The attempt to create a synthetic culture does not take account of this, and the manner in which it was done in Bulgaria also does not allow for the fact that people who have had their property taken from them are not so likely to be pre-disposed to play, sing and dance.

Interest in the music of Bulgaria mushroomed in the west following the commercial release in the United States (1987)¹⁸ of *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares*, an album of Bulgarian folk music arranged for women's choir in distinctive close harmony, which has become an icon of the 'world music' phenomenon. Charges of improper appropriation are often aimed

¹⁸It appeared in 1986 in the United Kingdom.

at *Le Mystère* and other examples. Rice (1994:5) defends ethnomusicologists and casual listeners alike from such accusations, basically arguing that owing to our natural human inclination to take an interest in other people and their traditions, some level of appropriation is inevitable and reasonable, as long as it is not for dishonest gain. Besides, Romani musicians are the arch-appropriators of course and see little problem with being appropriated by others. As Silverman points out, music that has been adopted and adapted by Romani musicians tends to exist in several versions (2012:31). This is a thematic component of this thesis.

In our age of unlimited mechanical (and now digital) reproduction, most of us probably experience much of the music in which we subsequently develop an interest as electronic copies.¹⁹ Rice notes that his own interest began through hearing recordings of Bulgarian music that were used to accompany generic ‘international folk dance’ events that were popular in the United States from the 1950s onwards. He further remarks that the music was experienced in a disembodied form, with scant interest paid to the performers, their instruments or its social context. In the ‘world music’ era, the opposite is the case, where much is made of the ethnic individuality of the performers and their music in celebration of difference and diversity. When commercial factors come into play, this is often accompanied by charges of essentialism. But Silverman (2012:52) warns that wholesale condemnation of essentialism is unhelpful ‘[...] because we can never understand identity politics without it’.

¹⁹ See Benjamin (1999). Although Benjamin’s proposal that a copy can never have the ‘aura’ of the original refers to ‘high art’, it is nevertheless appropriate to say that a copy cannot replicate the spatial and temporal properties of any live aural or visual experience.

Alongside her roles as scholar, teacher and performer, Silverman also describes herself as an activist.²⁰ This opens up the question as to whether there is an obligation to educate as well as entertain, where the musicians represent a group who experience discrimination in some form. Music can reinforce prejudice by confirming stereotypes at the same time as advancing cultural awareness. Silverman (2012: 279) and White (2012: 190) have both considered an observation made by Steven Feld (2000) and others, which categorises devotees and critics of 'world music' as falling into two distinct camps, especially when it comes to questions concerning hybridity or fusion. Listeners can be 'celebratory' or 'anxious'. 'Celebratory' types rejoice in fusion, and believe that world musicians can achieve economic equality and, in so doing, assist the groups that they are seen to represent transcend their current social conditions. Whereas 'anxious' types desire purity and authenticity and see the 'world music' industry as just another poisonous consequence of global capitalism, exploitation and the commodification of culture.

Theory in Practice

The musical stimulus for my research occurred at a point chronologically equidistant between two extra-musical events. My first acquaintance with Taraf de Haïdouks happened roughly in the middle (2002) of a twenty-five year period that is framed by the Romanian Revolution on the one hand (1989) and by Romanian migration (without restriction) to the United Kingdom on the other (2014). I recall that the Romanian Revolution dominated the news. Although probably not broadcast live, the relevant events were relayed as if in real time; so much so that I felt that I was experiencing the collapse of the Ceaușescu regime as

²⁰ See www.anthropology.uoregon.edu/profile/csilverm/ [Accessed 17 May 2018]. See also Pettan (2010) for consideration of how an 'activist researcher' can apply ethnomusicological methods to assist conflict resolution.

it unfolded.²¹ Regardless of questions concerning the authentic representation of real-time action, the coverage was indicative of the shrinking effect that modern telecommunications were having on the world.²²

1989 was a momentous year of revolution for Romania (as it was for its former allies in the Eastern Bloc).²³ Following the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), the Romanian Revolution was just one part of a new geopolitical order and a new globalized economy that was taking shape at that time.²⁴ Concurrently, ‘world music’ emerged as a distinct concept, a phenomenon with which Taraf de Haïdouks were intimately associated.²⁵ Significantly, a number on their album entitled *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* (1991) provides a direct connection between Taraf de Haïdouks and the fall of Nicolae Ceaușescu (s. 1965-1989). Called the ‘Balada Conducatorului’ (en. ‘Ballad of the Leader’), the song brands Ceaușescu as a tyrant and celebrates the uprising in Timișoara and its repercussions in the capital, Bucharest. The reader will later find that this ballad has an ubiquitous presence in the career of Taraf de Haïdouks, bridging the gap between tradition and modernity.

²¹ Aside from the political importance of these events and their historical significance, the episode triggered an early interest for me in Romanian language and culture. I was intrigued as to how close the language was to the Romance languages with which I had some familiarity, despite Romania’s geographical isolation from the main European Romance-speaking bloc. I also somewhat mistakenly perceived there to be a greater cultural distance from this grouping than is actually the case, given my subsequent understanding that the region where Romania is situated was part of the Roman Empire for a time.

²² In his book *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*, Michael Ignatieff (2000) describes the circumstances surrounding the Kosovo war (1998-1999). This conflict (a further consequence of the collapse of Yugoslavia) heralded a new style of warfare. Images of the targets that fighter pilots could see through the cross hairs of their bomb sights were relayed digitally to control rooms hundreds of miles away, from which airstrikes were ordered. The same images seen by the mission commanders were relayed into people’s homes to a television audience that participated in the war solely as spectators. Incidentally, Ignatieff won the Orwell Prize for political non-fiction in 2001.

²³ These allies in the Eastern Bloc included Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland.

²⁴ See www.atlanticcouncil.org and www.imf.org et al. [Accessed 14 June 2018].

²⁵ Unlike almost any other ‘pop’ genre, ‘world music’ can be traced back to an exact point of conception — July 1987 to be precise — when some independent record company executives met in a (now defunct) London pub, The Empress of Russia (Frith, 2000:305). This observation has been qualified by White (2012: 3) who points out that it had been used earlier, giving Peter Gabriel’s WOMAD festival as an example and noting that the term that had had some currency in academic circles. One of those present was Joe Boyd, the founder of Hannibal Records, one of the first labels to release albums under the ‘world music’ heading.

2014 was an important year for Romanian migrants to the United Kingdom. That is, Romanian nationals as EU citizens were allowed to live in the United Kingdom without restriction. Romanian Roma followed in the footsteps of their Romanian compatriots and, in doing so, Romanian Roma hoped to find a more equitable and tolerant environment. These aspirations for a better life have not been fulfilled to any great extent for economic and social reasons. Coming face-to-face with Romani migrants, the British public began to question the romantic ideals of a 'gypsy' lifestyle and to foster (often) a racist prejudice towards the Romani migrants. The British were not alone in the EU in holding negative views towards their Romani guests.²⁶

The three events described above structure my thesis. With the Taraf de Haïdouks in the middle (2002), the Romanian Revolution (1989) and the Romani migration (2014) provide a temporal arch that emerges from personal experience. Importantly, the music and musicians of the Taraf de Haïdouks appear at the apex of this temporal trajectory. In one sense, the Taraf de Haïdouks represent the vestiges of a musical tradition. The ensemble continued a musical folklore at the heart of the Romanian tradition, a tradition connected to that which was recorded earlier by the ethnomusicologist Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958) and composer-ethnomusicologist Béla Bartók (1881-1945) and later by the ethnomusicologists Laurent Aubert (b. 1949) and Speranța Rădulescu, (b. 1949). In another sense, the Taraf de Haïdouks represent the thrust of a musical modernity through their close association with 'world music' as a global phenomenon.

Starting with Taraf de Haïdouks, I first look backwards at the theoretical issues that inform my academic exegesis. During my first ethnographic encounter with Taraf de

²⁶ Reports concerning the recent discriminatory treatment of Romani immigrants in France (2014) and Italy (2018) can be found at www.bbc.co.uk and www.theguardian.com [Accessed 22 August 2018].

Haïdouks (2016), I had the privilege of meeting members of the ensemble when I visited their home village in Clejani (see Chapter 4). I experienced firsthand the physical nature and the social character of Romani alienation. I felt the liminal quality of Romani existence where physical distance in the Romanian landscape and social distance from the Romanian elite were palpable in my ethnomusicological journey. A chance meeting with two members of the ensemble allowed me to record representative ballads and dances, musical forms that pointed in performance to the inheritance of traditional practices but which, also, heralded the prospect of a modernising impulse.

Taraf de Haïdouks: Looking Backwards

Taraf de Haïdouks represent a modern manifestation of transnational fascination with Romani music. During the nineteenth century, ‘western’ composers romanticised ‘gypsy’ music so much so that Romani music became the national music of Hungary. Here, the so-called ‘gypsy music’ (gr. ‘Zigeunermusik’) of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) is representative since it drew upon an positive stereotype of the ‘gypsy’ as pre-modern and carefree but, by implication, reinforced the negative stereotype of the ‘gypsy’ as peripatetic and untrustworthy. That contemporary studies of ‘gypsy’ culture suggested that the Romani homeland could be traced to South Asia fed into a larger discourse, which viewed the Roma as non-European. They were both exotic and ‘oriental’. In short, they represented the alien within.

During the twentieth century, Bartók continued to express such an ambivalent attitude towards Romani music and Romani musicians (see Chapter 4). Inspired by a nationalist reading of musical folklore, Bartók sought to identify a pure music for a pristine nation state; that is, a Hungarian music for newly-independent Hungary (established in 1920). Like his Hungarian colleague Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967), Bartók endeavoured to

record and transcribe an ancient stratum of Hungarian music, a stratum that was characterised by a minor pentatonic mode and a terraced melodic contour. For Bartók, 'gypsy' music was an anathema to his nationalist reading of a national music. It was heterogeneous rather than homogeneous and it was transnational rather than national. Further, Bartók even tried to draw a connection between 'gypsy' music and Turkish music, an association with a non-European country and a non-Christian religion which supported the representation of Romani music as 'other' and Romani culture as 'oriental'.

It is noteworthy that Bartók employs the 'orientalist' tag in a derogatory manner. In a 'post-Saidian' academy, 'orientalism' is usually considered by scholars in a negative light given its institutionalized association with colonialism. In this context, 'eastern' alterity is subject to 'western' control where the production and consumption of the 'oriental' in expressive culture served to solidify the subaltern status of 'eastern' culture in the 'western' gaze. This critical perspective is somewhat simplistic. As O'Connell (2005) shows, the Turks had their own version of an 'eastern' 'other', the Arabs. As he also shows (see O'Connell 2013), 'western' scholars during the eighteenth century attempted to view Turkish music (tr. *alaturka*) on equal terms with 'western' music (tr. *alafiranga*). One of these scholars was the Romanian prince, Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723). In addition to his historical outputs, Cantemir (tr. Kantemiroğlu) wrote one of the principal treatises in Turkish music, usually called the 'Kantemiroğlu Edvari', which appeared around 1704 whilst he was based in Constantinople (see Popescu-Judet, 1999).²⁷

However, the conflation of the 'gypsy' with the Turk persists. This was the case for some representations of the *lăutari* of whom the Taraf de Haïdouks were its most recent

²⁷ Charles Fonton (1725-1793), a French diplomat in Constantinople, penned an essay (1751) comparing Turkish and European music. Fonton was a renowned critic of ethnocentrism in European interpretations of other cultures (Starkey, 2018:210).

representatives. Although the ‘gypsy’ and Turkish connection is apparent in the language of the *lăutari* tradition, the intersection of the Roma and the Turk is more complex. For example the Turkish *takım* is the precursor of the Romanian *taraf*, the *takım* (en. ensemble) and the *taraf* (en. side) being derived from an Arabic lexicon by way of a Turkish intervention. However, the hybrid palate of Romani music is more complex, showing both ‘oriental’ and ‘occidental’ influences, demonstrating both traditional and contemporary traits. Indeed, it is precisely the ambivalent character of Romani music that allows for its appreciation by distinctive classes (in Romania) and for its dissemination to different audiences (outside of Romania). This is especially important when considering the reception of Taraf de Haïdouks.

Taraf de Haïdouks: Looking Forwards

Interestingly, Taraf de Haïdouks were able to appeal to a local and a global audience. During the communist era, musicians from Clejani were recorded (1983) by Rădulescu for The Institute for Ethnography and Folklore (ro. Institutul de Etnografie și Folclor).²⁸ Later, some of these musicians (as Taraf de Haïdouks) produced a number of albums for the ‘world music’ market. Here, the group tailored its musical style to suit the aesthetic sensibilities of a global audience. On one album entitled *Mașkaradă* (2007), compositions by Bartók and Khachaturian (amongst others) are revisited. In this way, Taraf de Haïdouks reclaimed the cultural capital of the Romani peoples for posterity. In another context, Taraf de Haïdouks have performed alongside ‘western’ performers (such as Yehudi Menuhin [1916-1999]) and ‘western’ ensembles (such as the Kronos Quartet), thereby acquiring for Romani music the esteem accorded to a ‘classical’ tradition.

²⁸ These recordings are given consideration in Chapter 4

The conflation of the ‘gypsy’ with the Turk is most apparent in popular styles. In particular, *manele* represent a conscious ‘orientalisation’ and ‘exoticisation’ of Romani music. Of course, *manele* has its origins in the *muzică lăutărească*. And, many of its ardent exponents are drawn from the *lăutari* tradition with direct links to the *taraf* ensemble. Indeed, I contend that musicians turned to the more lucrative market associated with *manele* and turned away from the more conservative audience patronizing ‘world music’. Further, the rise of *manele* is strongly connected with the demographic shift from the village to the city. Here, Romani musicians had to respond to the stylistic tastes of an urban audience where new media allowed for the creation of a spectacular style that was both audible (in terms of sound production) and visual (in terms of choreographic display). In this context, I argue that *manele* occupies an ambiguous position between the national and the transnational, and between the ‘west’ and the ‘east’.

Of course, *manele* in Romania has received some attention in the scholarly record (see, for example, Beissinger et al., 2016; Schiop, 2016). In such sources, the relationship between traditional music and popular music is emphasised. However, I have focused upon the contested position that is occupied by the *manea* genre; it is both loved by its followers and hated by its critics. Issues related to moral rectitude are foregrounded in relevant debates about musical taste, the questions of ‘alienation’ and degeneration occupying a prominent place in the vitriolic discourse (see Chapter 5). I am particularly interested in the ways in which a music can be loved but a musician can be hated, Romani music now for two centuries being the subject of desire but Romani musicians being the objects of derision. Here, I explore the role of parody in *manele* productions by looking at the carnivalesque play with prescriptions that characterizes *manele* performance.

Where I look at one musician in the context of the '*manele* debate' (see Chapter 5), I examine a number of musicians in the context of the '*manele* diaspora' (see Chapter 6). I trace the diffusion of one song entitled 'Saint Tropez' throughout the Balkans. In one instance, the song receives a homoerotic reading in Bulgaria. In another instance, the song receives a heteronormative rendition (appropriately by way of a flamenco twist) in Greece. Of particular interest is the version entitled 'Alayına Zam' (en. 'Tax on the Forces') by the performance artist known as 'Enka Mutfığı' (en. 'Pure Cooking'). The song concerns the political machinations of the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (s. 2014-). Although famed for its satirical tenor, the same song demonstrates the transnational significance of vocal genres throughout the Mediterranean that encompass *arabesk* (in Turkey), *musīkah mizraḥit* (in Israel) and *rai* (in Algeria), amongst many others.

In this chapter, I interrogated critically the negative representation of Romani people as 'alien'. Accordingly, I invoke Herder, who describes 'gypsies' as a 'multitudinous, alien, pagan, subterranean people'. In a similar fashion, Romani music has been denigrated as foreign (in terms of origin) and impure (in terms of style). In short, the Romani people are marked as 'other' and Romani music is characterized as 'different'. However, this 'otherness' is itself 'othered'. That is, there exists a hierarchy of 'others' where the Roma are the 'other' to Romanians and the Romanians are the 'other' to Europeans. Developing Seeman's (2014) notion of 'nested alterities', I examine Romani music from the perspective of 'nested orientalisms' in which expressive production exists at the borderlands between 'east' and 'west', between the past and the present. I show that such ambiguity is ripe for parody where the 'erotic' is juxtaposed with the 'exotic' both visibly and audibly.

The chapter presents intertextual connections between musical styles and musical ensembles. In it, I show how the folkloric *lăutari* tradition from the nineteenth century finds

expression in a popular style during the twentieth century (namely *manele*). In between, I examine how the ensemble known as 'Taraf de Haïdouks' occupies a mediating position between tradition and modernity since the group continues an older form known as the '*lăutari* tradition' at a national level yet participates in a newer style known as 'world music' at an international level. Here, Taraf de Haïdouks not only experiment with different arrangements (both 'western' and 'eastern') but also appeal to different audiences (both local and global). Significantly, musical taste is not directly equated with subaltern status since Taraf de Haïdouks have a middle class as well as a lower class following. In short, Romani music is successful precisely because it has a wide appeal. Unlike the Romani people, Romani music is not necessarily 'alien'.

Chapter 2 – The Roma of Romania

This thesis considers Romanian Romani musicians who work and exist alongside ethnic Romanians in Romania. Although often physically living apart from each other, the destinies of these discrete identities (Romanian and Romani) have been inevitably bound together in some way for at least six centuries. Their modern¹ histories are of most concern here, and these are virtually coterminous. Furthermore, historical knowledge about what came before is sketchy in the case of both sets of people. In this chapter, I seek to identify and place significant phases of Romani history in the context of the history and identity of their Romanian ‘hosts’. The discussion will then proceed by considering the Romanian Roma from the perspectives of music and culture. Furthermore, the role of ethnomusicology in Romania with respect to Romani musicians will then be considered.

In order to provide context for the Roma in Romania it is appropriate to present a geographical overview of Romania. In addition, it is also necessary to present a brief historical introduction to Romania itself. Since the history of Romania overlaps with the history of the Roma in Romania, I have organised the relevant discussion into discrete historical epochs that include the Ottoman, Enlightenment, Nationhood and Twentieth Century. As stated, I will now present a geographical introduction to the country.

¹ I take the late-fourteenth century to be at the very end of the Middle Ages and hence close to the beginning of the European early modern period.

Romania: Geography



Figure 2.1 – Map outlining the ‘Greater’ Balkan area²

For many of those who have written extensively about Romania, its cultural and physical location has presented somewhat of a conundrum. Katherine Verdery, writing about notions of identity and politics during the Ceaușescu³ era, states that ‘Different political options had been intertwined for over three centuries with alternative definitions or representations of Romanian identity (European, Eastern, something different from both); [...]’ (1991:3).⁴ This issue has been addressed in a Balkan context. Identifying Romania as Balkan at all has been problematic for many Romanians (Todorova, 1997:46).⁵ However, for

² This map shows the ‘Greater’ Balkan area in the context of the Mediterranean region (source: www.google.com [Accessed 25 August 2018]).

³ Nicolae Ceaușescu (1918-1989), Romanian leader 1965-1989.

⁴ Boia (2001:12) describes Romania as being at once ‘[...] Balkan, Eastern European and Central European, without belonging wholly to any of these divisions – [...]’. Furthermore, Todorova (1997:49) cites two commentators who describe Romania as the ‘[...] transition between Occident and the great Asian Orient, [...]’ and as ‘[...] some kind of no-man’s land, not European at all, but not Asiatic at all’.

⁵ Strictly speaking, the greater part of Romania does not form part of the geographical Balkan Peninsula, which is bounded by the Black Sea and Aegean to the east, the Adriatic and Ionian Seas to the west, the Mediterranean to the south and the River Danube to the north, as it flows along most of Romania’s border with Bulgaria. Technically, only the Dobrogea region lies within this area, as it is dissected from Wallachia and the rest of Romania by the Danube rising north towards the river delta at Romania’s frontier with Ukraine.

many on the outside looking in at Romania from political and cultural perspectives, the country is categorised as 'Balkan'.⁶



Figure 2.2 – Map of modern Romania⁷

⁶ Also, for example, the eminent historian Barbara Jelavich (1923-1995) has no qualms about including Romania in her two-volume *History of the Balkans* (1983).

⁷ This map shows the historical regions within the outline of modern Romania (source: www.pinterest.com [Accessed 25 August 2018]).



Figure 2.3 – Physical Map of Romania⁸

Greater Romania, which occupies the area largely represented by Romania today (see Figure 2.2), swiftly came into being in 1918 following the end of the First World War and the disintegration of Austria-Hungary.⁹ It can be seen that the region of Transylvania¹⁰ occupies a large area of modern Romania – some forty-two percent (100,000 km²). And it is evident from the physical map (see Figure 2.3) that Transylvania is divided from the rest of Romania by a distinct topographical feature, the Carpathians. It clearly forms a natural barrier that has separated Romanian peoples throughout their history, and ensured that the experience of those who resided in the ‘Old Kingdom’ was substantially different from the Transylvanian Romanians (and minorities living alongside them).

⁸ Source: www.maphil.com [Accessed 25 August 2018].

⁹ ‘Greater Romania’ resulted from the amalgamation of the ‘Old Kingdom’ with Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia. Transylvania and Bessarabia had majority Romanian populations with sizeable ethnic minorities, and Romanians formed the largest group in Bukovina. The ‘Old Kingdom’ was the outcome of an earlier unification process in 1861, when the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia became amalgamated under one prince – Alexandru Cuza (1820-1873). From 1862, ‘Romania’ became the official name of the unified territory (Hitchins, 2014:104).

¹⁰ The region of Transylvania comprises Transylvania proper, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Romanian society in the principalities was fundamentally an agrarian one, which was heavily reliant on peasant farming. The importance of agriculture to the Romanian economy was such that it became a focus for ideological and political argument. Romanian politicians debated whether they should take their lead from Western Europe and set Romania on a similar path towards industrialisation.¹¹



Figure 2.4 – Map showing Romania and its neighbours¹²

Today, by European standards, Romania is not a wealthy country. According to 2017 estimates, it had the second-lowest GDP per capita in the European Union (EU).¹³ Using the same measure, Romania is eleventh from bottom in Europe overall. As a European poorer relation, Romania would seem to have very little to offer those in the west and, as such, it is largely overlooked. For many western Europeans, Romania represents a first level of alterity. By attaching the ‘Balkan’ label to Romania, the ‘otherness’ is reinforced by a

¹¹ The shift towards industrialisation took a marked turn in 1857, when the commercial production of oil began. The earliest reference to oil in Wallachia is dated 1517. (See <https://kuweit.mae.ro/> [Accessed 28 February 2018]).

¹² Source: www.google.com [Accessed 25 August 2018].

¹³ This is according to the CIA World Factbook, published online (see <https://www.cia.gov/> [Accessed 22 February 2018]).

further remove; a place where a 'different' Europe can be found, and western Europeans can locate their own Balkan European 'others'.¹⁴

Through accidents of history and geography, Romania has had to contend with powerful empires¹⁵ at its frontiers and their often-conflicting religious¹⁶ and political ideologies¹⁷, either directly or indirectly. As a former province of the Roman Empire in antiquity, Romania has a connection to Western Europe, and Romanian is a Romance language, providing another strong link. But other forces have drawn Romania towards the east; the adoption of Orthodox Christianity (and the use of the Cyrillic alphabet for a long time), and especially the long association with the Ottoman Empire. Romania was forced to engage with another version of 'the east' following the end of the Second World War when it became part of the Soviet bloc until the Romanian Revolution in December 1989.

Livezeanu (2000:7) notes that there is a body of Romanian historiography, which describes Romania's unification in 1918 as a seamless merger of land and its self-confident people; that Greater Romania was the natural culmination of a smooth organic process bound together by a shared cultural and linguistic heritage. In truth, actual events belie this account of history. Significant demographic changes, in particular, produced major challenges. As a result of the merger that took place to form what would materially be recognised today as modern Romania, both the population and land area of the unified nation had effectively doubled. Focusing on the change in population, which had increased from 7.75 million to 16.25 million, it is evident that unification brought about a significant statistical change to the ethnic mix, as the newly acquired territories had higher proportions

¹⁴ 'Balkan' is frequently invoked metaphorically and pejoratively to insinuate cultural or political backwardness. For a colourful British Edwardian colonial example of such an attitude, see de Windt, 1907.

¹⁵ Namely: Ottoman, Russian, Austro-Hungarian, Third Reich and Soviet.

¹⁶ Namely: Islam, Orthodox Christian and Roman Catholic.

¹⁷ Namely: Fascism and Communism.

of minorities (Hitchins, 2014:158). Sharper definition also reveals that although Romanians still represented a substantial majority—at least 70 percent of the population post 1920 compared to about 90 percent before—it is also evident that Romanians formed the bulk of the, often illiterate, peasantry.

The Ottomans had encouraged migration from other parts of the empire in order to weaken the indigenous ruling classes in the principalities and any appetite they might have for revolt. Thus, in the early seventeenth century an influx of upper-class Greeks and Levantines began. This continued the tendency (also a feature during the Roman occupation) for the territory to experience waves of newcomers. There had also been a settlement of Saxon Germans in Transylvania that started in the middle of the twelfth century,¹⁸ and there was a major movement of Jews, into Moldavia particularly, in the first half of the nineteenth. These demographic changes make the survival of Romanian cultural identity and language as discrete phenomena particularly notable, especially when Romania's geographical isolation from the European Romance-speaking bloc is also taken into account.¹⁹ Lucian Boia (2001:15) posits that it would be hard to find such a remarkable mix anywhere else in Europe - that Romania is Europe in essence.

It is perhaps natural when considering Romanian identity to concentrate to a greater extent on ethnic Romanians, because they represent almost ninety per cent of the population.²⁰ Since a census conducted in 1948, this figure has not dropped below eighty-five per cent. However, the proportional change has less to do with an increase in those

¹⁸ Another important group in Transylvania are the Szekler people. The origins of the Szekler (hg. *Székelyek*) are not clear. It is popularly held that they are closely related to Hungarians (Hitchins, 2014:20), or they might be Magyarised Turks (Crowe, 2007:122).

¹⁹ Italy is the nearest, and is the closest linguistically too. It is about 700km as the crow flies from Timișoara in Romania (c. 50km from Serbian border) to Trieste, Italy and one would need to cross four national frontiers (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Italy).

²⁰ Ethnic Romanians comprised 88.9% of the population, according to the latest census in 2011 (see www.insse.ro [Accessed 12 March 2018]).

identifying themselves as Romanian than significant decreases in other ethnic populations, particularly Germans and Jews.²¹ Hungarians continue to be the largest minority,²² but, significantly, those identifying as Roma have increased considerably.²³ World events were the catalysts for the changes in the Jewish and German populations. Jews were habitually excluded from rights afforded to the rest of the Romanian population, but the persecution they suffered during the 1930s and 40s, and the subsequent formation of the state of Israel persuaded many of them to leave. Although large numbers of Germans departed Romania after the Second World War, many more left following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and German reunification.

Romania: History

The Ottomans

The Ottoman influence on Romania and its culture was extensive in terms of both its length and substance. The principalities of Wallachia²⁴ and Moldavia emerged around the beginning of the fourteenth century. By the end of the same century, these newly created principalities had to contend with a new challenge in the form of Ottoman military power. Following a series of military engagements, Wallachia and Moldavia became vassal states of the Ottoman Empire. It was never the intention that the principalities would be fully assimilated, but that they would function as a shield at the periphery of the Empire, and would be administered on behalf of the Ottomans by proxy (Jelavich, 1983:101).

²¹ In fact, the population overall dropped from 22.8m in 1992 to 20.1m in 2011, a decrease of 11.8%.

²² Hungarians comprised 6.1% of the population in 2011.

²³ The number identifying as Roma increased tenfold from 1948 to 2011 (53k/.3% to 622k/3%), although it should be noted that the 1948 census was based on language, rather than acknowledged ethnicity.

²⁴ Wallachia is derived from *walhaz*, an early West Germanic word meaning 'foreigner'. *Walhaz* was also understood to mean 'Roman' and, in particular, 'one who spoke a Celtic or Romance tongue' (Schrijver, 2013:20). Thus Wallachia suggests a place that is inherently liminal or 'other'. 'Wales' has the same derivation.

As the Ottomans did not have direct control over the principalities, to counter the threat of any treachery within, wealthy financiers and diplomats from the Greek community who inhabited the Fener district of Constantinople were brought in to govern there. This arrangement came to be known as the Phanariot regime and lasted for at least a century to 1821. This period is often referred to as being the worst for ordinary people in modern Romanian history, the Phanariot rulers largely having a complete disregard for the indigenous population (Crowe, 2007:110; Jelavich, 1983:103-104).

Enlightenment

Despite the geographical distance from the heart of revolution, Romanians also experienced some of the zeal for change that swept Western Europe in 1848, following the toppling of King Louis Philippe I (1773-1850) in France. The revolutionary movement was short-lived, but the revolutionaries' proposals and demands established important milestones in the desire to create a more egalitarian society and paved the way towards the formation of a unified independent state of Romania. The revolution's outcomes may have fallen short of the revolutionaries' aims, but modernisation was taking place anyway, partly due to large increases in population, a phenomenon that was affecting the whole of Europe. This was due partly to immigration and better food production, but lower death rates arising from better sanitation, in particular, was also a factor (see Malthus, 1996). The effect of this expansion could be seen particularly in urban centres into which there was also considerable migration from rural areas – a consequence of industrial revolution.

Nationhood

The next thirty years saw a steady further weakening in the hold of the Ottoman Empire over Wallachia and Moldavia.²⁵ By 1858, they had become to be known as the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, although no formal union had taken place. There was to be no further involvement by the Ottomans in the domestic concerns of the principalities. Complete independence was finally achieved in 1878.

Due to genuine and persistent vulnerabilities to the aggressive intentions of powerful imperial neighbours, Romania frequently found it necessary to review its alliances. This is illustrated by Romania's reactions to the volatile geopolitical situation that led up to the First World War and its continuing response as the conflict progressed. Romania had aligned with the Triple Alliance²⁶ in 1883, but upon the outbreak of war, the Romanian government opted to adopt a neutral stance for the time being, whilst maintaining a nominal commitment to the Alliance. However, public opinion favoured the Triple Entente,²⁷ and the notion of unification with Transylvania was becoming popular. The formation of a 'Greater Romania' was more likely with the Entente's support, so Romania entered the conflict in August 1916 with a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, the price for Romania's participation being a guarantee that Transylvania could unite with the existing kingdom of Romania to form a new, unified nation.²⁸

²⁵ Under the Treaty of Paris (1856), which followed Russia's defeat in the Crimean War, Ottoman suzerainty was retained, but the principalities now had full rights to self-govern and legislate, to enlist and maintain a national army and to participate in international free trade.

²⁶ Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy (1882).

²⁷ Great Britain, France and Russia.

²⁸ The de facto creation of Greater Romania had effectively taken place by the beginning of December 1918, filling part of the void created by the collapse of Austro-Hungarian monarchy.



Plate 2.1 – General Ion Antonescu (1882-1946)

Twentieth Century

As the likelihood of war loomed again, there it was inevitable that Romania would foster closer ties with Germany. The maintenance of the 1918 unification borders was the prime cause governing Romania's initial response to the growing European crisis, and this concern greatly influenced foreign policy decisions during the Second World War (1939-1945). The character of General Ion Antonescu²⁹ (see Plate 2.1) emerges as the one who could navigate Romania through this difficult time. Antonescu's earlier conviction that Germany would prevail unravelled however, as the Red Army overran Romania. Romania became a Soviet surrogate for the next forty-five years.

²⁹ Antonescu has particular relevance in this study, as his legacy is feted today by some elements on the nationalist right of Romanian politics. Often seen as the saviour of Romania, there were even moves to rehabilitate Antonescu under Ceauşescu (Hitchins, 2014:285), and further attempts were made in the 1990s, after the fall of the communists (Phinnemore and Light, 2001:3). For further analysis, see www.euobserver.com/eu-elections/124606 [Accessed 7 April 2018]. Antonescu's name is sometimes invoked in connection with anti-Semitic and anti-Roma and sentiment. His racial-social policy to deport large numbers of Roma and Jews resulted in many thousands of deaths and much suffering for many more.

The beginning and end of the communist period in Romanian history was marked by executioners' bullets. Antonescu was tried for treason and shot by a firing squad following the conclusion of the Second World War as the communists took power by stealth. Four decades later the communist dictator, Nicolae Ceaușescu, was dispatched in a similar manner, as his regime crumbled in the chain reaction that was bringing independence and democracy to those Eastern European nations that had fallen directly under Soviet influence. Ceaușescu ruled Romania from 1965 to 1989, replacing Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (s. 1947-1965), who had been in power for the preceding period.

From the outset, it was the intention to fashion a state conceived in the image of Stalin's Soviet Union. This demanded the eschewal of all vestiges of private enterprise in favour of central nationalised industry, a process considered essential for modernisation through industrialisation. It also called for a new order, in which the class spectrum would become redundant, with everybody treated equally. This had consequences for the Roma of Romania



Plate 2.2 – Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu as they appeared after their arrest and on trial

But the regime can be given some credit for creating a welfare state in which education, employment, healthcare, housing and pensions were made universally available;

the existence of such benefits may have had the effect of lessening public dissatisfaction to the privations suffered in other areas of life (Hitchins, 2014:281). It was inevitable that communism would eventually be rejected in Romania, as it was ultimately in the Soviet Union and all of its eastern European satellites. But the violent nature of its fall here was exceptional. The process that led to Romania being accepted as a member of NATO and joined the EU was a complicated one. It spawned a bewildering array of political parties and factions, as pro-European democrats had to contend with the remnants of the communist regime.

Roma in Romania

This discussion of Romanian Romani history is preceded by consideration of the origins of the Romani people in general, and the Romanian Roma in particular. The historical survey is organised into three sections: 1) Enslavement; 2) Emancipation; 3) The Twentieth Century. The first section corresponds closely to the Ottoman period of general Romanian history, whilst the second correlates broadly to the epochs of Enlightenment and Nationhood. The third is self-evident.

Histories tend to be written in the context of hegemonic nation-states with little regard for the historical narratives of marginalised and stateless people therein. This statement is particularly valid when considering the situation of the Roma people who form the largest and most disadvantaged minority in Europe.³⁰ The history of the Roma in Romania is no exception to this general observation. References to this group of people in

³⁰ According to European Union (EU) estimates, between 10 and 12 million Roma live in the whole of Europe with 6 million of them living in the EU itself. Of these, it is believed that as many as 1.85 million Romanians (8.32% of a population of c. 22.25 million) have Roma origin.
Source: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/roma/index_en.htm [Accessed 14 May 2015].

Balkan or Romanian histories often appear only as footnotes or afterthoughts. Some standard textbooks make no mention at all.³¹

The Roma in Romanian History (Central European University Press: 2004) by Viorel Achim,³² addresses the absence of literature on this subject.³³ Because there is very little material of quality available for the author to draw upon, he was able to survey everything of note that was extant. There are no documented histories of note where the Romanian Roma recount their own story. Literacy issues aside, this is because Roma have mostly not recognised that they belong to a larger distinct group that collectively has shown negligible interest in its own past.³⁴

Marginalisation

Despite efforts at various times to improve their circumstances, the marginalisation of Roma persists in Romania, as it does in other post-communist Eastern and Central European states where they have a substantial presence. Attempts to change the situation have originated from within the Roma community itself (ibid.:155). More recently, external agencies, such as the European Commission, have made recommendations for action to be taken that

³¹ A search in the index of *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Jelavich, 1983) for the terms 'gypsy' or 'Roma' does not return any results. More recently, in the preface to the paperback edition of her book, Irina Livezeanu (2000:xiv) felt compelled to respond to criticism that she had written little about 'gypsies' or Roma who she describes as '[...] the most hated minority in Romania'. She acknowledges that Roma were beginning to be considered a subject for serious scholarship, but justifies her position on the grounds that Roma did not fall within the criteria that formed the basis for her study.

³² Dr. Viorel Achim is Senior Researcher at the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History (Institutul de Istorie 'Nicolae Iorga'), Bucharest.

³³ *Esquisse sur l'histoire, les mœurs et la langue des Cigains* (1837) by Mihail Kogălniceanu (1817-1891) was the first study of the situation of the Roma in Romania to be published which satisfies acceptable research standards in the opinion of Achim (2004:4). It contributed to the moral debate about slavery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Almost a century later, during the 1930s there was an enhanced interest in cultural identity as a whole in Romania. That decade and the 1940s saw the publication of several sociological and ethnographic works about the Roma in Romania, but this trend came to a halt during the communist takeover, when the Roma were largely forgotten about again.

³⁴ Achim acknowledges that the writing of his book was '[...] difficult, often discouragingly so' (ibid.:6). In particular, he was frustrated by not being able to access official documents concerning Romanian state policy directed towards Roma during second half of the communist period. (I have engaged in email correspondence with Dr. Achim asking him if there has been any further progress since he wrote his book on obtaining documents concerning the policy drawn up to address the Roma issues in the late 1970s. His reply confirms that the situation is unchanged.)

encourages the fair treatment of Roma.³⁵ Education in particular — with emphasis on the early years — is seen as the key to ending the cycle of deprivation into which many Roma are trapped (Farkas, 2014). It cannot be denied that the predominantly negative attitudes held by the majority population are fuelled by disproportionate involvement in violent, criminal and anti-social behaviour on the part of the Roma community, which only adds to their alienation.³⁶

Origins

It is established that there are significant gaps in knowledge about the early history of the Romanians and the Roma. This paucity of evidence also lent itself to the fabrication of myths. The seventeenth century Ottoman traveller, Evliya Çelebi (1611-1682), narrates the fiction that ‘gypsies’ were descended from supporters of Pharaoh who had escaped drowning when the Red Sea parted to allow the Israelites to flee Egypt and were cursed by Moses (2011:277).³⁷ It seems the subaltern status of an oppressed group can be maintained by accusing them of an affront to the dominant religion.³⁸ As linguistic evidence contributes

³⁵If any recommendations are to stand a chance of being implemented in Romania, there would have to be a considerable shift in public opinion on the part of the majority Romanian population there. A survey (cited in *ibid.*:210) into ethnic relations conducted in 1994 returned the following statistics:

- 40% of the population reported having very negative feelings with regard to the Roma
- 34% had unfavourable feelings
- 19% had favourable feelings
- 2% had very favourable feelings

With such a high proportion of respondents declaring that they held the Roma in such low esteem, it is unlikely that any government — even a moderate one — would take any positive action that might upset the status quo. The most they might offer in terms of policy would probably be indifference. Realistically, real change will only be effected by the international community — primarily the European Union — providing concessions or incentives in return for evidence of radical social reform.

³⁶ According to the 1992 report, ‘*Țiganiile între ignorare și îngrijorare*’ (en. ‘The Gypsies between Ignorance and Concern’), the percentage of Roma in prison at the time was more than double that of the population as a whole - 1.2% vs. 0.5% (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993, cited in *ibid.*:206). The proportion is relatively small and leads to the suspicion that the imagined problem is worse than the reality. Nevertheless, the statistic provides an excuse for prejudice and discrimination against the Roma and contributes to blocking possibilities for social progress. Commentators have warned that rising intolerance and racism — a phenomenon clearly not restricted to Romania in the present economic and political climate — could provide a catalyst for inter-ethnic conflict (*ibid.*:210).

³⁷ English, ‘gypsy’, is derived from Egyptian.

³⁸ Similarly, the persecution of Jews is justified by condemning them as Christ’s killers

to theories regarding the beginnings of the Romanian people and their identity, it is also language that relates the Roma to a general geographical source. The Romani language, of which there are several dialects,³⁹ has a clear relationship to Sanskrit, which places the origin of the Roma in India, specifically the north-west region of Rajasthan. Persian, Armenian, Medieval Greek and basic Slavonic elements in the Romani language testify to the route that the Roma took on their long, slow, journey to Romania and beyond (Achim, 2004:8). More recently, genetic research has reinforced the linguistic evidence and furthermore establishes that the Roma have had a European, predominantly Balkan, presence for fifteen hundred years (Institut Biologia Evolutiva, 2012).⁴⁰

Because there are huge gaps in our historical knowledge about Romanians and Roma prior to 1300 it could be said that they share a common experience. 'Modern' Romanian history begins with the emergence of the autonomous Romanian Land (Țara Românească), Wallachia, in the first half of the fourteenth century, thus ending the mysterious 'dark millennium'. Similarly, very little is known about the Roma up to approximately the same point in time. But it is in Wallachia that the first evidence of a Roma presence in Romanian territory appears and it is from here onwards that much more information becomes available about them.⁴¹ Hereafter, documentary evidence attests to the fact that Roma were owned as slaves by all the major monasteries and boyars.⁴² Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723) confirmed that this remained the case some three centuries later, when he wrote in his *Descrierea Moldovei* (en. *Description of Moldavia*) that '[...] in Moldavia the Gypsies were

³⁹ Silverman (2012: 296n13) lists the four major Romani dialects as Vlax, Balkan, Central and Northern.

⁴⁰ The balance of scholarly opinion supports the view that Roma first appeared in Wallachia in the twelfth century and later in Moldavia (Crowe, 2007:107).

⁴¹ In 1385, Prince Dan I (r. 1383-1386) of Wallachia assigned forty families of Roma to the monastery in Tismana and in 1428, Prince Alexander the Good (r. 1400-1432) of Moldavia gave thirty-one families to Bistrița monastery (Crowe, 2007:107).

⁴² Enslavement was also a fate shared by the Crimean Tatars of Wallachia and Moldavia at this time (Crowe, 2007:108).

“spread throughout the country” and that “there was almost no boyar that did not have several Gypsy families in his possession” (cited in Achim, 2004:19).⁴³

Because of the lack of solid proof, there is an inevitable debate about where the Roma came from and the route they took on their journey to the Romanian principalities. Why did they come? Did they come of their own volition and, if not, who brought them? Did they arrive as slaves, or was this condition imposed upon them later? Genetic and philological data have presented strong answers to questions of their geographical origin and direction of travel; linguistic clues indicate that the Roma arrived from south of the Danube, from Ottoman Bulgaria and Serbia. The fact is, as soon as their presence is mentioned in historical records it is clear that the Roma were in a state of slavery (ibid.:27).

The Ottomans: Enslavement

Romanian Roma under slavery were categorised by reference to their masters,⁴⁴ but their existence could be defined more readily by the nature of their occupations. Roma dominated the profession of blacksmith to such an extent it was noted that ‘[...] in the former principalities there was not a single peasant farmstead that did not own pieces of ironwork produced by Gypsies’ (ibid.:47). Mihail Kogălniceanu observed that, apart from those working as blacksmiths (*lăieși*),⁴⁵ princely slaves were also engaged as *rudari* or *aurari* – goldpanners; *ursari* – dancing bear handlers; and *lingurari* – makers of household objects, particularly wooden spoons.⁴⁶ Despite their status, the Roma were not held captive as such

⁴³ Ottoman society had a slave class. An individual slave was known as a *kul* in Turkish. It was common for a slave to be a member of the janissary corps (tr. *yenîçeri*), and some slaves were able to achieve high office.

⁴⁴ Slaves were under the control of princes (known as princely slaves), monasteries and boyars.

⁴⁵ *Lăieși* also worked as stonemasons – from *laie* meaning ‘horde’.

⁴⁶ *Rudari* – from Slavic (still Serbian) *rudar* (en. miner); *aurari*, from *aur* (en. gold); *ursari* from *urs* (en. bear); *lingurari* from *lingura* (en. spoon).

but followed an essentially nomadic existence, living in relative freedom.⁴⁷ But they were slaves, after all, possessed by someone else, not recognised as legal persons and regarded as something less than human.

Roma belonging to the monasteries and the boyars could be determined by their lifestyle and employment. In addition to itinerant Roma (also described as *lăieși*), Kogălniceanu identified another group known as the *vătrași*.⁴⁸ At the time of these observations — the first half of the nineteenth century — the *vătrași* had just started to become sedentarised and no longer knew Romani. Excepting physical appearance and other defining features such as their names, they had become indistinguishable from the Romanian peasants alongside whom they lived. The sedentarisation and assimilation of Roma into Romanian society and the accompanying loss of identity, whether natural or enforced, is a recurrent feature of the historical discourse from this period up to the present day.

The transition towards a more settled existence did not result in the Roma becoming accepted by the indigenous Romanian population, who invariably regarded them as social outcasts. Consequently, they were obliged to live in dwellings constructed on the outskirts of the settlement. It was common for the Roma to adopt the religion practised by the people in the areas where they settled; in the case of the Romanian principalities this was (and remains) a form of the Eastern Orthodox rite. Despite their adherence to these beliefs,

⁴⁷ They were obliged to pay money to the Prince from time to time. In addition to his responsibilities to resolve legal disputes, it was the duty of the gypsy leader (*jude* or *guide*, *voivode* in Transylvania) to collect taxes owed to the Crown. In doing so, he was exempt from the obligation to pay tax himself.

⁴⁸ From *vatră* meaning 'hearth' or 'household'.

Roma were prohibited from being buried in church cemeteries among the Romanian deceased.⁴⁹

The subjugation of the Roma into slavery in the Romanian principalities was exceptional in the context of their wider European experience. This situation was most likely a continuation of the circumstances that they had been subject to in Christian Bulgaria and Serbia under Byzantine rule, before the Ottoman advance, where it was common practice for those regarded as both enemies and heathen to be enslaved.⁵⁰ Roma would have attracted suspicion because they were regarded as outsiders who practised crafts associated with sorcery. This interpretation concurs with the theory that the Roma arrived in Romanian territory as slaves from south of the Danube. Around the time that the existence of Roma in the principalities is first acknowledged, central and western European society had established forms that would not readily accommodate slavery into its structures. It had been abolished in Hungary as early as the thirteenth century, and the liberation of the serf class there occurred as a consequence of the 1848 revolutionary spirit.⁵¹ With this in mind, it is notable that slavery took hold in the principalities when it did and survived for so long. Other factors that set the principalities apart from their European neighbours were their almost exclusively agrarian economies and the relatively low density of population. There were large areas of sparsely inhabited land in which the Roma could follow their nomadic existence unimpeded whilst enjoying high demand for their crafts from

⁴⁹ The American-Uruguayan writer Isabel Fonseca (2006:251) recalls in her book, *Bury Me Standing*, that this was still the practice as recently as 1992. She describes the funeral and burial of a young Romani boy in Balteni, Wallachia. However, she does acknowledge that there are aspects of segregated burial that would appeal, noting that the Roma tend to be fearful of graveyards; superstition has always been a significant aspect of Romani culture.

⁵⁰ The aforementioned janissaries were populated as part of a process known in Ottoman Turkish as *devşirme* (en. lifting). Young Christian boys in the Ottoman Empire were taken from their families. They were forced to convert to Islam and conscripted into the janissary corps.

⁵¹ For an account of the circumstances surrounding the liberation of the serfs in Hungary, go to www.mek.oszk.hu [Accessed 18 September 2018].

the boyars and farmers. This depiction accords with the theme that Romania is somewhere 'different', not entirely European but not quite Eastern either, a fluid interface where cultures meet.

Enlightenment and Nationhood: Emancipation

Romania's physical and cultural distance from the centres of eighteenth-century western European liberal thought did not prevent the powerful forces of the Enlightenment from having substantial influence there. The existence of a subjugated slave class, considered to be sub-human, was clearly not compatible with the Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. The end of unpopular Phanariot rule in 1821 was a significant development in the process of modernisation and Europeanisation process in Romania; it contributed to the weakening of Ottoman control over the principalities and the acceleration of liberal reforms, including the drive to emancipate the Roma.



Plate 2.3 – 1852 poster advertising ‘gypsy’ slaves for sale⁵²

In fact, some significant reforms were initiated by Phanariot rulers. Prince Constantin Mavrocordat⁵³ (r. 1730-1769) established deeds to abolish serfdom in Wallachia (1746) and Moldavia (1749). During the latter part of Phanariot rule, legislation was enacted which sought to codify how slaves were treated. It acknowledged that slavery was contrary to natural law, but its continuation was justified on the grounds of its longevity as an institution. Although this legislation did not provide for the full abolition of slavery, it did at least recognise slaves as human beings. In spite of these developments, there was a growing tendency for slaves to be traded at auction with little regard for either the law, or

⁵² The full translation of the poster is as follows: FOR SALE: A prime lot of serfs or GYPSY SLAVES through an auction at noon at the St. Elias Monastery on 8 May 1852 consisting of 18 Men, 10 Boys, 7 women and 3 girls in fine condition (Source: Hancock, 1988).

⁵³ Constantin Mavrocordat was alternately Prince of both Wallachia and Moldavia for a period of thirty-nine years.

their welfare (see Plate 2.3). In particular, there was scant concern given to ensure that family units stayed together. Before the trend arose to buy and sell slaves on the open market, transactions generally took place between private individuals who, on the whole, at least tried to avoid breaking up families. These spectacles stimulated widespread revulsion for such inhuman practices from the public and foreign observers alike.

The revolutionary fervour that gripped Europe in 1848 undoubtedly acted as a catalyst in the process that led to the eventual emancipation of the Roma. Romanian intellectuals argued that the practice of slavery could not be reconciled with the radical ideas emanating from Western Europe (especially Paris, where many of these intellectuals had been studying) and the aspiration for Romania to become more European. The Romanian elite were embarrassed by criticism of slavery by western Europeans who were living in the principalities. Foreign writers were invariably attracted by what they saw as the exotic and mysterious aspects of the Romani lifestyle, which seemed to hark back to an earlier age. At the same time, they recognised that the enslavement of the Roma was an anachronism. Their observations would have undeniably contributed to the pressure for change, especially given the expressed desire on the part of the Romanians to adopt European values.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ A Swiss intellectual, Emile Kohly de Guggisberg (a tutor to the boyars of Botoşani [www.rom-landschweizer.uzh.ch {Accessed 18 May 2015}]), advocated the abolition of slavery stating 'slavery is the country's greatest shame, a black stain in front of foreigners' and asks the question 'Will you dare to count yourselves among the civilised peoples as long as it is possible to read in your newspapers "For Sale: A Young Gypsy Woman"?' (cited in Achim, 2004:97).

Laws granting full emancipation to the Roma were passed in Moldavia in 1855 and Wallachia in 1856.⁵⁵ Some Roma had already become sedentarised by this stage. In particular, the *vătrași* had settled on the estates of the boyars and monasteries having also lost much of their Roma identity. For the authorities, an important objective of the emancipation process was the forced settlement of Roma and the eradication of nomadism; what had begun as a natural process was adopted as policy.

The process of emancipation of the Roma in Romania created greater problems than those it set out to solve. Rather than providing a means for assimilation it had the opposite effect as it consolidated their status as the lowest caste in Romanian society. In conjunction with the authorities' main objective to sedentarise the Roma, they also set out to create a new labour force which could be utilised to work the surfeit of agricultural land available. Although nominally free, settled Roma who had been given a plot to cultivate still had obligations to fulfil the landowners' (their former masters) demands for *corvée*.⁵⁶ Many Roma who had been forced into this situation did not willingly take to agricultural work, preferring the security of their role and status under the Romanian form of *ancien régime*.⁵⁷ The demand for traditional Roma crafts remained in this new world and many of those who had settled in villages continued to make their living in this way, as they were still often more skilled than the majority Romanian population. Nevertheless, most Roma were invariably regarded as outsiders; they found it difficult to integrate and were obliged to exist

⁵⁵ Slave owners received compensation of between four and ten ducats per person, depending on the category of slave. This scheme had been proposed in 1839 by a Frenchman, Félix Colson (one time attaché at the French Consulate in Bucharest [Hitchins, 1996:169]) who had extensive experience of life in the principalities and produced a statistical survey of numbers of Roma living there. He calculated in 1838 that there were approximately 120,000 Roma in Moldavia and 139,000 in Wallachia, about 10% and 5% of the populations respectively.

⁵⁶ A requirement to provide unpaid labour on certain days of the year.

⁵⁷ *Ancien régime* is a term used to describe the socio-political system of noble privilege that prevailed in France prior to the 1789 revolution. It can be applied to the subsequent structural changes which took place in other parts of Europe following on from this (see www.oxfordreference.com [Accessed 5 November 2019]).

on the periphery. Those Roma ex-slaves who did merge into the rural peasantry essentially became Romanians and identified themselves as such in surveys and censuses although recognisable as Roma.

The Twentieth Century

The Roma were a constituent of the complex ethnic tapestry that resulted from the unification of Romania after the First World War in 1918.⁵⁸ In 1930, the first population census was undertaken in the unified Kingdom of Romania, and it presented a valuable snapshot of the ethnic and cultural make-up of Romania between the two world wars. Many Roma did not identify themselves as 'gypsies' in the census because they considered the description to be pejorative. Furthermore, by this stage the assimilation process had advanced to a point where a large proportion of now considered that they were more Romanian or Hungarian than they were Roma.⁵⁹ Chelcea⁶⁰ observed that although there was a large majority who regarded themselves as fully integrated into the local communities, they could still be recognised as Roma. The fact that they could be readily differentiated by the dominant ethnic group in the communities where they had settled was enough to ensure their almost universal continued marginalisation and social exclusion.

Although starting from a position of social inferiority, many Roma began to approach economic parity with Romanian villagers during the inter-war period and there were some

⁵⁸ 262,501 of the respondents declared themselves to be 'gypsies'. This figure represented 1.5% of the population, the total at that time being just over 18,000,000. There is a high degree of certainty that the actual figure was considerably greater than this. In 1930, literacy in Greater Romania was just 57%, so the conduct of the census must have taken this into account. The most reliable estimate calculated that the actual number of Roma in Romania at the time of the 1930 census was more likely to have been double the figure that was stated in the results, i.e. it was nearer 500,000 or 3% of the total population (Chelcea, 1944 cited in Achim., 2004:146).

⁵⁹ By the time of the census almost 66% of Roma had abandoned or completely forgotten the Romani language.

⁶⁰ Ion Chelcea (1902-1991) was a Romanian sociologist and folklorist. Although his 1944 monograph *Țigani din România. Monografie etnografică* (en. The Gypsies in Romania. An Ethnographic Monograph) is still recognised today for the quality of its scholarship, it is also considered as being tainted by having, as Achim (2004:4) puts it, certain '[...]shortcomings due to the ideological climate of the period, [...]'.

advances in their standard of living. In particular, the quality of much of their housing improved and a greater number of children attended school. As the process of assimilation and 'Romanianisation' progressed, many Roma rejected, or forgot, most of their cultural identity. During this period, there was perhaps a greater level of acceptance and tolerance shown by the majority population towards the Roma than at any time since their emancipation up to the present day.

The 1930s saw many with Roma ancestry enter into the professional, intellectual and artistic life of Greater Romania. Despite the difficulties presented in trying to create national cohesion from heterogeneity, there was optimism about Romania's future, as cultural forces sought to synthesise a peculiarly Romanian identity from Orthodox Christianity and peasant culture. A new class of Roma, better educated than many of their peers, did not want to forget their Romani heritage, so they sought constructive ways to maintain and celebrate their heritage. The blossoming of professional and community interest groups led to a call for a unified body to be established which could represent all Roma in Romania.⁶¹ But, the activities of such organisations were limited when Carol II imposed a royal dictatorship in 1938 which placed restrictions on political parties and groups considered to have a political agenda (Hitchins, 2014:174).

Carol's preference for authoritarianism marked the end of democracy in Romania for the next fifty years at least, and prefaced a troubled period of history that began with the rise of the racist Iron Guard and an alliance with Nazi Germany under the similarly intolerant Ion Antonescu. These developments would prove catastrophic for Romanian Jews and Roma and were undoubtedly instrumental in stifling the development of Romania and the

⁶¹ In the event, two such organisations were created, the General Association of Gypsies in Romania (ro. *Asociația Generală a Țiganilor din România [AGȚR]*) and the General Union of Roma in Romania (*Uniunii Generale a Romilor din România [UGRR]*), which grew out of the former and adopted very similar aims to the General Association. The UGRR became the more influential of the two.

emancipation process for the population as a whole. Antonescu's involvement in the Jewish holocaust has been given attention (Butnaru, 1992).⁶² But his resolve to expel a section of the Roma population was based on his assertion that they were disproportionately involved in crime and disorder in Bucharest. Notwithstanding Antonescu's apparent motive for doing what he did, his action must be considered against a mood of racial supremacy and xenophobia that was reawakening in sections of Romanian society.⁶³

During the period following emancipation up to the Second World War, the Roma had not been the subject of any specific racial or social policies. This is perhaps surprising considering their inferior status and the low regard held for them by the majority Romanian population. Although recognised by the authorities as a discrete ethnicity, they were regarded by many as more of a social menace than a racial threat. As definitions of what it meant to be Romanian were written into the Constitution of 1938, so interest increased as to how other minority populations should be dealt with.⁶⁴

⁶² Derogatory references to Jews in transcripts of his discussions with his ministers and fellow officers leave one in no doubt as to Antonescu's anti-Semitism (Deletant, 2006:65).

⁶³ The extent to which Antonescu was influenced by the fascist ideology of Romania's Nazi German allies is moot.

⁶⁴ This policy of Romanianisation was initially aimed at ostracising Jews, but it affected all ethnic groups to some extent. A distinction was drawn between those who were Romanian by blood and others who were only Romanian by virtue of their citizenship. Roma were regarded as inferior, even to the other non-Romanian minorities. A policy of sterilisation was proposed (but not implemented) with the intention of eradicating the Roma population in a generation. Furthermore, it was also proposed that all nomads be rounded up and held in labour camps where they would be forced to work for their living, a solution tantamount to suggesting a return to slavery.



Figure 2.5 - Location of Transnistria⁶⁵

Antonescu decided that certain groups of Roma⁶⁶ should be deported to Transnistria (see Figure 2.5), a strip of land between the Dniester and Bug rivers, occupied following the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and under Romanian civil administration. It is suggested that Transnistria was chosen as a destination because Romania had no intention of retaining this territory in the long term. When the Romanians withdrew, they could leave any exiles behind, condemned to a state of permanent expulsion from Romania (Achim, 2004:184). An eyewitness account provided by an intelligence agent working in the region, suggests that no provisions whatsoever appear to have been made for any aspects of the deportees welfare (see Deletant, 2006:193). Through starvation, disease and the cold many died, most deaths occurring in the winter of 1942. At least twelve thousand are thought to

⁶⁵ Source: <http://www.outofyourcomfortzone.net> [Accessed 18 September 2018].

⁶⁶ The number of Romanian Roma who were subjected to deportation and the ordeal in Transnistria was only a small proportion of the total population. Attempts to assimilate the remaining nomadic Roma had failed, but in Antonescu's view their lifestyle was incompatible with authoritarian state policies implemented to control every aspect of people's lives. The greater proportion of sedentary Roma who were not considered a threat to public order were left alone. Antonescu's selection criteria in the case of the Roma, at least, appear to indicate that he stopped short of the intention to annihilate an ethnic group.

have perished and there is a possibility that there could have been as many as nineteen thousand (ibid.:19).⁶⁷

The policies of the Antonescu government with regard to the Roma and Jewish communities were not universally popular in the country. Along with other democratic voices, Constantin I.C. Brătianu (1866-1950), the president of the proscribed Liberal Party, appealed to Antonescu to reverse the measures. In September 1942, he wrote a letter describing the deportations as an unjustified and cruel act which ‘turn back the clock on several centuries of history’ (Achim, 2004:174). In some areas, the forced removal of Roma created a labour shortage and the residents of the affected communities complained to the authorities, asking them to reconsider their decision.⁶⁸ Brătianu also noted that ‘gypsies’ followed the Orthodox faith and

[...] have an important role in the economy, being good handicraftsmen, such as farriers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, farmers and unskilled day labourers. Many are small merchants, small landowners, milkmen, etc. Almost all fiddlers in our country are Gypsies, and there is no holiday where people can enjoy themselves without their music (cited in Crowe, 2007:134).

During the early years of communist rule there was some optimism again that the social status of the Roma might improve. They remained unquestionably the poorest community in Romania and therefore provided a ready-made constituency for the

⁶⁷ There is no definitive answer to the question whether the deportation of Romanian Roma was attempted genocide or an act of grossly negligent ethnic cleansing. However, the mass murder of Roma was a definite policy objective for Romania’s Nazi German allies and it is difficult to consider Romanian actions removed from this context. Estimates of the total number of European Roma who died in the holocaust overall vary wildly, ranging from 250,000 to 1.5m (Achim, 2004:181; Hancock, 2002 cited in Silverman, 2012:10).

⁶⁸ Similarly, an attempt to remove Jews from the economy as part of Antonescu’s desire to create a Romanian middle class also caused problems; many businesses were not able to function properly because the Jewish community tended to be better educated and possessed greater commercial knowledge and experience. As a consequence, unofficial documents show that more Jews remained in post than the authorities were prepared to admit (Hitchins, 2014:210). However, the racial persecution on economic grounds aimed towards the Jewish community prefaced increasingly violent and cruel acts of discrimination. Approximately 110,000 Jews were deported to Transnistria where half of them perished in the same conditions as those suffered by the Roma exiles.

communist policies of the new government. Significant numbers of Roma were made employees of the Party, the army or other organs of state security. In several villages, the mayors were recruited from the Roma. However, often due to a lack of even the most basic education, many Roma were not able to maintain these positions.

The Roma were initially favoured by the regime because of their poverty, not because of their ethnicity. The authorities showed no interest in recognising the Roma as an official minority as was the case for all other ethnic groups. They were mostly ignored as such until the mid-1970s when the government belatedly recognised that the Roma population had serious social problems that needed to be addressed. Although this issue became the subject of official policies around this time, very little is known about the detail. Unfortunately, most contemporary records are not yet in the public domain and it seems that they are not going to be so for years to come.⁶⁹

Poor attainment and the lack of adequate educational provision during the communist era placed the Roma community at a great disadvantage. Their difficulties became amplified following the fall of communism as they no longer had protection from a state that, despite its drawbacks, set out to treat everybody on an equal basis. As capitalist economics took hold again, the link between education and income potential was reinstated. This situation placed Roma in an even more parlous position. Their lack of engagement with the school system coupled with the authorities' failure to encourage inclusion meant that many Roma did not recognise the primary objectives of education.

⁶⁹ For an explanation, see note 34.

They were not equipped with levels of literacy and numeracy sufficient for them to be able to function as productive citizens.⁷⁰

‘A social and educational policy for the Roma, which will contribute to their modernisation and integration and that will be implemented with the participation of this population, is a necessity’ (Achim, 2004:211). The key to progress lies in education. For six-hundred years Roma have been an integral component of Romanian society and it is essential for the success of that society as a whole that a solution is found for these issues.⁷¹ However, I suspect that for the time being, most of their energy will be spent addressing fundamental problems of existence.

As the above quote from Brătianu’s letter to Antonescu implies, many Roma in Romania earned their living as professional musicians alongside those who were occupied in manufacturing and agricultural trades. This important aspect is acknowledged in the general Romani studies literature by Achim (2004) and Crowe (2007), but it is not discussed by them to any great degree. In the following section, consideration will be given to Romanian Roma in the context of Romanian music and culture. Furthermore, I will give some thought to Romanian Romani music and musicians in relation to Romanian ethnomusicology.

⁷⁰ 22% of Roma have no schooling whatsoever; 5.3% have failed to complete primary school; level of illiteracy of 27.3%; only 3.9% have completed secondary school; only 0.7% have studied at the level of higher or further education (Zamfir and Zamfir, 1993, cited in Achim, 2004:205). During the last decade of the Ceaușescu regime, literacy levels of the rest of the population had reached virtually 100%.

⁷¹ There is also concern that the failure to deal with the problem within has a deleterious effect on how Romania is perceived abroad. It is clear that fear of substantial migration from Romania into the United Kingdom was deliberately exaggerated by the thinly veiled conflation of Romanians with Roma or ‘gypsies’ by sections of the British media, which relies on public ignorance in order to perpetuate xenophobia. It is not unknown for educated Romanians to refer to politicians’ supposed ‘gypsy’ origins in order to discredit them.

Romani Music in Romania

Romani Musicians: Lautari

One of the first documented accounts of the type of work undertaken by ‘gypsies’ in Hungary noted that ‘[...] anyone who is smart lives by playing the violin’.⁷² The extent to which the Romani population of the principalities and post-1918 Romania as a whole were engaged in music as an occupation can be assumed somewhat from the results of a detailed census of ‘gypsies’ conducted in 1893 in the Kingdom of Hungary (which then included Transylvania) during the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The survey established that there were around 275,000⁷³ ‘gypsies’ living in the kingdom at the time, of whom some 17,000 (c. 6%) were recorded as working as musicians.⁷⁴ To provide some context, this figure is similar to those registered as being metalworkers, although it should be noted that for many, music may have been a subsidiary profession.

My subject chiefly draws on the *lăutari* (sg. *lăutar*) and *muzică lăutărească* (en. ‘lăutari’ music) tradition as it is represented in the Wallachia (Muntenia) region of southern Romania. In those areas that came under Ottoman control or influence, music was an acceptable diversion for Muslim populations, but performers tended to come from the Jewish and Christian communities. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, these were more likely to be Roma. During the period of the enslavement of Roma in the Romanian principalities, the musicians and the music they performed were associated with the Phanariot courts, boyars’ estates or monasteries. Following the abolition of slavery, these musicians were now free to practise as self-employed artists. Those who migrated into urban centres became associated with *muzică lăutărească*, a style that combines Romanian

⁷² From *Tzigányokról való história* (en. A History about Gypsies), cited in Sárosi, (1978: 15).

⁷³ This figure represented 1.8% of the total population.

⁷⁴ This data is from *A Magyarországon* (en. In the Hungarian Country) and is cited by Achim (2004:135,136).

musical tradition and western diatonic harmony with some Ottoman Turkish flavour (Samson, 2013:174).

In common with the other traditional trades practised by the Roma in Romania, the profession of *lăutar* is a hereditary one and an occupation almost exclusively reserved for males. Apprenticeship begins at an early age, with the trainee learning to play by imitation. The word *lăutar* is derived from *lăută*, the Romanian word for lute, and originally referred to one who played that particular instrument or the *cobza* (small lute). The meaning of *lăutar* then evolved to describe the fiddlers who came to dominate the traditional Romani *taraf* (en. band [pl. *tarafuri*]) and developed further to describe Romanian 'gypsy' musicians in general. According to Robert Garfias (1981:98), *lăutari* were working in the courts of Romanian nobles acting in proxy for their Ottoman overlords as early as the sixteenth century. Hence, present-day *lăutari* can claim to be descendants of court musicians with direct experience of Ottoman Turkish musical aspects.

Turkish musical influence can be traced to many of the components of *muzică lăutărească*. Although they do not always necessarily refer to an exact equivalent, the names of certain traditional instruments played by *lăutari*, such as the *cobza*, *kaval* (shepherd's pipe) and *nai* (panpipes), are related etymologically to comparable Turkish instruments.⁷⁵ Some features relating to the ensemble and form also have Turkish derivations (with Arabic origins). Before a group of *lăutari* came to be known as a *taraf*, the word *tacîm* was used to describe a Romani band. Both *taraf* and *tacîm* are Turkish (*takım*) in origin, as is the term *taxîm* (*taksim*), which describes an instrumental improvisation that precedes certain types of accompanied song, such as the *cântec bătrânesc* or *baladă* (epic

⁷⁵ The close Turkish equivalents of these instruments are the *kopuz* (Picken, 1975:268), *kaval* and *ney*.

song or ‘old person’s song’).⁷⁶ Moreover, some dance types characterised by irregular (*aksak*) rhythms are corruptions of the original Turkish - the seven-beat *geampara* being an example.⁷⁷ Such dance styles are particularly apparent in the southernmost parts of Romania, where Turkish influence would have been at its strongest.

Ensemble, Songs and Dances

Latterly, the instrumental configuration of a standard Wallachian *taraf* is generally formed of fiddles, accordions, *țambale* (en. cimbaloms [sg. *țambal*⁷⁸]) and a double-bass; it is rare for a pipe of any sort to feature. The *tacîm* had originally comprised *vioară* (en. violin), *cobza* and *nai*. At some stage (no one seems to be quite sure when) the double-bass had replaced the *cobza* and the *nai* appears to have fallen out of use in this context; the accordion and *țambal* were additions (Garfias 1981: 101). It is not entirely clear why they were added; I propose that it may have had something to do with changes in the nature of the venues in which performances took place. As larger (including open-air) spaces became favoured over intimate ones, so instruments having greater volume were required. In spite

⁷⁶ *Bătrânesc* is derived from *bătrân*, meaning ‘old man’, hence, *cântec bătrânesc* – ‘old person’s song’. *Bătrân* has the Latin root, *veteranus* (en. veteran).

⁷⁷ Investigations reveal that the *geampara* wedding dance appears to be derived from the name of an idiophone called a *çalpare* in Turkish. It is a castanet historically played by boy dancers (tr. *köçek*) (personal communication with John O’Connell, 5 November 2015). The etymology is confirmed by an entry in *dexonline*, an online lexicographical resource for the Romanian language, which states that, apart from being a Romanian dance, the word also refers to a type of castanet (‘patru bucățele de lemn cu care păcănesc dansatoarele’ [en. ‘four pieces of wood which the dancers rattle’]). The Turkish equivalent, *çalpara*, in turn, comes from the Persian *čarpāre* (four piece). See *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române* at www.dexonline.ro [Accessed 5 November 2015].

⁷⁸ The *țambal* has Turkish links through its relationship to the *santûr*, a dulcimer of Middle Eastern origin that Feldman (1996:160) notes was in use at the seventeenth century Ottoman court. Feldman goes on to describe how the leading *santûr* virtuoso at court of his time, Hilmi Bey (1820?–1895), swapped his *santûr* for the Romanian *țambal mic* (small cimbalom), a portable instrument that is supported by means of a strap suspended from the player’s neck. This is the instrument that features prominently in the *muzică lăutărească* of the southern and eastern Romanian provinces of Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldavia. Although the *țambal* does feature as an occasional solo instrument in *muzică lăutărească*, it plays an important role providing rhythmic impetus to the music in the absence of percussion, which is mostly the case (Rice, et al., 1998-2002:908).

of other changes in instrumental formation, the violin is dominant and is the instrument played by the leader of the ensemble, known as the *primaş*.

In 1913, Bartók came across the *hora lunga* (en. 'long song' [also ro. *cântec lung*]) style that whilst he was collecting folk material in Maramureş. This is a regional description of a type of free-form song, which is today known throughout Romania as *doină* (pl. *doine*).⁷⁹ *Doine* may be sung solo, by men or women, or performed on instruments alone (Rice, et al., 1998-2002:904). Although the *doină* is regarded as a peculiarly Romanian form, it became apparent that the style has parallels further afield. During his excursion to investigate some of the folk music of Turkey, Bartók became acquainted with a melody, *uzun hava* (which he translates into English as 'long [-drawn] air'). He identified a relationship to the Romanian *cântec lung* and underlying connections to Persian and Arabic non-metrical and melismatic melodic styles (Bartók, 1976:45).⁸⁰ The use of *doină* as an umbrella term to describe a species of vocal improvisation may have its origins during the communist era, when it became branded by the state for propaganda purposes (Nixon, 2001; Rice, et al., 1998-2002:906). *Doină* is described as a 'species of popular poetry and Romanian folk music, which expresses a sense of longing, grief, rebellion, love, etc', its etymology is unknown.⁸¹

The song types, *cântec de dragoste* (en. love song) and *cântec bătrânesc* are also often encountered in Romanian traditional music. In the Balkans, wedding festivities have provided an important arena for music making and work for the musicians who supply the entertainment, and this includes the *lăutari* of Romania. The musicians are required to

⁷⁹ *Cântec lung* is used to mean the same as *hora lunga* outside Maramureş (Bartók, 1967b:24).

⁸⁰ During the same observation, Bartók notes resemblances to the Ukrainian *Dumy*. He also refers to another example found in Istanbul by Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958).

⁸¹ For confirmation of this definition, see <https://dexonline.ro/> [Accessed 11 February 2016]. Although many Romanian words have obvious cognates—predominantly from Latin and other Romance languages, but also other regional languages—there are many that do not, and *doină* seems to be one such word.

react to the instructions of their employer for the occasion; they may be asked to change the words of a song to include a participant or guest in their interpretation. Additionally, they may be obliged to take requests for the music to be played with specific instrumentation or for particular dances to be performed. An important part of the celebration is the *doină de dragoste* (or *cântec de dragoste*).⁸² With romantic and, at times, erotic lyrics, this is often in the form of a vocal duel, in which each singer tries to outdo the other with interruptions and embellishments to their storytelling (Cosma, et al., 2001).

The *cântec bătrânesc* or *baladă* (pl. - *cânțece bătrânești/balade*) is a medium through which epic tales are told. The epic tradition was prevalent during the period of Ottoman rule from the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth. Epics recounted stories of feudal struggles at the time between nobles and their Turkish overlords, although they also drew from foreign and even biblical material (Bartók, 1967c.lxxxvii; Rice, et al., 1998-2002:906).⁸³ In the past, performances of epics could be measured in hours rather than minutes. Following an instrumental introduction (the *taxîm*), the singing of the story would be punctuated by lyric songs and dances. In recent times, performances are reduced to an abbreviated telling of just the tale itself, without interpolation (Cosma, et al., 2001).⁸⁴ An explanation for this change in practice can undoubtedly be placed at the door of the inexorable march of modern living, where there is an aversion to contemplative, pre-industrial modes of existence. Up to the mid-1990s (at least) in some parts of Romania, life had not had not changed significantly for centuries.⁸⁵

⁸² It seems that *doină* and *cântec* have become somewhat interchangeable as usage of the former term has increased.

⁸³ See Beissinger, 1991 for scholarship on the *lăutari* as performers of epic songs.

⁸⁴ Similarly, weddings that previously would have lasted for days, now take place over hours, albeit extending well into the next day.

⁸⁵ William Blacker in his book, *Along the Enchanted Way* (2009), makes such observations during several extended visits to Romania and the Maramureș region in particular.

Dances may have regional or other expressive names, *Ardeleana* ('Transylvanian style') and *Țigăneasca* ('Gypsy style') for example, but there are also generic types that are common throughout Romania: *joc*, *horă* and *brâu*. In addition to these, there is also the *sârbă*, a dance that features often in Wallachian traditional music. It is not easy to distinguish between the various dances musically on listening alone, especially as they are all in $\frac{2}{4}$ and have similar tempi.⁸⁶ The dances can be differentiated more accurately by the style and the movements and steps involved. Even with this knowledge in mind, there seems to be a certain amount of licence applied in the use of the terminology. The term *joc* (related to the verb *a juca* – 'to play') is often used to mean a dance in generic terms. *Joc* is used in preference to *dans* (a direct translation and cognate of 'dance'), and it can also mean 'game', given its etymology.

The dance labelled the *horă* in Romanian is known by a similar name throughout the Balkans, including the part of Turkey on the Balkan peninsula; a variant can also be found in Israel. For example, in Bulgarian it is called *horo*, *horon* in Turkish and *horah* in Hebrew. All of these different versions and spellings can be traced back to the Greek *choros*, meaning 'dance', in some cases interpreted as 'round dance'.⁸⁷ In a *rând de hore* ('Dance Suite'), *horă* can also be used generically to mean simply 'dance'.⁸⁸

It would be natural to assume that the *sârbă* has Serbian origins because that is what *sârbă* means in Romanian, but it is difficult to find absolute concrete acknowledgement of that fact. Whether this is because the etymology is spurious or the term has been

⁸⁶ I expressed my difficulty to Florian Iordan, assistant to Speranța Rădulescu at the Romanian Peasant Museum in Bucharest [meeting 2 September 2016]. He recognised my problem, but said that a *sârba* can often be identified by the rhythmic division of the duple crotchets into triplet quavers, but not exclusively so.

⁸⁷ Some Ancient Greek lexicons have *choros* meaning *kyklos* – 'circle' in Modern Greek (see www.perseus.uchicago.edu [Accessed 10 August 2018]).

⁸⁸ Confusingly perhaps, the *horă* is not the same *hora* as in *hora lunga*. Here, it may mean 'oration', but this cannot be reliably verified at present.

suppressed at some stage because of its foreign connection is unclear. In an obvious reference to its Serbian roots, what became *manele* was described as *muzică sârbească* (en. Serbian music) in an earlier manifestation. There is an isolated claim extant that *sârbă* is a shortening of *sărbătoare*, which means ‘celebration’ in Romanian.⁸⁹

The *brâu* is described as a belt dance, in which the dancers hold on to each other’s waist. Bartók (1967a:34) describes a *brâu* from the Hunedoara area thus; noting that it is a round dance, he continues,

The men place their hands on the necks of the two women at their right and left, the women place their hands on the belts of the two men at their right and left. The dancers make a few light and short steps to the right and to the left so that the circle moves to and fro.

Romani Music as Romanian Music: Muzică Lăutărească

The appreciation and knowledge of *muzică lăutărească* (and more besides) has been greatly enhanced by the work of the Romanian ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu (1949-), for those in Romania and beyond. She has been responsible for many field recordings of Romanian folk music and is a driving force behind the *Ethnophonie* collection of CDs produced under the auspices of Muzeul Țăranului Român (en. Romanian Peasant Museum) in Bucharest.⁹⁰ This series complements the earlier archive of 78 rpm recordings compiled by the pioneering Romanian ethnomusicologist, Constantin Brăiloiu. It is evident from the introduction to the collection provided on the *Ethnophonie* website that its curators made a deliberate choice to focus on the musics of ethnic minorities in Romania to counter the

⁸⁹ This is doubtful; even with just a working knowledge of the Romanian language it seems unlikely to me that the diacritic on the initial ‘a’ (â to ă) would undergo such a change (it would also affect pronunciation), and may well be just an attempt to undermine the original source of the *sârbă*. Nevertheless, such connections have been made. A comment on a blog page, www.surprising-romania.blogspot.co.uk [Accessed 10 December 2017], about the *sârba*, makes such a claim in response to the bloggers assertion that the name of the dance has a Serbian connection, stating that only somebody ignorant of the Romanian language could say such a thing.

⁹⁰ See www.ethnophonie.ro for information about all of the recordings available.

synthetic homogenous folkloric music favoured under the communist system. The authorities sought to play down the existence of non-Romanian ethnicities to encourage the idea of a single Romanian national identity. Rădulescu's interest in the music of minorities as a local academic in an area where there was considerable political manipulation of musical output was somewhat unusual for the time, although the topic attracted considerable interest from western scholars (especially those from the United States) in other parts of south-eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria, (Samson, 2013:502).⁹¹

Alongside her extensive work as an archivist of Romanian folk music, Rădulescu has written about Romanian 'gypsy music' in general and *muzică lăutărească* in particular. More recently, she has contributed to the study of *manele* (in Beissinger, et al., 2016). *Taifasuri despre muzica țigănească – Chats about gypsy music*⁹² (2015) is a collection of interviews that Rădulescu conducted (with assistance from colleagues) with mostly Romanian Romani musicians. There are twelve chats in all, of which the first six are with musicians from southern Romania and Bucharest, areas of most concern here. The author seeks to answer the seemingly difficult question 'What is Gypsy Music?', a question she admits that she is still unable to answer categorically herself, despite having spent a good deal of time thinking about it. As much as the book is about 'gypsy music' it is also about Romani identity in general. The informants in the first chat initially deny their 'gypsy' ethnicity because they do not speak the Romani language. In another case (the second chat), the subjects eschew the Roma designation, preferring to be identified as 'gypsies'.

For western lay 'world music' enthusiasts of 'gypsy music', the answer to the question 'What is Gypsy Music?' is relatively simple. It is music played by 'gypsies', and

⁹¹ I cover the ethnomusicological interest in Bulgaria in the Introduction.

⁹² The title is bilingual as an abridged English version (from which I take my references) is also provided in the same volume.

marketed as such, to the extent that in the minds of its western followers the 'Romanian' in Romanian 'gypsy music' defers to the 'gypsy' in a kind of reverse nested alterity. The music's fundamental Romanian character is seen as subsidiary to its 'gypsiness'. For the Romanian (non-Roma or Roma) and those of us from elsewhere who take it upon ourselves to study Romanian 'gypsy music', a definitive response is not straightforward. Rădulescu acknowledges that the problem can be addressed through the discipline of ethnomusicology, but this is not a 'hard' science with fixed processes that can provide conclusive results. Additionally, anthropological study can provide insight into questions of identity; however, again, its procedures are necessarily subjective. By conducting and recording conversations, the author synthesises the distantiation (the etic perspective) of the external researcher with the internal knowledge of the musicians and their associates (the emic perspective) in order to attempt some answers.

As noted already, general contempt for Roma in Romania is widespread, although it is tempered somewhat by the extent to which individuals or groups have become assimilated into mainstream Romanian society. Furthermore, it seems that greater prejudice is to be witnessed amongst the better-educated higher social groups (ibid.: 243).⁹³ Amidst the discrimination, the *lăutari* have enjoyed an enhanced status because of their musical skills. This has led to them being described as 'silk gypsies' (ro. *țigani de mătase*), whose musicianship can only be fully appreciated by 'elites', be they other *lăutari* or Romanians. Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered in trying to define 'gypsy music', the *lăutari* are perfectly happy to be described as being 'gypsies' themselves. Indeed, for them Roma are the 'other' with whom they are reluctant to identify because of their

⁹³ See Beissinger, 2001:24, where an example of such prejudice is given.

negative association with antisocial behaviour, and what they regard as their outdated beliefs and practices.

An answer to the question as to whether the music played by *lăutari* is 'gypsy music', or whether they are simply the preferred interpreters of Romanian music under collective ownership is clouded somewhat by the long period of ethnic anonymity imposed upon Romanian Roma during the communist era, when they were not given official minority status. In the sixth chat, an informant expresses the view that *muzică lăutărească* has its roots in Romanian folklore. Elsewhere (the third chat), another maintains that the 'gypsy' element in the music refers to stylistic features rather than fundamental content. The 'gypsy' manner is described as having greater complexity, and as being more agitated and energetic than its solely Romanian counterpart. This difference is attributed to a divergence in dance style, which is seen to be more complicated in the case of the 'gypsies'.

The folklore issue is an important one, as it opens up questions concerning authorship and ownership, and therefore if it really matters whether or not there is such a thing as 'gypsy music'. It also provides some insight into the freedom with which the *lăutari* appropriate and adapt musical ideas. Musical folklore as a feature of collective creativity and its research thereof was a frequent focus for Constantin Brăiloiu.⁹⁴ Thus, composerless tunes are comparable to the idea of authorless myths, as set forth by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) and the ultimately fruitless search for 'urtexts' in this context (Brăiloiu, 1984:xiii).⁹⁵ Brăiloiu demonstrates this universality through the identification of very similar, often pentatonic, musical motives that occur across numerous cultures, and on

⁹⁴ Without direct reference to Jung, Brăiloiu (1984:56) refers to 'The creative gift of the "unconscious collective" [...] in his essay 'Musical Folklore'.

⁹⁵ See *Le cru et le cuit* (Lévi-Strauss, 1964) and *Anthropologie structurale* (Lévi-Strauss, 1958)

different continents.⁹⁶ He acknowledged that the need to ascribe artistic autonomy is a feature peculiar to an elite western aesthetic consciousness, a need that seems to fuel our requirement for artistic endeavour to be categorised and labelled. Thus, we are enticed to try to answer such questions that are set out here and elsewhere in this thesis.

Rădulescu (2015:254) concludes that most Romani musicians do not lay claim to the Roma being the original source of any music themselves. Nevertheless, they are often shown to be the custodians of national musical traditions which otherwise might have died out without their patronage (Kertész-Wilkinson, 2001). Bercovici (cited in Crowe, 2007:129) observes that were it not for 'gypsies', 'Roumanian (sic) folklore would have perished before anyone had thought of fixing it on paper'. Kertész-Wilkinson notes that the *lăutari* were responsible for ensuring that the Romanian epic song (*cântec bătrânesc*) did not become obsolete. In his book *Gypsy Music*, Bálint Sárosi (1978: 23) poses a question similar to the one that Rădulescu asks. Namely, 'So does gypsy folk music exist at all?' He concludes that it does, but with some qualification. Noting that there is no homogeneity to the musical style, he observes that '[...] [gypsy music] is generally different in each country, and everywhere it displays many features in common with local folk music.'

A few Romanian Romani musicians began to emerge from anonymity into Western consciousness around the time of the collapse of Ceaușescu's communist rule. Simultaneously, the 'world music' category was in its infancy and 'gypsy' and 'gypsy'-inspired music from the Balkans became a valuable commodity. Some very prominent

⁹⁶ Béla Bartók made similar discoveries after identifying certain 'Asian' or 'eastern' traits in the *hora lunga* (Griffiths, 1984:23). Brăiloiu criticises the propensity to describe the pentatonic scale as 'Chinese' because of its universal prevalence as a tonal system in musical folklore (Brăiloiu, 1984:39). He made similar comments with regard to rhythm in his essay 'Aksak rhythm', which is popularly known as 'Bulgarian' rhythm, largely due to the use of such a label by Bartók in several of his works. *Aksak* (tr. limping) are irregular rhythms resulting from the combination and alternation of duple and triple rhythmic cells that generally add up to an odd number of units - e.g. 2+2+3=7.

exponents of this musical genre originate from Romania. One of the first—and one of the most famous—is the band Taraf de Haïdouks from Clejani, about forty kilometres south-west of Bucharest. Equally famous is the Romani brass band Fanfare Ciocărlia from Zece Prăjini in north-eastern Romania. But there is a gulf between the few Romani musicians who achieve international stardom and the wealth that comes with it, and the day-to-day reality for the majority of Roma.

During their early years as an established musical unit (before the widening of repertoire and their collaborations with musicians from other traditions), Taraf de Haïdouks were representative of the Wallachian *taraf* as I have described it. Thus, this ensemble provides an ideal basis for enquiring into the regional repertoire and investigating how the traditional blends with the modern. In the following pair of chapters, my attention turns to Taraf de Haïdouks and their music.

Chapter 3 – Taraf de Haïdouks: Tradition

The Romanian ‘gypsy’ band Taraf de Haïdouks are undoubtedly one of the most celebrated acts ever to have appeared in the ‘world music’ arena. ‘World music’ is a relatively modern global entertainment, whose primarily western audience valorises predominantly non-western traditional music. When non-western tradition encounters western culture and expectation, an inevitable synthesis occurs. The career of Taraf de Haïdouks especially demonstrates this process, because at its centre are a group of individual musicians who connect musical tradition and modernity. Thus, this chapter and the next use the sub-headings ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ to structure the discussion.

In attempting to address the central paradox regarding the subaltern status of the *lăutari*, these chapters consider two of the subsidiary issues. Prior to their global exposure as Taraf de Haïdouks, the musicians performed a characteristically southern-Romanian repertoire. A broad selection of this music is available on ethnomusicological recordings that provide valuable insight as to the nature and purpose of the music. The compact discs entitled *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* and *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* form the basis for discussion in this chapter. The next chapter looks at the career of Taraf de Haïdouks as world musicians, which mostly addresses the second issue. Namely, the impact that the music industry has had in developing the musical production of the *lăutari*.

Following a brief explanation of how I came to be interested in the music of Taraf de Haïdouks, Chapter 3 - ‘Taraf de Haïdouks: Tradition’ is divided into three sections. First, in ‘Taraf de Haïdouks and the *Lăutar* Tradition’ I demonstrate how the recording *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* is representative of the *lăutar* tradition of southern

Romania. Second, '*Hopa, Tropa, Europa*' chronicles a short period (1988-1991) that is historically significant in both musical and political terms, largely placing the musicians themselves centre stage. Third, 'Outlaws of Yore' considers the music on the two eponymous albums. In particular, it looks at how the music of the *lăutari* is inextricably linked to their way of life. Moreover, it identifies musical links to the future.

Taraf de Haïdouks: A Personal View

The direction that my research has taken can be attributed to my first encounter with the music of Taraf de Haïdouks. I do not remember exactly when this experience occurred or what I heard, but I can recall hearing the band play a short set during a drive-time programme on BBC Radio 3.¹ It is likely that this took place in 2002, around the time when they won the Europe and Middle East category of the World Music Awards.² Whatever it was I heard, it epitomised for me at the time a 'wild East European peasant' sound, and I imagined it providing the kind of material that Béla Bartók and other art-music composers might have used as a resource for their inspiration.

The associations I made then may have been inappropriate or naive (or both). Had I confused 'gypsy' music with peasant or folk music? Does this music bear any relationship to *klezmer*, another musical style to which I find myself drawn? Did it awaken exotic and oriental fantasy, and nostalgic yearning? Whatever feelings or sensations it stirred, I was sufficiently fascinated by the music to want to hear more, and so obtained the CD entitled *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* (1994). I shared my newfound enthusiasm for this music with Sue Lawford, and her reaction and comments led me to consider

¹ The music I heard may well have been 'Turcească' (en. 'Turkish'), a dance in Turkish style that I refer to again later in the next chapter.

² See www.bbc.co.uk/radio3/world/ [Accessed 7 December 2017] for information about the World Music Awards. Given that some of the discussion in this thesis leads to the Middle East, the connection of this region with Europe as a joint category warrants a minor note.

questions of authenticity and appropriation. She expressed the concern to me that their raw virtuosity, energy and natural showmanship would be exploited, their act liable to be adapted and packaged for western commercial consumption. Perhaps it would have been better if they had been left to carry on doing what they have always done, wherever they do it?

Album Title	Year
<i>Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie</i> (as Les Lăutari de Clejani)	1988
<i>Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I)</i> (as Taraful din Clejani)	recorded 1991 - released 2001
<i>Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II)</i> (as Taraful din Clejani)	recorded 1991 - released 2001
<i>Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie</i>	1991
<i>Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye</i>	1994
<i>Dumbala Dumba</i>	1998
<i>Taraf de Haïdouks</i> (compilation)	1999
<i>Band of Gypsies</i>	2001
<i>The Continuing Adventures Of Taraf de Haïdouks - Live at Union Chapel</i>	2006
<i>Mașkaradă</i>	2007
<i>Band of Gypsies 2, with Kočani Orkestar</i>	2011
<i>Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts</i>	2015

Table 3.1 – Taraf de Haïdouks discography

These points were valid at the time that they were expressed and they remain so. They are germane to my investigation of Taraf de Haïdouks and their repertoire in the context of their statuses as Roma, *lăutari* and as a ‘world music’ phenomenon. With reference to their discography (see Table 3.1), I show that their career traces a clear narrative as they metamorphose from local jobbing village musicians into a band with a global audience.

Taraf de Haïdouks and the *Lăutar* Tradition

Modernity has sidelined to some extent the art of those *lăutari* who still seek to make a living from playing Romanian folk music on conventional acoustic instruments within Romania, especially in an urban context (Beissinger, 2007:134). Paradoxically, the value of traditional *lăutari* music increased in the west as ‘world music’ enthusiasts took the ‘gypsy-music’ sub-genre to its heart. No group epitomises this phenomenon better than Taraf de Haïdouks.

The marketing of Taraf de Haïdouks consciously emphasises stereotypical features that the promoters are convinced will increase the appeal to western audiences and record-buyers. This is most evident in the notes and imagery included in the accompanying CD liner material. The name Taraf de Haïdouks is calculated to invoke the romantic idea of the free-spirited ‘gypsy’ living a life of adventure just on the wrong side of the law. ‘Taraf de Haïdouks’ loosely translates as ‘Band of Outlaws’; this is clearly a reference to the idea of the ‘gypsy’ as an itinerant brigand, who survives on cunning and thievery. The *haiduc* legend is popular with the *lăutari* and is often a subject for their ballads. *Haiducs* were Robin Hood-type characters who stood up for justice for the ordinary people at the expense of the powerful, who they took great pleasure in outwitting.³ Their second commercially released album called *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* in particular adds to this association. While maintaining the theme of ‘gypsies’ as thieves, it also references a romantic association to magic and sorcery. Notwithstanding that Taraf de Haïdouks’ placement in the ‘world music’ market is a commercial construct, its members are all *lăutari*

³ The word *haiduk* was also used to describe Bulgarians who fought against the Turks during the Ottoman era (Rice, 1994: 225).

with strong connections to Romanian traditional music performed in context and thus provides the necessary link to investigating the work of the band.

Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes⁴ de Valachie

Clejani, the commune from which Taraf de Haïdouks originates, is in Giurgiu County (ro. Județul Giurgiu) in the historical province of Muntenia.⁵ Members of another prominent ‘gypsy’ band, Mahala Rai Banda, notable for their eclectic style, also hail from there.⁶ Many of the musicians who were selected to become members of Taraf de Haïdouks appeared on a landmark recording on the OCORA (Office de Coopération Radiophonique) label⁷ entitled *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* (1988), which was compiled under the direction of the Swiss ethnomusicologist, Laurent Aubert.⁸ This collection contains examples of all the important vocal and instrumental forms to be found in the southern Romanian provinces of Muntenia and Oltenia that were introduced in Chapter 2. The three types of song mentioned in that chapter are included in the compilation: *doină*, *cântec de dragoste* and *cântec bătrânesc*. Furthermore, all of the dances previously referred to also feature: *joc*, *horă*, *sârbă* and *brâu*. Additionally, a combination of these dances is played together as a suite (*rând de hore*) in the recording.

⁴ Tzigane and tsigane are both accepted spellings of a French word meaning ‘gypsy’ according to Larousse Encyclopedia online <http://www.larousse.fr/encyclopedia/> [Accessed 19 January 2016].

⁵ Muntenia comprises the greater eastern part of old Wallachia or *Țara Românească* (en. The Romanian Land).

⁶ See www.asphalt-tango.de [Accessed 8 December 2017] for details of recordings by Mahala Rai Banda. Mahala Rai Banda is in the Romani language and approximately translates as ‘Honourable Band from the Gypsy Part of Town’. *Mahala* is also the word for slum in Romanian. Hence, another aspect of the Roma experience — squalor and impoverishment — is invoked as a marketing device. *Mahala* is derived from a Turkish word (tr. *mahalle*) meaning ‘neighbourhood’ or ‘quarter’, which itself has an Arabic root meaning the same thing (personal communication with John O’Connell, 8 February 2016). It appears that it is only in Romanian where the word takes on a more negative connotation.

⁷ OCORA was established in 1957 for the purpose of making ethnomusicological recordings. It comes under the governance of Radio France.

⁸ Laurent Aubert had himself been introduced to the *lăutari* of Clejani by the Romanian musicologist Speranța Rădulescu in 1986, whose influence will be detailed subsequently.



Plate 3.1 – Cover of liner notes accompanying Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie⁹



Plate 3.2 – Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie, rear of liner notes

⁹ The cover illustration shows a naïve painting on glass of a *tacîm* of three musicians playing, violin, *cobză* and *nai*. It is, in fact, a modern painting made using the technique employed to create icons on glass, popular in Romania. The picture was purchased in Bucharest in 1986 by Laurent Aubert and it is in his personal possession (personal communication with Madeleine Leclair, Conservatrice, responsable du département d'ethnomusicologie et des AIMP, Musée d'ethnographie de Genève, 10 March 2016). Constantin Brăiloiu wrote an article entitled 'Les icônes paysannes roumaines peintes sous verre', demonstrating his extra-musical interest in ethnology (Brăiloiu, 1984:xi).

The recording is intended as a scientific and historical document and as such, it is presented in a traditional context. The front of the liner notes displays a naïve painting on glass of three musicians playing violin, *cobza* and *nai* (see Plate 3.1); and on the rear, there is a photograph of the players posing with their instruments in regional costume (see Plate 3.2). Alongside the ever-present fiddlers, the other musicians in the photograph are seen with instruments that are more associated with the ‘modern’ *taraf*, namely, portable cimbaloms and the double bass. I would suggest that the choice of these images is symbolic, as it represents the historical progression from the *tacîm* to the *taraf*, a process involving changes in composition to the Romanian Romani band that was remarked upon in Chapter 2.

Track	Title	Section	Translation	Duration
1	Cântec de Dragoste: "Lunca Obedeianului"		Love Song: "The Meadow of Obedeianu"	14'54"
1a		Cântec de Dragoste: "Lunca Obedeianului"	Love Song: "The Meadow of Obedeianu"	
1b		Horă		
2	Cântec: "Lelița Cărciumăreasă"		Song: "The Wife of the Innkeeper"	10'58"
2a		Doină		
2b		Cântec: "Lelița Cărciumăreasă"	Song: "The Wife of the Innkeeper"	
2c		Horă		
2d		Doină de Haiducie	Doină of the Haiducs	
2e		Horă		
2f		Sârbă: "Măriora de Cartojani"	Sârbă: "Măriora of Cartojani"	
3	Rând de Hore		Suite of Dances	6'19"
3a		Sârbă ca la Clejani	Sârbă in the Clejani Style	
3b		Horă la două	Horă in Two	
3c		Sârbă: "Măriora de Cartojani"	Sârbă: "Măriora of Cartojani"	
3d		Brăul ca la Clejani	Brăul in the Clejani Style	
3e		Brăul Greu ca la Clejani	Difficult Brăul in the Clejani Style	
4	Cântec Bătrânesc: "Bogatul și Săracul"		Ballad: "The Rich Man and the Poor Man"	11'29"
4a		Cântec Bătrânesc: "Bogatul și Săracul"	Ballad: "The Rich Man and the Poor Man"	
4b		Cântec: "Ce Larmă Se-aude-n Codru"	Song: "What is that Noise One Can Hear in the Forest"	
4c		Joc: "Bibilica"	Joc: "The Guinea Fowl"	
4d		Joc Ritual de Nuntă: "Horă Bradului"	Ritual Wedding Dance: "The Fir Tree Horă"	
5	Cântec Bătrânesc: "Șarpele"		Ballad: "The Snake"	18'21"
5a		Cântec Bătrânesc: "Șarpele"	Ballad: "The Snake"	
5b		Horă		
5c		Horă		
5d		Brăul		

Table 3.2 – List of songs and dances on *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*

This ethnomusicological recording can be distinguished from the later commercial recordings under the Taraf de Haïdouks brand by the manner in which the musical material is organised and presented. A full list of the tracks on *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* is

given in Table 3.2. The numbering sequence shown is the same as that used to reference the tracks and their subsections in the accompanying insert; I have adopted the same system in the text below, as appropriate. The album comprises four songs and a suite of dances. All of the tracks last more than ten minutes save one (track 3, 'Rând de Hore'), and one of them is closer to twenty (track 5, the number entitled 'Cântec Bătrânesc: "Șarpele"'). It is apparent that each 'song' is a combination of songs and dances grouped under the heading of the main featured *cântec*, a fact that Aubert confirms in his informative liner notes.

The opening track on this album, 'Cântec de dragoste: "Lunca Obedeanului"' (en. "The Meadow of Obedeanu"), provides an example of a vocal duel. According to the CD liner notes, the two protagonists adopt contrasting vocal styles. The first singer, Ion Manole, is described as having a 'classical' delivery that shares similarities with the peasant style, whereas his adversary, Cacurica, is said to sing in an 'oriental' manner 'à la tzigane'. It is not entirely clear here what is meant by this observation, which requires further investigation. Certainly, Cacurica's singing is characterised by a certain plaintive quality. These remarks, however interpreted, do demonstrate that the art of the *lăutar* draws upon a variety of influences and traditions, be they local, 'eastern' or 'western', as the following extract from the liner notes explains.

[...] *muzica lăutărească* has been the result over the centuries of an amalgamation of elements from diverse origins. Turkish influences have been grafted onto traditional and regional roots: recognizable in the modal and melismatic phrasing of the melodies, in the occasional use of microtonal intervals (in which one hears the echo of the *makam* of Ottoman music) and in the use of rhythmical patterns, instruments and musical terms of oriental origin.

On the other hand, there are characteristics that derive clearly from the musical system of the West, in particular the adoption of the tempered scale as a basic reference, the harmonic context of the instrumental accompaniment and the introduction of the accordion (sic). But what distinguishes the *lăutari* of Wallachia,

is the way in which they have been able to incorporate all these influences into one unique synthesis, to which these recordings testify with eloquence (Laurent Aubert, liner notes *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* [1988]).

The story itself recounts the changing fortunes of love. A boy is reminded of his desire for a girl when he comes across the place at the side of a river where they once made love. In the meantime, a young girl is facing death and she asks for respite from death itself because she is waiting for her beau. However, death's condition is too costly. Death will disclose her infidelity as a condition. All this talk of death reminds the singers of their own mortality, and their inability to love any longer. On the face of it, the story seems to progress as a series of not particularly related episodes. In conclusion, the singers recall the dalliances of the young woman. A *horă* follows the *cântec* with accompanying *strigături* (en. shouts) – instructions and whoops of encouragement for the dancers.

It has been common practice for songs and dances to be combined together in this context to form a suite, the contents of which vary from one performance to the next. The *cântec de dragoste* entitled 'Lunca Obedianului' is a simple example with just the two movements. The second track called 'Cântec: "Lelița Cârciumăreasă"' (en. "The Wife of the Innkeeper") is more varied in terms of content, form and technique. A striking feature of this particular group of songs and dances is its subdivision into three sections based on violin-playing techniques. Béla Bartók did not encounter anything quite as unorthodox as this amongst the few innovations he came across in the Romanian villages of Transylvania where he conducted his research.¹⁰

La fir de păr, fără arcuș (en. hair without bow).

¹⁰ Bartók does not seem to have observed the use of unusual or advanced violin articulation to any great extent during his research, although he did come across examples of double stopping, noting that this was often an unintended consequence of less accomplished playing. He also remarks that *pizzicato* and *glissando* are rare, and only used by what he describes as the more 'distingué' players (Bartók, 1967a:17).

- 2a Doină
- 2b Cântec: 'Lelița cârciumăreasă'
- 2c Horă

Ca cavalul (en. in shepherd's flute style)

- 2d Doină de haiducie

In mod normal (en. in normal style)

- 2e Horă
- 2f Sârbă: 'Mariora de Cartojani'

The first section tells the (wordless) story of an innkeeper's wife who refuses to go to the field and work, saying she is ill, but all too willing to take a drink. It comprises an instrumental *doină*, a *cântec* and *horă*, in which the fiddler plays the instrument *la fir de păr*. The bow is replaced by just horsehair. The technique is described in the liner notes thus:

The musician firstly smears the thumb and index finger of his right hand with rosin and ties a horse-hair to the lowest string of his violin. He then makes this string vibrate by rubbing the hair with his two fingers while he plays the melodies with his left hand (Les Lăutari de Clejani, 1988).

For the *ca cavalul* section, the intention is for the violin to mimic the sound of the shepherd's flute. In order to create this effect, the violinist produces harmonics by bowing near the bridge, and by pressing very lightly on the strings with the fingers. This movement is a sung *doină*, which relates an episode from the *haiduc* legend. The *primaș*, Nicolae Neacșu (1924-2002) features as both fiddler and singer on this track. A dishonest priest has stolen money from his parishioners, which he is made to return. The suite concludes with a *horă* and a *sârbă* entitled 'Mariora de Cartojani', performed using conventional violin technique.

The piece entitled 'Cântec: "Lelița Cârciumăreasă"' provides a useful example of how a collection of songs and dances are brought together under one title to form a whole.

Along with a *rând de hore*, the other tracks on the album are ‘Cântec Bătrânesc: “Bogatul și Săracul”’ (en. “The Rich Man and the Poor Man”) and ‘Cântec Bătrânesc: “Șarpele”’ (en. “The Snake”), which also combine various songs and dances to form suites.

This *rând de hore* is comprised of these five dances:

- 3a Sârbă ca la Clejani
- 3b Horă la două
- 3c Sârbă: ‘Matoria de Cartojani’
- 3d Brâul ca la Clejani
- 3e Brâul greu ca la Clejani

The liner notes explain that—subject to limitations inherent in a recording context—it is a faithful reproduction of a suite of dances such as might be performed at a Sunday feast or a village wedding in the Clejani area. Here, Cacurica takes on the role of dance master, announcing each dance and punctuating the music with *strigături* (or shouts), indicating the movements and steps to the dancers. As can be seen from the names of the dances, many of them have a local character. Three are described as ‘*ca la Clejani*’ (en. ‘in the Clejani style’) and ‘Matoria de Cartojani’ (en. ‘Matoria¹¹ of Cartojani’) refers to Cartojani, another commune, also in Giurgiu County, about twenty kilometres due north-west of Clejani. The notes explain that this is a variant of the *sârbă* that ends Lelița cârciumăreasă. However, careful listening reveals that the caller actually announces Matoria ca la Clejani. Whether the announcement or the description is a mistake is unclear. A notable feature of this sequence is the virtuoso *fluier* playing of Ion (Gheorghe) Fălcaru (1954-2016) who, for most of the time, doubles the fiddle line. The *fluier* makes regular appearances in the work of Taraf de Haïdouks in the hands of this player.

¹¹ Matoria is a the name of a woman.

In the *horă la două*, '*la două*' means 'in two'. As these dances are all in duple time anyway, the liner notes assert that '*la două*' must refer to the articulation of the dance steps, rather than beats to a bar in western musical terms. The last dance, *brâul greu*, translates as 'difficult *brâu*'. Its fast tempo makes for a dance that is already described as complicated, even more so.

The fourth track, 'Cântec Bătrânesc: "Bogatul și Săracul"' is presented in four sections: 4a The *cântec bătrânesc* of the title; 4b Another song, 'Ce Larmă Se-aude-n Codru' (en. 'What is that Noise One Can Hear in the Forest?'); 4c A dance – 'Joc: "Bibilica"' (en. "Guinea Fowl"), and 4d A final dance, 'Joc Ritual de Nuntă (en. Ritual Wedding Dance): "Horă bradului" (en. "The Fir-Tree Round-Dance")'.

The song 'Bogatul și Săracul' is strongly related to the *haiduc* tradition, as its theme concerns the redistribution of wealth. Following a *taxîm* that is similar to the one that introduces 'Lunca Obedianului', the story is told of a generous poor man who has treated everybody in a village inn to a drink and his encounter with a rich man drinking in the corner who has not reciprocated. The poor man, emboldened by drunken excess, becomes enraged by the rich man's meanness and warns him that he will be punished for his behaviour. He puts his prophecy to immediate effect by taking the rich man's money, which he intends to share with other poor people like himself. The liner notes inform that *cântece bătrânești*, like this one, are designed to appeal and to be listened to by the older guests at a wedding feast. *Cântec bătrânesc* also has something of a double meaning. Whilst it can mean 'old person's song', it can equally be translated as 'old song', attesting to its epic origin.

The next song in the sequence, 'Ce larmă se-aude-n codru', is a fable told by a *haiduc* in which a cuckoo and a crow argue about territorial rights. A hunter, who has presumably

been disturbed by the racket, decisively resolves the quarrel. The dance movements in Joc: 'Bibilica' humorously mimic the gait of a guinea fowl and the ritual wedding dance evokes the practice of moving the traditional decorated wedding fir tree erected in the groom's house to the bride's as part of the nuptial ceremony.

'*Șarpele*', the title *cântec* of the final group, concerns the tale of a boy born to a widow in a house where a snake has taken up residence. The mother interprets this as an evil omen and prophesies that her son will be killed by a similar serpent. As the boy grows up, so the snake turns into a huge dragon and there is some cause for optimism when it is slain by a heroic Moldavian. Any hope proves to be misguided. The widow's prophesy is fulfilled when the son is indeed swallowed by another snake. The story is presented as a series of verses introduced and interspersed by an instrumental *taxîm* on violin accompanied by a single *țambal* and double bass. Two *hore* and a *brâul* complete this set and the final track of the album.

Stéphane Karo and Michel Winter, two Belgians with ambitions to become impresarios, heard Aubert's field recordings. Karo and Winter formed Taraf de Haïdouks with most of the same musicians at its core who had played on this *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* album. Karo's increasing influence on the direction these musicians took is apparent in *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* (Rădulescu, 1992), which is a unique record of Romanian Roma musicians and the music they perform in transition.

Hopa, Tropa, Europa

Hopa, Tropa, Europa documents from a distinctively individual point of view, a tour that its author made to Geneva and Paris with a group of *lăutari* from Clejani for the official launch of the *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* compact disc. *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* provides some insight in the quest to address the central paradox and the auxiliary queries raised at the

outset of this thesis. Although their standing as ‘silk gypsies’ is referred to by Rădulescu, the author’s recollections of her interactions with the *lăutari* reinforce their status as subaltern, as do her descriptions of the musicians’ relationships with each other. But, moreover, *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* shows how Romani musicians adapt to requirements, and how the music industry began to have a hand in the future of this particular group of *lăutari*.

The following is my personal summary of what I consider to be the most important and interesting aspects of *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*. It is based on my translation from the original Romanian.

The trip took place during a week in early March 1988, during which some live performances were also scheduled to take place to complement the release of the disc. The same musicians who featured on the recording represented the core of the travelling band. In *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*, Rădulescu records and reflects on the experience with humour and insight. This short book takes the form of a journal, three epilogues and finishes with what the author describes as ‘A Little Anthropology...’ (ro. ‘Puțină Antropologie...’).

Hopa, Tropa, Europa documents the beginning of a transition from tradition to modernity. It narrates the experience of a group of traditional village musicians from a rural part of southern Romania as they discover aspects of existence taken for granted in the west. Their amazement and fear on encountering air travel for the first time is captured with great affection by Rădulescu. They are astonished by what the x-ray machine at the airport is able to detect in their luggage. I would surmise that none of these *lăutari* would ever have been outside of their region, let alone Romania. The author describes her attempts to discourage her protégés from spending their very modest daily subsistence allowance on things other than food and refreshment in the face of the many temptations of western consumerism. It should be noted that at this time, the Ceaușescu dictatorship

was entering its last phase, and the Romanian people were experiencing privation at its worst. The shops of Geneva and Paris would have provided an extraordinary spectacle for the *lăutari*. The Romanian revolution was just one (but particularly violent) consequence of momentous changes to the European order that took place following the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, and their trip can be considered in the light of the build up to this too. The old guard of Soviet-inspired communism in Eastern Europe was deferring to western capitalism.

Rădulescu is an ethnomusicologist, but in *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* the author does not attempt any scientific musical analysis. Indeed, the author's approach is similar to the one she adopted in *Chats about gypsy music*;¹² there is very little reference to the music itself, an approach that Rădulescu defends in the last section, 'A Little Anthropology...'. Rather she attempts to paint a subjective ethnographic picture which considers the behaviour and experience of the musicians and how they are received (among other things), through what Geertz (1973) would describe as 'thick description'. But the momentous world events, as described, just happened to coincide with the rise of the 'world music' phenomenon, and these musicians found themselves in the 'right place at the right time' in relation to this. *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* is the beginning of a story that sees musicians with a specific function in the society from which they came transform into the internationally feted band known as Taraf de Haïdouks.

As much as the journal covers the organisation and politics of trying to organise a musical tour from a crumbling Eastern Europe to shinier Western Europe, the reader also learns much about the character of the musicians themselves. The importance of this feature is reinforced by the inclusion of a 'dramatis personae' at the end of the journal. This

¹² *Chats about gypsy music* is referred to in the previous chapter.

presents the musicians and Rădulescu herself as the primary characters. It is followed by a list of secondary personages of western ethnomusicologists and others who had, or would later have, considerable impact on the career of Taraf de Haïdouks. The main musician protagonists are as follows: Ion 'Boşorogu' Manole (1920-2002); Dumitru 'Cacurica' Baicu (1931-2007); Nicolae 'Culai' Neacşu (1924-2002); Gheorghe 'Caliu' Anghel (1958/9 (?)-); Gheorghe 'Fluierici' Fălcaru (1954-2016).¹³ All of these musicians consistently appeared with the band in subsequent years, before, and following its branding as 'Taraf de Haïdouks'.

Boşorogu (violin and vocals) is the *primaş* and elder of the group. He was due to act as the Master of Ceremonies for the performances. Very early on in the tour, he becomes quite ill with a throat infection and there is no possibility of him doing this, or singing for that matter. His inability to sing is significant, as their repertoire includes numbers that require the singers to 'luatul în gură' (en. 'take in the mouth'), where two singers engage in a vocal duel, often a feature of the *cântec de dragoste*. His partner for this would have been Cacurica. Boşorogu is nursed through his illness by Rădulescu, who becomes irritated when he loses his antibiotic pills. His inability to negotiate the ticket machine on the Paris Metro is also another annoyance for her.

With some trepidation, Cacurica (cimbalom and vocals) is tasked with taking over the role of Master of Ceremonies from Boşorogu. Rădulescu suggests that they abandon the agreed set list, and that Cacurica should take over the show. Besides, the improvisatory approach and reaction to circumstances as the event progresses is closer to the reality of an authentic village-wedding performance, where songs and dances may be freely

¹³ Obituaries written by Garth Cartwright for Cacurica and Culai can be found at www.guardian.com [Accessed 8 November 2019].

interchanged. She advises him to avoid coarse lyrics and swearing in his introductions, as the audience are 'prudes'. Additionally, he should not address the audience as '*tovăriși*' (ro. 'comrades').



Plate 3.3 - Nicolae 'Culai' Neacșu

Culai (violin and vocals [see Plate 3.3]) is depicted in *Hopa, Tropa, Europa* as the stereotypical 'cunning gypsy'. He jokingly tries to sell his passport at Bucharest Otopeni airport at the beginning of the tour, and tricks Rădulescu into giving him her supply of coffee after claiming that his has been stolen.¹⁴ In concert, Culai entertains with his celebrated 'la fir de păr' technique, and his 'rattling' soft voice, honed through the imbibing of *țuică*¹⁵ and nicotine use. His stage presence is described thus: 'With snakelike gestures, he walks around the stage, fixing his audience with reptile eyes, turning to the *taraf*, suddenly stomping, resuming movement ... He is a perfect old-fashioned peasant!' In the first epilogue, Rădulescu refers to Culai's tale of the revolution, 'Balada Conducătorului' (or 'Cântarea Revoluției' [en. 'The Song of the Revolution']), which seems perfectly to connect the story of Taraf de Haïdouks with Romanian history at this time.

¹⁴ We also learn that he later demanded *bacșiș* of 10,000 lei before allowing Ilie Iorga (vocals [1928-2012]) to join the group.

¹⁵ *Țuică* is a type of plum brandy.

Aspects of Caliu's (violin) personality will become more familiar to the reader in the next chapter, as I met him when I went to Clejani. He did not feature on *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*, but becomes a permanent and influential member of the group henceforward.¹⁶ Representing a new generation of *lăutari*, he is instrumental in introducing some new repertoire and a style that is more associated with an urban environment. The inclusion of *muzica mahalageasca* (en. 'slum' music) seems to cause Rădulescu a degree of consternation, fearing that it may degrade the traditional village repertoire.



Plate 3.4 - Gheorghe 'Fluierici' Fălcaru

It is unusual to find a pipe in an ensemble of this kind, as it is not generally an instrument played by Roma. Fluierici's (pipe and double bass [see Plate 3.4]) background is unusual as it is said that he is the son of a Moldavian *ursar*,¹⁷ and was adopted by the village of Clejani as a small child.¹⁸ He is prone to quite severe mood swings, and Rădulescu expresses concern over his state of mind. To her chagrin, in concert his playing tends to be overpowering at times, and on one occasion Cacurica steers him towards the double bass instead, a decision for which she is most grateful to him.

¹⁶ Caliu is involved in the band's current incarnation as Taraf de Caliu. They are currently collaborating with a Romanian electro band, Impex, to create 'Taraf de Impex' (see www.songlines.co.uk [Accessed 8 November 2019]).

¹⁷ *Ursari*, were Roma whose specialism was 'bear handling'.

¹⁸ Rădulescu suggests that there is a possibility that Fluierici may not be a 'gypsy'.

Rădulescu's fortitude and frustration comes across clearly in the author's writing. She does not compromise as she negotiates bureaucracy whilst also having to corral her 'boys' (ro. *băieți*), as she often calls them. At the outset, she refers to the 'war of papers' that was required even to get the tour to the point of departure from the airport, a reminder that dealing with the Ceaușescu administration was not straightforward. Rădulescu is aware that security officials from the Romanian Embassy in Switzerland were observing when she met up with a Romanian acquaintance living there. The embassy in Paris showed some enthusiasm for the tour, but the author acknowledges that their immediate concerns were political, given the increasing likelihood of dissent back in Romania, particularly after the 1987 Brașov rebellion.¹⁹

The first concert takes place on Saturday 5th March 1988 at the Patiño Hall²⁰ at the 'Cité Universitaire' of Geneva. The event was well publicised and the 400-seater hall is full with an audience knowledgeable about traditional music. Later, Rădulescu is piqued somewhat about a review of *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* in the Geneva press that gives most of the credit to Laurent Aubert, barely mentioning her contribution. However, she phlegmatically acknowledges that this oversight was not down to Aubert, and had the recording been issued in Romania it would surely have been presented as an entirely Romanian production. Her decision to document these events was influenced by her belief that they were worthy of record, and she could not have possibly made them up.

The three epilogues cover the period immediately following the musicians' return to Clejani following their tour to Geneva and Paris and the emergence of Taraf de Haïdouks as a commercial touring and recording phenomenon. The first epilogue, dated 11th June 1991,

¹⁹ 1986 saw the beginning of the dissent that would lead to the 1989 revolution. A large uprising in Brașov in November 1987 (only just over three months prior to the tour) was part of this chain of events.

²⁰ The Patiño Hall was renamed the Cité Bleue Theatre in 1996.

recounts the adulation they received upon their return to Clejani, each *lăutar* apparently reporting himself as being the most lauded. The ambitious Belgian impresario who would have such an impact on the musicians' career, Stéphane Karo, appears in the village around this time. The selection process to choose which musicians will tour and record elicits serious rivalry involving threats of violence in some cases. Recordings that would subsequently appear in two volumes as part of the *Ethnophonie* collection were recorded at the Romanian Peasant Museum in March 1991.²¹

The second epilogue (dated 27th November 1991) describes events surrounding further European tours, during which there are some musical developments that give Rădulescu some cause for concern. It also reports on continuing infighting amongst the musicians and some actual violence. A tour beginning in Yugoslavia does not get off to an auspicious start as it coincides with the beginning of the civil war there, a situation from which they are forced to flee. At a festival of 'gypsy' music in Strasbourg they fight amongst themselves before performing, much to the consternation of other performers who consider their behaviour to give 'gypsies' a bad name.

Musically, Caliu is beginning to impose his authority and personality. He persuades the band to include folk-song arrangements known as 'Cântarea României' (en. 'Song to Romania') as the cornerstone of their set. 'Cântarea României' harks back to an annual festival of the same name that presented state-approved folkloric material during the Ceaușescu era. Rădulescu is also unenthusiastic about the expansion of the band, and the inclusion of accordions and the larger concert cimbaloms.

²¹ *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* (Ethnophonie CD 003 and CD004) are considered in the following section.

In the third epilogue (dated 29th November 1991), Rădulescu reports and reflects on conversations that she had with Stéphane Karo about the band's developing repertoire and instrumental line up. Karo reports that the concerts on tour have been presented in three parts: traditional repertoire; the Cântarea României' suite and music of the *mahala*, favoured by the younger members. Her distaste for the latter is clear. Nevertheless, Rădulescu wrestles with the reluctant acceptance that the band's repertoire is bound to expand, and her conviction that the performance of the traditional music must be prioritised in order to ensure its survival as a living local practice, particularly in the context of the village wedding. The increasing size of the band is also a concern for the author. 'Have you seen a wedding band with fifteen *lăutari*?', she asks. Before her anthropological observations in the last section of *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*, Rădulescu poses the following conundrum: Why does an individual *lăutar* describe himself proudly as 'gypsy', but uses the term as an insult in relation to another?

In 'A Little Anthropology...' Rădulescu provides a chronological survey of research centred on the village of Clejani during the socialist period, culminating in an account of her own interest in the subject. It ends with the arrival of Laurent Aubert in Bucharest in 1986 and the recording of *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*. The release of the album and associated European tour are, of course, the subject of the preceding journal.

Ethnographic interest in Clejani and its musicians seems to have been stimulated following the foundation of an Institute of Folklore, around 1949. Although promoting a multidisciplinary approach to the study of popular culture, many of the initial researchers were musicians who had worked under Constantin Brăiloiu and George Breazul. Gheorghe Ciobanu, who studied under Breazul, was aware of some archive recordings and conducted a field trip to Clejani to capture more recordings, from which transcriptions could be made.

Ciobanu went on to complete a doctoral thesis—*Lăutarii din Clejani*—, which Rădulescu notes as having merit but criticises for its dry, scientific style. Later, a team that includes the ethnochoreologist, Anca Giurchescu, arrive to conduct an interdisciplinary study of a wedding in Clejani.

On hearing a *cântec de dragoste* from Clejani, Rădulescu decides to focus on the music and musicians of that village. The author is intrigued particularly by the ‘luatul în gură’ improvisatory technique, noting that it has not been documented aurally or commented upon anywhere thus far. She invites six of the so-called ‘silk gypsies’ to come to Bucharest to make some recordings. Rădulescu notes that it is not possible to replicate an exact authentic performance away from the confines of the village, but the presence of a sympathetic audience can mitigate the negatives. She finds the behaviour of the *lăutari* intriguing, especially the semiotics of performance, which she believes takes the listener-observer to the crux of the music making.

Outlaws of Yore

Currently, the *Ethnophonie* collection of Romanian traditional music comprises twenty-three compact discs. The informative liner notes accompanying each recording of this compelling and comprehensive series are presented very attractively; considerable thought has been given to their artwork and graphic design. A sample of some of the titles in the series give an idea of the varied range of the music on offer: *The End of the Millenium [sic] in the Romanian Village* (CD 001); *Peasant Brass Bands from Moldavia: Zece Prajini* (CD 002);²² *Romanian, Ukrainian and Jewish Music from Maramures* (CD 006); *The Aromanians from Andon Poci. Songs and Stories* (CD 012). The liner notes for the first six compact discs are

²² Fanfare Ciocărlia hail from Zece Prăjini. Some of the musicians on *Peasant Brass Bands from Moldavia* have toured with this outfit.

provided in English and French, aside from CD 001, which also has Romanian commentary. Thereafter, the booklets are in Romanian and English, with the exception of CD 012, which has multilingual texts.²³ I do not know exactly why Romanian notes were not included with CDs 002 to 006, or why French translations were omitted from CD 007 onwards. But I surmise that following the success of the tour to Geneva and Paris (as described in *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*) it was thought that interest in Romanian traditional music in French-speaking areas should be encouraged further.

Musicians from Clejani appear on *The End of the Millenium [sic] in the Romanian Village*, but the *lăutari* who toured and performed in conjunction with the release of *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* form the kernel of the band presented on the two recordings of most concern now: *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* (*Ethnophonie* CDs 003 and CD 004). These discs were compiled from recordings made at the Peasant Museum, Bucharest, in 1991, some of which were issued on cassette in 1992. Additional musicians also play on these albums, and there is one who Rădulescu features specifically in her notes, along with those that will be already familiar to the reader from *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* and *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*. She describes Ilie Iorga (1928-2012 [vocals]) as '[...] older, therefore calm, tolerant and predictable'. However, his gentle nature belies the emotion and storytelling skills he applies to his interpretations of the *cântece bătrânești* (en. 'Old Persons' Songs).

There are individual commentaries on each track, but Rădulescu's general introductory notes are repeated in the booklets for both of these albums. The author gives some sociological insight into the life of the community where these *lăutari* reside, and provides some detail about the important role they play in the village wedding ceremony.

²³ In addition to Romanian and English, this album also contains notes in Albanian, Aromanian and Greek.

She observes that the *lăutari* and Romanians of Clejani get on reasonably well together, although the latter consider the former to be lazy because they would rather be playing music than tending the land, music being regarded by non-Roma as a diversion rather than as a serious profession. But Rădulescu notes that music is a transcendent experience for the *lăutari*, which compensates considerably for their modest living.

For the older musicians especially, playing at a traditional wedding is extremely tiring. Festivities can extend over several days (typically forty-eight hours), during such time the musicians must be available; there are few opportunities for a break. The whole affair is effectively managed by the *lăutari*, who take on many roles as the event progresses. Above all, they act as master of ceremonies, but they also provide general entertainment and even keep the peace, if necessary. Their musical performance is framed by the major events that occur within the wedding ritual itself, of which there are many. In summary, the process begins with the symbolic removal of the bridegroom from his companions and the departure of the couple from their parental homes. The latter stages of the ceremony include a feast and the receiving by the young wives of the new bride into their midst. There is an obligation for appropriate songs to be inserted at various junctures of the ritual, such as the ‘fir-trees song’, sung to celebrate the decorating of the nuptial fir tree.

Rădulescu continues by reiterating the observation made by others that the conservation of much Romanian traditional music from the nineteenth century onwards is attributable to the *lăutari*. Although the musicians of Clejani include songs in their repertoire that are identified as being ‘gypsy’, their interpretation of Romanian love songs—*cântece de dragoste*—are considered to be definitive. The author then proceeds to consider some of the practicalities involved in preparing the *taraf* for an event.

Generally, the composition of the *taraf* is a family affair, to the extent that the children learn as their main instrument one that is best suited to fill a future vacancy. The *primaş* acts as promoter for the *taraf*; he decides based on the nature of the event for which they have been hired the agreed fee and which musicians will be required. The size of the *taraf* for a wedding will be greater (up to eight players) because at some stages of the ceremony, music is performed in two locations. At the end, it is the responsibility of the *primaş* to share out the earnings and *bacşiş*. The earnings are distributed in accordance with virtuosity, and the tips are split evenly. Rădulescu notes that this income does not tend to last long, as it is generally spent on a lavish party following which the *lăutari* revert to their life of basic subsistence '[...] for life must be enjoyed to the full in the present, not with a view to a hypothetical future'.



Plate 3.5 - *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* – Covers of the liner notes

Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II) (see Plate 3.5) contain further examples of the various song and dance types encountered previously on *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*, namely: the *cântec bătrânesc*, the *cântec de dragoste*, the *doină*, the

horă, the *sârbă* and the *brâu*. Rădulescu provides some explanatory notes for these forms, which I will make some reference to as I consider the tracks included on the two discs.

Track	Title	Translation	Duration
1	Love Song: leu az' noapte ce-am pățit, Dance: Sărbă	What Befell Me Last Night	12'31"
2	Epic Song: Miu Haiducul, Dance Suite	Miu the Outlaw	16'15"
3	Lyric Song: Azi e nor mâine-i senin	Cloudy Today, Sunny Tomorrow	8'12"
4	Epic Song: Toma Dalimș		11'09"
5	Lyric Song: Ce mi-e mie drag pă lume	What Do I Love Most in this World?	4'53"
6	Dance: Hora Nuții	Nutza's Hora	1'23"

Table 3.3 – List of tracks on *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I)*

For the love song ‘leu az' noapte ce-am pățit’, Ilie Iorga, Culai and Fluierici are joined by Constantin ‘Dinu’ Sandu (cimbalom and vocals) and Florea ‘Hogea’ Pârvan (double bass), both of whom feature on the *Ethnophonie* discs and play a further part in the ensemble’s transition to Taraf de Haïdouks and ‘world music’ fame. This kind of song is peculiar to southern Romania and provides another example of the ‘taking in mouth’ technique, where the singers engage in vocal competition with each other; there are three protagonists in this case. Its semi-combative nature ensures that the song has a certain improvisatory structure. The poet fakes his death in order to establish what his enemies say about him. However, he is more interested in whether he is mourned by the ‘lasses’, especially as he was ‘such a good kisser’. Another verse considers that whilst ‘[...] pretty ladies are good homemakers [...], [a] good woman [will] soothe your heart’. As usual, the performance concludes with dance, in this case a *sârbă*.

‘Miu Haiducul’ is another example of a *cântec bătrânesc* that takes the story of the eponymous outlaw as its subject, and is told here by Culai, who also plays the violin accompanied by ‘Dinu’ on cimbalom and Marin ‘Țagoe’ Sandu²⁴ on double bass. Rădulescu

²⁴ Țagoe plays accordion with Taraf de Haïdouks on the albums *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* and *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*.

remarks that it has been fashionable for the younger listeners to express overtly their ennui during the performance of such epics. Suffice it to say, that Miu the *haiduc* learns from his sister that the boyars at the court of Prince Ștefan Voda are plotting to banish him. Disguised as a shepherd, Miu outwits the prince. He is about to kill the prince, but spares him when his sister intervenes. Spontaneity and a stamp of authenticity are marked towards the end of the telling of the story when Culai noisily clears his throat. Again, the song ends with a dance suite, during which Culai retunes his a' string to e' in order to facilitate playing in octaves with one finger. This is another example of the various innovations that Culai uses in his violin playing.

For the *doină*, 'Azi e nor măine-i senin', Cacurica, Caliu and Fluierici are joined by an accordionist, Gheorghe Manole. Cacurica helpfully informs the listener that it is a song directed to the godfather to be sung during towards the end of the wedding feast, in order to see him safely home. Not knowing what the future has in store, Cacurica exhorts us to '[...] listen to him, he may be dead in a day or two, [...]'. The song is about what can befall those who drink too much. The poet sends his friends to collect wine, absinthe and brandy, but they overindulge on the way back. They fall asleep, and what is left of the drink is stolen, along with their horses. In her liner notes on the *doină*, Rădulescu explains that the *doină* form has a semi-improvisatory recitative style similar to the *cântec bătrânesc*, but with shorter episodes than the latter.

Returning to the trope of the *haiduc*, the *cântec bătrânesc*, 'Toma Dalimoș', recounts the tragic tale of an outlaw who is killed by the boyar Manea in revenge for his attacks on the boyar's land and property. Mortally wounded, Toma persuades his horse to bury him. The horse dies, grief-stricken, lying on the grave of its master.

Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) concludes with two shorter numbers, a *doină*, and a dance. ‘Ce mi-e mie drag pă lume’ concerns the poet’s two greatest loves in the world, his dark-bay horse and his ‘lass’. ‘Hora Nuții’ is characterised by the polyrhythmic juxtaposition of violin triplets against a duplet accompaniment on the cimbalom. Shouts of encouragement for the dancers (*strigături*) are provided by Cacurica and Țagoe.

Track	Title	Translation	Duration
1	Love Song: Piatra-i piatră de e piatră	A Stone Is Hard As Stone	6'46"
2	Epic Song: Cântarea revoluției, Dance Suite	The Song of the Revolution	11'56"
3	Long Song: Când fuse la patrușopt	In the Year 48	5'49"
4	Dance: Murgulețul	Little Dark-Bay Horse	2'30"
5	Love Song: Cuculețul ca la Mârșă	Little Cuckoo of Mârșă	5'41"
6	Love Song: Pe-o potecă strâmtă	On A Narrow Path	3'04"
7	Epic Song: Lisandra de la Piatra	Lisandra from Piatra	14'01"
8	Dance Suite: Hora și Brâul ca la Clejani	Horă and Brâu in Clejani Fashion	7'14"

Table 3.4 - List of tracks on *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II)*

The musicians who appear on *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II)* are identical to those who performed on the first volume. As with the first disc, the second also includes examples of all of the major song types, together with a selection of dances. What stands out particularly here is the inclusion of two overtly political songs. ‘Cântarea Revoluției’, the *cântec bătrânesc* about the 1989 revolution referred to previously, makes an appearance here. This song is also included on Taraf de Haïdouks first truly commercial album *Muzique des Tziganes de Roumanie* (1991), and I discuss it more fully in that context. The other political piece is ‘Când fuse la patrușopt’ (*doină*), which concerns the communist collectivisation of land in 1948. Although Rădulescu states that this decision was of great concern for peasants, significantly, Romanian Roma did not benefit themselves from later government policy which handed back land, as most had not owned any during the period covered by the legislation (Cartwright, 2001:115). There is an anachronistic reference in the lyrics to ‘The Tyrant and the Wicked Witch who sold our country out’. Nicolae (and Elena)

Ceaușescu did not come into power until 1965. The translated text continues with the following abstract given in the liner notes:

The peasant would go to the fields
Angry and grief-stricken
He worked day and night
And he still wasn't right
Nobody would side with him.
The tyrants were resolved
To destroy all the peasants:
They tore down their houses,
And took their cattle.
No-one dared
Lift his hand or fist
Or call them to account
For they would foam with rage.

A version of 'Când fuse la patrușopt' appears later on Taraf de Haïdouks' album, *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* (1994).

In her notes, Rădulescu writes briefly something about the character and musical skills of each of the core musicians. She describes Cacurica as having contradictory personal qualities, '[...] a combination of all the good and bad characteristics of the inhabitants of Clejani' and his vocal delivery as having a certain 'urban' quality. This may help to clarify Aubert's comment in connection with the earlier *Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*, who identified Cacurica's singing voice as having an 'oriental' or 'gypsy' manner. Here we can see the clear correlation of the 'oriental' with the 'gypsy'. This so-called 'suburban' style comes to the fore in Cacurica's rendition of the *cântec de dragoste* 'Piatra-i piatră de e piatră'. Here is the ubiquitous story of unrequited love, where the loved maiden marries another,

And leaves you in the lurch
With your heart broken.
God save you

From a woman's fire
You'll be taken ill with rabies

The importance of the 'gypsy's' relationship with his horse is emphasised again in the fourth track, the dance-tune 'Murgulețul' (en. 'Little Dark-Bay Horse) and the seventh track, the *cântec bătrânesc* 'Lisandra de la Piatra'. In 'Lisandra de la Piatra', the boy's fortunes are initially reversed somewhat from his experience in 'Piatra-i piatră de e piatră'. In this case, the soldier Nedelea deserts and attends his child sweetheart's wedding, at which they have an assignation. He drowns whilst riding through a river during a violent storm. The horse continues back home distressed without him and Lisandra realises Nedelea is dead. Elopement and the union of couple in death are familiar themes in the *cântec bătrânesc*, the latter theme being reminiscent of the *liebestod* concept encountered throughout western literature and music, and particularly in the works of Richard Wagner (1813-1883).²⁵

Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II) is completed by three further numbers: two *cântece de dragoste*, 'Cuculețul ca la Mârșa' and 'Pe-o potecă strâmtă', and 'Hora și Brâul ca la Clejani' (tracks five, six and eight). 'Cuculețul ca la Mârșa' comes from Mârșa, about fifteen kilometres north west of Clejani, the home village of Ilie Iorga. Even though it originates from such relatively little distance, it is not familiar enough to the Clejani musicians for them to engage in the customary vocal duel, so Ilie Iorga performs the song solo. In 'Pe-o potecă strâmtă' two sisters are fighting over a man. 'If you've got a man, Tie him to your bed, Don't let him go to the village, Untethered'.

Culai displays some of his unconventional fiddle techniques again for the performance of 'Hora și Brâul ca la Clejani'. He announces that he is now going to play *ca*

²⁵ *Liebestod* is, of course, a term especially associated with Wagner's 1865 opera, *Tristan und Isolde*.

cavalul (sul ponticello), 'Now it's no longer a violin, I'm playing the long shepherd's pipe, Nicolae Neacșu of Clejani!', which leads into a section that he plays *la fir de pâr*.

By 2001, when *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* were released on compact disc, Taraf de Haïdouks' world-music career was in full swing. Rădulescu acknowledges that the music that she curated, and her choice of musicians, for these two volumes is based on personal preference, and deliberately looks backwards to the traditional village music to ensure that there is a permanent record in the sonic archive. I have noted that music heard on these discs is interpreted again on Taraf de Haïdouks later commercial recordings, particularly the first two.²⁶ Therefore, aside from being valuable ethnomusicological documents, *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I) and (II)* provide a bridge from tradition to modernity.

²⁶ The two albums in question are *Muzique des Tziganes de Roumanie* (1991) and *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* (1994).

Chapter 4 - Taraf de Haïdouks: Modernity

This chapter surveys Taraf de Haïdouks' commercial recordings, considering them from both a musical and extra-musical point of view. I look at the relationship of the musical content to tradition, with reference to how it is packaged and presented. To begin with, I recount a field visit, when I had the good fortune to meet two regular members of Taraf de Haïdouks and to hear them play. This opportunity allowed me to consider further points in connection with questions concerning the circumstances of the *lăutari*. Finally, I discuss the links that Béla Bartók made between 'gypsy music' and notions of 'exoticism' and 'orientalism'.

A Journey to Clejani

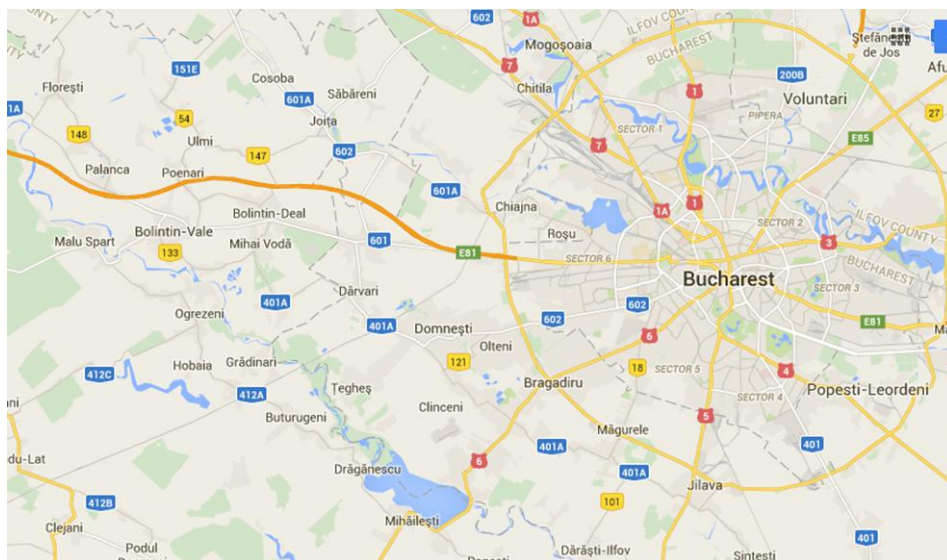


Figure 4.1 – Bucharest¹

Monday 8th August 2016

¹ This map shows Bucharest and its western aspect. Clejani is in the bottom-left corner (source: www.google.com [Accessed 1 September 2018]).

On Monday 8 August 2016, I went to Clejani, a village in southern Romania some forty kilometres southwest of the Romanian capital, Bucharest (see Figure 4.1). The commune is noted for the number of talented musicians (known locally as *lăutari*) it has produced. Without doubt, the most renowned collection of musicians to have emerged from here is the group that became known internationally as Taraf de Haïdouks. As I had spent considerable time listening to and studying their work, I wanted to take the opportunity while I was staying in Bucharest to visit Clejani to see if I could learn anything new about the music or musicians at first hand.

This was actually my first excursion into fieldwork of any kind. Most of my work to date had involved looking at the role of Romani musicians in Romanian music in the contexts of history and musicology. I experienced some trepidation, as I was a little outside of my comfort zone. Although Clejani's Romani settlement had probably seen more outsiders than most others (because of its musical interest), I was aware that I would still be entering the settlement very much as an obvious stranger.





Plate 4.1 – En route to Clejani – Roderick Lawford

I took the 7:48 train from Bucharest's Gara de Nord arriving at Vadu Lat at 8:39, a stop some 3km walking distance from Clejani. The walk involved crossing the railway tracks and finding an embankment with steps leading to a kilometre-long concrete path through a field. At the end of the path is the road into Clejani onto which I turned left and continued for the next two kilometres (see Plate 4.1). The Romani quarter is located about 400 metres along on the south side of the main road leaving Clejani to the south east. I had not interpreted the instructions in my guidebook correctly. I mistook a dirt track for a road and was concerned that I would end up wandering around aimlessly, bearing in mind I had already walked 3km from Vadu Lat. Nevertheless, I managed to stumble upon the settlement in due course by means of a re-assessment of the directions and my internal compass. This opportunity, and my later excursion to Ferentari in early September (see Chapter 5), provided a personal experience for me of the physical marginalisation that accompanies ethnic and social segregation.

I was somewhat dejected at first, as there was very little sign of life and wondered what I was going to do for the next five-and-a-half hours; it was now 10:00 a.m. and, as far as I could see, the first train back to Bucharest was at 16:49 p.m. After walking along a few

deserted streets, I finally came across some life and exchanged some greetings with residents sitting outside their homes, watching the world go by. Turning into one street, I was confronted with a couple of fierce mongrels who had taken great objection to my presence. A young woman holding a baby and pushing a pushchair onto which a small child clung came to my rescue. A man passing by asked me with some amusement if I was *înfricat* (en. frightened). I had a brief conversation with the woman, at the start of which she asked if I was Romanian. It would have soon become clear to her that I was not, but it was encouraging to know that I had achieved some degree of confidence in the Romanian language.



Plate 4.2 – ‘Strada Lăutarilor’ – Roderick Lawford

Although things were looking up, inasmuch that I had experienced some level of human interaction, I was still not sure how I was going to spend my time in Clejani productively and it now appeared that I had reached the limits of the settlement. However, after walking a little further, I happened across ‘Strada Lăutarilor’, which is probably best translated as ‘Fiddlers’ Street’ (see Plate 4.2). Clearly, this looked a bit more promising.

Clejani residents who spot unfamiliar faces naturally assume that visitors are there because they are interested in the connection between the village, and the music for which it has become famous. Consequently, it was not long before I was approached by Florian miming a violin being played, asking if I wanted to meet a musician. I am not sure if Florian was an ‘official’ scout, or if he was exploiting an opportunity as a local to earn some *lei*² on a ‘first come, first served’ basis. It soon became apparent that the musician I was about to meet was, in fact, Gheorghe ‘Caliu’ Anghel, a longstanding violinist with Taraf de Haïdouks.



Plate 4.3 – Caliu’s kitchen – Roderick Lawford

I was led to his house, Caliu was called for and he greeted me warmly. I told him that it was a privilege to meet him, and that I had been to see Taraf de Haïdouks on several occasions, live in the United Kingdom. He led me to an outhouse, which serves as the kitchen and eating area (see Plate 4.3) and I was given a sweet coffee, and asked what else I would like to drink—beer, wine, *palincă*³—(bearing in mind, it was still only between 10:30 and 11:00 a.m.).

² The Romanian currency is the *leu*, *lei* is the plural.

³ *Palincă* is a clear fruit spirit, generally made from plums.

I introduced myself as Rod (short for Roderick I explained), but this mutated into ‘Rudolf’ somehow, and this is what I was called for the rest of the time. Following a discussion about where I was from and what I was doing in Clejani, he gave me an indication of what the going rate would be for him and some other musicians to perform for me. The price was thoroughly reasonable and we agreed that Caliu would play for me with Marin ‘Marius’ Manole on accordion.⁴

Given that these musicians are international stars, I was struck by just how accessible they were, and that they were prepared to play for relatively little. I struggled to imagine any other situation where you could just turn up at the house of a celebrated performer on the off chance that they might be willing to receive you and, even less likely, perform for you. These circumstances raise questions concerning the relationship Taraf de Haïdouks had with their promoters and the economics of Romani culture in general. I assumed that through touring and recordings they would have become wealthy, in what is understood by wealth in western terms, anyway. This is clearly not the case, although amongst the Romani community, where the prosperity bar is set much lower, they are well off. Furthermore, I suspect that as Taraf de Haïdouks toured and recorded as a large group, the distribution of any income must have been spread more thinly than would be the case with much smaller ensembles.

Title	Included on Album	Recorded	Duration
Jamparale ca la Vadulat	Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie	✗	-
Turcească	Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye	✓	7'09"
Dragoste de la Clejani	Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie	✓	4'29"
Romanian Folk Dances (Selection)	Mașkaradă	✗	-

Table 4.1 – Music played for me by Caliu and Marius

⁴ I cannot remember exactly how much I gave them (I do not think it was more than the equivalent of €200), but the price was more than I was expecting to part with that day. There are times when opportunity must override pecuniary caution. This was such an occasion; I had not imagined that I would be presented with such a possibility.

After I had been presented with a large glass of *palincă*, the performance began. I recognised the first piece immediately. A list of the items that Caliu and Marius performed for me is given in Table 4.1. It was a *geampara*; I think it was a version of the ‘Jamparale (sic) ca la Vadulat’ that appears on Taraf de Haïdouks’ first commercial album *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*. I do not know if they played this in connection with the fact that I had come from Vadu Lat that morning, but it is a nice thought. I had previously checked with Caliu that I could take some photographs, and I took this to mean filming videos as well. There was certainly no objection when I started to do so. Unfortunately, to my frustration, I was not as competent with the video function on the camera as I had thought, so did not manage to capture these first moments for posterity. Fortunately, I later managed to rectify the problem, and I committed a couple of the other pieces they played to the camera’s memory.



Plate 4.4 – Gheorghe ‘Caliu’ Anghel (l) and Marin ‘Marius’ Manole (r) – Roderick Lawford⁵

⁵ Caliu and Marius are shown performing ‘Turcească’ in this still.

Of the two video recordings I made, the first (7'09") was an extended instrumental piece based on the piece entitled 'Turcească', which appears on Taraf de Haïdouks' second commercially produced album, *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*. Caliu had earlier asked me if I wanted to buy a copy of this album, but I explained to him that I already had it. I told him that 'Turcească' was my favourite track on the album; perhaps it was in acknowledgement of this that they chose to play it? For the second (4'29"), I asked them to play a *cântec de dragoste* (en. love song). Marius dedicated the song to me under my new identity; he can be heard saying 'pentru Rudolf' (en. 'for Rudolf') at the beginning. After Marius sings about finding a young girl to share a bed with (*cântece de dragoste* seem to dwell on the physical, rather than the romantic), Caliu and Marius play an instrumental passage that I recognised as being from 'Dragoste De La Clejani' from the album *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*. The opening *cântec* section is then followed by a *hora* (en. circle dance) and several other dance tunes, which I have not identified.

They played several more pieces for me. In between there was some conversation, mainly in Romanian, with the odd phrase in French or English exchanged here and there between Marius and me. Although I did not catch everything, I got the gist of most of what was being said to me and, in the main, I think I expressed myself fairly clearly. At some point, I asked Caliu if he liked living in Romania. His response was fairly indifferent and he referred to the discrimination that the Romani community are still subjected to in modern Romania.

During another pause, Caliu asked if I would like to buy a violin, which, he explained would be perfect for a child. As far as I could understand, the instrument belonged to his father who was mortally ill in hospital. I declined the offer as delicately as I could.⁶

Towards the end of the session (it may have been the final piece they played, I cannot quite remember) I was treated to a selection from an arrangement of Béla Bartók's Romanian Folk Dances (Sz. 56 [1915]).⁷ A version of this appears on Taraf de Haïdouks' album entitled *Mașkaradă* (2007), which I (and others it seems) have criticised as being a sterile affair with its mixture of the traditional and covers of 'classical' and 'light classical' music from the first half of the twentieth century.⁸ According to the notes accompanying *Mașkaradă*, much of the 'classical' material was new to them, and they had to learn 'by ear'. Maybe that would not be particularly difficult for them, because that is how they learnt music after all, but they may have found some of the musical idioms and language in the repertoire that was unfamiliar to them more challenging. However, the notes also make the point that they found the Romanian Dances realisation easier to memorise, as they were more familiar with the tunes, perhaps not surprisingly. Personally, I found the live

⁶ In addition to this, Marius (with the help of his son, who speaks a bit of English) telephoned me the next day to ask me if I could lend him €150 to fix his broken accordion, which he would repay at some time in the future. It seemed to be perfectly OK when I left them! I diplomatically explained that I would not be able to do this for him.

⁷ Bartók arranged seven dance tunes that he had recorded during one of his field trips into a short piano suite consisting of six miniature pieces. This was later arranged by him for string orchestra (Sz. 68 [1917]), and it has been variously arranged by others since. The composer indicates in the score that the whole suite should last barely four minutes, with no one piece taking longer than one minute to perform. I was recently directed to the original wax cylinder recordings of these tunes from which Bartók took his material. Even through the crackles and low definition of these reproductions from close to the dawn of phonographic time, it is plain to hear that Bartók's transcriptions are faithful to the originals (I am grateful to John O'Connell for directing me to these recordings. They can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 18 March 2018]). The fact that Bartók did not feel the need to modify or re-present his examples in his composition to any great extent demonstrates the great respect he held for simple folk music. He held that it lacked the emotional sophistication of quality art music, but that it nevertheless represented music in its elemental state. Folk music links tradition with 'high art' and thence to the popular (Frigyesi, 1994:268; Frigyesi, 1998:152).

⁸ For example, see the review on BBC website www.bbc.co.uk/music/reviews/ [Accessed 16 December 2017].

performance by just the two of them much more spirited and natural than the one on the album.

Before leaving, I asked if I could use the toilet. Expecting to be shown to the relevant room, instead I was led behind the building. I wondered whether it was because I was a '*gadjo*' that it was not considered appropriate for me to use their facilities.⁹ I was spared having to make the walk back to Vadu Lat, as I was informed there was a bus departing from the village to Bucharest Rahova at one o'clock. They walked me to the stop, and gave me a bottle of *palincă*, and a bottle of beer for the journey.

The day turned out to be a truly memorable one, made all the more so because of what I experienced after such an unpromising start. I cannot give concrete answers to questions about why such skilled *lăutari* choose to or are (possibly) forced to live the way they do, but I can offer some reflections. 1) The *lăutari* remain within Romani communities through preference and also because they would find it difficult to be accepted outside, amongst the non-Romani population. 2) As Romania modernises, the demand for the performance of traditional music at weddings, and the like, has dwindled, so *lăutari* are not able to rely on traditional sources of income so much, if at all. Caliu confirmed this directly in response to a question raised by me. This is, presumably, why Caliu and his fellow musicians are prepared to play for people passing through, like me, for a small fee. 3) Many of the younger *lăutari* have turned to the more lucrative genre known as *manele* with its blend of the traditional and the electronic, which is very popular among certain sections of Romanian society (and is gaining a wider following), in order to make a living. This was highlighted in the documentary *The New Gypsy Kings*, aired on BBC Television in June 2016. 4) The *lăutari* were slaves (along with all other Roma until the mid nineteenth century) in

⁹ *Gadjo* is a term used by Roma to describe somebody who is non-Roma.

Romania; they are still treated like servants and behave accordingly. Consequently, they adopt a subservient position in their relationship with their promoters, and do not negotiate the best deal. This view is perhaps exemplified in the album *Mașkaradă* where, in my opinion, the musicians have relinquished disproportionate control to image-makers and marketing executives.

Taraf de Haïdouks and ‘World Music’

Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie

Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie, dating from 1991, was the first CD to be produced by Karo and Winter under the name Taraf de Haïdouks, and in many ways it is essentially a commercial version of the ethnomusicological recordings, as it contains many of the song and dance styles found on *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* and the *Oulaws of Yore* discs. These include the *rând de hore*, *sârba* and types of *cântec*. What makes it different is the manner in which the musical material is presented. Apart from the *rând de hore* (which has been established to refer to a suite of individual dances) that opens the album, all of the other tracks are now given as separate unrelated numbers instead of being grouped together as part of an extended piece, as they had been on the earlier recording. This is the beginning of a process in which culture is converted into a commodity; the music becomes detached from its core setting and purpose (White, 2012:1).

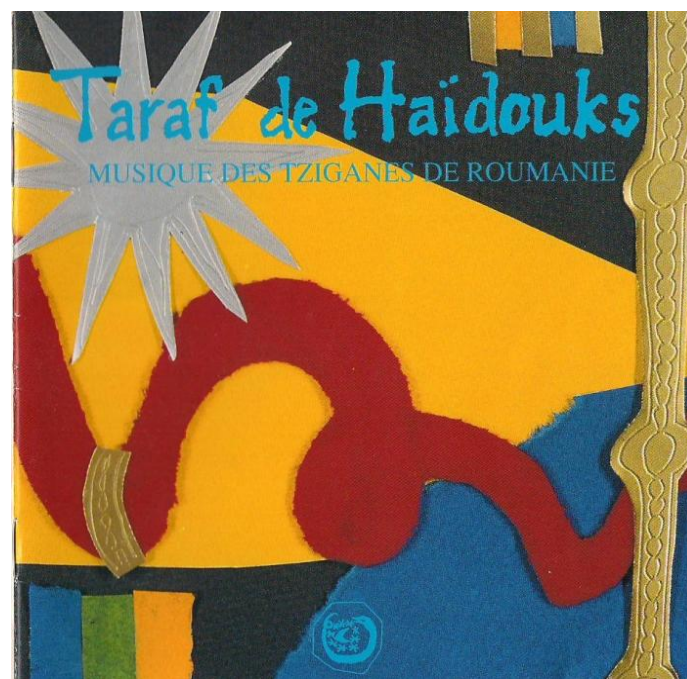


Plate 4.5 - *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* – Cover of the liner notes

Track	Title	Translation
1	Rând de Hore	Suite of Dances
2.1	Ardelenasca	In Transylvanian Style
2.2	Sîrba Bulgara	Sârba, Bulgarian Style
3	Balada Conducatorului	The Ballad of the Dictator
4	Sîrba lui Mitica Gîndec	Mitica Gîndec's Sârba
5	Sîrba de la Ruseanca	Sârba from Ruseanca
6	Dragoste de la Clejani	Love Song from Clejani
7	Sîrba lui Cacurica	Cacurica's Sârba
8.1	Sîrba de la Golasei	Sârba from Golasei
8.2	Sîrba de la Obedeni	Sârba from Obedeni
9	Cîntec Bătrînesc de Haïduk	Ballad of the Haïduk
10	Cîntec de Superare Țiganesc	Sad Gypsy Song
11	Jamparaie ca la Vadulat	Geampara in Vadulat Style
12.1	În Curte la Stefan Voda	In the Court of Stefan Voda
12.2	Ca la Breaza	In Breaza Style
13	Cîntec de Superare Țiganesc	Sad Gypsy Song
14	Cimpoi	Bagpipes
15	Indiaca	

Table 4.2 – List of tracks on *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*



Plate 4.6 - *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* – inside liner notes

I demonstrate that presentation and commercial considerations become more important as Taraf de Haïdouks are promoted in a global market. *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* is the beginning of a process that bridges the gap between the faithful recreation of the art of the *lăutar* in the context of a field recording and later work where image is given greater prominence. Perhaps the most obvious change is the attention that has gone into the packaging with its colourful abstract artwork, an example of which can be seen above on the front cover of the liner notes (see Plate 4.5). The inside is decorated with line drawings of strange elemental creatures. Other photographs show a young boy with pained expression accompanying himself on an accordion, a man posing with a double bass in a muddy street with a tractor in the background and semi-clad children (see Plate 4.6). These images are calculated to illustrate that the life of the ‘gypsy’ is one of freedom, whilst suggesting that the price for such freedom is impoverishment.



Plate 4.7 – Photograph from the liner notes of *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*

The band's image has been changed too. Gone are the traditional costumes they are photographed wearing on the back of the notes that accompany the field recording, *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*. Taraf de Haïdouks are now dressed in a collection of suitably shabby suits, a device perhaps cultivated to appeal to a 'western' middle-class consumer's ideal of what a real Eastern European 'gypsy' looks like (see Plate 4.7). The change in style may also have been a reaction against the saccharin kind of iconography associated with the state-controlled folklorism promoted during the communist period. One should also perhaps be reminded that Taraf de Haïdouks' arrival on the international scene occurred not long after the 1989 Romanian revolution, coincidentally around the same time that the 'world music' brand was in the ascendant.

In addition to changes in the way their central repertoire is presented, the production also draws upon an expanded repertoire. This becomes more apparent on later recordings as the performance and recording career of Taraf de Haïdouks progresses and their global fame increases. However, this process can be seen to have started in the work

currently under discussion. There are references to parts of Romania other than Wallachia – ‘Ardelenească’ (track 2.1) is derived from *Ardeal*, an alternative Romanian word for Transylvania.¹⁰ Numbers are included that make connections with the exotic or ‘oriental’ - a dance in Turkish style (admittedly popular in southern Romania), ‘Jamparale ca la Vadulut’ (track 11 – en. ‘Geamparale in Vadalut Style’) and ‘Indiacă’ (track 15 – en. ‘Indian Woman (?)’).¹¹ Other tracks are given a descriptive title with no reference to a song or dance form – ‘Ca la Breaza’ (track 12.2 – en. ‘In Breaza Style’), ‘Cimpoi’ (track 14 – en. ‘Bagpipes’)¹² and ‘Indiacă’ (again). Also included are two ‘gypsy’ songs, both described as a ‘Cântec de Superare Țigănesc’ (en. ‘Sad Gypsy Song’ - tracks 10 and 13). Whether these are ‘gypsy’ songs in name only, or if they are closer to what Roma might perform in private may benefit from some investigation.

The booklet accompanying *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*, the 1988 ethnomusicological recording, helpfully informs the listener which dances make up the *rând de hore* group on the album. The material provided with *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* is presented taking a different approach. In particular, imagery is used to portray a romanticised view of *lăutari* life and, by association, Roma in general. There is less interest shown in the provision of useful background information concerning the music and its interpretation and context. If they wish to, listeners must work out for themselves how many and which dances comprise the *rând de hore* on the later recording as this information is not provided. This change in emphasis highlights a running discussion in

¹⁰ *Ardeal* is derived from the Hungarian word for Transylvania, *Erdély*. Although, I have come across instances of this etymology being disputed with a contention that *ardeal* has a mixed Latin/Romanian/Wallachian root. It seems there is a habit of Hungary and Romania both denying the one has any influence on the other.

¹¹ I think this is a misspelling of *indiancă*. I cannot see what else it might be. The form as spelt does not bring up anything else in searches relating to Romanian language or dance.

¹² Béla Bartók found instances of open violin strings being used to imitate the characteristic drone of bagpipes. In the first half of ‘Cimpoi’, after a brief introduction, a violin glissando imitates the air passing through the drone as the bag is inflated. A lively dance with drone follows.

Romani music studies and ‘world music’ scholarship in general that considers whether there is an obligation to educate as well as entertain, especially where the musicians represent subaltern groups who are marginalized at both a national and an international level (see Silverman, 2012; White, 2012).

There are two numbers on *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie* described as a *baladă* or *cântec bătrânesc*. These are ‘Balada Conducatorului’¹³ (track 3) and ‘Cântec Bătrânesc de Haïduk’ (track 9). ‘În Curte la Stefan Voda’ (track 12.1) is also a *baladă*, although it is not described as such in the main title. It is a reprise of the same ballad entitled ‘Miu Haiducul’ included on *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I)*. As previously mentioned ‘Balada Conducatorului’ originates from the time of the Romanian revolution in 1989 and is an example of how the *baladă* can be used as a vehicle for a contemporary theme. Beginning by relating the belief that Romanians might once again live in a time of fairness and freedom, it tells of student demonstrations in Timișoara calling for the removal of the tyrant Ceaușescu and the students’ appeal to the Romanian people to join them in the struggle. Finally, it recalls Ceaușescu’s escape by helicopter with police in pursuit, his arrest, incarceration and trial:

On this day of the 22nd
Here the time has returned
The one in which we can also live
Brother, live in fairness
Live in freedom

Green leaf, flower of the fields
There in Timișoara
What are the students doing?
Brother, they descend into the streets
Bringing with them banners
And cry “it is finished for the tyrant”
What are the terrorists doing?

¹³ The word ‘conducator’ actually translates as ‘leader’ (see Miroiu, 2010), but the title has often been officially granted to leaders who became dictators, such as Ion Antonescu and Nicolae Ceaușescu. Hence the use of ‘dictator’ in connection with Ceaușescu on this track.

They pull out guns
Brother, they shoot at the people

Green leaf, flower of the fields
What are the students doing?
Into the cars they step
Towards Bucharest they head
In the streets they shout
"Come out Romanian brothers,
Let's wipe out the dictatorship"

Ceaușescu hears them
His minister calls for
A helicopter which takes him away
What do the police do?
In his steps they follow
In a tank they bring him back
In a room they lock him up
And his trial begins
His blood pressure we take
And the judge condemns him:
"Tyrant, you have destroyed Romania"

The significance of 'Balada Conducatorului' in their repertoire at this time is further emphasised by its inclusion in the Taraf de Haïdouks sequence in the film *Latcho Drom* (1993), directed by Tony Gatlif (1941-). In this film, Gatlif, who is himself of Romani heritage, constructs a narrative that the Roma took a linear route on their long journey from Rajasthan to Europe, ending up in Spain, passing through Egypt, Turkey, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, and France on the way. Each section features Romani music of the country in question.

Although 'Balada Conducatorului' is described as a 'ballad', it has more of the character of a *doină*. Indeed, it shares much in common with the *doină* that precedes 'Cântec: "Lelița Cărciumăreasă"' on the *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* collection, including the playing of the violin *la fir de păr*. The track entitled 'Cântec Bătrânesc de Haïduk' recounts an aspect of the *haiduc* legend. A solitary violin accompanies the vocal line in unison, preceded and interspersed with short episodes for the violin alone.

The next album by Taraf de Haïdouks I wish to discuss is entitled *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*. This is the recording with which I became first acquainted with the band. The choice of such an evocative name for the album is calculated to appeal to western consumers' predilection for the exotic and the 'oriental'.

Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye

It is noted on the front of the liner notes of this CD that this recording is volume two of *Musique des Tsiganes de Roumanie*. But this prosaic description has been relegated in smaller font to the bottom right-hand corner of the cover to make way for the more exotic main title. Encouraged by stories of their association with magic and the occult, 'gypsies' are portrayed as mysterious characters upon whom all sorts of stereotypical properties can be projected and are variously described as '[...] sexual, eastern, genetically musical and defiant of rules and regulations' (Silverman, 2012: 46). I have shown that writers have frequently found the cultural and physical location of Romania difficult to define. I argue that aspects of this perceived liminal status can be detected in microcosm in both the music itself, and the manner in which *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* is marketed.

There are various examples in south-east Europe where there have been conscious attempts to suppress or discourage any connections to an eastern, Ottoman Turkish — and, by association — Muslim past. In communist Bulgaria, the *zurna* was banned, as was the *kyuchek* dance, which was regarded as alien because of its Romani origin (Silverman, 2012:128).¹⁴ This inclination to treat Romani musicians as scapegoats extends into Romania, where the performers of the popular song and dance genre *manele* (a style related to *chalgă* and turbo-folk)—who are also usually *lăutari* and therefore mainly

¹⁴ Muslim Roma represent a significant minority in Bulgaria.

Roma— are often held responsible for the perpetuation and popularisation of oriental tendencies in music by those seeking to denigrate the form.¹⁵

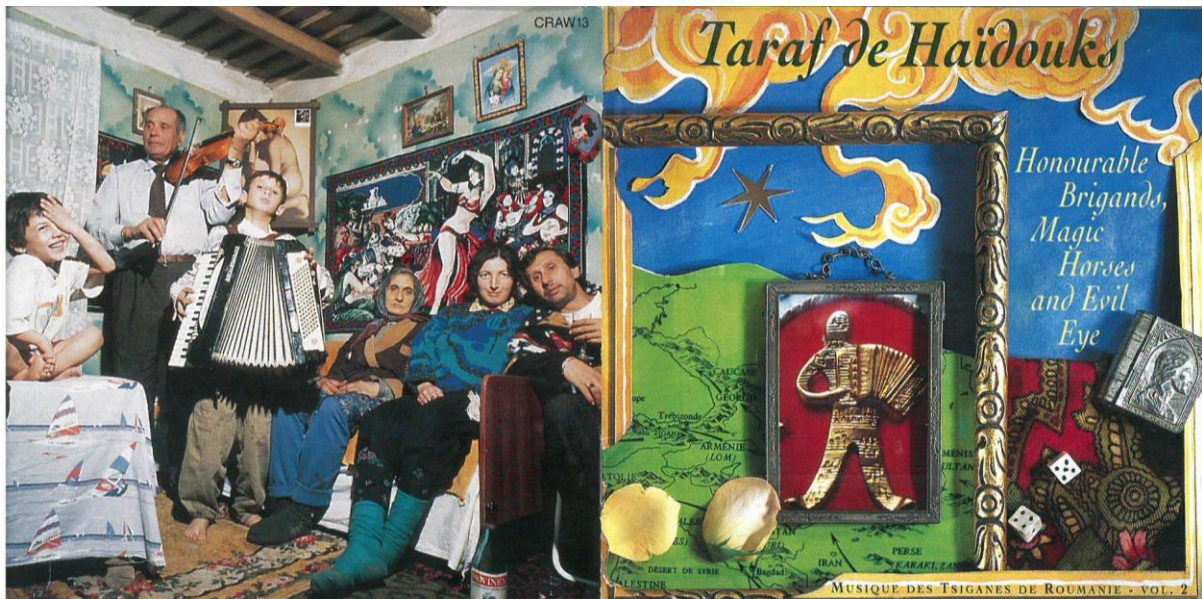


Plate 4.8 – *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* - liner notes, front and rear



Plate 4.9 – *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* - inside the liner notes

The 'oriental' features that may sometimes be considered unacceptable locally by contrast, are often deliberately emphasised by the record producers in order to promote the product for western consumers. As with the previous album, much effort has been put

¹⁵ *Manele* is discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

into the design of the accompanying material with its suggestions of magic, the occult and the east. But other references remind listeners that they are being enticed into a borderland where empires and cultures have converged: Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire; the Occident and the Orient; Orthodox Christianity and Islam. The liner notes rely on striking colours. On the front, there is a paper-cut figure of an accordionist, a pair of dice and a miniature bible with a profile of Christ engraved on it. The reverse shows Boşorogu in his living room with his family. There is a wall hanging, which depicts an oriental scene of an 'exotic' female dancer, accompanied by female musicians performing for a man in a turban. This is likely to be the representation of 'The Abduction from the Seraglio' to which Radulescu refers in *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*. Boşorogu seems to be an inveterate collector of bric-a-brac, and he purchased this along with a lithograph of a nude woman, which can also be partially seen in the photograph. A picture of the Madonna and child can also be seen hanging further up (see Plate 4.8). Just inside the liner notes, there is a reminder of the eastern origin of the Romani people. The track listing is printed over a graphic representation of the migratory journeys that the Roma are believed to have taken following their departure from the north-west Indian region of Rajasthan (see Plate 4.9).

Track	Title	English Title
1	Spune, Spune, Moș Bătrân ...	Old Peasant Song
2	Hora din Caval	Old Style Hora
3	Azi Eram Frumoasă, Jună ...	Romance of the Suburbs
4	Țiganească	Gypsy Dance
5	Când Eram la '48	Chronicle of a Peasant Uprising
6	Geamparale	Wedding Dance
7	Cântec de Dragoste și joc	Love Song and Dance
8	Doină și Cântec	Doină and Flute Song
9	Jalea Țiganilor	Gypsy Lament
10	Turcească	Dance in Turkish Style
11	Balada lui Corbea	Ballad of Corbea the Haïdouk
12	Sârba	Variations
13	De ma deie but te pau	Gypsy Song to Listen to
14	Brâu	Fast Dance
15	Duba, Duba ... și Hora	Jail Song and Dance
16	Lelița Cărciumăreasă	Old Instrumental Song

Table 4.3 – List of tracks on *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*

As a concept, the album *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye* shares many similarities with *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*. It contains many of the familiar dances, historical epic songs and legends, but there are differences again in the way some of the numbers are described and presented. It is noticeable that several of the tracks are listed by a snippet of the song's lyrics (albeit with a more general explanation in English in smaller type) instead of the more conventional descriptions of *doină*, *cântec* or *baladă*. For example, the opening words of track 1 are given as the title in Romanian: 'Spune, Spune, Moș Bătrân...' (en. 'Tell Me, Tell Me, Old Man...'). Whereas, the corresponding English name just provides the basic description 'Old Peasant's Song'. This observation may seem trivial, but it indicates the band's move away from some of the more traditional vocal forms towards styles originating from outside the historical standard repertoire of the *lăutari*. It also, perhaps, anticipates the creeping eclecticism of the later albums.

Silverman (2012: 273) notes that '[...] before the 1980s Taraf's music had little in common with Turkish music and the Romani musics of Bulgaria, Turkey and Macedonia. [...] before 1989 Taraf played mostly regional Romanian music and some Romani songs'. As

remarked upon before, many Turkish features can be traced to Romanian music. But Silverman's observations can be substantiated somewhat with reference to the ethnomusicological collection. *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie* does not contain any immediately apparent direct connections with Turkish music. This point is made to illustrate that the marketing of 'gypsy music' often involves making tenuous connections, including the portrayal of European Roma as having a unified identity. Despite having similar origins, their migration was not linear, and care should be taken not to regard them as a wholly homogenous group.

Dumbala Dumba

Track	Title	Translation	Duration
1	Introduction		0'59"
2	Dumbala dumba		2'14"
3	Săbărelu		4'35"
4	Rustem		2'01"
5	Foii de Prun și foii de praz	Leaves of Plum and Leek Leaves	6'48"
6	Cuculețu	Little Cuckoo	5'38"
7	Terno Chelipé	Young Chelipé	3'09"
8	Catar o birto mai opre	The Mule Stopped at the Pub	4'04"
9	Pe deasupra casei mele	Above My House	4'25"
10	Meșteru Manole	Manole the Mason	4'24"
11	Cîntece de jale	Songs of Grief	4'37"
12	Pe drumul mînisteresc	On the Road to the Monastery	3'25"
13	Padure verde, padure	Green forest	7'01"
14	Tambal solo		4'21"
15	Tot taraful	The Whole Ensemble	7'16"
16	Hora ca la ursari	Hora, Bear-Handlers' Style	4'04"

Table 4.4 - List of tracks on *Dumbala, Dumba*

Their third album as Taraf de Haïdouks, *Dumbala Dumba* (1998), marked somewhat of a departure from the previous two; it has an altogether different flavour to it. There is more song, and there are fewer of the fast virtuosic instrumental dances such as the *tigănească* (en. 'Gypsy' Dance) or *geamparale* which are prominent on *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*. The instrumental arrangements are lighter in many places, with the

accordion and *țambal* often taking the lead as melodic instruments. Furthermore, references to the traditional song and dance forms (*cântec de dragoste, horă* etc.) that had begun to be reduced on *Honourable Brigands*, are now largely absent with descriptive titles, or song titles that had previously functioned as subtitles, in their place. For example, 'Pădure, verde pădure' (sung by Cacurica in his characteristic 'gypsy' style) is a love song, but it is not described as such in the track listing (track 13 - see Table 4.4).

The character of the album is influenced by the addition of some guest musicians. Napoleon and his friends belong to the *ursari*, the most marginalised of all Roma in Romania. They are also the poorest. Unable to afford instruments, they provide percussive accompaniment to their own songs with *objets trouvés*, such as pots and pans, or parts of their bodies. The inclusion of Romani language vocabulary in some track titles could be attributable to this group's presence on the recording.¹⁶ *Dumbala Dumba* also features musicians and music from Mârșă, the relatively nearby village from where Ilie Iorga hails. Furthermore, the Clejani *taraf* is joined on this album for the first time by a female vocalist, Viorica Rudăreasa. She sings the title track that somewhat controversially concerns prostitution. It is controversial because it plays to the common stereotype of the female 'gypsy' performer as promiscuous. It is music from the *mahala*.

Margareta do not flee
Come press yourself against me
So we can have some fun
Dum de dum de dum

My love is a big boss
He sells meat and takes no loss
He sells it to pretty ones
In exchange for chewing gum

I may be small, but I am sweet

¹⁶ For example, *terno* (en. young) and *birto* (en. pub) in the titles for tracks 7 and 8 respectively are Romani words (Lee, 2010).

I wear shoes with high heels
My skin is too brown
But I've got talent, I've been around.

The colour photographs in the accompanying booklet are stills from the Taraf de Haïdouks sequence in the film *Latcho Drom*.

Band of Gypsies

The accompanying material for both of the early Taraf de Haïdouks' volumes states that the younger *lăutari* favour music with more irregular Turkish, Bulgarian or Serbian rhythms.

Turkish style is clearly referenced in the dances, 'Turcească' and 'Geamparale'. This Turkish, 'eastern' and Balkan connection is developed further in *Band of Gypsies*.



Plate 4.10 – *l'orient est rouge* - front and back of liner notes



Plate 4.11 – *l'orient est rouge* (l) and *Band of Gypsies* (r) - a comparison of artwork

The album *Band of Gypsies*, dating from 2001, is a mixture of live and studio recordings on which Taraf de Haïdouks were joined by guest musicians, including production and recording stablemates, the Romani brass band Kočani Orkestar from Macedonia. Islamic-style motifs decorate the liner notes and the CD itself for their 1998 recording, *L'Orient est Rouge* (see Plate 4.10), and a taste of this visual imagery is carried over to the *Band of Gypsies* album (see Plate 4.11).



Plate 4.12 – *Band of Gypsies* –illustration inside the liner notes

In December 2000, when Taraf de Haïdouks gave their first public performance in Bucharest under that name, they were still virtually unknown in Romania despite having achieved international recognition. *Band of Gypsies* dates from the same period, and a documentary film— *Nul n'est prophète en son pays* (en. *Nobody is a Prophet in their Own Land*)—written and directed by Elsa Dahmani was produced to complement it.¹⁷ The film makes much of the rural environment from which Taraf de Haïdouks originate. The image of them playing in a farm trailer being towed by a tractor has become almost iconic (see Plate 4.12). This film and another — *Gypsy Caravan: When the Road Bends* (2006) — include other features deliberately designed to locate its subjects in a deprived setting: muddy tracks, ramshackle houses, stray barking dogs, all set in a seemingly perpetual late

¹⁷ This film can be viewed at www.youtube.com [Accessed 18 December 2017].

autumn or winter gloom. Such treatment contrasts strikingly with the presentation style applied to folkloric *muzică populară*, where everything appears fresh, green and sunny.

The producers, convinced that this is what audiences and record-buyers want, maintain the stereotypes and, for the most part, the Romani musicians are prepared to acquiesce. Silverman (2012: 267) makes the rather telling point that these stereotypes seemed to bother her more than they bothered the musicians in her discussion concerning the representation of Romani musicians. But, nevertheless, one of the major themes in her writing is the observation that the Roma have had very little say in how they are represented, not least because they do not have access to the means of production which would enable them to do so (Silverman, 2003: 131; Silverman 2012: 7).

Track	English Title	Romanian/Romani Title
1	Dance of the Firemen	Sârba Pompierilor
2	A la Turk	Turcoaică Angali
3	Sorrow, Only My Sorrow	Doru Meu e Numai Dor
4	The Return Of The Magic Horses	Întoacerea Cailor Magică
5	A Gypsy Had A House	O Tsigan Ave o Casă
6	A Stork Crosses The Danube, In The Company Of A Raven	Barza Nachlea a Pai, Arachlieape la Ciorai
7	Absinth I Drink You, Absinth I Eat You	Pelîn Bau, Pelîn Mănînc
8	Cacurica Dances	Joc a Lui Cacurica
9	Carolina	Carolina
10	Green Leaf, Clover Leaf	Foaie Verde, Foaie Trifoai
11	I'm A Gambling Man	Barbugiu
12	Little Buds	Mugur, Mugurel
13	Bride In A Red Dress	Louloudji
14	Back To Clejani	Jea Kere

Table 4.5 - List of tracks on *Band of Gypsies*

The names of the tracks are now all given in English first with their translations bracketed in smaller font. Apart from the first track, 'Dance of the Firemen' (en. 'Sârba Pompierilor'), there is no reference to the underlying traditional song and dance forms which were given prominence on the first commercial album and, to a certain extent, on *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*, although they still provide the foundation for the material there. The Turkish connection is maintained through a reprise of

‘Turcească’ (now called ‘A La Turk’) with additional rhythmic brass and a long introductory clarinet melisma. An indication that Taraf de Haïdouks are moving into new musical territory is the inclusion of a cover of ‘Oh Carolina’ by the rapper Shaggy, which is given a makeover in *geampara* rhythm with muezzin-like vocal melismas at the beginning and towards the end of the piece. To continue my survey of Taraf de Haïdouks recorded output I will consider their 2007 album called *Mașkaradă*. *Mașkaradă* combines covers of ‘classical’ and ‘light-classical’ music from the first half of the twentieth century with material that is more closely associated with the core repertoire of Taraf de Haïdouks.

*Mașkaradă*¹⁸

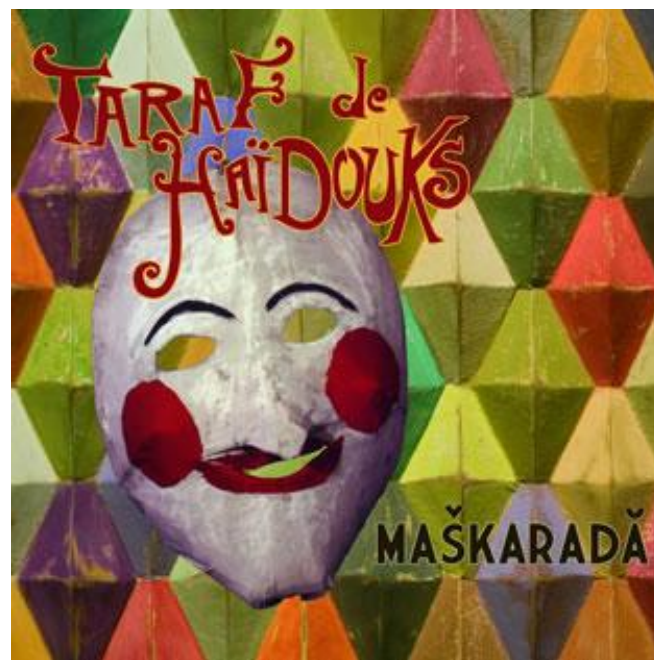


Plate 4.13 – Artwork on cover of *Mașkaradă* album

¹⁸Given that ‘mașkaradă’ is intended to represent the English ‘masquerade’, in Romanian ‘masquerade’ would strictly translate as ‘mascaradă’ (see Miroiu, 2010). The spelling ‘mașkaradă’ includes letters which do not occur (ș) or occur very rarely (k) in Romanian. ‘š’ appears in Slavic languages, such as Serbo-Croat (and Czech). Maybe the mixed south-eastern European spelling is intended as a device which is supposed to add to the sense of illusion that the producers of the album want to create.

Track	Title	Composer
1	Ostinato and Romanian Dance	Béla Bartók
2	Lezhinka	Aram Khachaturian
3	Danza Ritual del Fuego	Manuel de Falla
4	Waltz from Masquerade	Aram Khachaturian
5	In a Persian Market	Albert Ketèlby
6	De Cînd Ma Aflat Multimea	Taraf de Haïdouks
7	Romanian Folk Dances	Béla Bartók
8	The Missing Dance	Taraf de Haïdouks
9	Asturias	Isaac Albéniz
10	Parca Eu Te-Am Vazut	Taraf de Haïdouks
11	Hora Moldovenesca	Taraf de Haïdouks
12	Les Portes de la Nuit	Joseph Kosma
13	Parlapapup	Taraf de Haïdouks
14	Suita Mașkaradă	Taraf de Haïdouks

Table 4.6 - List of tracks on *Mașkaradă*

I have shown that Béla Bartók's attitude towards 'gypsy' musicians was ambivalent and that he addressed the issue of their role in folk music on various occasions. Nevertheless, in an act of reclamation, Taraf de Haïdouks pay Bartók the compliment of including a reading of his *Ostinato and Romanian Dance*, and *Romanian Dances* on *Mașkaradă*. Their reappropriation is taken a step further with 'The Missing Dance' (track 8), the implication being that this dance was excluded from Bartók's original set. The accompanying material makes much of the apparent debt owed to Romani musicians by composers of art music who use this inspiration '[...] to create their own vision of an exotic and largely imaginary Orient. [...], [Taraf de Haïdouks] have taken hold of classical pieces and have "re-gypsyfied" them, [...]'.

Mașkaradă takes its title from the 'Waltz from Masquerade' by Aram Khachaturian (1903-1978) which appears as track 4 on the album.¹⁹ Alongside the Bartók and the

¹⁹ This waltz comes from the suite *Masquerade*, which started life as incidental music to a play of the same name by Mikhail Lermontov (1814-1841).

Khachaturian, the disc contains versions of music by Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), Isaac Albéniz (1860-1909), and a rendition of the overtly sentimental and orientalist *In a Persian Market* by Albert Ketèlbey (1875-1959), an English composer remembered mainly for his light orchestral pieces. The cover and liner notes make much of the 'gypsy' legacy from which Western music has drawn inspiration, particularly the *style hongrois* playing style:

[...], it is not easy to decide who is wearing the disguise: is it the rural Gypsy band playing a Strauss waltz, or the western European orchestra playing in a 'Hungarian' style? It's a gigantic masquerade [...]. It's like a carnival feast in the Romanian countryside, with these strange pagan masks which decorate the album sleeve and set the mood.

Maškaradă is a concept album that relies on the allure of questionable cultural and musical connections and eye-catching artwork, where the music moves further away from its core setting and purpose. The result misses the spontaneity and exuberance that exudes from the earlier recordings where Taraf de Haïdouks adhere more closely to their core song and dance repertoire. It would seem that the musicians have been detached from their origin, and the struggle of the Roma for equality has been replaced with the romantic idea of masked characters from the *commedia dell'arte*. Perhaps this situation was inevitable on Taraf de Haïdouks' journey from village musicians performing village music to their position as a commercial commodity in an environment where brands must be constantly reinvented and repackaged to engender enough interest to sustain the economic cycle.

Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts

Track	Title	Duration
1	Balalau From Bucharest	3'06"
2	Moldavian Shepherds' Dance	3'16"
3	Cold Snowball	4'32"
4	The Fields Are Blooming	3'40"
5	Clejani Love Song	11'11"
6	Manele Pomak	4'32"
7	The High Balcony in Ciolpan	5'52"
8	Where Do You Come From Dear Lady	3'25"
9	No Snow, No Rain	7'43"
10	I'll Tell You How It Is In The Other World	6'06"
11	Dance Suite A La Clejani	5'08"
12	Mother, My Little Mama	6'32"
13	I've Got A Parachute Skirt	3'33"
14	Marius' Lament	2'34"

Table 4.7 - List of tracks on *Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts*

Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts (2015) was the last commercial recording to be made to date by Taraf de Haïdouks. Following *Mașkaradă* of 2007, a collaborative album—*Band of Gypsies 2*— was produced in 2011 along with Kočani Orkestar. By 2015 many of the core group of musicians connecting Taraf de Haïdouks to the band's traditional origins had died; only Fluierici and Caliu remained, with the former dying the following year. But, in keeping with the hereditary nature of the *lăutar*'s art, the group is augmented by the offspring of both dead and living musicians. *Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts*, also features Viorica Rudăreasa, the female singer who first appeared on *Dumbala dumba*. The Bulgarian clarinettist, Filip Simeonov, first played on *Band of Gypsies*, and became a permanent feature thereafter. Inevitably, he brought with him a more overtly Balkan register to Taraf de Haïdouks' repertoire. Simeonov is credited with being behind the inclusion of 'Manele Pomak' (track 6) on this album.²⁰

²⁰ 'Pomak' is a term used to describe Balkan Muslims who speak the Bulgarian language.

Mașkaradă has shortcomings in terms of authenticity and the spontaneous exuberance that is apparent on most of Taraf de Haïdouks' other recordings. The producers of the record have chosen an international 'classical' repertoire that has imagined 'gypsy' influence with the stated intention that the *lăutari* might re-appropriate the music in their own 'gypsy' style. The recovery on *Mașkaradă* of traditional Romanian music in arrangements by Béla Bartók is significant given the composer's well-known ambivalence towards 'gypsy' musicians. In the following section, I revisit some of his attitudes, placing them in the context of musical exoticism and 'orientalist fantasy' that persists in connecting the 'gypsy' with the 'east', and ultimately the 'Turk'.

'Orientalist Fantasy': Bartók and 'Gypsy' Music

The reader will recall that towards the end of my meeting with Caliu and Marius of Taraf de Haïdouks in Clejani, these two musicians performed a version of Bartók's Romanian Dances for my benefit. This, and its inclusion on the album *Mașkaradă*, I interpret as a means of recovering cultural agency on the part of the *lăutari*. In short, the *lăutari* have rights to Romanian musical folklore as much as any other Romanian.

The considerable musicological discourse concerning 'gypsy' music-making in Central and Eastern Europe arising from the work and views of Béla Bartók is well known. Bartók was generally hostile towards the 'gypsies'' craft.²¹ His hostility seems to have been shared to a certain extent by Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967), Bartók's folksong-collecting companion and Hungarian compatriot, who considered 'gypsy' music to be 'bad', because it misrepresented the character and quality of true Hungarian traditional music (Hooker,

²¹ Bartók later toned down this hostility, as fascism with its abhorrent views on race took hold in much of Europe during the 1930s. He was essentially a humanist, and his anti-fascist stance sat uncomfortably with his earlier contention that 'gypsies' had polluted pure Hungarian music, which they had in turn stolen from the peasants through financial greed (Brown, 2000:130).

2013:137). Bartók's most dismissive views on 'gypsy' music and musicians date from a period before the First World War, not long after he had started collecting folksong. In 1909, he began his research amongst the Romanian-speaking communities of Greater Transylvania - the part of post-1918 Romania that had previously been under Hungarian control (Griffiths, 1984:22).²²

Describing them as an 'immigrant nation', he considered the 'gypsies' to be outsiders within and charged them with 'orientalising' peasant music that did not belong to them (Bartók, 1976 cited in Brown, 2000:123). In this sense, Bartók inverted Liszt's fallacy that 'gypsy' music was their own, and the Hungarians were its custodians.²³

For Bartók, the 'gypsies' did not satisfy the conditions of nationhood, and their music was too tainted a commodity to qualify as a valid national source. Earlier, Herder had held 'gypsies' to be, like Jews, '[...] a people without territory' whose best hope was reform by forced enlistment into the army (cited in Saul, 2009:153).²⁴

'Gypsy' musicians had been employed on the estates of the Hungarian nobility to perform songs (*magyar nóta*) composed by what Bartók describes as 'dilettante nobleman', because '[...] while a Hungarian gentleman may compose music, it is traditionally unbecoming to his social status to perform it "for money" — only gipsies (sic) are supposed to do that' (Bartók, 1976:70,206). Bartók was critical of the characteristic rhapsodic style that they applied to this music — 'Turkish' elements such as elaborate ornamentation, augmented seconds and microtones — all features which encouraged Bartók to bemoan the

²² Bartók regretted that he was not able to extend his research to 'Old Rumania' (Old Kingdom of Romania comprising the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia) due to the outbreak and chaotic aftermath of the First World War, but nevertheless took some cheer from the knowledge that his friend Constantin Brăiloiu (1893-1958) was conducting important ethnomusicological work in the areas that he was not able to access (Bartók, 1967a:2).

²³ See *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*.

²⁴ Paradoxically, it was usually 'gypsy' musicians who played the *verbunkos* (from which the *csárdás* probably evolved), a dance used to recruit men into the Austro-Hungarian army.

‘orientalist fantasy’ which he later saw as contaminating the peasants’ music as the ‘gypsies’ plied their musical trade amongst their rural patrons (Bartók, 1976 cited in Brown, 2000:123; see also Bellman, 1998:83).

Bartók maintained that what was true for Hungarian peasant music also held for the Romanian. In an essay,²⁵ he defends his work on Romanian folk music from critical attack. Bartók refutes his reviewer’s notion that the *lăutari* are the true guardians of Romanian folk music stating that: ‘Gipsies (sic) pervert melodies, change their rhythm to gipsy rhythm, introduce among the people melodies heard in other regions and in the country seats of the gentry—in other words, they contaminate the style of genuine folk music’ (Bartók, 1976:198). Of course, the ‘orientalising’ charge that Bartók aimed at Roma musicians cannot be totally unfounded or attributable to prejudice with respect to Romanian traditional music, due to the undoubted influence of Ottoman culture.

Across many traditions, music has often been regarded as having dangerous intoxicating and supernatural power, with entertainers in general frequently considered to be degenerate and morally questionable (Hooker, 2007: 60). Carol Silverman (2012:9) describes the Roma as ‘[...] Europe’s quintessential others’, a condition that has been perpetuated by their supposed religious apathy and moral inferiority. In short, musicians from subaltern groups are not considered to be bound by the same moral code as those ‘higher up’ the social order, and therefore need not be so fearful of music’s narcotic effect.

I recall Bartók’s contribution to the debate about ‘gypsy music’ here because similar rhetoric is employed in connection with *manele*, as will become apparent in the following pair of chapters. Bartók saw the infiltration of Turkish features into the *lăutari* style as a degradation of the music. *Manele* as a genre is disliked by many in Romania because of its

²⁵ Observations on Rumanian Folk Music (Bartók, 1976).

perceived 'oriental' nature. However, not only is *manele* regarded as degenerate from a musical point of view, other presentational and thematic aspects are also considered to be vulgar.

In this and the preceding chapter, I place Taraf de Haïdouks as the centrepiece of my thesis. Taraf de Haïdouks represent musical transition. Their craft is firmly grounded in the *lăutar* tradition, but as Taraf de Haïdouks became absorbed into the 'world music' scene, they were encouraged to follow new musical paths. Through their musical development as stars of 'world music', Taraf de Haïdouks connect tradition with modernity, a connection that also links them to the 'popular'. Coincidentally (for reasons that are not entirely unrelated), at around the same time that Taraf de Haïdouks were bridging the space between the local and the global, Romania itself was also involved in transition to a new modern reality, as western-style capitalism gradually took hold following the rejection of the communist economic model there.

Chapter 5 – Manele: At Home

This thesis concerns matters related to the Roma of Romania and Romani music. A critical issue is as follows: Why are the Roma so reviled, while Romani music can be so revered? However, there is one musical genre that is popular amongst Romani musicians which is widely disliked by many Romanians. This style is called '*manele*'. As Rădulescu¹ argues, if you do not like *manele*, you need to change the aesthetic preferences and the social mores of the society that supports it. That is, Rădulescu equates *manele* with the cultural capital of a subaltern group, namely the Roma of Romania. Like the Roma, *manele* is despised. Like the Roma, *manele* occupies an inferior position in the Romanian consciousness. In this way, *manele* reflects the alterior status of the Roma in Romania. Simply put, if you do not like *manele*, you do not like the Roma.

The reasons for the widespread antipathy towards *manele* are both historical and political, and are provided in response to the third of my subsidiary research questions. Indeed, the historical and political are interrelated. For many, *manele* reminds Romanians of their Ottoman past (see Chapter 2), a past dominated by an alien religion (namely Islam) and a past controlled by an alien people (namely the Turks). That is, *manele* is a sonic reminder of colonisation and subservience (and even in some instances hostage taking²) at the hands of the Ottoman overlords. In this way, *manele* is marked both as alien and non-Romanian. It is a genre that equates the Roma with the Turk. Related to this, *manele* reminds Romanians of an 'eastern' register in the Romanian 'west'. It is a musical style

¹ See www.advarul.ro [Accessed 3 June 2017].

² To encourage loyalty, princes (ro. *voievozi* [sg. *voievod*]) and boyars (ro. *boieri* [sg. *boier*]) were compelled to dispatch their sons to Constantinople where they were held as hostages. This was the experience of Dimitrie Cantemir. For two brief periods (1693, and 1710 to 1711) he was Prince of Moldavia, but he is remembered especially for his contribution to Romanian letters as a chronicler and scholar.

believed to be inconsistent with a national reading of ‘western’ enlightenment (again, see Chapter 2). It reminds Romanians of who they were, not who they want to be.

Accordingly, many Romanians do not like *manele*.

Of course, it would be incorrect to say that all Romanians dislike *manele*. *Manele* is generally regarded with disdain by a section of Romanian society delineated as ‘establishment’ or ‘elite’. Nevertheless, the level of scorn that *manele* has attracted—and continues to do so—is excessive in comparison to other popular music forms to be found the world over. In this chapter, I investigate this situation, with particular emphasis on the historical factors that have some bearing on why this is so.

At the end of the vignette describing my visit to Clejani in Chapter 4, I noted that modern living has had a profound impact upon the demand for traditional music at life cycle events. That is, the traditional role of the *lăutar* is at risk, and musical performances of *manele* provide a potentially more prosperous future for the Romani musicians.

In common with much of modern-day popular music, especially of the less mainstream and do-it-yourself variety, many fans of *manele* access songs through YouTube videos posted on the internet. This is the medium through which I had first encountered examples of the genre. Consequently, much of the discussion in this chapter draws on recordings of *manele* that originate from this resource.

Manele also has a significant existence in live performance at clubs and private parties. Public performances devoted to *manele* are not so common, but I was fortunate to have the opportunity to attend an event of this kind during my visit to Romania in the summer of 2016. The event was entitled Sistem Ca Pe Ferentari (en. Ferentari Style). Leo de Vis was one of the performers there. I established that the work of Leo de Vis is also well represented online. I use one of his songs in particular (‘Sistemul Seicilor’ [en. ‘In the

Manner of the Sheikhs' or 'Sheikh Style']') as a basis for an investigation into issues raised by the *maneie* debate, particularly in relation to orientalism. My experience in Ferentari follows as a preface to my discussion of *maneie*.

A Diversion to Ferentari



Plate 5.1 – Facebook publicity poster for Sistem ca pe Ferentari

4 September 2016

Ferentari is a district of Bucharest that suffers from high levels of deprivation and has a reputation for being ‘dangerous’, as it is associated with drugs, prostitution and organised crime. The population is largely poor and undereducated. Approximately 25% of the inhabitants of Ferentari are Roma (Rădulescu, 2016:260). The borough is to the south of the city and begins about 2.5 km from the centre, and its southern extremity is around 5 km from central Bucharest. I had decided to go there because I had seen a posting on Facebook that a free event celebrating local musical (*manele*) talent was being held on the 4th September 2016. Sistem ca pe Ferentari took place in Parcul din Aleea Livezilor, a small urban park and playground, enclosed by communist-period tenements that are ubiquitous in Bucharest, and elsewhere in Romania for that matter. Upon mentioning to the owner of the property where I was staying that I was to venture into Ferentari, she did not exactly dissuade me from going, but did suggest that I took very little with me in the way of money and valuables. She later divulged to me that she had never been to Ferentari herself,

despite it being not so far from Apărătorii Patriei.³ I would suggest that it is not uncommon for Bucharest's residents to base their opinion of Ferentari on its reputation rather than direct experience, accepting that it does have serious social problems (Schiop, 2016:203n20).



Figure 5.1 – Bucharest metro map⁴

Ferentari's isolation is illustrated, perhaps, by taking a look at the Bucharest Metro map (see Figure 5.1). It is the only *cartier* (see Zona 14 on map) not served at all by an existing or proposed route. All of the other districts, at least, have a metro station at their boundary, even if they do not benefit from extensive network coverage. Overground access by bus and tram is better, but few routes provide a direct link from the city centre to the

³ The apartment was in Apărătorii Patriei (en. Defenders of the Fatherland), a *cartier* (en. district/quarter) in south-east Bucharest, about 7km east of Ferentari.

⁴ The grey-shaded area 14 represents Ferentari. Rahova (Zona 13), next door, also has a large Roma population (and contains a large flower market). There is a planned Metro stop (Drumul Taberei) on its border, but Rahova does have a bus station (ro. Autogară) that is fairly well served by buses and trams.

area, and certainly not to the specific location I wanted to get to - tram stop Valtoarei on Prelungirea Ferentari.

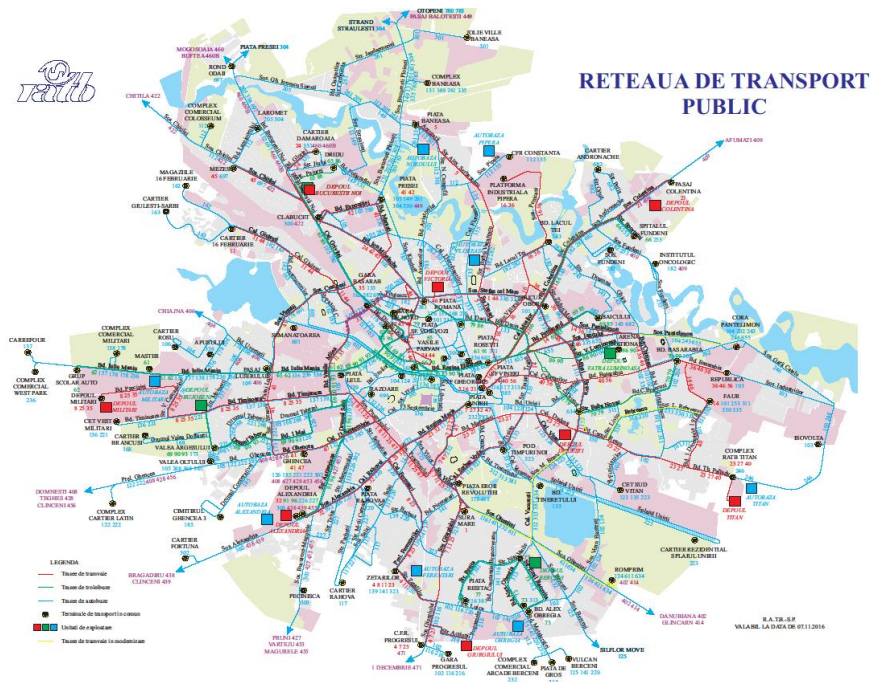


Figure 5.2 – Bucharest Surface Public Transport Map

Consequently, my trip required significant planning in order to make sense of the complicated wiring diagram that represents Bucharest's surface public transport system (see Figure 5.2). I concluded that the safest option (in the sense that I was less likely to get lost) would be to take the metro to Dristor, about 2km to the east of Piața Unirii in the city centre, where I could pick up tram 23, which would deliver me to my required destination.⁵ During the course of the tram ride there and back, as the geography of the city became more familiar it was obvious that there would have been less contorted options available to me.

⁵ Travel by taxi would have been another option, but I had heard that taxi drivers generally refuse fares to Ferentari and, although taxis are relatively inexpensive (commonly 1.39 lei [c. £0.26] per km) travel by bus or tram is very cheap, the equivalent of about £0.25 per journey.



Plate 5.2 - A Wedding in Apărătorii Patriei – Roderick Lawford

Through a combination of Google Maps on my mobile phone and latching on to some fellow passengers who were going to the same event, I managed to identify the correct stop to get off the tram. My temporary companions and I were drawn immediately in the direction of the sound of some extremely loud live music. This turned out not to be the show that I was aiming for, but a local (almost certainly Romani) wedding taking place in the street. It is not an uncommon occurrence for tables and chairs to be set out, along with gazebos for the bridal party and musicians, in shared space in between apartment blocks. Indeed, I had witnessed something similar not long after I had arrived in the locality of Bucharest where I was staying, but on a much smaller scale than this (see Plate 5.2).⁶ This accidental sideshow provided an effective decoy, as many others were attracted towards the noise, thinking it was the main event, only to be informed ‘este o nuntă!’ (en. ‘it’s a wedding’).

⁶ This photograph was taken by me in Apărătorii Patriei, 30 July 2016.

I stayed for a while to observe the celebration before heading off to find Parcul din Aleea Livezilor, which was very close by. The stage had been set up at one end of a wire-fence enclosed sports court, big enough to accommodate five-a-side football, judging by the red and white metal goalposts at either end. Many of those who had come to the event chose to watch, listen and dance from within this space and it filled up considerably as the evening unfolded. Similar numbers followed the event from the surrounding park area, while still others watched and listened from the adjoining streets outside the park perimeter, sat on the entrance steps to their apartment buildings or leaning on walls and fences.

I had expected that there would be some food and drink stalls there, but apart from *porumb fiert* (en. corn on the cob) and what looked like toffee apples, there was very little available by way of sustenance. Some enterprising locals were selling these along with various other trinkets and knick-knacks. As the evening wore on and became darker, toys that emitted bright, colourful lights (such as wands and windmills) became particularly popular with the children there. There is a local shop, which did a roaring trade in drinks and snacks.

The following four acts were billed to appear that evening:

Time	Artists
17.00	Taraful Nelu Bosoi-Sorin Necunoscutu (Taraf Nelu Bosoi and Sorin the 'Unknown' or 'Stranger').
18.30	Mitzu din Sălaj cu Formație (Mitzu from Sălaj and Band).
19.45	Leo de Vis cu Formație și Talente Locale (Leo de Vis (Dreamboat Leo) with Band and Local Talent).
21.15	Sorinel Copilul de Aur cu Formația de Aur (Sorinel the Golden Child and the Golden Band).

Table 5.1 – Sistem ca pe Ferentari line up



Plate 5.3 - Mitzu din Sălaj performing at Sistem ca pe Ferentari – Roderick Lawford

By the time I arrived at the venue, the second act — Mitzu din Sălaj cu Formație (Mitzu from Sălaj and Band) — was already underway. Judging by the amount of time they were on stage, I think I must have caught them early on in their set. Of the three bands I heard, I think they were my favourite during the evening. I did try to make a video recording of them with my mobile phone, but unfortunately, this had very limited success, as it did not record the sound. I thoroughly regretted not bringing my camera; I had foolishly given undue credence to the warnings not to take too much of value with me. The band comprised a fairly common formation for *manele*; electric keyboard, horn (in this case an alto saxophone, but other wind instruments, such as the clarinet, often feature), high-pitched drum-kit tom-toms played with wooden-headed sticks, guitar and vocalist Mitzu din Sălaj himself (see Plate 5.3).

An online search for videos featuring the musicians that I saw perform at Sistem ca pe Ferentari revealed that they have all used (to a greater or lesser extent) suggestive sexual imagery in their studio and restaurant or club recordings. In this open festival environment,

the bands presented their material in a largely straightforward performance context, foregoing the temptation to have their music accompanied by provocative dancing. The spectators provided the movement on this occasion. Dance styles were varied, reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of the audience, which comprised (naturally) local residents and those from further afield (including tourists like me), and the varied influences (the ‘oriental’, the ‘occidental’ and the local) that converge in *manele*. Those choosing to dance to *manele* do not have to abide by any particular form or rules; the *manea* dance is freestyle and improvisatory in nature (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:25). Nevertheless, Romani women could be observed dancing enthusiastically in the *köçek*⁷ manner (with its characteristic abdominal and pelvic movements), whilst others chose to move in a free western ‘pop’ style, moving to the music in whichever ways they felt comfortable.

Sistem ca pe Ferentari was a very enjoyable and useful experience for me. It was a fortuitous discovery, because the performance of *manele* in an inclusive public context seems to be relatively rare, as I have already mentioned. However, almost exactly two months prior to my visit to Ferentari I had been additionally fortunate to hear Dan Armeanca (1961-) play live at the ‘Outernational Days’ festival⁸ in the Grădină Uranus (en. Uranus Garden), also in Bucharest. Armeanca (who left Romania for Canada for a while) is widely recognised as an important and talented exponent of a precursor to modern *manele*,

⁷ As noted earlier (62n77), the Turkish word *köçek* refers to professional boy dancers that were popular in Ottoman court and military circles, especially from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century (Silverman, 2012:107). It has since become associated with a ‘belly-dance’ style of dancing, which is familiar across the Balkans. In Bulgaria it is known as *kyuchek* and in Macedonia as *čoček*. The closest Romanian equivalent is *din buric* (see below). Although dances are similar, there are variations in presentation, depending on who is performing. The Romani style is more modest, in terms of both movement and dress, such as might be experienced at a Romani community event – Sistem ca pe Ferentari, for example (Silverman, 2012:112). It was a privilege to watch members of the local community dance with such enthusiasm, often with considerable encouragement from their companions.

⁸ See www.facebook.com [Accessed 4 July 2018].

who was working in defiance of the authorities during the communist period (Beissinger, 2016:101).

My experiences at both festivals contradicted some of the negativity that is often associated with *manele* and its fans. At 'Outernational Days' I made an acquaintance with Richard Augood, a part-time British music journalist who, prior to listening to Dan Armeanca's set, made some remarks which, whilst not overtly questioning the quality and value of *manele*, indicated that the genre was not to his taste. I listened to and watched the performance with him, and his opinion changed somewhat during the course of it. Armeanca was the main headline act at 'Outernational Days' and Augood writes about his contribution to the festival in positive terms.⁹ He notes that Armeanca and other performers like him help to dispel the opprobrium and stereotyping that *manele* attracts and in so doing support the promoters' goals to position the genre in a more favourable light, and for it to be recognised as a valuable contribution to contemporary Romanian culture.

⁹ See www.thequietus.com [Accessed 6 July 2018].



Plate 5.4 - Stall in the Piața de Flori (en. Flower Market), Calea Rahovei, Bucharest

It was fairly plain to see that ‘Outernational Days’ largely attracted a young middle-class audience: there were few, if any, attendees from the Roma community, for whom *manele* is a ubiquitous accompaniment to their daily lives. This irony was magnified given the proximity of Grădină Uranus to Rahova and Ferentari, the two sectors of Bucharest with the largest populations of Roma. Furthermore, walking back to the city centre with some newly-found companions after the festival had finished for the night, our senses were soon bombarded with colour and fragrance as the route took us through a huge flower market which had already been set up for the day’s trading (it was about 1 a.m.). These stallholders are almost exclusively Roma, and *manele* is their musical entertainment of choice as they go about their business (see Plate 5.4).

The crowd that gathered at Sistem ca pe Ferentari was considerably more diverse than the audience for ‘Outernational Days’. This is understandable as it was publicised as an occasion to celebrate local talent and importantly it was free. The Romani community of

Ferentari were well represented, and they were joined by other Romanians and those from further afield. Although there was a noticeable difference in the ethno-social make-up of the attendees at these two events, it should be acknowledged that those behind them were involved in both, and the individuals and organisations concerned are undoubtedly committed to inclusivity and breaking down prejudices.¹⁰

Manele

Modern *manele* (sg. *manea*) is often broadly classified as a Romanian musical style that combines local, Turkish, other Balkan and western musical elements. It is performed (in general) by male Romani musicians using electronic or amplified acoustic instruments. However, the meaning of the term *manele* has evolved from a narrow definition into one that covers many styles of Romanian music. A Romanian lexicographical resource explains that *manea* is ‘a love song of eastern origin, with a tender and drawn out melody’, and the entry confirms the Turkish etymology of *manea*.¹¹ This definition corresponds closely to the description of a *manea* provided by the language specialist Beissinger (2007:101). She defines a *manea* as ‘[...] a non-metrical, partly improvised Ottoman Turkish art song [...]’ that has become popularised by *lăutari*. The lexicon does not acknowledge colloquial usage of the word ‘*manea*’ or ‘*manele*’ as a broader term that covers Romanian popular music in general.

My personal observations were confirmed somewhat by the ethnochoreologist Anca Giurchescu and the ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu.¹² They make a clear distinction between ‘orientalized’ and ‘occidentalized’ *manele* (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:17).

¹⁰ Outernational days returned for a second outing in July 2017. Unfortunately I did not attend. It was reported that the Romani community had greater involvement this year, maybe encouraged that Florin Salam headlined. See www.issuu.com [Accessed 7 July 2018].

¹¹ See www.dexonline.ro [Accessed 1 December 2017].

¹² See the joint chapter by Giurchescu and Rădulescu — ‘Music, Dance, Performance’ — in the volume, *Manele in Romania* (Beissinger, et al., 2016).

The melodic lines of the former demonstrate a considerable indebtedness to the Turkish *makam-s Hicaz* and *Nikris*, and the music is flavoured by elements of *arabesk* style (see Stokes, 1992 and Chapter 6). ‘Occidentalized’ *manele* owes more to Western European and American popular music, taking its harmonic character from the tempered diatonic scales of the West.

While there are many extant studies on popular music around the Mediterranean littoral (such as *arabesk* [in Turkey], *rai* [in Algeria], *musīkah mizraḥit* [in Israel] and *rebetika* [in Greece]), there are only a few references to *manele* in the scholarly record (see Holst-Warhaft, 2001; Horowitz, 2010; Langlois, 1996; Stokes, 1992).¹³ There is one significant exception, however, as a major study on *manele* was published recently. Entitled ‘Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music’ (Beissinger, et al., 2016); the contributors are mostly Romanian. The volume looks at the *manele* phenomenon from anthropological, choreological, musicological and sociological perspectives. It has been an indispensable resource for the writing of this chapter.¹⁴

American Balkanist and linguist Margaret Beissinger is the only non-Romanian contributor to the collection (see Beissinger, et al., 2016). Describing herself as a ‘[...] relative outsider [...]’ amongst her co-writers (Beissinger, 2016:xxv), she has a particular interest in Balkan oral tradition and has written extensively about Romani musicians in southern Romania. I am considerably indebted to her for her chapter, ‘*Muzică Orientală: Identity and Popular Culture in Postcommunist Romania*’ that appeared in an earlier volume, *Balkan Popular Culture and the Balkan Ecumene: Music, Image and Regional*

¹³ I look at some of these musical styles and their relationship to *manele* in greater detail in Chapter 6.

¹⁴ I sought to capture some the interdisciplinary spirit of this volume in my own work. Consequently, I cite from it extensively. I have relied particularly, but not exclusively, on the contributions of Giurchescu, Rădulescu and Stoichiță for choreological and ethnomusicological perspectives, whilst Mihăilescu and Schiop provided anthropological and sociological insight.

Political Discourse (see Buchanan, 2007). In this chapter, she looks at the history of *manele* (*muzică orientală*) and its relationship to other Balkan popular music genres.¹⁵

Apart from my own experience of live *manele* performances in Bucharest, I conducted a thorough search of web resources where *manele* was featured. In addition, I was fortunate to become acquainted with two relevant articles (which appeared in popular music journal *Electronic Beats*) and with their authors Ion Dumitrescu and Paul Breazu, two connoisseurs of the genre who assisted me to access relevant literature in real and virtual forms.¹⁶ The following discussion looks at different styles of *manele* performance as are presented on the internet.

Manele on the Internet

Artist	Title	Translation	Duration
Florin Salam	Saint Tropez	-	03'28"
Claudia, Asu și Ticy	Zalele	-	03'36"
Florin Salam, Claudia și Asu	Îți mănânc buzele	I'll eat your lips	04'06"
Mr Juve	Mișcă, mișcă din buric	Move from the belly button	04'30"
Mr Juve și Bodo	Dansează, dansează!	Dance, dance	04'00"
Nicolae Guța	Multe poze am cu tine	I have many photos of you	03'25"
Nicolae Guța	Nu poți iubi	You cannot love	04'53"
Nicolae Guța și Blondu de la Timișoara	Bună dimineața	Good morning	03'14"
Vali Vijelie și Asu	Dilaila, dilayla	-	04'19"
Nicolae Guța	Dau 5 lei pe o lumanare	I give 5 lei for a candle	03'46"
			39'17"

Table 5.2 - Best of Manele Top Hits Vol. 1

¹⁵ Carol Silverman's book, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora* (2012) also merits attention and praise, not so much because it contains passing references to *manele*, but because it provides a treasury of information and opinion about Romani musicians and globalisation, set against a backdrop of cultural appropriation and prejudice.

¹⁶ *Electronic Beats* can be found at www.electronicbeats.net [Accessed 31 May 2017]. The two articles in question are 'Manele Is the Balkans' Most Popular—And Marginalized—Music' and 'Combating Racist Stigma in Romania's Manele Music'. Ion Dumitrescu is involved with the 'Future Nuggets' record label, which, according to its Facebook page, is about 'Cvasi (sic)-seductive sounds and obscure musical hybrids collected from the dark and hidden corners of Romania. Have a taste of past-future!' Paul Breazu writes and presents about popular culture, including *manele* and Romanian popular music. 'Currently he is involved in projects dealing with the archaeology of Romanian pop music (Batiscaf Radio, Discotecă) and the cultural, social and political condition of the music belonging to/produced in marginal/marginalized communities (PARADAIZ). He is also a DJ—under the alias Rekabu—and writes a regular column on music in *Dilema Veche* magazine.'

The first video I investigated was the compilation entitled ‘Best of Manele Top Hits Vol. 1’ (see Table 5.2), because it provides a good illustration of how the expression, *manele*, has come to be used in a wider context.¹⁷ This thirty-nine minute sequence of ten *manele* in various styles begins with ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam (probably the most popular present-day *manea*), which largely conforms to a conventional description of ‘orientalised’ *manele* in terms of instrumentation, vocal/instrumental style and gesture.¹⁸ But this is followed by a sequence of numbers, ranging from those that could be described as ‘Europop’, with very few ‘*manele*-like’ features, through sentimental songs to others that I call ‘gypsy hip-hop’. A certain amount of self-parody and self-exoticisation is evident in some of the videos and many of them use highly sexualised imagery, with an objectification of women that I (and many others, I expect) find very uncomfortable.

‘Saint Tropez’ is followed in the video by a song called ‘Zalele’ featuring Claudia, Asu (male) and Ticy (male) and another song entitled ‘Îți mănânc buzele’ (en. ‘I’ll eat your lips’) sung by Florin Salam, Asu and Claudia.¹⁹ ‘Zalele’ is set at a pool party and is in classic ‘Europop’ style: a regular beat in common time with four-bar phrasing. It is thoroughly diatonic. It would be a challenge for any listener to identify any feature that could be construed in this number as being ‘oriental’. The predominance of an accordion gives the song a somewhat ‘Gallic cafe’ flavour, in contrast to the Romani style one might expect, given the genre.²⁰

¹⁷ ‘Best of Manele Top Hits Vol. 1’ can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 9 January 2017].

¹⁸ I discuss ‘Saint Tropez’ in greater detail in the next chapter (6). As it stood at the time of writing, the individual YouTube video (see www.youtube.com [Accessed 9 January 2017]) of ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam has had just under 45 million views since it was published on 1 February 2013.

¹⁹ Female *manele* singers do perform solo, but, more often than not, they sing alongside their male colleagues.

²⁰ It might be pertinent to note here that one of the partygoers sports a Union Jack t-shirt. I noticed while I was in Romania that Union Jack apparel and accessories are very popular, especially with the younger generation. It is not readily apparent what the reasons are for this, but one might conjecture that it symbolises a connection to British (and hence ‘western’) ‘pop’ culture and ‘Cool Britannia’, an ideal much feted for part of the ‘New Labour’ era under Tony Blair in the United Kingdom.



Plate 5.5 – Still from ‘Îți mănânc buzele’

The number ‘Îți mănânc buzele’ again owes more to ‘western Europop’, although the singing style of Florin Salam and the presence of electric violin sound and bongos in imitation of the *darbuka* hint of Balkan and Turkish influence, with Asu acting as a kind of vocal mediator between Claudia’s ‘western-style’ delivery and the melismas of Florin Salam. The meaningless syllables ‘ah lelelele’ appears here as an interjection. The use of this phrase to punctuate the lyrics is very common in *manele*, and may signify a Romani connection (and perhaps by extension an ‘oriental’ one too). Of the three tracks that have been considered so far from the video compilation under discussion, ‘Îți mănânc buzele’ is the most professionally choreographed. The female dancers are dressed in a variety of costumes ranging from the skimpy to the modest. Claudia herself wears a businesslike black trouser suit. The male dancers, by and large, wear white singlets and baggy trousers. There is a hint of gender ambiguity, which is unusual in the world of *manele*. Again, the influence of ‘Cool Britannia’ is in evidence (see note 20). One of the women wears a crop top emblazoned with a print of half a Union Jack and the word ‘DESIGN’ (see Plate 5.5).



Plate 5.6 – Mr Juve - ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric!’

My initial brief description of ‘Saint Tropez’, and my remarks about ‘Zalele’ and ‘Îți mănânc buzele’ demonstrate the wide range of styles that are encompassed by the term *manele*. It is not my intention to comment on every song in this compilation, but the following two, ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric!’ (en. ‘Move from the belly button!’) by Mr. Juve, and ‘Dansează, Dansează!’ (en. ‘Dance, Dance!’) by Mr. Juve and Bodo, combine, in a highly exaggerated and grotesque manner, the hyper-sexualisation of women and self-parody. Mr. Juve (see Plate 5.6) also brings ‘gypsy hip-hop’²¹ into the broader *manele* arena.²²

The clips produced to accompany ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric’ and ‘Dansează, Dansează!’ draw on numerous clichés, which together combine to create a pantomimic juxtaposition of incongruities. These clichés are drawn not just from the more obvious local sphere of influence such as the *lăutar* tradition, they are also derived from further afield; there are clear references to ‘western’ hip-hop and rock. Connections are also made between high-end automotive machinery and highly sexualised representations of women,

²¹ Although I have not found specific reference to ‘gypsy hip hop’ in a Romanian context, the term ‘Romany hip-hop’ is in use in other parts of Eastern Europe. My use of ‘gypsy hip-hop’ refers to how Mr Juve and his musicians are dressed, the gestures they employ and the method of delivery.

²² In an article entitled ‘Rapul și manea: istoria unei coliziuni’ (en. ‘Rap and the Manea: The History of a Collision’) for the Romanian arts and society magazine *IDEA*, Adrian Schiop contrasts the relative acceptability of hip-hop (‘western’) in Romania with the rejection of *manele* (‘Roma’).

a combination frequently encountered elsewhere (motor racing and motor shows, for example). Both of these *manele* videos feature motorcycles and, in particular, ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric’ is partially set against a backdrop of alloy motorcar wheel hubs (the German manufacturer Mercedes can be identified, and [I think] also BMW).²³

The studio video of ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric’ has been uploaded to YouTube several times with the most frequently watched version having had 17.7 million views at the time of writing.²⁴ There are 2000-plus contributions in the comments section underneath, and the following remarks relate to observations some contributors have made here. A number of these commentators note sarcastically, that the *manea* has perhaps been misnamed, as there is more focus on movement of the ‘arse’²⁵ than the belly button. The female dancers perform exaggerated movement of the buttocks in a manner that has come to be known as ‘twerking’, a phenomenon associated with the American singer, Miley Cyrus (b.1992). Indeed, one contributor (Stylaxx .x) notes (exceptionally, written in English) that ‘those chicks can twerk better than miley cyrus..just saying’. Such body movement in this context is taken to be highly sexualised, and is likely to have become popular in *manele* through the influence of hip-hop and other aspects of African-American culture. But it is perhaps relevant to note here that this manner of dance in a precursory African context is not necessarily of a sexual nature.²⁶

²³ From my observations, German cars are highly sought after in Romania. Top of the range Mercedes, BMWs, Audis are much in evidence. Bear in mind that models such as these cost between ten and fifteen times the average annual salary in Romania, whereas in the UK this multiple would be nearer to three to five times.

²⁴ ‘Mișcă, mișcă din buric’ and the associated comments can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 11 April 2017].

²⁵ The Romanian words used are *cur* and *fund*. There are also, cruder suggestions, such as *pizdic* (en. pussy, cunt).

²⁶ This observation arose following a personal communication with Dr. Amanda Villepastour, 25 March 2017. As part of the same exchange, Dr. Sarah Hill noted that, although there does not appear to be any scholarship in the area, there was much written in the press about Miley Cyrus and the appropriation of black culture.

Surprisingly perhaps, given the level of criticism that *manele* has been shown to attract elsewhere, there is very little adverse opinion offered concerning the quality of the music itself. However, several contributors comment upon and ask questions about the women in the video. Others remark that the film is tantamount to pornography as, aside from containing a general display of what might be deemed to be sexually provocative choreography, there are sections where sexual acts are simulated. Notwithstanding suggestions that the production verges upon the pornographic, it also raises other genuine issues regarding the objectification and subjugation of women. During one short sequence, Mr. Juve mimics playing an electric guitar using a leg of one of the dancers, an inference that women exist to be 'played' (an influence from heavy rock, perhaps). Later, he pretends to flagellate another dancer on the buttocks with a plastic hammer.

Hai, fratele meu!
Nu e tiganie nici lautarie nici cum ar trebui sa fie
Asta e directologie
Cum va place voua si cum imi place mie
Hai pe nebuneala.

en. Come on my brother
This isn't gypsy or fiddler, that's not how it should be
This is 'directologie'
How you like it and how I like it
Come to the madness.

The above words, spoken over the introduction to 'Mișcă, mișcă din buric', appear to be an attempt to detach *manele* (or, at least, Mr. Juve's version of it) from its Romani and *lăutari* musical legacy. It is not easy to define what is meant by 'directologie', but Paul Breazu suggested to me that it refers to the concept of the *barosan* (pl. *barosani*); the

‘*șmecher* (pl. *șmecheri*) way of being a boss’, as he put it.²⁷ The author and journalist Adrian Schiop (whose biography describes him as following an ‘unconventional path’ [Beissinger, et al., 2016:310]) explains that *manele* is his ‘[...] favourite musical genre, [...]’ whilst acknowledging that the form has links to the ‘[...] kingpins of Romania’s twilight economy [...]’ (Schiop, 2016:185).²⁸ Schiop also notes that the Romanian Mafia are indebted to the Italian archetype in terms of hierarchy and terminology. The compliment extends to the clothes that gang members choose to wear, the boss opting for tailored suits—black being *de rigueur*—whilst his ‘lieutenants’ sport dark glasses, leather bomber jackets and designer trainers, mimicking Italian working class attire (ibid.:200).

Similar to Florin Salam in ‘Saint Tropez’, where he can be seen wearing various costumes, Mr. Juve also assumes various guises during the course of the video. It seems that alternating outfits and personae is a popular theatrical device in this genre. His attire and demeanour at the beginning — where he is filmed wearing a beret worn askew, dark glasses, black t-shirt and black patent gilet — suggest a ‘gang’ connection and the uniform of a gang ‘lieutenant’. The next song in the compilation, entitled ‘Dansează, Dansează!’, also references the ideas of the ‘*barosan*’ and the ‘number one’.²⁹ It begins (in English) ‘Here come the mister barosan. Femeile e cam (en. The women’s kind of) “number one”’,

²⁷ Personal communication with Paul Breazu, 22 March 2017. *Barosan* is a slang word meaning ‘boss’, a concept frequently met in *manele*. It is derived from the Romani language and is a conflation of ‘*baro*’ meaning ‘big’ and ‘*san*’ meaning ‘you are’. *Șmecher* in connection with *manele* is variously translated as ‘wise guy’ or ‘trickster’. According to *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, it originates from the German, *schmecker* (perhaps ironically) meaning ‘one with refined tastes’ (Stoichița, 2016:183n6,7). This etymology is somewhat dubious, as a search in www.duden.de [Accessed 7 June 2017] does not verify this definition. However, *schmecker* can be found to mean ‘a drug addict’ in the United States from the Yiddish *schmeck*, ‘a sniff’ (see www.en.oxforddictionaries.com [Accessed 7 June 2017]). There are other slang words that are particularly associated with *manele*, which will be encountered during the course of this discussion. More often than not, these terms are derived from peripheral cultures, rather than conventional Romanian, which emphasises the marginal position that *manele* and its proponents occupy.

²⁸ Such connections were also highlighted in the documentary *The New Gypsy Kings*, directed by Liviu Tipurița. The documentary aired on BBC Television in June 2016.

²⁹ The concept of the ‘number one’ (in English, as in ‘big shot’) is another epithet often encountered in *manele*.

sentiments which maintain the song's relationship to *manele* culture, despite it having other clear links to hip-hop. The connection between hip-hop and gang (and therefore gun) culture should not pass unacknowledged here, of course. At 3'02", one of the dancers aims and pretends to fire a handgun at a mock jury convened to pass judgement on the merits of the women who come before it.

On at least three occasions during the film (at 1'40", 2'06" and 2'33"), Mr. Juve can be observed dancing in a more formal manner with a woman wearing a diamanté half-mask similar in style to what one might expect to see at the Venice Carnival. Perhaps this is an indication that not all is what it seems; one is invited into a world of masquerade, parody and contradiction, the 'madness' referred to in the introduction to the *manea*, a metaphor for *manele* itself maybe.³⁰



Plate 5.7 – Still from 'Mișcă, mișcă din buric'

Despite Mr. Juve's protestations at the beginning of 'Mișcă, mișcă din buric' that this song is different and has nothing to do with 'gypsies' or fiddlers, the viewer is

³⁰ 'Craziness' or 'madness' appears to be a theme in Mr. Juve's output. There is another *manea* by him entitled 'Nebunia lui Juve' (en. 'Juve's craziness'). At the beginning of the song he states, 'Pentru voi am pregătit ceva și sună cam așa. Nebunia lui Juve, hai toată lumea în picioare. Că e nebunie mare, Doamne miluiește' (en. 'I have prepared something for you that sounds like this. Juve's craziness, come on everybody, stand up. This is really crazy, Lord Have Mercy'). As he says, 'Lord Have Mercy', he crosses himself. Insanity here is accepted as a valid form of artistic expression, a phenomenon which Michel Foucault (2001) saw as being lost when madness began to be medicalised in conjunction with Enlightenment thinking.

confronted by an immediate paradox. One of the musicians is shown playing a cimbalom (ro. *țambal*); the only other instrument on view is an electronic keyboard (see Plate 5.7). The irony arises because the cimbalom is an instrument that is of course heavily associated with *muzică lăutărească* and the Romani *tarafuri* (sg. *taraf*). The musician in question wears a white baseball cap and white baseball-style jersey with 'CAROLINA' printed on it in black. 'CAROLINA' possibly refers to the South Carolina Gamecocks U.S. college baseball team, but it may also contain an oblique reference to 'Oh Carolina', which was a hit for the rapper Shaggy. This association may seem far-fetched, but this song has been covered by the *manelist* (pl. *maneliști*), Romeo Fantastik,³¹ and (as noted earlier) Taraf de Haïdouks.

Somewhat inexplicably, to the cry of 'Șarpele! Șarpele' (en. 'The snake, the snake!'), Mr. Juve fumbles with a rubber snake at 1'58", which he throws at the cimbalist, who feigns fear and attacks the toy with his hammers. This is followed by a further contradiction that concerns the declaration 'no gypsy or *lăutar*'. It occurs around 2'10", when an accordion can be heard being played in *lăutar* style along with a caption on the screen which states: 'Ne pare rau... acordeonist nu avem!!! L-a mușcat șarpele in timpul filmarilor : (((' (en. 'We are sorry... we do not have an accordionist!!!. The snake bit him during the film : ((('). The 'snake' appears again towards the end of the song, emerging from the bottom of Mr. Juve's trousers, a phallic metaphor perhaps? The *manele* world, as portrayed by Mr Juve, invites attention to its carnivalesque, grotesque and parodic features

Carnival – Parody - Dissent

The need to consider carnival and parody in connection with the *manele* phenomenon is recognised in *Manele in Romania* (Beissinger, et al., 2016) in the chapters entitled 'The

³¹ Romeo Fantastik is described on one video as 'The King of Sex' and the 'Inventor of Porn *Manele*' (see www.youtube.com [Accessed 3 September 2018]).

“Boyar in the Helicopter”: Power, Parody, and Carnival in *Manea* Performances’ (Stoichiță, 2016), and ‘Turbo-Authenticity: An Essay on *Manelism*’ (Mihăilescu, 2016).

The carnivalesque frequently invokes larger-than-life characters, anachronistic archetypes, and an element of the unexpected and grotesque. Hence, references to fairy-tale royalty and nobility, which are a common feature in musical folklore (see Brăiloiu, 1984:18) are also frequent in *manele*. The words ‘Femeie regină’ (en. ‘woman queen’ or ‘royal woman’) appear in the second stanza of Florin Salam’s ‘Saint Tropez’ and prior to this (in the same verse), he refers to living the life of an emperor (ro. *împărat*). Furthermore, the *manele* narrative often melds modernity with the past. Florin Salam invites his ‘queen’ to ‘urca-te-n mașina’ (en. ‘get into the car’). Indeed, Stoichiță takes his chapter heading from another of Florin Salam’s *manele* in which he sings, ‘Tatăl meu este boier, și o să-mi ia elicopter (x2), să-l plimb pe Salam cu el’ (en. ‘My father is a boyar and he’ll buy me a helicopter (x2), and he’ll buy me a helicopter so I can give Salam a ride’).³²

As I remarked when introducing *manele* earlier in the chapter, the performers of the genre are generally males originating from the Romanian Romani community. It is fair to say that their appearance often contradicts normative ideas of what a celebrity singer in popular music looks like. In contrast, the exponents of other related regional genres, such as *turbo-folk* in Yugoslavia and *chalga* in Bulgaria, are usually attractive women from the ethnic majority.³³ Adrian Minune (né Adrian Simionescu [1974-]) is one of Romania’s most famous singers of *manele*, Florin Salam being possibly his closest rival for ‘number one’

³² Stoichiță points out that the combination of a piece of modern machinery with the title given to a landowner (boyar) from the time of Ottoman suzerainty, demonstrates a device often encountered in *manele*, namely, the juxtaposition of seemingly incongruous components. He also whimsically notes that it is unlikely that these two words (i.e. *boier* and *elicopter*) are made to rhyme anywhere else in Romanian poetry.

³³ An interesting exception is the cross-dressing Bulgarian-Romani artist, Azis, whose work is considered in connection to ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam in Chapter 6.

status.³⁴ Minune entered the limelight as a child star under the appellation Adrian Copilul Minune (Adrian the Child Wonder) and continued to be called this for a while in adulthood, owing to his diminutive stature (and he has been mocked as such [Stoichița, 2016:181]).

It is common practice for performers to take on fanciful stage names, which add to the overall carnivalesque spectacle. Sorinel Copilul de Aur³⁵ (en. Sorinel the Golden Child), and Leo de Vis³⁶ (en. Dreamboat Leo), who both appeared at Sistem ca pe Ferentari, are good examples of this tendency. The analogy could also be extended to *commedia dell'arte* (which is closely related to carnival) and to the circus, where one might find characters with similarly exaggerated personae. Florin Salam (né Florin Stoian [1979-]) performed until 2002 as Florin Fermecătorul (Florin the Charming). There is some conjecture that 'Salam' here alludes to the familiar greeting used throughout the Islamic world, and could be seen therefore as an example of the 'oriental' in *manele*. Stoichiță (2016:184n26) suggests that this interpretation is doubtful, as it would not be known in this context to most Romanians. They are more likely to recognise 'Salam' as referring to 'salami', as in the sausage. I have not seen this suggested elsewhere, but I suspect that the sausage reference may also have a phallic connotation.

In carnival, rebellion is never very far from the surface and challenges to convention, such as those outlined above, highlight that *manele* contains subversive components.

Stoichița (2016:180) notes that:

An old European *topos* associates merry-making, violence, and revolution. Bercé (1976) has shown how the cosmic and climatic cycle was linked to the annual upheaval of political institutions in early modern France. Peasant feasts (of which the carnival is emblematic) were only one step apart from peasant revolts until the

³⁴ Salam leaves us in no doubt about his own opinion of his standing when he shouts out, '*Salam mă! Vă distrează "number one"*' (en. 'Salam hey! He's the number one entertainer!'), during his performance of the song 'Saint Tropez.

³⁵ Né Sorin-Cristian Alecu (b. 1990).

³⁶ Né Leonard Virigil Craciun (b. 1986-).

French Revolution. This model has influenced the reception of the revolution itself by some of its contemporaries, especially in light of the imminent turn of the century (Stoichița and Coderch, 1999). Emblematic of the Romanian “post-revolution” times, *manele* are reminiscent of this tradition in several ways (2016).

The evolution of modern *manele* has a strong connection with dissent. During the 1970s, musical genres that had become popular in two of Romania’s neighbours also attracted a considerable following across the border in Romania. The two styles in question were *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (en. newly-composed folk music), known as *NKNM* for short, and *svatbarska muzika* (en. wedding music). *NKNM* originated in Serbia (then part of Yugoslavia) to the south-west of Romania. The genre known as *turbo-folk* later developed from *NKNM*. *Svatbarska muzika* is a Bulgarian musical style. *Svatbarska muzika*, in particular, had a close association with dissent (see Rice, 1994; Silverman, 2012). The Bulgarian communist authorities sought to restrict the performance of *svatbarska muzika* because of its strong connection with Romani culture, a tradition regarded as both inherently foreign and closely associated with Bulgaria’s erstwhile Ottoman masters. This is another example of the conflation of the joint fears of ‘gypsyfication’ and the resurgence of ‘turkification’.

Towards the end of the 1970s, the *svatbarska muzika* phenomenon travelled north across the Danube into southern Romania, where it became popular with the population there who were perhaps motivated by its subversive connection. Earlier, at the beginning of the decade, *NKNM* had also made its way into the Banat in the south-west of Romania. These two forms were instrumental in the development of a similar musical movement in Romania, which in its earliest manifestation was known as *muzică sârbească* (en. Serbian music). As with *svatbarska muzika*, it was Romani musicians who mediated in the performance and dissemination of *muzică sârbească*. The Romanian communist

government's attitude to *muzică sârbească* was similar to what the response to *svatbarska muzika* had been in Bulgaria (Beissinger, 2007:106-107). In their view, it introduced unwelcome foreign elements that could undermine the project to establish a homogenous Romanian socialist identity, and should therefore be suppressed. During the communist era, folk music became a state-manufactured product that synthesised existing folk tunes with new words that accorded with communist ideology. It was promoted to the populace as being the property of the rural peasantry with the implication that the state was acting as its guardian (Rice, et al., 1998-2002).

Because the purveyors of *muzică sârbească* were mostly from the Romani community, this presented an additional dilemma for the authorities. Although social homogeneity was an evident government objective during the communist era, attempts to ameliorate the situation for Roma in Romania came too late for them to have any meaningful effect (see Chapter 2). Consequently, Romanian Roma remained on the bottom rung of society and such as there were any policies in place to improve their condition, these measures seemed to have caused a worsening of the situation rather than any improvement; Romanian Roma continued to be viewed by everybody else as aliens within. This perceived 'foreignness' of the Roma, coupled with music deemed to be non-Romanian were a toxic mix in the regime's view and it took measures to prohibit the performance of *muzică sârbească*. This was a difficult policy to implement. Beissinger (2007:107) notes that performances of *muzică sârbească* continued, especially at Romani weddings, as did *svatbarska muzika* in Bulgaria.

As the genre developed, the language used to describe it also metamorphosed. The changes in terminology emphasised the apparent subversive 'oriental' otherness of the music. From the early 1990s, the style was referred to as *muzică turcească* (en. Turkish

music) or *muzică țigănească* (en. gypsy music). At the end of the decade, *muzică turcească* and *muzică țigănească* synthesised into the all-encompassing *muzică orientală*, a term encapsulating the ‘eastern’ sense of its constituent elements - Serbian, Turkish and ‘gypsy’. At about the same time, *manea* entered the vernacular, a label that would eventually supersede *muzică orientală* (Beissinger, 2007:108-109). This change of label did not indicate a move to detach the phenomenon from its eastern, Turkish heritage. Rather, it reinforced the idea that popular music forms were firmly indebted to centuries of Ottoman authority over Romanian lands - in name, if not entirely in style.

The discussion of *manele* so far has necessarily focused on it as an internet phenomenon, because this is the means by which it is disseminated to its widest possible audience in the form of music videos. But *manele* also continues to have an existence as a live form, particularly as an accompaniment to life events. This is to be expected, as many present-day *manelist*-s (such as Florin Salam and Adrian Minune) are the product of a long line of professional Romani musicians (*lăutari*), who made their living providing traditional music for such occasions, and in many cases continue to do so. The videos often include telephone contact details for those wishing to book artists for their wedding, baptism or name day. This is a reminder that even star artists like Florin Salam continue to receive significant income through engagements such as these. Additionally there are several nightclubs and restaurants, especially in Bucharest, which feature *manele* in live performance. Million Dollars and Hanul Drumețului (en. The Traveller’s Inn) are two such examples.³⁷

³⁷ Million Dollars - Piața Muncii, east Bucharest; Hanul Drumețului – Drumul Taberei, south-west Bucharest. Notoriously, Million Dollars has a brothel on the second floor (Stoichița, 2016:181).

Manele in Romania has become a popular diversion, particularly amongst working-class Romanians, but—as has been implied already—it also has vociferous detractors in equal measure. Negative comments tend to come from the educated middle classes. Nevertheless, *manele* has some articulate supporters such as Adrian Schiop (see above), and PARADAIZ, the organisation behind Sistem ca pe Ferentari, the festival I attended.³⁸ This event sought to celebrate *manele* in a live milieu, in a locality that would be familiar to the performers.

³⁸ The PARADAIZ Mission Statement can be found at www.paradaiz.ro [Accessed 22 May 2017]. Paul Breazu is one of the coordinators of the PARADAIZ project.

Manele: A Contested Genre

Leo de Vis – ‘Sistemul Seicilor’ – Wowbiz



Plate 5.8 - Leo de Vis - Sisemul Seicilor on Wowbiz

Returning to my opening ethnography, the third artist on the billing at Sistem ca pe Ferentari, Leo de Vis, can be seen performing his song ‘Sistemul Seicilor’ on a recording of Wowbiz.³⁹ Wowbiz is a late night programme broadcast Monday to Thursday on Romania’s Kanal D television station (incidentally, a channel owned by a Turkish media tycoon named Aydın Doğan). Leo de Vis, who seems to feature regularly on the show, is introduced by the presenters, who I have identified as Madalin Ionescu, Andreea Mantea and co-presenter Leo de la Strehaia also known as ‘Prințul Țiganilor’ (‘The Prince of the Gypsies’). He enters the set (which has many banknotes strewn in front of it) with his musicians and a female dancer. As the performance begins, an elderly woman dressed in peasant clothing and headscarf comes on stage with the assistance of a walking stick and sits down alongside a woman and two men who are presumably there as guests of the programme. The recording switches

³⁹ The recording of Wowbiz can be seen at www.youtube.com [Accessed 10 January 2017].

briefly to another camera at the side of the set to show a woman (identified as Dana Criminala) in the driving seat of a luxury car (which is protected by ‘bodyguards’) who shortly joins the musicians and the original dancer in order to dance along with them. Also to the same side as the car, there is a screen displaying another woman (identified as Renata Gheorghe) dancing (Plate 5.8).



Plate 5.9 - Anca de la Strehaia

At about one minute into the approximately four-minute example, another camera shows a close-up of the woman who was already seated in the area behind the performers at the beginning of the clip (see Plate 5.9). Her expression displays signs of disapproval and irritation at the spectacle being presented before her. Shortly, she storms off the set, raising her right arm whilst shouting out something inaudible. She is followed closely by the two men who have been sitting expressionless meanwhile. The older woman in peasant garb (Leo de la Strehaia’s mother, it turns out) remains seated and impassive throughout.

My initial reading of what was going on in this film was incorrect. I had assumed that the audience members were walking off stage in disgust at the sexualised dancing or,

perhaps, because they were being subjected to *manele* against their will. However, it transpires that the woman who initiated the dissent is Anca de la Strehaia, erstwhile wife of Leo de la Strehaia. Leo left her for Renata Gheorghe and is currently in a relationship with Dana Criminala (the former's mother), both of whom appear regularly on the show. In between the two, he is reported to have dated Anda Ruga, described as a 'porn star'. The action, therefore, appears to be a symbolic protest against infidelity, rather than a comment on the aesthetic worth of *manele* or a gesture of feminist solidarity. My experience also demonstrates how careful researchers from the 'outside' must be when interpreting a scenario from which they are culturally removed. This example of gender politics from Romanian popular culture invites attention to gender in *manele*; in particular, the roles that women play.

Gender – Women in Manele

Love and relationships are important themes in *manele* as they are in artistic expression the world over, but here the role of women in performance is ambiguous. They may be portrayed as an anonymous target of sexual yearning (scantily clad and moving suggestively), or they are depicted as the 'heart's desire', dancing and dressed in a relatively reserved manner (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:34). In the former case (especially in the more 'orientalised' form of *manele*) the dancers are often seen clothed as an odalisque (that is, in belly-dance costume), as will be seen later in the studio version of 'Sistemul Seicilor'.⁴⁰ As the 'true love', the object of attention will be attired more conventionally, but, nevertheless, in a fashion that accentuates the contours of the female body. Her gaze and gestures will make it clear that the singer is the sole target of her love.

⁴⁰ See 'Sistemul Seicilor' at the following web address: www.youtube.com [Accessed 10 January 2017].

Whether portrayed solely as an anonymous sexual object, or in the context of a relationship (girlfriend, wife etc.), women are largely assigned mute roles in the world of *manele*. I think it is fair to say that, by modern European (and possibly even Balkan) standards, Romanian society still remains one of the most patriarchal and subjugating with regard to gender relations.⁴¹ Within Romani society, the level of suppression is still greater. There are now a few female *manele* singers, but they are not generally from the Romani community, unlike their male counterparts. This observation also holds largely true for the dancers who appear alongside the singers and musicians in *manele* videos and television shows, such as Wowbiz. Furthermore, *manele* exists in an environment that mostly regards heteronormativity as legitimate; romantic relationships are only ever shown as being between men and women.⁴² Such conservatism contrasts with examples of sexual ambiguity to be found in other popular music cultures, such as the cross-dressing Bulgarian-Romani artist, Azis, and the Turkish popular music stars, Zeki Müren (1931-1996) and Bülent Ersoy (b.1952).

I mentioned previously that, in contrast with *manele*, *turbo-folk* and *chalgă* are typically performed by attractive women who originate from the dominant ethnic group. Performers of *turbo-folk* and *chalgă* sing of relationships that are ultimately destined to fail because of the inevitable infidelity of the men to whom they are in thrall. *Manele*, of course, are performed principally by Romani men who do not generally conform to accepted images of the male celebrity stereotype. However, the women who appear alongside them as dancers, singers or objects of desire are required to meet certain

⁴¹ Women did not achieve full suffrage in Romania until 1946, by which time the country was effectively a one-party state under the communists. So, in reality, women did not have a meaningful vote until the first democratic elections after the 1989 revolution.

⁴² The Romanian Orthodox Church (which has a membership of over 80% amongst Romanians) has sought to block attempts at legitimising same-sex marriage <http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2016/01/18/the-romanian-orthodox-church-wants-to-block-same-sex-marriage/> [Accessed 16 January 2017].

standards of appearance that society has been conditioned to expect of their female stars.

The *lăutar* tradition, from which *manele* partially originates, is not image-conscious (at least, not until the ‘world music’ marketing executives got involved) and this approach has continued through to the present-day exponents of modern *manele*.

The *maneliști* also sing about love and infidelity. But this time of course it is from the point of view of the man. He expresses regret for the adulterous behaviour to which he has found himself drawn, against his better judgement. He recognises that his actions are an affront to family and the institution of marriage, which are sacrosanct in Romani culture. Family may be the only refuge available to him in a hostile environment where his enemies (actual and imagined) and even society itself are set against him.

Manele – Cultural Snobbery

The cameo from the television-show described above may just seem to be a salacious departure from the point. However, it does provide a colourful example as to why anything to do with *manele* is considered to be in poor taste by large sections of Romanian society. It celebrates the notion that success is only acquired through the possession of monetary resources, female commodities and luxury goods, phenomena that frequently feature in the lyrics of *manele* and its visual representation. Moreover, of course, the fact that *manele* are generally performed by Roma adds to the opprobrium.

Offensive remarks in the comments section on the Facebook page for Sistem Ca Pe Ferentari provide living proof that anti-Romani prejudice is both real and present.⁴³ One reads: ‘E ok daca aducem svastici și postere cu Mareșalul Antonescu?’ (en. ‘Is it OK if we

⁴³ The Facebook page for Sistem ca pe Ferentari can be found at [www.facebook.com](https://www.facebook.com/sistemcapeferentari) [Accessed 10 January 2017].

bring swastikas and posters of Marshall Antonescu?’).⁴⁴ When challenged the poster replies: ‘Te-a ofensat postarea mea cioara?’ (en. ‘Has my post offended you, crow?’). *Cioara* (en. crow) is often used as an offensive word to mean ‘gypsy’.⁴⁵ Another Facebook contributor writes: ‘Ati avut o super idee, daca e vorba de cocalareala, nu aveti cum sa nu reusiti’ (en. ‘What a great idea, if you want to meet “chavs”⁴⁶ you cannot fail’).

Manele and ‘Orientalism’



Plate 5.10 - Still of ‘Sistemul Seicilor’

With the encouragement of the impresarios who manage the musicians, performers are prone to exoticise their acts. ‘Oriental’ features are often exaggerated, particularly where visual imagery is concerned.⁴⁷ Clearly, by its very name, ‘Sistemul Seicilor’ lends itself to such exoticisation. The studio video version of this song, shows singer Leo de Vis and his

⁴⁴ Marshal Ion Antonescu was *Conducător* (en. leader) of Romania from 1940 to 1945. An ally of Hitler and Nazi Germany, he implemented policies that discriminated against Roma and Jews, which resulted in the death or mistreatment of thousands of people. His role in modern Romanian history is covered in more detail in Chapter 2.

⁴⁵ John O’Connell was intrigued as to whether the word ‘cioara’ is related to the archaic *giaour* (as in the poem of the same name by Lord Byron), meaning non-Muslim or ‘infidel’ (from ar. *kāfir*, ps. *kaur*, tr. *gâvur*). This does not seem to be the case. www.dexonline.ro gives its derivation as the Albanian *sorrë* [Accessed 19 May 2017].

⁴⁶ The pejorative English term ‘chav’ originates from the Romani ‘chavi’, meaning ‘child’ (Jones, 2011:2).

⁴⁷ This is especially true of western promoters of ‘gypsy’ music in a ‘world music’ context, of which examples are given elsewhere in this thesis.

musicians wearing Arab-style headdresses (ar. *keffiyeh*) and robes (ar. *thawb*) (see Plate 5.10).⁴⁸

Two female dancers (one of whom I have identified as Denisa Despa), dressed in belly-dance-style costumes, perform for the benefit of a ‘sheikh’ and Leo. The ‘sheikh’ wears blue satin robes and a black turban, which appears instead on several occasions during the video atop the head of a small child who sits on Leo’s lap. The recording is set in an ornate room dominated by the colour orange. On the walls are decorative features inspired by Islamic-style motifs; incongruously, there also appears to be a small statue of the Buddha, or a Hindu deity. One of the dancers, the ‘sheikh’ and Leo occasionally smoke from a shisha (ro. *narghilea*) in simulation of an ‘oriental’ precedent. Imitations of the ululations emitted by women further the overall ‘oriental’ flavour that the producers of the video are seeking to emulate.

Manele is denigrated by many on the grounds that it is of doubtful quality, in poor taste and, even, that it is an affront to Romanian culture. The lyrics, in particular, are the target for especially harsh condemnation. They are often criticised for being crude (in all senses of the word) and written in ‘bad Romanian’ because of their lack of regard for correct grammar and their frequent use of slang. The lyrics attract further condemnation because of their perceived obsession with the accumulation of wealth (not always acquired through legitimate means) and the apparent happiness this will bring (Stoichița, 2016:164). But there are additional dimensions relating to Romania’s past and questions of ethnicity that also need to be considered when looking at why *manele* is considered objectionable by so many. Ion Dumitrescu writes that ‘[...] the Orient [...] is] a cultural continent from which

⁴⁸ As I recall, they wore similar costumes during their live set at Sistem ca pe Ferentari.

Romania will never fully remove itself'.⁴⁹ The validity, or otherwise, of this comment is better understood by taking a look at some historical background. Here follows a brief résumé.

Manele – *The Roots of Prejudice*

Scholars frequently describe Romania as a borderland, frontier or intersection (Boia, 2001; Todorova, 1997; Verdery, 1991). What became essentially modern Romania resulted from the amalgamation of the Old Kingdom of Romania (the united principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia) with Transylvania (and Bessarabia and Bukovina) following the end of the First World War in 1918. At around the beginning of the fifteenth century, the emerging entities of Wallachia and Moldavia fell under the protection of the Ottomans, an arrangement that remained in place in some form (albeit diminished towards the end) until 1878 when the newly united principalities (now recognised as 'Romania') finally achieved full independence. In the meantime, Transylvania had been subject to mostly Hungarian (latterly Austro-Hungarian) control. Thus, the new Greater Romania saw a union of land and peoples with very different histories and attitudes.

Although Romanians were in the majority in Transylvania, they formed the bulk of the peasantry and were mostly illiterate. Significantly, the large minority populations incorporated into the new Romania following unification were perhaps more likely to adopt a stance that looked westwards. Transylvania's political and cultural connections undoubtedly gave it an outlook that was (at least) Central European in character (as opposed to Eastern European or Balkan). The presence of a large Saxon minority, of course, also provided strong ethnic, familial and trade links to Germanic lands and, hence, Western

⁴⁹ In the previously mentioned article, 'Manele is the Balkans' Most Popular—and Marginalized—Music', from *Electronic Beats* magazine (see <http://www.electronicbeats.net/manele-part-one/> [Accessed 10 January 2017])

Europe.

Ideas concerning Romania as ‘somewhere else’ have been encountered before and they frequently surface in debates about national identity. The Romanian dramatist, writer and poet, Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912) ‘[...] never tired of depicting the contradictions between the Eastern substance of the “authentic” culture of the Romanians and the outward form of Western civilization which they were imitating’ (Hitchins, 2014:141).

Similar views have been expressed more recently; A Romanian sociologist is quoted as saying ‘[Our culture] cannot keep limping along behind European civilization, fixated upon a peripheral identity [...] [Ours] is not a subaltern culture and the road to our values does not pass through the West’ (Adrian Dinu Rachieru, cited in Verdery, 1991:2).⁵⁰

The statements above suggest that Romanian identity is a subordinate ‘nested alterity’ in a schema that defers to western European hegemony and Romania should be led along its own unique path. Nevertheless, today, for an influential section of Romanian society (broadly speaking, educated and middle class), the hastening of a modern ‘western’ future remains paramount. Hence, there exists a desire in some quarters to minimise any connections to Romania’s ‘eastern’, Balkan and Ottoman past. One might have thought that attitudes would have softened as Romania emerged from a turbulent twentieth century into a modern European nation as a member of the European Union and NATO with a role to play on the global stage. But issues concerning Romanian identity remain in the foreground and the ongoing debate about *manele* remains part of the discourse. Take, for example the following extract from a conversation on reddit.com (an American social news and entertainment networking website) on the topic ‘*Manele* music and dancers’ from 2015.

Contributor ‘alecs_stan’ (who posts in both English and Romanian on Romanian and

⁵⁰For a deeper historical perspective, see Chapters 2 and 3.

EU politics) informs us that,

[...] [manele] reveals a facet of Romanian societies that the westernized emergent middle class of post communist Romania wants to forget or deny. You see, Romania was under Turkish influence for hundred(s) of years and that left deep marks. The oriental sound of manele, the gypsy singers and the popularity of the genre among simpletons was/is seen as a step aside the narrative of a future prosperous western style democracy that Romania projects in the spotlights. Modern Romanians deny their Balkanism, they want Romania to be more like Germany, Holland, France or the UK. The Romania in manele songs is closer to Albania, Turkey, Bosnia as [to] values and views.

Manele is an easy target because of its obvious musical and cultural influences, and its denigrators can rely on a thinly-veiled underlying widespread anti-Romani sentiment or 'Antiziganism' (from gr. 'Antiziganismus') to advance their cause. The level of distaste that this musical phenomenon generates is such that there have been calls for it to be banned or, at least, for restrictions to be placed on the extent to which *manele* can be broadcast and distributed, of which some examples follow.



Plate 5.11 - Arguing For and Against *Manele*

George Pruteanu (1947-2008), literary critic and politician, was a particularly vociferous detractor of *manele* and the Romanian entertainment industry in general. He is quoted as describing *manele* as '*gunoi*' (en. 'trash', or even 'manure'). *Manele* is also reported as being variously described as 'the musical equivalent of "burping contests"',

‘perverting the taste of the nation’ and ‘gypsy filth’.⁵¹ A short clip from *Nașul TV* (available on YouTube) shows him discussing the subject ‘pro și contra manele’ (for and against *manele*) with presenter Radu Moraru, and with the *manele* performers, Adrian Minune and Nicolae Guță (see Plate 5.11). The *maneliști* seem fairly unperturbed by the experience, their demeanour displaying more mild amusement than concern.⁵² The clip attracts various remarks in the comments section underneath, including: ‘Țigarii trebuiesc exterminați și terminat cu balciul astă de rahat’ (en. ‘Gypsies should be exterminated so there can be an end to this shit.’)⁵³

The extent to which certain sections of the Romanian establishment have a problem with *manele* is further illustrated by the following example. The audiovisual regulator in Romania, CNA,⁵⁴ challenged legislation that requires providers of cable services to include the fifteen most popular channels in their basic bundle. Their position was driven by an objection that they would have to include two channels devoted to *manele* in the package, arguing that this would be tantamount to ‘forcing *manele* into people’s homes’. On another occasion, a lecture series on *manele* had to be moved from the National University of Music to another institution because, as a detractor of *manele*, a professor there had taken exception and accused the rector of the university of ‘high treason’ and ‘organising an action that is detrimental to the security of the state’.⁵⁵

⁵¹ See Mihai-Alexandrou Ilioaia ‘Manele and the Hegemony of “Good Taste”’ <https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/2014/03/03/manele-and-the-hegemony-of-good-taste/> [Accessed 13 September 2016].

⁵² Perhaps their demeanor confirms the adage that there is ‘no such thing as bad publicity’.

⁵³ The clip and related comments can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 10 January 2017].

⁵⁴ CNA is the initialism for Consiliul Național al Audiovizualului (en. National Audiovisual Council of Romania).

⁵⁵ See again Mihai-Alexandrou Ilioaia ‘Manele and the Hegemony of “Good Taste”’ <https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/> [Accessed 13 September 2016].

Other examples include: banning taxi and bus drivers in Cluj-Napoca from playing *manele* whilst at work (2010);⁵⁶ prohibiting the performance of *manele* at a festival in Iași (2010). Further, a Christian foundation (Mitropolit Irineu Mihalcescu) together with a community organisation (Asociatia Pro civic) sought to prevent *manele* being heard in areas along the Drumul vinului (en. wine road) in Buzău County (2008).⁵⁷ Sorinel Copilul de Aur, whose set ended Sistem ca pe Ferentari, was himself involved in a controversy. In 2008, he appeared in a *manele* video filmed in the Romanian National Opera House, an act that was deemed to be offensive and an insult to the artistic reputation of the establishment.⁵⁸ In 2019 *manele* continues to be proscribed. The mayor of Timișoara, a city due to become a European Capital of Culture in 2021, has banned the performance of *manele* in public.⁵⁹

The above examples demonstrate the extent of the contempt that continues to be levelled at *manele* and is, perhaps, indicative of a nation that still needs to reconcile some of its identity issues. The theme of this chapter takes its lead from part of the headline of an interview that Speranța Rădulescu gave to the Romanian daily newspaper *Adevărul* (en. the Truth) in May 2014. The full headline reads: ‘Nu vă plac manelele? Puneți mâna și schimbați societatea care le produce’ (en. ‘You don’t like *manele*? Put your hand up and change the society that produces it’). This sentiment exposes the contradiction that whilst *manele* appear to valorise Mafia ‘*barosani*’ and cunning *șmecheri* (that is, male stereotypes that represent corruption in general), Romanian society continues to maintain conservative values. There is a perception that the fortunes of the conscientious and industrious fail to improve, whilst the ‘wise guys’ and ‘tricksters’ become richer at their expense (Stoichița,

⁵⁶ This prohibition has parallels with both *arabesk* and *rai* (see Stokes, 1992).

⁵⁷ There was a concern that it might discourage tourists to visit, and affected eighty kilometers of road.

⁵⁸ All of these examples are also cited in Mihai-Alexandrou Ilioaia ‘Manele and the Hegemony of "Good Taste"' <https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/> [Accessed 13 September 2016].

⁵⁹ See www.mediafax.ro [Accessed 21 December 2019].

2016:182). It is a short step before the culprits are identified as 'gypsy'. As demonstrated, the anti-*manele* comments on social media very quickly morph into racist rhetoric.

(Unfortunately, there are many more examples that could be added to those I have quoted above.) This connection gives a free rein to detractors of *manele* to resort to the language of discrimination and to maintain the subaltern status of the Romanian Roma as 'other'. As I have shown in this chapter, the fear of 'manelisation' can be added to those of 'gypsyfication', 'turkification' and 'orientalisation' (Mihăilescu, 2016:255).

Chapter 6 – Manele: Abroad

In Chapter 5, I looked at the historical and political conditions pertaining to *manele* in Romania. In this Chapter, I examine how *manele*, and therefore *lăutari* music making, relates to popular music styles beyond Romania. In contrast to Balkan ‘gypsy’ music, of which Taraf de Haïdouks is highly representative, *manele* has not had any discernible impact in the ‘world music’ scene. Nevertheless, it does not exist in isolation, as it has close musical ties with other specifically Balkan genres. This factor is aptly demonstrated in the well-known *manea* entitled ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam.

In this chapter, I show how iterations of this song have become a pan-Balkan phenomenon. Like other hybrid styles in Mediterranean popular culture, I show through musical and textual analysis, how ‘Saint Tropez’ is part of a supra-regional phenomenon related to the global circulation of commodities, made possible by digital technology and other media. In this sense, *manele* has transcended the restricted boundaries of nation and race. To start with, I relate *manele* to three other popular-music genres that have emerged outside of Europe, namely: *arabesk* (Turkey), *musiḳah mizraḥit* (Israel) and *raï* (Algeria). I do so, not because there is so much of a musical relationship, but because their reception at a political and social level shares much with *manele*. Furthermore, similar to *manele*, they have not made significant inroads into the realm of ‘world music’.

***Manele* and Non-European Popular Music**

In the preceding chapter, I discussed *manele* in a predominantly Balkan context. My approach was led by the available literature on the topic. Whilst Turkish *arabesk* is acknowledged as an influence (see Chapter 5), I am not aware of any other scholarship that

discusses the similarities that *manele* may share with other significant non-European popular music genres. I seek to rectify this state of affairs herewith. The phenomenon that eventually came to be known as *manele* is shown as having a relationship to popular musics that emanated from Romania's neighbours to the south and south west (Bulgaria and Serbia respectively).¹ All of these south-east European genres have been subject to controversy and criticism of some kind, in both aesthetic and political terms. The politicisation of music in some way is certainly nothing new, and whilst it is important to investigate *manele* in relation to these other European forms, drawing parallels with popular music from further afield might also provide some insight.

Of *arabesk*, *musîkah mizrahit* and *rai*, *arabesk* is probably the most closely related to *manele*, not least because of Romania's long association with Ottoman culture. *Arabesk* has been noted as an influence in connection with so-called 'orientalised' examples of *manele* (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:17). But although a charge of 'orientalisation' is one of the criticisms that have been levelled at *manele* by its detractors, any characteristics perceived to be 'oriental' or 'exotic' are really only present as 'seasoning'. These features are ornamental, and represent an imagined 'orient'. Parallels may be drawn to the way in which composers of western art music of the Classical period, such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), introduced devices into their music which represented for them imitations of 'oriental' or, more specifically, 'Turkish' style (see Bellman, 1998; Locke, 2009).

Certainly, some *manele*, when performed by particular artists, display attributes originating from beyond the 'western' tradition, attributes which maybe imbue the music with a soupçon of 'eastern' taste. 'Oriental' influence can be detected most notably in the

¹ These genres are *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (en. newly-composed folk music) — *NKNM* for short — and *turbo-folk* from Serbia (formerly part of Yugoslavia), and *svatbarska muzika* (en. wedding music) and *chalga* from Bulgaria.

vocal delivery of individual performers. It can also be sensed in some of the underlying repetitive rhythmic motifs along with the percussion instruments used to deliver them. Considering these attributes, some singers (Florin Salam is a prime example) have a naturally quasi-melismatic style. In addition, many *manele* utilise *çiftetelli* as rhythmic accompaniment (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:9). Bongos and the higher-pitched standard drum-kit tom-toms are often favoured over a full western drum kit in rough emulation of the Turkish *darbuka* drum. Melodically and harmonically, many supposedly ‘orientalised’ *manele* are based on western modal scales that approximate to Turkish *makam*-s. However, there is little scope for a departure from western tuning, because the electric keyboards ubiquitously present in the performance of *manele* are based on equal temperament.² While the features described may endow some *manele* with *arabesk*-like qualities, they are merely representative components of a stylised version of the ‘orient’ and not manifestations of an ‘oriental’ style itself.

Arabesk

Some instruments can be found in both *manele* and *arabesk*, particularly as accompaniment (such as the accordion, synthesizer and bass guitar), but instrumentation also sets them apart. In *manele*, solos are mostly given to electric violin or woodwind (especially clarinet, popular throughout the Balkans) but a Turkish lute called a *saz*, especially in its electronically amplified form (*electrosaz*), is a prominent sound in *arabesk*. The sound of several violins in unison responding antiphonally to a vocalist or instrumental soloist, a highly distinctive feature of *arabesk*, is largely missing in *manele*, although I believe I have come across it.

² Regev (1996:278) and Stokes (2000:218) note that Arab-scale or ‘oriental’ synthesizers are used in *arabesk* and *musîkah mizrahî* respectively. Modern keyboards are equipped with a function that allows the player to bend the pitch.

Whilst acknowledging that musical connections linking *manele* and *arabesk* merit attention, more interesting and meaningful associations can be drawn between these two genres in terms of their political and public reception. Such a comparison naturally leads one to consider similarities that may exist between *manele* and other musical styles popular beyond the Balkans and Europe, such as *musîkah mizrahit* and *raï*. A theme that runs throughout Romanian historiography, which I take up in my thesis, concerns questions about Romanian cultural identity. The debate centres on whether the Romanian character has a fundamentally ‘eastern’ or ‘western’ outlook. *Manele* has become very much embroiled in this discourse. In this respect, it should be considered in the light of the ‘*arabesk* debate’.

The modern nations of Romania and Turkey were created following the end of the First World War in 1918. Romanian unification occurred almost immediately, whilst the foundations of the Republic of Turkey, under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), date from 1923. Many steps were taken in Turkey to rid the new nation of any relics of its Ottoman past in order that the country might become more ‘westernised’. Under Atatürk’s reforms, the Arabic alphabet was jettisoned in favour of the Roman, and Ottoman Turkish words with an Arabic etymology were thrown out in favour of those with a Turkic origin. Even the fez, seen as a symbol of an eastern-gazing past, was proscribed. Although people remained free to practice religion, Islam being the dominant faith, the new Turkey after 1922 was established as a secular project.

The drive to fashion a new Turkish identity and the resulting tensions between ‘east’ and ‘west’, the ‘orient’ and ‘occident’, Islam and Secularism, modernity and tradition and so on, pervaded every aspect of Turkish life, including music. In music, this friction was played out in the form of two contrasting musical styles, *alaturka* and *alafranga*. *Alaturka*

describes an earlier 'eastern' style of Turkish music that harked back to the discredited Ottoman period, which '[...] seemed to maintain both in sound and in sense the debilitating legacy of imperial decline' (O'Connell, 2013:21). In contrast, the later *alafranga* incorporated aspects of 'western' manner into Turkish music and represents the manifestation of a musical movement that, whilst it did not completely supersede or take precedence over *alaturka*, *alafranga* certainly influenced *alaturka* style. O'Connell (2005) shows how interpretation of the term *alaturka* has varied over time. That is, *alaturka* has undergone subtle transformations in order to fit in with the prevailing historico-political narrative.

O'Connell (ibid.: 194) suggests that *arabesk* is simply another iteration of the *alaturka* phenomenon, that it is essentially *alaturka* under an alternative name. But the rise of *arabesk* in the 1970s was regarded as another unwelcome development by westernising reformers, one which again gazed backwards to a period pre-dating the formation of modern Turkey and emphasised a connection to Arabic culture (hence the name, *arabesk*) that reformers were continually trying to break; the availability and influence of Egyptian music from as early as the 1930s, through film and radio media, is acknowledged to be a major factor in determining Turkish popular taste and *arabesk*, in particular (Stokes, 1992:93). Furthermore, *arabesk* is very much associated with labour migrants to Istanbul from south-eastern Turkey who are unsurprisingly culturally perhaps more Arab than Turkish, given the geographical location of their homelands close to the frontiers of Iraq and Syria (ibid.:116). They represent an internal otherness that maybe bears some comparison with the exclusion experienced by Roma in Romania, who are at the bottom of the tree in the hierarchy of 'others' that compete for identity recognition in Romania.

Consequently, it is reasonable to examine the cases of *manele* and *arabesk* in parallel. The debates these genres engender are contested with reference to binary ideas of 'east' and 'west'. In this context, 'the east' represents regress and stagnation, whereas 'the west' symbolises progress. These rather abstract notions of 'east' and 'west' materialise in concrete opposites. For example, tradition is rejected in favour of modernity, and the village is seen as inferior to the city. The subaltern status of the performers in both genres is apparent, and reinforces the well-documented recurring theme of the musician as an outsider in society. Of course, this social segregation is frequently twofold. Musicians are marginalised by virtue of their profession, and they are doubly marginalised because they often belong to a group who occupy the bottom level of society.³ This is as true in the Middle East (where, additionally, the romantic orientalist ideal of the wild and morally bankrupt musician is reinforced by prejudice from within their own community [ibid.:120]) as has shown to be the case with regard to 'gypsy' musicians throughout Europe, especially Central and Eastern Europe.

In addition to the racial overtones that colour reception to *manele*, there are, of course, other issues at work, namely class. *Manele* is perceived and portrayed by its critics as poor-taste entertainment for non-Romani lower classes, its adherents frequently portrayed as being '*cocolari*' (en. 'chavs').⁴ Exponents of *arabesk* are similarly linked to an inferior group, and its fans have been characterised as being dwellers of the crowded *gecekondu* (en. squat) ghettos that sprang up in Istanbul in the second half of the twentieth century, as migrants flocked from the country to the city for work. The fan bases for both genres, of course, are more nuanced than this. But it suits detractors of these musical styles

³ Exclusion may be due to ethnicity, language or religion, either singly or in combination.

⁴ See the previous chapter for an explanation of this term.

to garner favourable public opinion by associating something they find objectionable to a group of people who are least likely to have a voice with which they can defend themselves.

Arabesk lyrics are described as being ‘deeply pessimistic’, reflecting as they do on the apparently hopeless situation of the protagonists with whom their audience identifies vicariously. Trapped in a peripheral physical and social environment from which there appears to be no means of breaking free, they sing of familiar things, such as love and betrayal, along with the misery of their circumstances and futile dreams of escaping for a new life of luxury (Stokes, 2000:217). Tales of love and betrayal in song have been told at all times in all places, and these themes also pervade *manele*. Aspiring to wealth is also a feature of *manele*, but in contrast to *arabesk* where it appears to be elusive, it can be attained with the necessary applied guile. Furthermore, where *manele* is associated with *şmecheri*, *arabesk* has its own version in the form of ‘wise guys’ (tr. *kabadayı*). Hence, the association of young male working-class gang culture with contested popular music genres recurs in Romania, Turkey and beyond. For example, the Greek style known as *rebetika* also has such historical connections; it is linked with ‘wide boy’ (gr. *mangas*⁵) characters who could be found in Athens and Piraeus as early as the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶

⁵ Also see tr. *maganda* in connection with *arabesk* (O'Connell, 2005:200n31).

⁶ Similar examples can be found closer to home in the UK. For example, the association of ‘mods’ with particular British RandB music played by bands, such as The Who, The Kinks and Small Faces.

Musikah Mizrahit

Familiar factors also colour the appreciation and reception of *musikah mizrahit* in Israel; class, identity and origin all feature in dialogue concerning this genre. *Musikah mizrahit* translates from Hebrew as 'eastern music', *mizrahim* referring to an amalgamation of large numbers of Jews with a North African or Middle Eastern background who migrated to Israel in the second half of the twentieth century following the formation of the state of Israel in 1948. During the same period, many more European (Ashkenazi) Jews also arrived there. Given that this group were the largest demographic (with an inherited European grasp of how to use power maybe), the Ashkenazim became the most influential force in fashioning an identity for the new nation. This outcome is credited as being the cause of some inequalities that have arisen between the two groups, especially in the area of housing. It is easy for outsiders to overlook the social division that has developed amongst Israeli Jews, because so much attention is naturally paid to the ongoing (and seemingly intractable) conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

When a nation is formed from new (Israel), redefined (Turkey) or created by amalgamation (Romania), it is not necessarily the case that a homogenous national identity naturally follows. Certainly, this statement has thematic relevance in the Romanian context, but it is also directly pertinent here with respect to Israeli identity and the Jewish state. Although bound by Judaic belief and practice, the immigrants who entered Israel following its creation were not unified in every aspect, as they came from places with markedly varied cultures and traditions, across a wide geographical area.⁷

⁷ O'Connell, (2015) shows in a musical context how the influx of Ashkenazi Jews into Turkey following the end of the Second World War affected relations with the long-established Jewish community there. Before this time, the majority of Turkish Jews were of a Sephardic heritage. They were welcomed into the Ottoman Empire following their expulsion from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century.

The concept of the nation-state evolved towards the end of the eighteenth century as a by-product of European Enlightenment thinking. Herder championed the opinion that folksong was a good indicator of national identity. It was also a useful tool to encourage nationalism. In Israel's case, there were few traditions that could fully unify the disparate groups who converged on their newly acquired land. Israel (and the Zionist project) is somewhat unusual, being a rare case in modern times where a group of people with a broadly similar identity migrated to a new homeland, with which they believed themselves to have ancient cultural and religious connections. Thus, at the outset, there was no definite 'Israeli' or 'Hebrew' culture, but rather a diversity of Jewish cultures. Consequently, the establishment and 'invention' of Israeli traditions (including musical) tended to derive from the largest and most vocal group, the Ashkenazim.

One might draw a comparison between *ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* and *muzică populară* in Romania. *Muzică populară* is a manufactured version folk authenticity that was encouraged by the authorities during the communist era in Romania. It represents a unified idea of national identity, which is still popular with many Romanians today, apparently (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:28). A concept of 'Israeli music' evolved from a body of 'folk music' known as *ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* (en. The Song of the Land of Israel). These 'folksongs' owe much to Eastern European and, particularly, Russian sources largely due to the origins of the people who transmitted this material (Horowitz, 2010:3; Regev, 1996:276). Those responsible also drew to some extent from Greek, Turkish and local Palestinian music in order to synthesise some 'oriental' flavour in acknowledgement of their new surroundings. Regev notes that folk music must be passed on orally in order for it to be validated as such. *Ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* generally passes this test. However, he also points out that the composers and lyricists of *ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* can be identified,

which is typically unusual. Furthermore, the songs do not perhaps have the requisite longevity that one might normally associate with ‘tradition’, the earliest of them dating back only to 1920.

The importance that the innovation of the analogue music cassette in the early 1970s had for the dissemination of popular music performed and listened to by members of marginalised and poorer communities cannot really be overstated. Not only were cassettes and the equipment needed to play them highly portable, they were also easy to reproduce in large numbers relatively cheaply. Music cassettes certainly played an important role in the popularisation of all the genres immediately under consideration here, as they did with many others. The emergence of *musiqah mizrahit* from its peripheral existence into a wider arena is also attributable to this proliferation. It is no coincidence that *musiqah mizrahit* is additionally known as *musiqah ha-ķaseķot* (en. cassette music).

The attachment of patronising and racially condescending terms which highlight ethnic difference to a musical style is not something novel, as was demonstrated by some of the labels used to describe what became known as *manele* as the genre developed: *muzică turcească* (en. Turkish music), *muzică țigănească* (en. ‘gypsy’ music). Derogatory terms are also reported as being used by its critics to describe *musiqah mizrahit*: *musiqah ha-taķanah ha-merkazit* (en. Central Bus Station music), *musiqah shel tshaķtshaķim* (en. cheap⁸ music), *musiqah sheķorah* (en. Black music) (Horowitz, 2010:2).

Given that both fans and performers of *musiqah mizrahit* have experienced prejudice based on ethnic origin, it is not surprising that the same group also faced exclusion—along with the music seen as belonging to them—on grounds of class. This segregation was

⁸ This is more offensive than it may seem at first. Horowitz notes that *tshaķtshaķim* is an insulting slang term sometimes applied to North African and Middle Eastern Jews (2010:177n3).

reinforced by the lack of airtime afforded to this form of entertainment by the state media channels (Regev, 1996:27). Such insidious policies are frequently employed by the establishment in order to protect received ideas of national culture from influences regarded as unhealthy. The other popular music styles presently under consideration (*manele*, *arabesk* and *rai*) have been the target of similar treatment one way or another. The singers, musicians and their followers were deemed to belong to the lower economic and social echelons, a situation exacerbated by policies that made scant provision for integrating European immigrants with those from a non-European background. New Israelis from North Africa and other parts of the Middle East were generally placed in neighbourhoods together, where there was insufficient housing to cope with the exponential rise in population. This connection between *musiqah mizrahit*, class and the ghetto bears comparison with the circumstances of the generalised groups of people associated with *manele* and *arabesk*.

The construction of a discrete Israeli (but still noticeably Middle Eastern) identity required that it should not be over-reliant on dominant European models for inspiration, and too much Arab influence should also be discouraged. Although *ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* is flavoured to some extent with some local Middle Eastern elements, *musiqah mizrahit* draws on 'oriental' musical influences from further afield. These influences are varied, because non-European Jews immigrated to Israel from across a very wide area. Lands of origin include the Mahgreb, various Arab countries, 'Kurdistan' and Iran. It was inevitable that exponents of songs considered to be *musiqah mizrahit* would claim material and elements of performing style from their pre-Israeli heritage. Of course, much of this influence was Arabic. Indeed, many singers went on to perform songs in Arabic, and became popular in neighbouring Arab states despite their Israeli nationality. Albeit that this

cross-cultural exchange took place amid a thaw in the hostile Arab-Israeli relationship and the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s, a short-lived peace that rapidly disintegrated, partly as a result of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin (s. 1992-1995), Israel's prime minister, in November 1995. Some of the North African Jews who immigrated to Israel came from Algeria, the home of *rai*, the next popular music genre I wish to discuss as I trace a musical arc around the Mediterranean.

Rai

Rai (en. 'opinion') is a musical style that originated in the coastal port city of Oran, Algeria. The genre also developed and became popular in the North African diaspora, especially France, a nation that had colonised or held suzerainty over large swathes of the Mahgreb until the middle of the twentieth century. Prior to the music cassette revolution of the 1970s, *rai* was confined to the backstreet nightclubs and brothels of Oran, where the references to controversial topics (namely alcohol and sex) and use of slang were tolerated. As *rai* became more widely distributed due to the cassette phenomenon, its popularity increased, but it also attracted disapproval from conservative members of Algerian society, both religious and secular. Consequently, *rai* was snubbed by Algerian radio stations in what amounted to a *de facto* prohibition until 1983. Restrictions were relaxed because the authoritarian government was becoming increasingly anxious that its supremacy was vulnerable to challenges from an Islamist alliance, and recognised that *rai* could be a useful tool to mobilise positive public opinion due to its popularity, particularly amongst disaffected youth.

A political standoff in Algeria degenerated into civil war in 1991. This occurred when the ruling party did not honour the result of an election that would have handed power to the Islamists. The resulting instability contributed to the assassination of many prominent

figures, including two who were well known through their association with *rai*, Cheb Hasni (singer [1968-1994]) and Rachid Baba (producer [1946-1995]). The *rai* case adds to the many other examples that illustrate how music can provide a platform where political motivation, frustration and sometimes revenge are articulated.

In common with the other popular music styles under discussion here, the ‘east’ versus ‘west’ debate also has a bearing in relation to *rai*. Although the idea of ‘westernisation’ may not have quite the same meaning in Algeria as it perhaps does in Romania, Turkey and Israel (where it is linked to nuanced concepts of europeanisation), it does have some relevance. This is because *rai* itself has dispersed more widely than *manele*, *arabesk* and *musîkah mizrahîit*.⁹ It has become modified for consumption to suit the taste of the North African diaspora, many members of whom reside in the *banlieues* of French cities.¹⁰ Furthermore, unlike the other forms, *rai* has gained some global exposure as a genre of ‘world music’, as the term is now most widely understood, although there are examples of *manele*, *arabesk* and *musîkah mizrahîit* that can fulfil the criteria, more or less.¹¹

¹² This may indeed be because the radius of its orbit has extended closer (France) to its intended audience (educated relatively affluent westerners).

Manele

Returning the focus to *manele* and Romania, I have demonstrated that notable parallels can be drawn between *manele* and other ‘extra-European’ popular music styles. However, there are factors that also set *manele* apart. Despite the various objections concerning its

⁹ *Arabesk* is also popular amongst the large Turkish community in Germany (communication with John O’Connell 27 August 2018).

¹⁰ *Banlieues* translates as ‘suburbs’, but colloquially refers to areas with social housing and large numbers of immigrants from North Africa particularly, especially in Paris, but also in Lyon and Marseille.

¹¹ I use the term ‘world music’ in this context as a fusion genre that combines local traditional styles and instruments with the conventions of western ‘pop’ music.

¹² The Turkish pop star, Sezen Aksu, produced an album (*Işık doğudan yükselir/Ex Oriente Lux* [en. *Light from the East*]), which Stokes (2010:140) reads as a bid for the artist to establish herself in the ‘world music’ market. The endeavour has been assessed as only achieving limited success.

quality, there does not appear to be anything on record where its detractors suggest alternatives that are more desirable. Taking Turkey and Israel as examples: in both cases, there have been genuine attempts to redefine or invent a national identity, and music has played a significant part in this process. Critics of *arabesk* could point to centuries-old classical and folk music traditions that they considered to be a more suitable expression of Turkish culture. Although *ha-Shir ha-Erets Yisre'eli* was somewhat artificial, its contents seemed to have quickly acquired canonic status, largely due to the domination of the *Ashkenazim* in Israel. Ultimately, perhaps Turkey and Israel have deeper cultural and historical resources from which Turkishness and Israeli-Jewishness can be excavated. Modern Romania has experienced few periods of stability long enough since its inception for a homogenous notion of national identity to be established that reconciles ethnic and social differences. Consequently, there is not a dominant idea of what a 'national music' is in Romania, although the manufactured 'folk music' during the communist period, and its more recent manifestation as commercial folklore was an attempt to create such a thing.

Manele is generalised officially (by 'elites') as 'tasteless', and unofficially (often through social media) as being a domain populated by *cocolari* and *țigani* (en. 'gypsies').¹³ The genre is essentially a product of the Bucharest conurbation and its environs, an area located in southern Romania. *Muzică lăutărească* is the well-established traditional music of this region, and one might think that it would be given greater endorsement as an alternative by critics of *manele* (assuming that 'traditional' music can provide an acceptable substitute to the 'popular'), especially as so many performers of *manele* come from *lăutari* families. But *lăutari* musicians are invariably Romanian Roma of course, who are still

¹³ See Vamanu and Vamanu, 2013:277 for clarification of the use of 'tasteless' in context in connection with *manele*.

considered as an ‘immigrant nation’ in Romania (to recall Bartók’s description), despite their presence there for at least six hundred years. This may explain why there is less enthusiasm to champion *muzică lăutărească* as Romanian than perhaps there might be. In a sense, the subaltern status of the *mizraḥim* in Israel can also be compared with that of Roma in Romania. Israel epitomises the modern ‘immigrant nation’, the *mizraḥim* and their contribution to Israeli culture regarded as the immigrant ‘other’ among immigrants (Regev, 1996:277).

In short: As noted above, *rai* did become a global commodity as a ‘world music’ genre – something that has eluded *manele*. In my opinion, I think it is unlikely that it would ever be similarly considered. *Rai* has evolved into an eclectic form that ranges from regional styles to what might be styled by some as ‘Europop’. My experience of *manele* is that it is also eclectic. It too has a distinct local flavour, especially when presented in a live festival environment, as I discovered when I went to the Ferentari event. But I have previously shown that—like *rai*— the term is now used to cover an assortment of styles, which also includes examples of the ‘Europop’ variety.¹⁴

The song ‘Zalele’ (mentioned previously), with its regular ‘disco beat’ is such an instance of this occurrence. Whilst trying to familiarise myself a little with *rai*, I came across ‘C’est la vie’ by Cheb Khaled¹⁵ (feted as the foremost performer of *rai*¹⁶), and I was struck by its similarity in character to the Romanian song. Both videos begin with a short sequence involving audio equipment. ‘Zalele’ has a few frames of a mixing desk from which a pair of headphones are removed. The beginning of ‘C’est la Vie’ shows Cheb Khaled in an empty room (in a warehouse maybe), save for an office chair and a plastic table with a turntable on

¹⁴ John O’Connell reminded me that this is true for *arabesk* too, as the term covers both classical and folk forms (personal communication 27 August 2018).

¹⁵ Cheb Khaled’s ‘C’est la vie’ can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 9 August 2017].

¹⁶ Cheb Khaled is reported as being the ‘King of Rai’ (see www.bbc.co.uk [Accessed 29 November 2017]).

it. He places a vinyl disc on the turntable, sits on the chair, lowers the stylus, and listens to the introduction for a few moments before singing along.

I contended that the 'eastern' properties that can be detected in some *manele* are largely cosmetic rather than intrinsic, especially in those numbers that are intended as 'pop' for online video consumption. For the performers, the intention is to create a little escapist fantasy, away from the mundane and, as such, the effect is synthetic. Detractors detect the 'oriental' flavouring in some *manele* and use this as justification to denigrate the genre. The next section will include a visual, textual and musical assessment of 'Saint Tropez' by Florin Salam. I will show that, whilst the performance overall contains some 'eastern' touches, it has much in common with 'western' popular music. It will also look at how a popular idea migrates through the Balkans and how it mutates in the process and becomes a vehicle for local tastes and ideas.

‘Saint Tropez’

I first became aware that the song ‘Saint Tropez’ had a wider Balkan significance whilst delivering a paper on the Balkans at Cardiff University. I prefaced my talk on *manele*, music and identity in Romania with an extract from the video of ‘Saint Tropez’ performed by Florin Salam. During the ensuing question and answer session, a delegate mentioned that a Greek cover of this song — ‘Fotia me fotia’ (en. ‘Fire with fire’) performed by Panos Kiamos — was a favourite of his. I asked him if he could kindly send me a link, which he did, and he also provided me with a rough translation. At around the same time, I discovered a Bulgarian version through an internet search. This was performed by Azis, a Bulgarian *chalga* star of Turkish and Romani descent.¹⁷ I had not realised at first that this is the original from which all the other versions stem. Suspecting that there would be additional iterations, I came across a Turkish cover, and a Facebook page entitled ‘Copyright Balkan Songs’ that also led me to some other examples.¹⁸

In the previous chapter, I commented that ‘Saint Tropez’ has become one of the most popular examples of the *manele* genre. ‘Saint Tropez’ also provides the basis for a case study into an accepted pan-Balkan practice that allows musical ideas to be shared across cultural and geographical boundaries. The song also demonstrates what can happen when a tradition that recognises the free exchange of cultural ideas meets a capitalist ideology based on the notion that creativity can be commodified, and its products protected under intellectual property rights. The most popular versions by the various artists who have a rendition currently accessible on the internet (including those by Azis and Florin Salam) can be tabulated as follows:

¹⁷ Born Vasil Troyanov Boyanov (b. 1978-). His stage name, Azis, may be derived from the Turkish *aziz*, meaning ‘saint’.

¹⁸ ‘Copyright Balkan Songs’ can be found at www.facebook.com [Accessed 24 October 2017].

Language	Artist	Title	Translation	Publication Date	Views*	Duration
Bulgarian	Azis	Sen Trope	Saint Tropez	13-Dec-11	29.7m	03'30"
Turkish	Enka Mutfağı	Sen Trope	Saint Tropez	17-Oct-12	1.9m	03'47"
Romanian	Florin Salam	Saint Tropez		01-Feb-13	46m	03'29"
Serbian	Keba, (Dragan Kojić)	Ona to zna	She knows	01-Feb-13	6.6m	03'41"
Albanian	Fisnik Ristemi	Ti po më kalle	You light my fire**	08-May-13	25k	03'22"
Greek	Panos Kiamos	Fotia me fotia	Fire with fire	30-Aug-13	2m	03'48"
Romani	Adlan Selimović	Aj Lele	-	31-Dec-14	3k	03'32"

*As of 10 February 2017

**Translation suggested by Jeffrey Charest

Table 6.1 – Versions of ‘Saint Tropez’ in chronological order of publication¹⁹



Plate 6.1 - Vasil Troyanov Boyanov – ‘Azis’

Florin Salam was accused of plagiarising his version from the Azis original (Beissinger, 2016:127). Indeed, there is an interview (with the headline ‘Azis e Lady Gaga din Balcani’ [en. ‘Azis is the Balkan Lady Gaga’]), conducted in English, given by Azis on Romanian Television (Antena 1), in which he refers to this charge, stating ‘For me it’s no problem. You like this song? Take her (sic), but please call me and say, “Hello, I like to take your song, is (sic) OK?”’, implying that plagiarism can be settled through courtesy, and does not

¹⁹ All of these songs can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 24 October 2017].

necessarily require legal remedy.²⁰ Azis is noted for his flamboyant appearance and performing style, which registers transvestism and sexual ambiguity (see Plate 6.1). At the time of writing,²¹ ‘Sen Trope’ has had 29.7 million views on YouTube since it was uploaded on 13 December 2011. As large a number as that is, Florin Salam’s interpretation (published 1 February 2013) has attracted 46 million, making it the more popular, taking YouTube hits as the measure.

Although there are some discernible musical differences between the various performances, it is the music that links all of the copies together most consistently. The relative durations of the examples listed, suggests that they are all indeed reproductions of the same idea and an attentive auditor could detect that—whilst the vocal recordings obviously differ—the first three versions use the same audio file as accompaniment. The other arrangements might vary slightly, but the melodic lines, harmonic structure and instrumental composition are quite similar throughout. However, they all display notable variations with regard to audio-visual content and text.

Perhaps the most intriguing of them all is a Turkish cover by Enka Mutfağı entitled ‘Alayına Zam’ (en. ‘The Regiment gets a rise’) that predates Florin Salam’s Romanian version.²² Although entitled ‘Sen Trope’, the subject matter has nothing to do with Saint Tropez whatsoever, which somewhat adds to its satirical and surreal impact. Whilst it is a direct visual parody of Azis’s original, the song’s text is a highly political critique of corruption and oppression in Turkey. ‘Aj le le’, sung in the Romani language, is the only

²⁰ See ‘Azis on Romanian Tv News’ at www.youtube.com [Accessed 10 February 2017].

²¹ 10 February 2017.

²² Enka Mutfağı translates as something like ‘pure cooking’ or ‘pristine cuisine’, and is a recognised parody act in Turkey. (I am grateful to John O’Connell and Onur Pasha respectively for help with these observations).

performance that has been recorded at a live event. The film concentrates on a youth and a young woman who move in *raqs sharqi* (belly-dance) style in front of the band.²³

It is evident that Florin Salam's 'Saint Tropez' uses Azis's very basic lyrics as a germ to create something that chimes with the familiar *manele* themes of power, wealth, luxury and sex. But, whilst there is a rudimentary textual relationship between the two, the visual performances are quite different. Florin Salam's ensemble piece features himself in various guises, with party-goers, pretty women and musicians. This contrasts greatly with the solo performance of Aziz, which celebrates extravagant and provocative cross-dressing, and homoerotic gesture, a device guaranteed to stand out in the world of Balkan popular music. It is noteworthy that the Bulgarian and Romanian YouTube videos of 'Sen Trope' and 'Saint Tropez' have been professionally produced to a standard designed to achieve maximum appeal.

Similar attention has been applied to the production of the film that accompanies Panos Kiamos's Greek version. In this interpretation of the song, only the music bears any resemblance to the original, as there are no readily apparent textual connections.²⁴ As its title suggests, it is more concerned with heterosexual passion and lust than with the conspicuous indulgence celebrated in the Bulgarian and Romanian examples. The video features a number of female dancers dressed in flamenco costumes, dancing in formation, flamenco being another orientalist trope and signifier of the 'gypsy' stereotype and, by extension, the 'exotic'.

²³ *Raqs sharqi* is a transliteration of Arabic, which translates as 'oriental dance' (also see tr. *raks şarki*).

²⁴ The informant (a first-language Greek speaker) who introduced me to this version and provided me with a translation commented that the lyrics do not really make sense, even in Greek, and that they are a 'minor consideration' in 'pop' music.

‘Saint Tropez’ – Visual, Textual and Musical Contexts



Plate 6.2 – Still from ‘Saint Tropez’



Plate 6.3 – Still from ‘Saint Tropez’

On first acquaintance, the video of ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam might appear to contain issues related to continuity. This is because Florin Salam appears in three different guises (and in two different settings) during the film, often in quick succession.²⁵ Plate 6.2 shows him singing in front of the band sporting the dark glasses and leather jacket much favoured by Romanian Mafia gang members. In other instances, he wears a red bowtie, white shirt,

²⁵ Other performers in the film, band members and guests, also have changes of costume.

light blue jacket and blue jeans (see Plate 6.3). The opening sequence is presented in monochrome. It is a champagne reception in the foyer of a villa or, perhaps, a hotel. There are two large palm trees and the decor suggests a Middle Eastern context (Morocco maybe?²⁶) to emphasise an 'oriental' context. Colour now replaces black and white, and the camera focuses in on the main female interest wearing a long black evening dress.²⁷ Heads turn to watch Florin Salam (in soft focus) descend a short flight of stairs to join the gathering. The object of his attention plays with her hair. In this persona, he sports a red bowtie, black snakeskin jacket, black shirt and dark blue trousers. He welcomes his guests with waves, a thumbs-up and blown kisses, but reserves particular affection for his 'beloved', who he greets with a kiss to her left hand and tender pecks to both cheeks.

During the film, Florin Salam assumes three personae, which I interpret as representations of the male characters who occupy the space in which the idea of *manele* is negotiated; the bigshot or *șmecher* and his alter ego in this case, the star *manelist*; the gang 'lieutenant' and the servant-musician. The 'boss' and his subordinates have become familiar by now, but the role of servant-musician is also a significant one, as it represents the servant-master relationship that the *lăutari* have assumed over the many centuries when they provided musical entertainment in Romania.²⁸

Text

I have noted that *manele* is frequently seen as a target for intense criticism and ridicule from some sections of Romanian society, and it is often the song lyrics that come under the most fire. Previously, it was also mentioned that there is an identifiable connection

²⁶ This may be acknowledging the mention of 'Africa' in the lyrics.

²⁷ This part is played by Loredana Chivu, who describes herself as TV host and model on her Twitter account (see www.twitter.com/LoredanaChivuXo [Accessed 10 October 2017]).

²⁸ This servant-master relationship can be observed at a *manele* evening. When a big star like Florin Salam comes on stage there is no cheering. The attitude is that the *manelist* is there to please and must earn recognition. Patrons will often only become more animated if they are sung a personal dedication.

between Azis's lyrics and those sung by Florin Salam. Whilst the latter's version may never attract significant recognition for its literary qualities, it is fair to say that it attains a higher level of sophistication than the former. The Bulgarian text is basic, fragmentary and does not make a great deal of sense on its own, although it may be better understood when considered in conjunction with the ostentatious visual spectacle presented by Azis in the video.

Text	English
Super abonati – samo tarikati, Lyskavi magnati... Ooo...	Super customers - only smartasses, Sleeky tycoons ... Ooo..
Super abonati – samo tarikati, Lyskavi magnati... Ooo...	Super customers - only smartasses, Sleeky tycoons ... Ooo..
Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak.	Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again...
Vsichki sa na Sen Trope - drugi na Maldivite, v Dubai pyk tretite! Ach le-le-le	All of them are in Saint-Tropez -others are in the Maldives, In Dubai are the rest (of them)! Ah, le-le-le...
Vsichki sa na Sen Trope - drugi na Maldivite, v Dubai pyk tretite! Ach le-le-le	All of them are in Saint-Tropez -others are in the Maldives, In Dubai are the rest (of them)! Ah, le-le-le...
Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak. Ach le-le-le, pak.	Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again... Ale-le-ley, again...

Table 6.2 – The text of 'Sen Trope' by Azis²⁹

'Sen Trope' by Azis has two verses (see Table 6.2), each consisting of a phrase sung over four bars, which is then repeated to complete the customary eight-bar stanza. The refrain is also eight bars long with the words 'Ach le-le-le, pak' (en. 'Ah le le le, again') repeated ten times in all. Notice again here, the use of 'ah le le le' and in 'Saint Tropez', and note in Table 6.1 that the title of the Romani version (the only live recording amongst the selection) is 'Aj le le'. This expression, and its variants, is a feature frequently found in Balkan popular music lyrics, coding them (in all likelihood) as having a connection to Romani or 'gypsy' culture. The refrain appears after each verse and recurs once more towards the

²⁹ These lyrics can be found at www.lyricstranslate.com [Accessed 6 October 2018]. The transliteration from the Bulgarian is mine.

end of the song. The text of the first verse translates as ‘Big spenders, wise guys and flashy tycoons’, whilst the second states that ‘Some (of them) are in Saint Tropez, others are in the Maldives and the rest are in Dubai’.

Clearly, Florin Salam’s lyricist uses the references to ‘tycoons’ and ‘exotic’ destinations in the Bulgarian text as a seed for Saint Tropez. As it happens, both Romanian and Bulgarian have the same word for tycoon (ro and bg. *magnat*). Florin Salam refers to ‘*magnații*’ in his spoken introduction whilst Azis sings of ‘*lyskavi magnati*’ (en. ‘flashy tycoons’) in his first stanza. Note also the use of the word ‘*tarikati*’ here.³⁰ This can be translated as ‘wise guys’, and its appearance resonates with the trope of the *șmecheri*, those wily characters (imaginary or otherwise) who are frequently present in the shadows in the world of *manele*. The second verse of ‘Sen Tropez’ provides inspiration for the chorus of ‘Saint Tropez’. The title destination remains, although the Maldives and Dubai³¹ make way for the more generic ‘America’ and ‘Africa’. Furthermore, the risk of jeopardising familial protection does not dissuade Florin Salam from suggesting that he (or his alter ego) should ‘*la și nevasta*³² *da ia și amanta*’ (en. ‘Take the wife and mistress’) on vacation to Saint Tropez, America and Africa.

³⁰ I have tried to establish whether this has any connection to the Turkish *tarikat*, meaning ‘sect’ and, by extension, to ‘*tariqa*’ (from ar.), meaning Sufi doctrine or missionary (Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010). I have not found any such association myself. Kathy Baneva, a Bulgarian acquaintance, kindly wrote the following in response to a question I raised with her: ‘*Tarikat* is a bit of an outdated slang word in Bulgarian. It had a much wider usage in the early-2000s rather than now. Even if there is a direct translation into English, it would again be a slang word I guess. It means someone who is able to find an easy way to achieve or acquire something, without putting in much effort, usually related to someone with very confident [sic] and rather sly or mischievous. I am not linguist by any means so I can’t vouch for the roots of the word. I can attest, however, that Bulgarian has a lot of words borrowed from Turkish and these are not necessarily connected with the original Turkish meaning’ (personal communication with Kathy Baneva 13 September 2017). Notably, this definition accords with the *șmecher* character encountered in *manele*.

³¹ Dubai is part of the United Arab Emirates, also referred to in Leo de Vis’ ‘Sistemul Seicilor’.

³² *Nevastă* (from sl. meaning ‘wife’) is another of the vernacular terms often encountered in *manele*. *Soție* would be used in conventional Romanian.

Thus, the refrain of ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam contains meaningful content, whereas ‘Sen Trope’ by Azis simply resorts to the repetition of ‘ah le le le’, a device which is just used as occasional filler, or punctuation in the version by Salam. It is also true that the vocal musical invention in the latter case is more adventurous.

Verse.Line	Line Form	Text	English
1.1	a	Voi oameni bogați	You rich people
1.2	b	Hai să va distrați	Let’s have a good time
1.3	b	Hai să va distrați, of	Let’s have a good time, oh
1.4	c	Ah lelele, ah lelele le	Ah lelele, ah lelele le
1.5	d	Să cheltuim banii, banii, banii	Let’s spend money, money, money
1.6	e	Fiindcă ne trec anii, anii, anii	Because we get older etc. (lit. <i>the years pass</i>)
1.7	e	Fiindcă ne trec anii, of	Because we get older, oh
1.8	c	Ah lelele, ah lelele le	Ah lelele, ah lelele le
2.1	a	Viață de măgnat	The tycoon’s life
2.2	b	Și de împărat	And the emperor’s
2.3	c	Eu mereu mi-o fac da	Yes, I always live like this
2.4	d	Ah lelele, ah lelele le	Ah lelele, ah lelele le
2.5	e	Femeie regină	Queen woman
2.6	f	Urca-te-n mașina of o	Get into the car, oh,oh
2.7	g	Să-ți fac viață bună, of	I’ll give you a good life, oh
2.8	d	Ah lelele, ah lelele le	Ah lelele, ah lelele le

Table 6.3 – The text of ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam

Like ‘Sen Trope’, ‘Saint Tropez’ comprises two stanzas, followed by a refrain after each of them and, similarly, the refrain is repeated towards the end. Both stanzas (eight bars in length, as usual) have eight lines. The text (see Table 6.3) of the first has the line form **abbcdeec** and the second, **abcdefgd** (**c** in the first and **d** in the second is the vocalisation, ‘ah le le le’). In verse one, **a** and **b** are rhyming and consist of five syllables. (Recall that a single ‘i’ following a consonant in Romanian is generally not pronounced.) **d** and **e** also rhyme and are six syllables in length, ignoring repeated words and interjections.

The rhyming pattern of the second verse is a little more sophisticated. Lines **2.1** and **2.2** rhyme (both five syllables) and **2.5** rhymes with **2.6** (six syllables, again ignoring interjections). In comparison, the Bulgarian version is much more straightforward. Both

stanzas have the form **abcdabcd**. **abc** have regular syllable length, 6 the first time around and 7 the second. **d** is a variant of the vocalisation 'ah le le le' ('of le of le').

The genre central to this discussion, *manele*, evolved somewhat from dissent fuelled by disillusionment with the increasing authoritarianism of the Ceaușescu regime in Romania in the early 1970s. I have not come across any examples of *manele* being used for political ends. But there is little doubt that *manele* can be considered to be subversive, especially from the perspectives of satire and parody to make political points. It does not contain any attempt to lampoon the political establishment, however. By way of a coda, the version known as 'Sen Trope' by the Turkish act, Enka Mutfağı, warrants more than just a footnote to this discussion, because it is the only example of the 'Saint Tropez' phenomenon that has an overtly political narrative.

<p>Türbanliysam sanane o gaymiş kimene kürtajimdan ona ne</p> <p>ah ahmet ah recep</p> <p>öss de şike var şehitler çoğalıyor şavaş başlicak başlayacak bey</p> <p>ah ayşe ah merve</p> <p>hani memura zam hani işçiye zam hani polise zam hani doktora zam öğretmene zaaaam</p> <p>vergiler kol gibi benzine her gün zam ekmek nasi alcaz alıcaz) bey</p> <p>ah kemal ah lerzan</p> <p>nurculardan sanane o kürtmüş kimene sen önce kendine gel</p> <p>ah ahmet ah mehmet</p> <p>hani memura zam hani işçiye zam hani polise zam hani doktora zam öğretmene zaaaam</p>
--

Table 6.4 – Turkish text of ‘Alayına Zam’ by Enka Mutfağı³³

The video production of the version of ‘Sen Trope’ entitled ‘Alayına Zam’ performed by Enka Mutfağı is clearly a deliberate visual pastiche of the original, down to details such as the sporting of silver lamé earmuffs, a tattoo of the artiste’s name on his neck or back and

³³ These lyrics were transcribed and provided to me by John O’Connell.

the wearing of the ubiquitous Union Jack t-shirt.³⁴ But, whilst the words of Azis are a very rudimentary paean to wealthy indulgence, the Turkish version is an attack on the perceived corrupt government of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (b. 1954) who was prime minister at the time (see Table 6.4). It also lampoons his ruling party, the AKP, and its failure to keep its promises. In a climate that seeks to overturn the secular reform of republican Turkey that occurred following the end of the Ottoman Empire in favour of an Ottomanist Islamification, the text notes that whilst the army were given increases, workers did not get the pay rises they were promised whilst prices and taxes increased. It also makes a specific reference to the charge that children of AKP activists were given the answers to university entrance exams before they sat the test.

³⁴ A comparison of the two, side-by-side, can be seen on a composite video, available at www.youtube.com [Accessed 17 October 2017].

Music

Time	Bars	No. of Bars	Musical Idea	Form	Observations
0'00"	1 - 2	2	Introduction	Instrumental Introduction	
0'05"	3 - 6	4	A	Instrumental Introduction	
0'17"	7 - 10	4	B	Instrumental Introduction	
0'28"	11 - 18	8	C	Verse	
0'51"	19 - 26	8	D	Refrain	Fragments of A in accompaniment, bars 23 - 26
1'13"	27 - 34	8	B	Instrumental Episode	
1'36"	35 - 42	8	C	Verse	
1'59"	43 - 50	8	D	Refrain	Fragments of A in accompaniment, bars 47 - 50
2'21"	51 - 54	4	A	Instrumental Episode	
2'33"	55 - 66	12	E	Instrumental Episode	
3'06"	67 - 74	8	D	Refrain	Fragments of A in accompaniment, bars 71 - 74
3'29"		74			

Table 6.5 – Summary of the structure of ‘Saint Tropez’

The musical structure of ‘Saint Tropez’ (see Table 6.5) provides a framework for understanding the visual imagery employed in the video. The underworld boss is one of the star *manelist*’s most important patrons. Florin Salam assumes the role of the successful ‘businessman’ at the outset of the video. Speaking over an instrumental introduction (0'05" - 0'27"), he dedicates ‘cea mai specială melodie’ (en. ‘the most special melody’) to all Romanian *barosani* (sg. *barosan*) and tycoons ‘care știu sa-si faca viața’ (en. ‘who know how to live’). However, he does not shy away from promoting his own fame, declaring that the dedication is ‘de la al voștru Florin Salam | Mai nou Brilliantu’ României’ (en. ‘From your own Florin Salam | Lately the Shining Star of Romania’).³⁵ With champagne flute in hand, he begins singing the first verse, in which he exhorts ‘Voi oameni bogați’ (en. ‘you rich people’) to have a good time. During the course of the verse and chorus (0'28" - 1'12") he is seen singing variously in short clips, in quick succession, amongst his guests and in front of his band in a wood-panelled room. He wears either his ‘gang footsoldier’ costume or the gentler, more subservient, outfit with the light blue jacket. The sequence is interspersed

³⁵ The translation used here can be found at Rădulescu, 2016:262.

with close up shots of his 'true love' on her own, or dancing in a shorter red dress alongside her female companions in the same space as the musicians.



Plate 6.4 – 'Femeie regină'

An instrumental interlude (1'13" - 1'35") follows the first verse and chorus, over which Florin Salam shouts encouragement ('Haide,³⁶ da haide' [en. 'Come on, yeah, come on!']), whilst gyrating with gentle hip and abdominal movements in front of the band. The video material that accompanies the second verse and chorus (1'36" - 2'20") largely follows the same pattern as the first, alternating between shots of the champagne reception and the dancers and musicians in the panelled room, with Florin Salam appearing in his various guises. Just before and during the lyric 'Femeie regină' (en. literally 'queen woman'), his 'sweetheart' caresses his right cheek and as he sings those words, the camera shows a close up of her looking lovingly at him (see Plate 6.4). I noted in the previous chapter that women in *manele* can be portrayed as either a nameless object of lust or as the 'beloved', the man choosing to tread a treacherous furrow between desire and fidelity. This short sequence provides a good example of the main female protagonist in the role of the 'beloved'. He urges her to get into his car, a symbol of success (the flashier the better, of course) in the world to which *maneliști* aspire.

³⁶ www.dexonline.ro gives the Turkish 'haydi' as the root for the Romanian exhortation 'haide' [Accessed 27 August 2018 following personal communication with John O'Connell on the same day].

An instrumental episode (2'21" - 2'32") based on material from the introduction follows the second stanza and refrain, over which Florin Salam shouts out his name, boasting that 'He's the number one entertainer!' (ro. 'Va distreaza "number one"!'). This short four-bar section acts as a link to a twelve-bar instrumental episode (2'33" - 3'05") during which the vocalist duets wordlessly from time to time in unison with the saxophone, utilising the meaningless syllables 'la' and 'le'. 'Saint Tropez' ends with another rendition of the chorus, where the listener is encouraged once more to go abroad for a beautiful life. This advice could be interpreted in two ways. On the face of it, it is a call for 'Voi oameni bogați' to engage in conspicuous consumption somewhere 'exotic'; but it may also be seen as a suggestion that 'ordinary' Romanians (and especially Romanian Roma who continue to suffer from high levels of discrimination and unemployment) can find a better life in other parts of Europe. This dual interpretation illustrates an observation that *manele* lyrics are constructed in such a manner that they have a broad appeal, from the *nouveaux riches* to the poorest working class (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:31). They also play to the idea that wealth can be achieved through trickery and cunning without having to put in much effort, a concept that clearly connects to the common stereotype of the 'gypsy' in the Romanian imagination. Hence, the use of the word *șmecher* in connection with *manele*, variously translated as 'wise guy', 'trickster' and 'slyboots'.³⁷

On film, the band consists of alto saxophone, clarinet, electric guitar, two electric keyboards with bongos and tom-toms providing the percussion; (the violin regularly features in such groups, but its omission is notable in this case³⁸). However, the extent to

³⁷ For an example of the latter translation see Andrei Mihalache's 'Cântec de șmecheri/Slyboots' song on the CD album *Cântările lăutărești ale lui Andrei Mihalache* (en. *The Songs of Andrei Mihalache*) [2008]).

³⁸ Rădulescu (2016:87-88) notes that despite other innovations such as the electric keyboard, the violin (electric – often in dollar [\$] shape) remains a regular feature of the *maneliști* – the violin being a predominant

which the film soundtrack matches the instrumental combination as presented is debatable. As is apparent from the visual aspects already described, the video is highly stage-managed and the same applies to the accompanying music. Aside from the inclusion of some extra-musical electronic effects, it is possible that all of the musical sound has been synthesised electronically or, at least, heavily modified in the mixing process. Electric keyboards (or synthesisers) have become a permanent feature of the peripatetic *manele* formation, not only due to their portability, but also because of their versatile ability to mimic acoustic instrumental sound and create percussive rhythmic support. In this respect, the function of the electronic keyboard is similar to that of the *ṭambal* in the *taraf*.

The *manea* 'Saint Tropez' is in common time and constructed using the five basic musical ideas (**A** to **E**). These are organised in the form **ABCDBCAED** (see Appendix 1 for a full transcription, and Table 6.5 above for a summary), following an opening two-bar descending figure on clarinet that serves as a short *taxim* (from tr. *taksim*), which does not reappear (although it does bear comparison with passages in **A** and **E**). Subsequently, all of the musical material is presented in four-bar units or multiples thereof, when it is either repeated or modified slightly. A regular percussive rhythm runs in the background throughout, only occasionally coming to a very brief halt at the end of phrases. When first introducing 'Saint Tropez' previously, I suggested that the song is representative of the 'orientalised' form of *manele* and certainly, in terms of the setting and some musical elements (such as vocal style), it conforms to such a definition. But metrical features, particularly the regular four-bar phrasing, demonstrate indebtedness to the 'western' and global popular music industry³⁹ (as, indeed, do aspects of the video production).

feature of *tarafuri*. She adds that, 'Romanians do not seem ready to give up the violin: they do not want just to hear it; they also want to see it'.

³⁹ 'Western influence can also be detected in aspects of the video production.'

The melodic material of 'Saint Tropez' takes note [A] as its tonal centre and is based around what approximates to a Turkish *makam* founded on a combination of *bûselik* and *kürdî* tetrachords. In 'western' terms this would be described as the Aeolian mode. Therefore, apart from the second bar, where there is a hint of a departure from the tempered scale, tonally and harmonically the piece has more in common with that of the 'occident' than the 'orient'. By contrast, the tonality of 'Sistemul Seicilor' by Leo de Vis (which sets out to be more overtly 'oriental') is also centred on the note A, but the augmented interval between the flattened second and sharpened third degrees of the scale (*makam Hicaz*) gives it a more 'oriental' feel. However, the vocal manner employed by Leo de Vis and his band is closer to 'western' convention than the singing style of Florin Salam, and the rhythmic and melodic lines are much simpler.⁴⁰

Themes **C** and **D** (bars 11-26) represent the musical material for the stanza and refrain respectively. Both ideas consist of a four-bar phrase, which are then repeated in a slightly varied form, such that verse and chorus are eight bars in length each. The second half of the chorus is accompanied by a motif, which is a variant of the first four bars of the introductory passage **A** (bars 3-6). Following the rendition of the first verse and chorus, the instrumental passage **B** returns (initially, bars 7-10 and then 27-34), but this time repeated to give an eight-bar interlude leading into the second verse and chorus. These progress in similar fashion to the way they did the first time around; that is, they both consist of a four-bar phrase and a somewhat modified variant of equal length. A reprise of theme **A** (bars 51-54) provides a link to the aforementioned instrumental episode **E** (bars 55-66).

⁴⁰ I should qualify that I am saying this from a point of view as a transcriber whose musical ear is trained in the western art-music tradition. Which, I suppose, says something about how distinctions between what is 'oriental' and what is 'occidental' occur, how these definitions might shift in accordance with the experience of the individual listener and, ultimately, why such terms are so subjective and usually appear in inverted commas because they can never really be defined satisfactorily.

Although section **E** functions primarily as an instrumental interlude, Florin Salam vocalises the syllables ‘la’ and ‘le’ in unison with the clarinet for the first four bars and the third and fourth of the next four. This is the only point in ‘Saint Tropez’ where vocalist and instrumentalist follow a melodic line together. The final third of this twelve-bar interlude is given to solo clarinet. The range of pitches from which the musical material for **E** is derived is very narrow—the notes [a] to [e’]—and draws attention to the fact that most of the melody in the *manea* falls within the same interval. (Theme **A** drops to note [e], but this material is not really melodic, but rather a rhythmic device.) The only occasions where the music strays above note [e’] occur in the vocal line at the beginning (the anacrusis and first crotchet of the next bar) of each of the four-bar phrases of the stanzas. For both verses, it extends to note [g’] stepwise from note [e’] the first time, and the second, to note [a’]. Indeed, it is true that the melodic lines mostly move in conjunct motion, with an occasional major or minor third. A perfect fifth appears once in every refrain, and with a little more frequency in **E**.

Harmonically, ‘Saint Tropez’ never shifts from the note [A] as its tonal centre, there being a sense of A minor (or Aeolian mode) throughout. A repetitive two-bar ground bass (minim [F], minim [G], semibreve [A]) can be heard very faintly underpinning sections **B** to **E** (bars 7-66) implying the harmonic sequence; F major 7th, E minor (1st inversion), A minor. A drone on the note [a] accompanies the opening and the material of **A**.

Commodification

There are really no grounds for anyone to deny that ‘Saint Tropez’ by Florin Salam takes its inspiration from the earlier song by Azis, and it is unlikely that anybody involved would really try to disguise the connection. In the Romanian *lăutar* tradition (from which Florin Salam originates) and other south-eastern European musical traditions, the notion that it is

not permissible to 'borrow' and develop someone else's musical ideas is not recognised. Another *manele* star, Adrian Minune (né Adrian Simionescu [1974-], also from a *lăutar* background) was similarly accused of plagiarism, his response being that any hit can be turned into a *manea*. The song that he was alleged to have taken was 'Man Down' by Rihanna (Rădulescu, 2016:63).

It is not unreasonable to conclude that quantity is favoured over quality by the forces controlling the *manele* market. Speranța Rădulescu has noted that much of the output is created by formulaic process, ensuring that there is enough churn to maintain interest with only a perfunctory regard for innovation. The idea that a standardised method is applied to the production of popular music is not a new one of course. Adorno (2002) made this contention as long ago as 1941, when 'popular music' in the terms it is understood today was still a relatively new phenomenon. Rădulescu (2016:90) also observes that this approach is not very different from the production of folkloric musical entertainment, broadcast by the state-controlled (and the bulk of the private) media. There has been considerable effort made to prevent the showing of *manele* on mainstream Romanian television, but the arrival of internet channels (in both a generic and specific sense) has countered this obstacle somewhat. Acknowledging that the internet is hardly a marginal medium these days, the production and distribution of Balkan popular music during the communist era was mostly conducted through alternative, and illegal, conduits via a black economy. Often, and especially where Romania is concerned, this trade was managed by Romani musicians and continues to be so in a freer post-1989 market.

Dan Bursuc (né Daniel Paraschiv [1970-]) is currently a major figure in the Romanian *manele* industry. He is the owner of the Ro Terra Music record company, through which many *manele* stars are managed, including Florin Salam, Sorinel Copilul de Aur and Nicolae

Guța.⁴¹ ‘*Bursuc*’ is the Romanian word for ‘badger’. Adopted by Dan Bursuc, it shows that the propensity for fantasy is not just restricted to the nicknames of the artists, but also extends to the management of recording companies. In this way adds to the general atmosphere of carnival, *commedia* and circus that pervades the genre, a connection that was given some attention in the previous chapter.

A Google web search for ‘Saint Tropez Florin Salam’ gives top billing to the version listed above (see Table 6.1). Described as an ‘official video’, it was produced and uploaded to the internet by Nek Music Tv via its YouTube channel, which currently has just over 1 million subscribers and 1.2 billion views of its content.⁴² The web page in which the video is embedded includes telephone contact details for those wishing to book artists for their ‘weddings, baptisms, name days, [...] etc.’ (ro. ‘nunți ,botezuri,onomastici,[...]etc.’ This is a reminder that even star artists like Florin Salam continue to receive significant income from performing at family events, something they have very much in common, of course, with their more traditional *lăutari* forebears, and with those relations who continue to perform *muzică lăutărească*.⁴³ Nek Music also has profiles on Google+ and Facebook, but the following on these is negligible in comparison with the audience attracted to the YouTube platform. The internet search did not reveal the presence of any corporate website.

⁴¹ Information on Ro Terra Music can be found at www.roterramusic.ro/ [Accessed 5 March 2017].

⁴² Nek Music Tv can be found at www.youtube.com [Accessed 10 March 2017].

⁴³ And, in the case of the star performers, the amounts really are significant. Adrian Schiop (2016:186).reports that in 2011, Florin Salam could command an advance of €10,000 for a two-hour performance, and Adrian Minune €7,000. In addition to this fee, they would also expect *bacșișuri* (sg. *bacșiș*) or *spăgi* (sg. *spagă*), that is, tips and ‘bribes’. Florin Salam has stated that he once took €60,000 in tips, in one evening.



Plate 6.5 - Livia Pop – ‘Omule hai si petrece’ (en. ‘Man, let’s celebrate’)

Nek Music Tv on YouTube is described as ‘Cel mai tare canal de manele din Romania. | Cele mai noi hituri doar aici’ (en. ‘The coolest channel of *manele* from Romania. Only the newest hits here’). Amongst the numerous videos by *manele* performers, such as Florin Salam and Nicolae Guță, there is also a smattering of folkloric *muzică populară* (en. traditional music) and *colinde* (en. Christmas carols). The observation that both *manele* and *muzică populară* are produced from the same stable in this instance, confirms to some extent an earlier remark recognising similarities in the philosophy behind the production and marketing of these two genres, which arguably favours volume over quality. One might think that this is entertainment intended to appeal primarily to the tourist market, but it is, apparently, still popular with many Romanians today (Giurchescu and Rădulescu, 2016:28). *Muzică populară* videos feature performers (such as Livia Pop) dressed in pristine traditional costume (see Plate 6.5). They are frequently set amid idyllic undulating Carpathian foothills

in what seems to be eternal spring sunshine. Favorit TV is a Romanian television station, which is dedicated to the transmission of this type of material.⁴⁴

The assertion that the musicians are miming on the Romanian film has already been established and it is furthermore substantially evident that the same digital file has been used in both instances. Excepting pitch ('Sen Trope' by Azis is a whole tone higher than 'Saint Tropez' by Florin Salam), there are no audible differences between the instrumental backing tracks used to support the video performances of these two artists. The engineers have mastered the recording in such a way that the variation of pitch has not resulted in an alteration to the tempo and the subsequent length of the song. The coincidence is less surprising when one realises that the same person is credited as composer and arranger in the small print on YouTube for both versions, one Martin Biolchev. This information does bring in to question the authenticity of the plagiarism claim, and suggests it may have been done as a publicity stunt to boost the notoriety of both artistes.⁴⁵

The marketing of the Romanian media organisation behind 'Saint Tropez' by Florin Salam warrants comparison with the profile of the Bulgarian recording company. The music video of 'Sen Trope' by Azis is produced by Diapason Records, which also has a YouTube channel, although it has proportionally fewer subscribers and viewers than Nek Tv (0.25m versus 289m), but relatively popular nonetheless. Describing itself as 'one of the leading music companies in Bulgaria', it is promoted as managing, producing, publishing and

⁴⁴ Whilst staying in a guesthouse in Braşov in August 2016, the television was often tuned to this channel during breakfast for the entertainment of patrons.

⁴⁵ I cannot find any report of this story other than on the aforementioned Wowbiz TV website, where it appeared with the headline 'Florin Salam dupa ce a fost acuzat ca a furat piesa "Saint Tropez": "Lumea e invidioasa ca am scos eu cel mai frumos videoclip. Eu am facut versurile melodiei. [...]"' (en. 'Florin Salam after he was accused of stealing the song "Saint Tropez": "Everybody is jealous that I made the most wonderful video. I wrote the lyrics. [...]"'). See <http://www.wowbiz.ro/> [Accessed 13 March 2017].

distributing ‘musical audio visual products in the genres - popfolk and traditional folklore’; Azis is included in the ‘popfolk’ category. This mix of genres is similar to that to be found in video circulation under the Nek Tv label, but it is true to say that more prominence is given to ‘commercialised tradition’ here than in the Romanian case, as the home page of the Diapason Records website demonstrates:

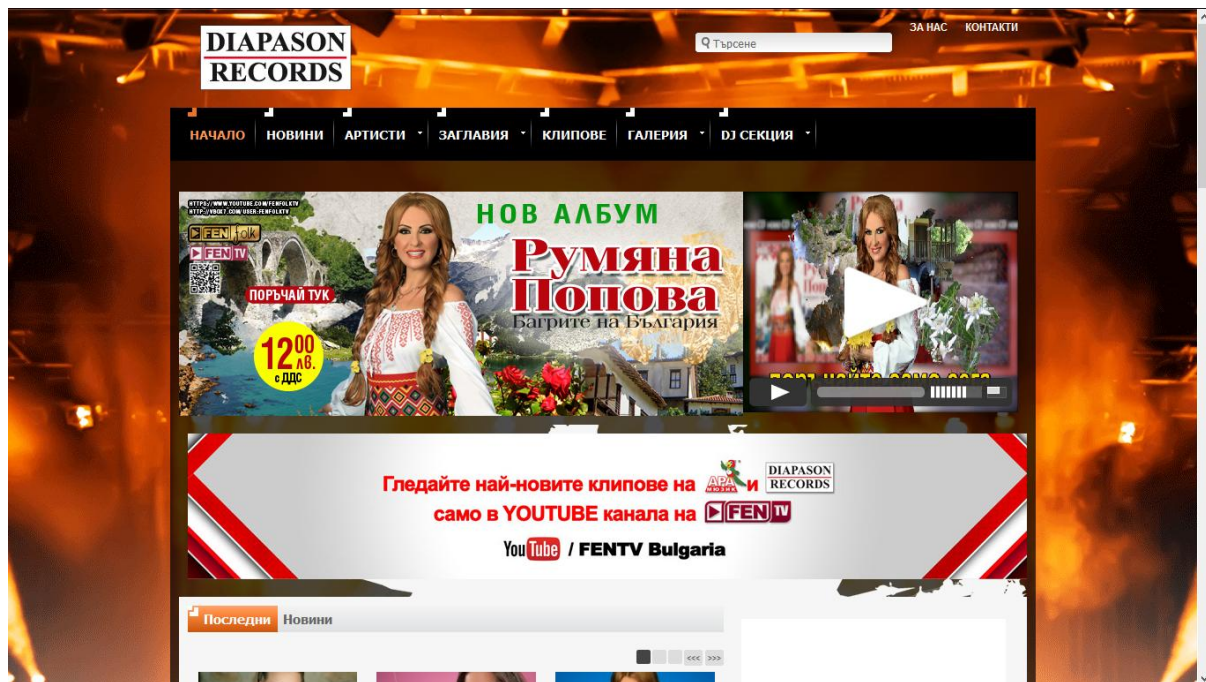


Plate 6.6 – Diapason Records homepage⁴⁶

Although there are parallels that can be drawn between Nek Tv and Diapason Records, the latter perhaps puts across a slicker, more ‘corporate’, image. This impression is helped by the presence of a dedicated website in the case of Diapason Records, noted as lacking in the case of Nek Tv. The media behind the marketing and production of *manele* somehow has a more parochial feel about it, an observation borne out by the knowledge that one can theoretically book a star to perform at private events via YouTube.

⁴⁶ This webpage is advertising a new album by Romyana Popova, an artist listed under the ‘traditional folklore’ category on its YouTube channel (see www.diapasonrecords.com [Accessed 13 March 2017]).

By focussing on ‘Saint Tropez’ in this chapter, I have demonstrated that this song as it is performed by Florin Salam provides a very useful example of the *manele* genre as a whole. It incorporates many of the characteristics that are associated with it: the celebration of wealth and indulgence, issues concerning gender, and the connections that the world of *manele* has with the underworld, among others. In its local context, it is a peculiarly Romanian phenomenon, and requires consideration in the light of the ongoing difficult situation that exists between the Romanians and their subalterns, the Roma of Romania, and all that this relationship entails. But, much like the nation in which it was spawned, ‘Saint Tropez’ and *manele* in general seem to occupy a liminal, ambiguous position. It has recognised links to the popular music of some of Romania’s southern Balkan neighbours, especially Bulgaria and Serbia, nations that share borders with Romania.

I have concentrated on the relationship between the cover version (‘Saint Tropez’) by Florin Salam of an original song (‘Sen Trope’) by Azis. In doing so, I have identified a tangible connection between *manele* and *chalga*. But I have found that ‘Saint Tropez’/ ‘Sen Trope’ has a significance in the Balkans that reaches beyond Romania and Bulgaria. I have also shown that *manele* has links to popular music outside the Balkans, especially in terms of socio-political aspects and reception, even if there are limited musical comparisons. Lastly, I have suggested that the musical aspects of *manele* together with the way it is marketed now has more in common with western popular music than it does with the *lăutari* tradition, or indeed those other musics from which it may have appropriated so-called ‘oriental’ characteristics.

Conclusion

This thesis asks the simple question: Why is Romani music so revered but Romani musicians so reviled? Although there are some exceptions where Romani music (such as *manele*) is also despised, this thesis looks at a number of subsidiary questions that inform the form and content of the submission. To state again, these questions are as follows:

- 1) In what ways do the *lăutari* provide insight into Romanian music?
- 2) How has the music industry transformed *lăutari* musical production?
- 3) What are the historical and political factors that affect *lăutari* music?
- 4) How does recent *lăutari* music-making relate to music beyond Romania?

Having addressed theories of alterity and alienation in Chapter 1 and questions of culture and context in Chapter 2, in Chapter 3, I examine the contribution of the *lăutari* to Romanian music. Through an analysis of extant recordings of Romani musicians from Clejani, I trace the evolution of the group called ‘Taraf de Haïdouks’ from being major exponents of traditional music in Romania to becoming recognised advocates of ‘world’ music outside of Romania. In Chapter 4, I examine the influence of the music industry on *lăutari* musical production. Where Chapter 3 looks at the *lăutari* as representatives of traditional practice, Chapter 4 investigates the *lăutari* from the perspective of global reach, the group noticeably adopting a ‘western’ style to suit to the aesthetic sensibilities of an international audience. By way of transition, I interrogate the role of Béla Bartók in preserving Romanian music but in perpetuating Romani alienation. Noteworthy here, I argue that Romani musicians perform Romanian music from Bartók’s recordings as a strategic act of re-appropriation.

In Chapter 5, I consider the historical and political factors that pertain to the reception of *manele* in Romania. Here, I argue that the popular genre is thought by some Romanians to be an uncomfortable reminder of an Ottoman register in Romanian culture. It

is significant that Bartók was one of the first ethnomusicologists to equate Romani music with Turkish music. It is also significant that Bartók among others emphasised the ‘oriental’ character of Romani music, a melding of east and west that can be found in many popular musics throughout the Mediterranean region. In Chapter 6, I discuss *manele* with reference to similar musical genres outside of Romania. Through an analysis of the *manea* called ‘Saint Tropez’, I demonstrate how a popular song can encode notions of exoticism and alterity to articulate a socio-economic imaginary typical of other trans-national styles both within and beyond the Balkans. Here, the play with gendered prescriptions and societal stereotypes is sonically and visibly framed. In this respect, my discussion of the Turkish genre called ‘*arabesk*’ the Israeli genre called ‘*musīkah mizrahit*’ and the Algerian genre called ‘*rai*’ is entirely apposite.

It is significant that the descriptors ‘oriental’ and ‘exotic’ are not always used in a negative fashion. For Taraf de Haïdouks, the words have positive connotations whereas as for *manele* artists they are used with derision. The difference is one of context. For consumers of ‘world music’, ‘gypsy’ music represents a life of freedom that has become lost to ‘western’ consumers. In order to perpetuate an element of inscrutability, some distance is kept by the media between the music and the musicians, the musicians and their patrons. In this way, the principal issue of this thesis is maintained: Romani music is afforded great value but Romani musicians are not. For critics of *manele*, ‘oriental’ and ‘exotic’ are deployed to represent the undesirable qualities of Balkan and Turkish provenance. That is, *manele* is a sonic reminder of a discredited Ottoman past. Accordingly, Romani musicians who perform *manele* are marked by association. That is, Romani music maintains an ‘eastern’ register in a Romania that seeks to be ‘western’ and Romani musicians perpetuate

an Ottoman alterity in the Romanian state, conflating Romani music with Turkish music and equating the Roma with the Turk.

Alienation and Enslavement

In this thesis, I have used the adjective 'alien' to describe the status of the Roma in Romania. I borrowed this term from Herder who proffered negative views about 'gypsies' (see Chapter 1). To understand this notion 'alien', I provided a historical survey of the Roma in Romania. Since the destiny of the Romanians and Romanian Roma is intertwined, I contextualized my study in a more general overview of the geography and history of the Roma in Romania. I show that Romania is a country that is itself 'alien' in the European imagination. Enslavement set the Roma in Romania apart from other Romani communities in Europe. The enslavement lasted more than four hundred years. During this period, the Romanian Roma came to be associated with specific occupations. As one of these, the trade of musician became a significant occupation for the Roma in Romania. Despite the historic liberation from enslavement and the recent liberation from despotism, the Roma in Romania continue to occupy a subaltern status, a position of alienation that is to be found in the production and consumption of Romani music.

Contribution

From the outset, I did not wish to complete an ethnomusicological study in the strictest sense. I did not set out as many ethnomusicologists do to concentrate on a particular musician, or a group of musicians in a particular time or place. Rather, I wanted to present an interdisciplinary study that drew upon my established background in the critical study of music. I showed that the subaltern status of the *lăutari* persists at various levels of cultural activity, a sense of alienation to be found among different generations of Romani musicians, be they culture bearers of the traditional *muzică lăutărească* or media stars of the

transnational *manele*. These levels of ‘nested alterities’ can be expressed by recourse to a number of binaries such as village / city; folk / popular; national / transnational, among others. In this way, the Romani musician as an ‘alien’ other endures. Aside from my critical consideration of ‘alterity’, my work is a contribution to the growing body of research on Romani music and to the limited scholarship on Romanian music (especially in Anglophone sources).

Future Research

In 2014, Romanian nationals as EU citizens became free to live and work in other EU member countries. Many Romanians, including Romanian Roma, took advantage of this relaxation of the rules, largely for economic reasons. Consequently, a substantial Romanian diaspora has become established within the EU. Many Romanians have come to the United Kingdom and, of course, they have brought aspects of their culture with them. The Facebook group page called ‘Lautari in Londra’ (en. ‘Lautari in London’) promotes music and party events in London. A website entitled ‘Români în UK’ (en. ‘Romanians in the UK’) publicises similar information for expatriate Romanians in the UK.¹ Romanian clubs have opened in London and Birmingham. Although, significant studies of music in diasporic contexts have been undertaken (see, for example, O'Connell, 1991; Silverman, 2012), there is no study as yet (to my knowledge) that concerns music and the Romanian diaspora.

Similarly, there is also a limited literature on Romanian music from a political perspective. Relevant research is usually confined to encyclopaedic entries (see Cosma, et al., 2001; Rice, et al., 1998-2002). In contrast to other countries that comprised the Eastern Bloc, scholars have not examined music-making in Romania during major periods of political

¹ ‘Români în UK’ can be found at www.romani.co.uk [Accessed 1 October 2018]. Information on professional services for Romanian expatriates can also be found on this website.

transition in the twentieth century. This is especially relevant in the area of traditional music. By contrast, Bulgaria has attracted considerable interest among scholars (see for example, Rice, 1994; Buchanan, 1996; Buchanan, 2006; Silverman, 2012). Here, these scholars have looked at musical production during the communist and the post-communist eras, especially from the perspectives of professionalisation and commodification. Perhaps a good starting point for further research is as follows: the release of secret records that relate to government policy towards the Romani minority during the communist era. As Achim (2004) suggests, these documents will provide valuable information for understanding the continued status of the Roma in Romania as 'alien'.

Appendix 1

INTRODUCTION

Urmeaza cea mai

Clarinet

Saxophone

Drum Set

Lead Vocals

Backing Vocals

Synthesizer

A

speciala melodie Pentru toti barosanii Romaniei De la al vostru Florin Salam Mai nou Briliantur' Romaniei Pentru toti magnatii Care stiu sa-si faca viata Respect maxim pentru ei

B

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

B

2

10 **C** Verse

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

14 **C**

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

D Refrain

3

18

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

Ah le - le - le le Hai in va-can - te Pe la Saint Tro- pez Prin A-mer-i - ca si prin Af-ri ca Ca tre-ce via

Ah le - le - le le

D

22

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

ta Ra-ga-da-ga da Hai in va-can - te of Pe la Saint Tro-peз of la si ne-va-sta da ia si a-man-ta Ca'i fru-moa-sa via

26 **B** Na ma Haide Tarara tarara Haide Da haide Haide Da haide Haide

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth. **B**

31

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

C Verse

5

35

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

na - ti Si de im-pa - ra_____ t Eu mer-eu mi'o fac da Ah le - le- le Ah le - le- le_____ le Fe me-le re

Ah le - le- le Ah le - le- le_____ le

C

39

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

gi_____ na Ur-ca te'n ma - si-na o - f o Sa'ti fac via-ta bu-na da Ah le - le- le Ah le - le- le_____ le Hai in va-can

Ah le - le- le Ah le - le- le_____ le

6

D

Refrain

43

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

te Pe la Saint Tro-pez Prin A-mer-i - ca si prin Af-ri-ca Ca tre-ce via -ta Ra-ga-da-ga da Hai in va-can

47

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

te of Pe la Saint Tro-pez of la si ne-va -sta da ia si a-man-ta Ca'i fru-moa-sa via - la Ga-ra-ga da da

51 **A** **E**

Cl. 

Sax. 

Dr. 

Ld. Vox. 
Salam! Florin Salam, Salam da Salam ma Va distreaza number one!
La la la la la la la la la la

Bk. Vox. 

Synth. 

56

Cl. 

Sax. 

Dr. 

Ld. Vox. 
La la la la la da da da da Le Le Le La la la la la da da da da

Bk. Vox. 

Synth. 

60

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

La la La la La la La la La la da

64

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

Hai in va-can -te Pe la Saint Tro

D

D

68

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

pez Prin A-mer-i - ca si prin Af - ri - ca Ca tre-ce via - ta Ra-ga-da-ga da Hai in va-can-

71

Cl.

Sax.

Dr.

Ld. Vox.

Bk. Vox.

Synth.

te of Pe la Saint Tro-peze of la si ne-va-sta da ia si a-man-ta Ca'i fru-moa-sa via - ta Ga-ra-ga da da

Bibliography

Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică 'Iorgu Iordan', 2009. *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. [Online]

Available at: <https://dexonline.ro>

[Accessed 11 December 2015].

Achim, V., 2004. *The Roma in Romanian History*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Acton, T., 2013. *Home is Where the Hurt is: Historical Factors in the Migration of Eastern European Roma*. Cardiff, s.n.

Adorno, T. W., 2002. 'On Popular Music'. In: R. Leppert, ed. *Essays on Music*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Bakić-Hayden, M., 1995. 'Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia'. *Slavic Review*, 54(4), pp. 917-931.

Bartók, B., 1967a. *Rumanian Folk Music*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bartók, B., 1967b. *Rumanian Folk Music*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bartók, B., 1967c. *Rumanian Folk Music*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bartók, B., 1976a. *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bartók, B., 1976b. *Essays*. London: Faber & Faber.

Beissinger, M., 1991. *The Art of the Lautar: The Epic Tradition of Romania*. New York : Garland.

Beissinger, M., 2007. 'Muzică Orientală: Identity and Popular Culture in Postcommunist Romania'. In: D. Buchanan, ed. *Balkan Popular Culture and the Balkan Ecumene: Music, Image and Regional Political Discourse*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

Beissinger, M., 2016. 'Romanian Manele and Regional Parallels: "Oriental" Ethnopol in the Balkans'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 95-138.

Beissinger, M. H., 2001. 'Occupation and Ethnicity: Constructing Identity among Professional Romani (Gypsy) Musicians in Romania'. *Slavic Review*, 60(1), pp. 24-49.

Beissinger, M., Rădulescu, S. & Giurchescu, A. eds., 2016. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

- Bellman, J., ed., 1998. *The Exotic in Western Music*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Benjamin, W., 1999. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'. In: H. Arendt, ed. *Illuminations*. London: Pimlico, pp. 211-244.
- Bercé, Y.-M., 1976. *Fête et révolte. Des mentalités populaires du XVIème au XVIII-ème siècle*. Paris: Hachette.
- Bercovici, K., 1983. *Gypsies: Their Life, Lore, and Legends*. New York: Greenwich House.
- Bhabha, H. K., 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Blacker, W., 2009. *Along the Enchanted Way*. London: John Murray.
- Bohlman, P. V., 1988. *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bohlman, P. V., 2004. *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc..
- Boia, L., 2001. *Romania: Borderland of Europe*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Born, G. & Hesmondhalgh, D. eds., 2000. *Western Music and its Others*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Băiloiu, C., 1984. *Problems of Ethnomusicology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, J., 2000. 'Bartók, the Gypsies and Hybridity in Music'. In: G. Born & D. Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and its Others*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 119-142.
- Buchanan, D. A., 1996. 'Wedding Musicians, Political Transition, and National Consciousness in Bulgaria'. In: M. Slobin, ed. *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 200-230.
- Buchanan, D. A., 2006. *Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Buchanan, D. A. ed., 2007. *Balkan Popular Culture and the Balkan Ecumene: Music, Image and Regional Political Discourse*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.
- Butnaru, I. C., 1992. *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and its Jews*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Cartwright, A. L., 2001. *The Return of the Peasant: Land Reform in Post-Communist Romania*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Çelebi, E., 2011. *An Ottoman Traveller*. London: Eland.

- Chelcea, I., 1944. *Țigani din România. Monografie etnografică*. Bucharest: s.n.
- Clejani, L. L. d., 1988. *Roumanie: Musique des Tsiganes de Valachie*. [Sound Recording] (Ocora).
- Clejani, T. d., 2001. *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (I)*. [Sound Recording] (Ethnophonie).
- Clejani, T. d., 2001. *Outlaws of Yore / Les 'Haïdouks' d'Autrefois (II)*. [Sound Recording] (Ethnophonie).
- Cosma, O., Șirli, A., Radulescu, S. & Giurchescu, A., 2001. *Romania*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23736>
[Accessed 9 September 2015].
- Crowe, D. M., 2007. *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deletant, D., 2006. *Hitler's Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940-1944*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Derrida, J., 1967a. *De la grammatologie*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
- Derrida, J., 1967b. *L'Ecriture et la difference*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Donnan, H. & Wilson, T. M., 1999. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*. Oxford: Berg.
- Farkas, L., 2014. *Report on Discrimination of Roma Children in Education*, Luxembourg: European Union.
- Feldman, W., 1996. *Music of the Ottoman Court*. Berlin: VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung.
- Feld, S., 2000. 'A Sweet Lullaby for World Music'. *Public Culture*, 12(1), pp. 145-172.
- Fonseca, I., 2006. *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*. London: Vintage.
- Fonton, C., 1751. *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée avec la musique européenne*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. Fr. Nouv. Acq. 4023).
- Foucault, M., 2001. *Madness and Civilization*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Frigyesi, J., 1994. 'Béla Bartók and the Concept of Nation and Volk in Modern Hungary'. *The Musical Quarterly*, 78(2), pp. 255-287.
- Frigyesi, J., 1998. *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Frith, S., 2000. 'The Discourse of World Music'. In: G. Born & D. Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and its Others*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 305-322.

Garfias, R., 1981. 'Survivals of Turkish Characteristics in Romanian Musica Lautareasca'. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Volume 13, pp. 97-107.

Geertz, C., 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Giurchescu, A. & Rădulescu, S., 2016. 'Music, Dance, Performance: A Descriptive Analysis of Manele'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 1-44.

Gloag, K., 2012. *Postmodernism in Music*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Griffiths, P., 1984. *Bartók*. London: Dent.

Haïdouks, T. d., 1991. *Musique des Tziganes de Roumanie*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).

Haïdouks, T. d., 1994. *Honourable Brigands, Magic Horses and Evil Eye*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).

Haïdouks, T. d., 1998. *Dumbala Dumba*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).

Haïdouks, T. d., 2001. *Band of Gypsies*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).

Haïdouks, T. d., 2015. *Of Lovers, Gamblers and Parachute Skirts*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).

Hancock, I., 1988. *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Hancock, I., 2002. *We Are the Romani People: Ame Sam e Rromane Dzene*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Hemetek, U., 2000. 'Ando Drom – Auf dem Weg. Die Rolle der traditionellen Musik im Prozeß der politischen Anerkennung der Roma in Österreich'. In: M. P. Baumann, ed. *Music, Language and Literature of the Roma and Sinti*. Berlin: VWB, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, pp. 371-392.

Herder, J. G. v., 1989. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag.

Hitchins, K., 2014. *A Concise History of Romania*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. & Ranger, T. eds., 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Holst-Warhaft, G., 2001. *Rebetika*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51102>
[Accessed 7 June 2017].
- Hooker, L. M., 2007. 'Controlling the Liminal Power of Performance: Hungarian Scholars and Romani Musicians in the Hungarian Folk Revival'. *twentieth-century music*, pp. 51-72.
- Hooker, L. M., 2013. 'The Kodály and Rajkó Methods: Voices, Instruments, Ethnicity, and the Globalization of Hungarian Music Education in the Twentieth Century'. *Hungarian Cultural Studies*, Volume 6, pp. 130-147.
- Horowitz, A., 2010. *Mediterranean Israeli Music and the Politics of the Aesthetic*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Ignatieff, M., 2000. *Virtual War: Kosovo and Beyond*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Ilioaia, M.-A., 2014. *Manele and the Hegemony of "Good Taste"*. [Online]
Available at: <https://romediafoundation.wordpress.com/2014/03/03/manele-and-the-hegemony-of-good-taste/>
[Accessed 13 September 2016].
- Institut Biologia Evolutiva, 2012. 'Reconstructing the Population History of European Romani from Genome-wide Data'. *Current Biology*, 22(24), pp. 2342-2349.
- Jelavich, B., 1983. *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jelavich, B., 1983. *History of the Balkans: Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, O., 2011. *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class*. London: Verso.
- Kertész-Wilkinson, I., 2001. *Gypsy Music*. [Online]
Available at: <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41427>
[Accessed 26 September 2015].
- Kipling, R., 1994. *Collected Poems*. Ware: Wordsworth Editions.
- Kočani Orkestar, 1997. *I'orient est rouge*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).
- Központi statisztikai hivatal, 1895. *A Magyarországon 1893. január 31-én végrehajtott cigányösszeírás eredményei*. Budapest: Az Athenaeum r. társulat könyvnyomdája.
- Langlois, T., 1996. 'The Local and Global in North African Popular Music'. *Popular Music*, 15(3), pp. 259-273.
- Lee, R., 2010. *Romani Dictionary: Kalderash-English*. Toronto: Magoria Books.

- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1958. *Anthropologie structurale*. Paris: Plon.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1964. *Le cru et le cuit*. Paris: Plon.
- Liszt, F., 1859. *Des Bohémiens et de Leur Musique en Hongrie*. Paris: Bourdillat.
- Livezeanu, I., 2000. *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.
- Locke, R. P., 2009. *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magee, B., 2000. *Wagner and Philosophy*. London: Allen Lane.
- Malthus, T. R., 1996. *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. 5th ed. London: Routledge.
- Merriam, A., 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Merriam, A., 1979. 'Basongye Musicians and Institutionalised Social Deviance'. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*, Volume 11, pp. 1-26.
- Mihăilescu, V., 2016. 'Turbo-Authenticity: An Essay on Manelism'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 247-258.
- Mihalache, A., Gherghina, I., Alecu, I. & Nichita, C., 2008. *Cântările Lăutărești ale lui Andrei Mihalache*. [Sound Recording] (Ethnophonie).
- Miroiu, M., 2010. *Romanian Practical Dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books, Inc..
- Nettl, B., 1983. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Nixon, P., 2001. *Hora lunga*. [Online]
Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13339>
[Accessed 8 August 2018].
- O'Connell, J. M., 1991. *An Alevi in Berlin: An Artist's Individual View and the Assumptions of a General Musical Tradition*. MA Thesis: University of California, Los Angeles.
- O'Connell, J. M., 2005. 'In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse'. *Ethnomusicology*, 49(2), pp. 177-205.
- O'Connell, J. M., 2010. 'A Staged Fright: Musical Hybridity and Religious Intolerance in Turkey, 1923-38'. *twentieth-century music*, 7(1), pp. 3-28.
- O'Connell, J. M., 2013. *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music (1923-1938)*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.

O'Connell, J. M., 2015. 'Modal Trails, Model Trials: Musical Migrants and Mystical Critics in Turkey'. In: R. Davis, ed. *Musical Exodus: Al-Andalus and its Jewish Diasporas*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 101-123.

Oxford Dictionary of English, 2010. [Online]
Available at: www.oxfordreference.com
[Accessed 8 September 2017].

Pettan, S., 1996. 'Gypsies, Music , and Politics in the Balkans: A Case Study from Kosovo'. *Journal of the International Institute for Traditional Music*, 38(1), pp. 33-61.

Pettan, S., 2010. 'Music in War, Music for Peace: Experiences in Applied Ethnomusicology'. In: J. M. O'Connell & S. El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, eds. *Music and Conflict*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 177-192.

Pettan, S. & Titon, J. T. eds., 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Phinnemore, D. & Light, D. eds., 2001. *Post-Communist Romania: Coming to Terms with Transition*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave.

Picken, L., 1975. *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press.

Popescu-Judet, E., 1999. *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir: Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music*. Istanbul: Pan.

Rădulescu, S., 1992. *Hopa, Tropa, Europa*. Bucharest: Muzeul Țăranului Român.

Rădulescu, S., 2015. *Taifasuri despre muzica țigănească – Chats about gypsy music*. II-a ed. București: Paideia.

Rădulescu, S., 2016. 'Epilogue'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 259-269.

Regev, M., 1996. 'Musica Mizrahit, Israeli Rock and National Culture in Israel'. *Popular Music*, October, 15(3), pp. 275-284.

Rice, T., 1994. *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rice, T., Porter, J. & Goertzen, C. eds., 1998-2002. *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music v. 8. Europe*. New York; London: Garland Publishing.

Said, E., 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Said, E., 1995. *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Samson, J., 2013. *Music in the Balkans*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sárosi, B., 1978. *Gypsy Music*. Budapest: Corvina Press.
- Saul, N., 2007. *Gypsies and Orientalism in German Literature and Anthropology of the Long Nineteenth Century*. London: Legenda.
- Saul, N., ed., 2009. *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiop, A., 2016. 'Manele and the Underworld'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 185-204.
- Schrijver, P., 2013. *Language Contact and the Origins of the Germanic Languages*. New York: Routledge.
- Seeman, S., 2014. *Orientalism/Occidentalism and Nested Alterities: Refracting Identities in "Turkish Art Music", 1920 - 1940*. University of Pittsburgh, Society for Ethnomusicology 59th Annual Meeting.
- Seeman, S. T., 2007. *Presenting "Gypsy", Re-presenting Roman: Towards an Archaeology of Aesthetic Production and Social Identity*. [Online]
Available at: https://www.umbc.edu/MA/index/number11/seeman/see_0.htm
[Accessed 6 August 2018].
- Silverman, C., 2003. 'The Gender of the Profession: Music, Dance, and Reputation Among Balkan Muslim Rom Women'. In: T. Magrini, ed. *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 119-145.
- Silverman, C., 2012. *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spradley, J. P., 1980. *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Starkey, J., 2018. *The Scottish Enlightenment Abroad: The Russells of Braidshaw in Aleppo and the Coast of Coromandel*. Leiden: Brill.
- Stoichița, V. A., 2016. 'The "Boyar in the Helicopter": Power, Parody, and Carnival in Manea Performances'. In: M. Beissinger, S. Rădulescu & A. Giurchescu, eds. *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 163-184.
- Stoichița, V. I. & Coderch, A.-M., 1999. *Goya. The Last Carnival*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Stokes, M., 1992. *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Stokes, M., 2000. 'East, West and Arabesk'. In: G. Born & D. Hesmondhalgh, eds. *Western Music and its Others*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 213-233.
- Stokes, M., 2010. *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taraf de Haïdouks, 2007. *Mașkaradă*. [Sound Recording] (Crammed Discs).
- Taussig, M., 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. London: Routledge.
- Taylor, T. D., 2007. *Beyond Exoticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Todorova, M., 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, V. W., 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press.
- Vamanu, A. & Vamanu, I., 2013. "'Scandalous Ethnicity' and 'Victimized Ethnonationalism': Pejorative Representations of Roma in the Romanian Mainstream Media After January 2007'. In: J. Kubik & A. Linch, eds. *Post Communism from Within. Social Justice Mobilization and Hegemony*. New York, NY: New York University Press, pp. 265-296.
- Verdery, K., 1991. *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceaușescu's Romania*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- White, B. W. ed., 2012. *Music and Globalization : Critical Encounters*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Windt, H. d., 1907. *Through Savage Europe: Being the Narrative of a Journey Undertaken as Special Correspondent of the 'Westminster Gazette' Throughout the Balkan States and European Russia*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Zamfir, E. & Zamfir, C., 1993. *Țiganiile între ignorare și îngrijorare*, Bucharest: Editura Alternative.