

What is *Romani* Music? An emerging definition learned from social network analysis

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“Without music life would be a mistake”- Friedrich Nietzsche

1. 1 Origins of the Romani People

The Romani people originate from the Sind region of what is now Pakistan. Their Romani language is close to the oldest forms of Indian languages (i.e., Sanskrit and its Indo-European precursors). The three tribes of Roma, Sinti, and Kale probably left India after a succession of campaigns in Sind running throughout the eleventh century. These tribes initially spent time in Armenia and Persia, and then moved into the Byzantine Empire after the Seljuk Turk attacks on Armenia. Within the Byzantine Empire they dispersed into the Balkans, reaching Moldavia in 1370 and Wallachia in 1385. Other Romani groups also moved within India migrating to Gujarat and other areas south of Delhi. Romani populations can still be found along all of these migration routes. When entering Western Europe, the Romani initially had letters of protection from the King of Hungary. The nature of these kinds of medieval trade arrangements are discussed in detail by Avner Greif (1989, 1993)¹, and were part of the foundation of modern methods of impersonal exchange. However, this privileged situation for the Romani did not last long, as amazement at their way of life commonly led to hostilities with the local population. The Romani are still thought of as wandering nomads in Western popular imagination, despite the fact that today the vast majority live in permanent housing (this is part of the tension of “Boundary-Maintenance” which Brubaker describes)².

This widely dispersed ethnic group lives across the world not only near what has become their historic heartland (as opposed to their original homeland, which is another dimension of complexity that makes analyzing the Romany Diaspora particularly difficult) in Southern and Eastern Europe, but also on the American continent and in the Middle East. Another dimension of Romany life which adds to the complexity of understanding the Romany Diaspora is the absence of a written history of the Romani people. The Romani are believed to have originated in the Punjab and Rajasthan regions of the Indian subcontinent and began their migration to Europe and North Africa via the Iranian plateau around 1050 A.D.³

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- 1 Greif, Avner. (1989) *Reputation and coalitions in medieval trade: evidence on the Maghribi traders*. Journal of Economic History, Cambridge University Press. (1993) *Contract enforceability and economic institutions in early trade: The Maghribi traders' coalition*. the American economic review.
 - 2 Brubaker, R. (2005), “The 'diaspora' diaspora”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1), pp1-19.
 - 3 For more information see: Renard, Stanislas & Fellman, Philip Vos. (2009) *Understanding The Complexity of the Romany Diaspora*. Published in the online version of the Seventh Proceedings of the New England Complexity Institute.

3.1 Romani Musicians

Typically nomadic, the Romani have long acted as wandering entertainers and tradesmen. In all the places Romani people live—in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and northwest India—they have become known as musicians. The wide distances travelled have introduced a multitude of influences, starting with Indian roots and adding Greek, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Slavic, Romanian, German, French, Spanish and Celtic touches.

Romani communities are common in Arab and Middle Eastern countries, but are often found in southern parts of India as well. The quintessentially Spanish flamenco is to a very large extent the music (and dance, or indeed the culture) of the Romani people of Andalusia. There is also a strong tradition of Romani music in Central and Eastern Europe, notably in countries such as Hungary, Romania and the former Yugoslavia also known as their *heartland*.⁴

4 Criticism of Romani musicians and Art-music in Hungary

4.1 Ferenc 'Franz' Liszt's mistake

Generally speaking, Hungarian folk music is still identified with Romani music, and folksong is confused with popular art-music. Yet in its narrower sense, Hungarian folk music has little or nothing in common with the music offered over the radio as *Hungarian folk tunes* or, since the composition of *Zeugenerweisen* (1878) by the Spanish virtuoso violinist and composer Pablo Sarasate. Performed by Romani orchestras or in other popular arrangements, such music has been the basis of all generalizations about *Hungarian music* for nearly a hundred years. Nor is it in any way the creation of the Romani, as still frequently asserted owing to Franz Liszt's monumental error.

Romani musicians have often been unfairly dismissed by ethnomusicologists in the tradition of Bartók, who wrote:

The music that gypsy orchestras play for money today in the towns is just more recent Hungarian art music composed in folk style. The purpose of this type of music in Hungary is to gratify musical needs of a lower order....It is good that "light music" should spring from a Hungarian specialty....May they retain ancient repertoire in its oldest garb, and not mix into it waltzes, jazz and whatnot!⁵

4 For more information on homeland versus heartland orientation regarding the Romani diaspora see Renard, Stanislas & Fellman, Phillip Vos. (2009) *Understanding The Complexity of the Romany Diaspora*. Published in the online Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Complex Systems.

5 Béla Bartók, (1931) *Hungarian Folk Music*. Oxford University Press, 206-207.

This tradition, which originated from Bartók's historical purism and then continued the peculiar prejudice against Romani music, was an inevitable feature of writings on Hungarian music. Bartók sought to overturn Liszt's claim that the music of the Magyars was derived from that of the Romani. Liszt's 1859 *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* allowed a great misconception to spread throughout Europe: he alleged that the music played by Romani musicians was their own, and hence that it was "gypsy music." He regarded their unrestricted, undisciplined, and rhapsodic style of performance as the gypsies' ancient musical heritage.

4.2 Hungarian Art-music

It is generally possible to identify the composers of the various tunes, that include the themes of Brahms's *Hungarian Dances* and Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*. They all lived in the nineteenth century, and the most outstanding were Hungarians of noble descent. To mention but a few: Kálmán Simonffy of Marosvásárhely (1832-1889), Elemér Szentirmay, whose real name was János Németh of Zsid and Vadasfa (1836-1908); Béni Egressy, whose full name was Benjámín Galambos of Egres (1814-1851). Others came from bourgeois families that had been assimilated, such as Béla Kéler (1820-1882) and Károly Thern (1817-1886), both from the Szepes region which, from the twelfth century onwards, was settled by Germans. A number of songs, written by still unidentified composers, show by their style that they too belong to this period.⁶

The Hungarian composers mentioned above were nearly always inexperienced amateurs. The tunes became common property soon after their appearance, and nobody inquired after their origin.

It is quite clear that most of the pieces were written, not by Romani but by Hungarians. In origin and character this style belonged to the town tradition of printed art-music, and had nothing to do with ancient tradition or the like. True, it spread by word of mouth; Romani performed it without written music, and it was sung by large numbers of musically illiterate people. It was assimilated by the average Hungarian, and more especially by the town-dweller, although a great deal of it also found its way into the villages.

The following example by Elemér Szentirmay (Figure 1) has become world-

Csak egy szép lány van e vi-lá-gon, Az én ked-ves ró-zsám ga-lambom.

A jó Is-ten be na-gyon sze-ret, Hogy én nê-kem a-dott tê-ge-det.

famous. It is the main theme of Sarasate's *Zeugenerweisen* (Figure 2), in which it appears in a corrupt form. Compare the following original notation to Sarasate's:

6 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8.

Figure 1. Elemér Szentirmay's original tune



Figure 2. Pablo Sarasate's adaptation in *Zeugenerweisen*

While undeniably Hungarian in essence, its Western trappings may explain its vast popularity outside Hungary. The genuine old folk-tradition is not visible even in the musical style that immediately preceded this, the style that flourished in Hungary during the first half of the nineteenth century. It too was town art-music, in essence nothing but dance music; at first it was even written by foreigners and immigrants, and, like its later counterpart, was to be found in print.

Later music in this style was by János Lavotta of Izsépfalva and Kevelháza (1768-1820), János Svastits of Bocsár (c. 1800-1874), the Vice-Paladin Kázmér of Sárköz (1799-1876), and the physician J. B. of Hunyad (1807-1865)-all Hungarians-and also by the Czech Anton Csermák (1807-1865), self-styled Baronet of Dlujk and Rouhans, the Romani composer János Bihari (1764-1327), and a composer, Márk Rózsavölgyi (1789-1848), whose death inspired Petőfi's famous, deeply-felt poem. Newly-awakened national feeling swept aside differences of birth and background: in the service of 'national music' all found themselves on common ground.⁷

4.3 Romani Academic Music

1541 and 1686 are prominent dates in Hungarian history. 1541 saw the fall of the capital, Buda. As a result the historical Hungary was torn into three parts: Royal Hungary, Transylvania and the central region which remained under Turkish rule for almost 150 years. Buda was recaptured by the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century (1686) with Hapsburg help, and the historical regions of the country were now reunited. But meanwhile a Hapsburg colonization of the country had begun and lasted for several centuries - resulting in conflict. Uprisings and revolutions against oppression after several wars against the Turks.

These facts are important not only from the historical but also from the musical point of view. The most important exponents of the *Verbunkos* style (19th century), the Romani musicians, appeared in Hungary as early as the 17th century.⁸ As such,

7 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8.

8 Tari, Lujza. (1997) "*Verbunk*"-"*Verbunkos*" *Interaction between Towns and Villages in an Instrumental Music Genre. Historical Studies on Folk and*

the genre mentioned came into being at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries, but in some respects the *Verbunkos* is based on the 16-17th century popular dance and its music.⁹

By the end of the eighteenth century Romani musicians in the service of the nobility were becoming more and more fashionable in the towns too. For a short period the highlight of an event was not so much a performance by a peasant musician from a nearby village, but the appearance of Romani musicians.¹⁰

According to a document of 1851 concerning the consecration of an Archbishop in Eger, the church musicians played Haydn's Mass in C major in the morning in the church, but at noon Romani "musicians ensured the good mood of the guests".¹¹ The ensemble and its leader are not mentioned by name, but it can only be the group led by Ferenc Bunkó (1813-1891) who worked there at this time and was said by his contemporaries to be almost the best after Bihari János (1764-1827). (He later went on to Paris, Berlin and Hamburg and achieved great success everywhere).¹² Several tunes from his instrumental music collection - *Palóc nóák*, composed and published by Ferenc Bunkó 1853 (Pest) - are regarded to this day as folk material by ethnomusicologists.¹³

Since collecting activities started, we have a continuous sequence of information on Romani musicians working in villages. Although specific information on the music played is rare, it is no accident that elements of the *Verbunk-Verbunkos*¹⁴ music permeates the more primary, "authentic" folk material. In fact this pure folklore is preserved among the diversity of composed music and everyday town music. In addition, the pure *verbunkos* form or other elements of the *verbunkos* music were penetrating the folk music.

In view of the historical data, there is no doubt that in the earlier centuries there

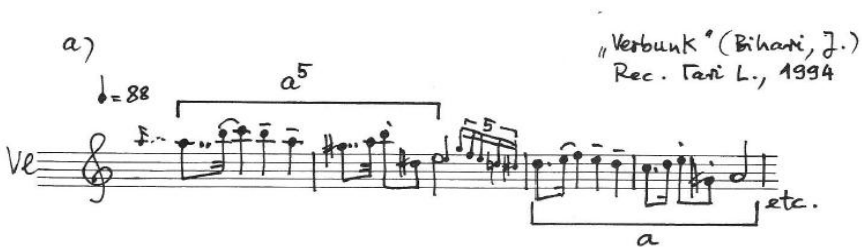
Traditional Music. Danish Folklore Archives Museum Tuscuianum Press.

- 9 This is the so-called *hajdútánc* (Haiduk dance), which is mostly mentioned in foreign instrumental collections of the sixteenth century as "ungaresca", "ballo ongarese", "Ungarischer Tanz" etc. In its origin it was shepherds' dance music, but at the end of the 17th century it had been assimilated into several dance music.
- 10 *Hungarian Music History I.* (1988) *The Middle Ages*, edited by B. Rajeczky, Budapest.
- 11 Tari, Lujza. (1997) "*Verbunk*" - "*Verbunkos*" *Interaction between Towns and Villages in an Instrumental Music Genre. Historical Studies on Folk and Traditional Music.* Danish Folklore Archives Museum Tuscuianum Press.
- 12 Markó, M. (1895): *Cigányzenészek albuma* [The album of Gypsy musicians], Budapest 1895, pp12-13; Sárosi, B. *Zigeunermusik*, Budapest 1970, pp132-133, p217.
- 13 Borsai, I. (1989): *Népdal in Palócok IV. Rítus és folklór* [Folksong in: The 'Palóc' ethnic groups IV. Rites and Folklore], edited by Bankó, F., Eger, pp697-789.
- 14 The name in the early documents (turn of the 18-19th centuries) is *Verbunk*. The term *Verbunkos* is used for the stylized music of c. 1820-1830. More on changes in terminology in Lissznyay Julianna hangszeres gyűjteménye [Julianna Lissznyay's collection of instrumental music from 1800], edited by L. Tari, Budapest MTA ZTI 1990, pp10-11, p32.

existed some kind of permanent connection between village and town. The appearance of the Romani musicians at the end of eighteenth century, at first in noble courts, then in towns and finally also in villages, provided an opportunity for mutual influence. The impact of the Romani should not only be seen in terms of their talents, but also in the historical circumstances of their music-making. They were quickly able to take the place of earlier Hungarian professional musicians (and those of other nations) because their appearance coincided with the Enlightenment, the new ideas of which included a change in the attitude of the higher social classes so that village and town could come closer than before. The Romani musicians were intermediaries between village and town.¹⁵

Most of this music now seems old-fashioned and dated; only the compositions of Romani composers János Bihari (1764-1827), Miska Farkas (1829-1890), Pál Rácz (1837-1886) and Pista Dankó (1858-1903) still teem with life. Of countless Romani musicians very few were composers. The most prolific, Pista Dankó, was quite strongly under the influence of indigenous Hungarian peasant music. He wrote more than four hundred songs to contemporary Hungarian texts. The second most prolific composer is János Bihari, but since he had no knowledge of musical notation (Figure 3), there will never be any certainty about what is his, and what has been added by those who noted down and copied his music. At all events, several of his pieces are related to traditional Hungarian peasant music. He forms the only link between the peasant tradition and the urban dance music that produced the *csárdás* round about 1830.¹⁶ The counterpart of János Bihari (1764-1827) in Romania almost a hundred years later is the Romani composer and *lăutari* violinist Grigoraș Ionică Dinicu (1889-1948). He is most famous for his often-played virtuoso violin showpiece *Hora staccato* (1906) and for making popular the tune *Ciocârlia*, composed by his grandfather Anghelu Dinicu for "nai" (the Romanian pan flute). It is rumored that Jascha Heifetz once said that Dinicu was the greatest violinist he had ever heard. In the 1930s he was involved in the political movement of the Romanian Roma and was made honorary president of the General Union of the Romanian Roma.

Figure 3. First few bars of a *Verbunkos* by Bihari



15 Tari, Lujza. "*Verbunk*"-"*Verbunkos*" Interaction between Towns and Villages in an Instrumental Music Genre. *Historical Studies on Folk and Traditional Music*. Danish Folklore Archives Museum Tuscuianum Press 1997, p116.

16 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8.

5.0 Oral and Written Traditions

Musically speaking, however, all European in the Romani *Heartland* (including the middle classes) were in a state of illiteracy up to the end of the nineteenth century (with the exception of the Middle Ages) they had no knowledge of written music.¹⁷

Their musical life still showed all the characteristic external signs of traditional oral culture; written music was only used in exceptional instances. Unaccompanied solo songs-the chief, in fact, the only musical activity-were passed from mouth to mouth, and not by writing or notation; old and new alike were disseminated entirely by aural means similarly to the Romani tradition. Even where written music was seemingly indispensable-as in male-voice choirs-it only served to help memorize the text. Music was learned entirely by ear. Nor did musical settings in hymnbooks mean much to their users either. Peasants have looked at them since 1607 (when the first Hungarian psalm book with music was published), and still have not learned to read them.¹⁸ The tunes have been kept alive by oral tradition, and this is the reason for the existence of many variant. Romani musicians have been criticized a practice that has been common in the life of Europeans in the *Heartland*. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, in the capitals and in various country towns, a handful of the élite, with 'literate' cultural pretensions, gradually developed a musical life comparable with that of Western-European cities. But it was a minority compared with the mass of the nation. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, the musical life of the majority lagged behind their general culture and wore the insignia of unlettered oral tradition. When, about 1900, a great surge of interest in folksong and folk music occurred, most incorrectly regarded the widely diffused popular music current at the time as the folk-tradition.

In civilizations that rest on the written word, two musical levels can generally be identified that correspond roughly to the split that exists between the "classical" and the "popular" (or folkloric), or between urban/rural or written/oral. In Persia (Iran) where Romani musicians have popularity this distinction could be observed in the division between *kelāsik*, *sonnati* ("traditional"), or *asil* ("essential, original, authentic"), on the one hand, and *mahalli* ("regional") on the other. The term *āmiāne* ("popular") is used pejoratively and *rustā'i* stands for rural.¹⁹

Although regional musical traditions, generally, are not supported by theory and are not worked out methodically, it must be noted that they are often highly organized, which is perfectly comprehensible to those who practice them. The difference, therefore, has nothing to do with their level of sophistication, for some popular traditions, especially those pertaining to minstrels, require a high degree of competence that can only be achieved by a long, systematic apprenticeship.

17 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8.

18 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8.

19 During, Jean; Mirabdolbaghi, Zia; and Savfat, Dariush. (1991). *The Art of Persian Music*. Mage Publishers, Washington, D.C.p19.

6 Popular Art-song Art-music and the Old-song Tradition

6.1 Popular Art-song and Art-music

In essence, this output of song belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century. The authors lacked musical knowledge; in some cases they did not even know enough to write down their own music correctly let alone provide them with piano accompaniments. They could only bring their works before the public with help of others. But if they could not write, neither could their public read. It was useless for them to publish their songs, since very few people could play or sing from written music. The masses learned them by ear in the popular theaters, from popular singers or Romani bands. It was no rare thing for an individual to know several hundred songs and yet not to know how to read music.

Town life in the *Heartland* developed slowly, and only at the end of the nineteenth century did it begin to reach the stage at which musical literacy forms an organic part of community life. The art-music that came to villages had the effect of stimulating folk-tradition to creative development, thus leading to the appearance of new and previously unknown forms.

6.2 The Old Song-Tradition

Notwithstanding the influence of popular art-song, peasants in the *Heartland* and Eastern-Europe still sing thousands of songs that have nothing in common with nineteenth century art-music. In them, if anywhere, must be sought the kind of music that, as an organic part of folk-culture, was associated with life for hundreds and even thousands of years, the origin of which, like that of the people and the language, is lost in the mists of antiquity. To get acquainted with this music tradition has been as long and difficult a process as the tracing of the history of folk poetry. So little were the peasants and their songs known to the nobility and the educated classes who lived in their midst such as though an impenetrable barrier lay between them.

For the most part, collectors and editors of songs never bothered with the tunes which, as far as their records go, might never have existed. Texts were regarded as literature devoid of melody, even though they had no independent existence amongst the peasants. Any attempt at faithful recording should regard it as axiomatic that tune and text be noted down together. It is after all this duality, combining in a higher unity, which constitutes the fundamental nature of folksong.

In general, *village song* and *town song* adequately describe the contrast between folksong and art-song. It would be pointless to attempt a more accurate definition, for owing to the complexity of, peasant class-structure, even *peasant song* is an inadequate description.²⁰

20 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in

6.3 Romani Folk Music and Folksongs

The Romani do not have a “common musical language” and “common melodic treasury.”²¹ Romani folk music does exist but it is generally different in each country, and displays many features in common with local folk music.

It is in a Transylvanian Hungarian music manuscript, the *Kájoni Codex*, dating from the middle of the seventeenth century, that can be found two songs in Romani language, the first to be written down together with text in Hungary and possibly in the whole world.²² The first deliberate collector of Romani folksongs in Hungary was Antal Hermann at the of the nineteenth century. In 1940, the young brothers Imre and Sándor Csenki set about collecting methodologically Romani folksongs.²³ There are two characteristic basic type of Romani folksongs: the slow song (in Romani *loki d'ili*) and the dance song (*khelimaske s'ili*). The principal special feature of the slow song is the free-rhythm style of performance. The dance songs are mainly sung by the Romani for their dances. The main characteristics of the dance song the way they are performed. Although these songs have an intelligible text, the singers often perform the melody not with text but with the *pergetés* (rolling) technique consisting of meaningless syllables. The dance song which is sung and “rolled” by a solo singer is accompanied by the others with *szájbögzés* (literally “mouth bass-playing”) which consists of sharply pronounced, short, exclamation-like syllables or they make trumpeting sounds formed by the lips or blowing into the hands. Clapping and tapping with the fingers are also common in performance of the dance song. This is done even by those who are present but not taking part in either the dancing nor the singing.²⁴ Romani music characteristically has vocals that tend to be soulful and declamatory, and the music often incorporates prominent glissandi (slides) between notes.

6.4 Flamenco and music from the Arab world

The custom of accompanying the dance with the oboe and the drum is popular in nearly all Islamic countries and is spread as far as the Balkans. The players, nearly always professional musicians, are for the most part Romani- at least in the cultural area previously or at present time under Turkish dominion. It is quiet probable that the Romani imported the instruments from India.²⁵

Similarly. in Persia (Iran), a genre incorporating regional entertainment music is practiced by professionals, who may be a band of *sumnachs*, often consisting of

1971. Preager Publishers, New York, pp5-8..

21 Sárosi, Bálint. (1970) *Gypsy Music*. Corvina Press, Budapest, p23.

22 Sárosi, Bálint. (1970) *Gypsy Music*. Corvina Press, Budapest, p23.

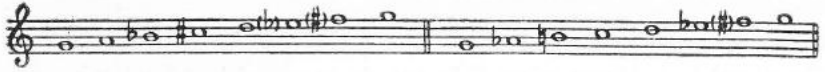
23 Sárosi, Bálint. (1970) *Gypsy Music*. Corvina Press, Budapest, p24.

24 Sárosi, Bálint. (1970) *Gypsy Music*. Corvina Press, Budapest, p27-29.

25 Bartók, Béla. (1976) *Turkish Folk Music From Asia Minor*. Princeton University Press, p.265.

Romani or *kolis*, playing a *surñā* (oboe) and a *dohol* (drum); or group of singers, dancers, and instrumentalists, playing the *zarb*, the *tār*, the *kamānche*, etc.²⁶

A single feature, the so-called '*Gypsy scale*,' points to a Southern oriental



(Arabic) origin and may possibly have reached the *Heartland* through the Romani

The augmented intervals of this scale, which are rarely used by peasants. It should be emphasized, however, that the '*Gypsy scale*' by no means predominates in Romani style and that modern major and minor scales are much more frequent.²⁷

The '*Gypsy scale*' identified by Liszt is close to the oriental chromatic scale and exactly like the Indian *bhairava* scale (C, Db, E, F#, G, Ab, B, C). Certain musical features such as use of the *bhairava* scale, melisma, etc. appear to have their roots in India, certainly modified by Middle Eastern styles acquired in Anatolia before being first introduced into Europe in the fourteenth century.²⁸

It is clear that there would be no flamenco without the Romani. While it is a composite musical form, it contains instrumental, choreographical and vocal characteristics with clear parallels in Asian styles.²⁹

Some of its distinctive features are only found among other Romani populations in other parts of Europe, such as the *cante jondo*, or 'deep song' which has been compared with the *loki djili* or 'slow song' in the *Heartland*, as well as with Sindhi musical forms in India.³⁰

Traditional songs of Southern Spain contain something else besides hypothetical Byzantine remains and Moorish influence. In 1447, the first shipload of Romani was landed at Barcelona³¹; those who reached Granada often dropped their wandering habits and settled down outside the walls, where their descendants remain until this day, distinct from the *gitanos bravios* who retain their nomadic spirit. Southern Spanish song is probably more influenced by the Romani, who still remain in the country and sing, than the Moors, who have been gone for three hundred years.³²

26 During, Jean; Mirabdolbaghi, Zia; and Savfat, Dariush. (1991). *The Art of Persian Music*. Mage Publishers, Washington, D.C.p21

27 Kodály, Zoltán. (1952) *Folk Music of Hungary*. Published in the United States in 1971. Preager Publishers.

28 Hancock, Ian. (2002) *We are the Romani people*. Centre de recherche Tsiganes and University of Hertfordshire Press. p.126.

29 Leblon, Bernard. (2002) *Gypsies and Flamenco*. Second Edition. Hatfield: The University of Hertfordshire Press. Interface Collection, Vol.6.

30 Baloch, Aziz. (1968) *Spanish Cante Jondo and its Origin in Sindhi Music*. Hyderabad: The Mehran Arts Council.

31 Salillas, R. (1898), *Hampa*, Madrid.p.6. Fifty years later, gypsy fortune-tellers and horse-copers must have been a familiar sight in Spain and Portugal; cf. Gil Vicente's *Farsa das Ciganas*.

32 Trend, J. B. (1926) *The Music of Spanish History to 1600*. Oxford University

It is now quite generally agreed that “*flamenco*” refers to Spanish gypsies, but when, how, or why it was applied is still a mystery. All through the century, the Romani people were despised, hated, and feared. Their music, however, was enjoyed in songs and dances and was imitated on the stage. Songs and dances which are classed as *flamenco* are found in the *tonadillas* (musical song form of theatrical origin; not danced) of the eighteenth century, such as *polos*, *malaguenas*, *murcianas*, *soleares*, *saetas alegrias*, even *fandangos* and *fandanguillos*. If not Romani, possibly the fundamental elements of this music spring from the same source as the Romani themselves. A definite trend of opinion at present is toward the theory that *cante gitano* or *flamenco* is of Arab parentage, reproducing popular Arab music of a period roughly speaking somewhere between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

An explanation of flamenco as an epithet applied to a people hated and despised is here offered: In the early years of his reign, Charles V brought into Spain Flemish bourgeois clerks and accountants who were given the most important high financial positions in the country. They became so unpopular with the Spanish people that the word “*flamenco*” (Flemish) acquired the meaning, “hated” or “despised”. Likewise the Romani were “feared and loathed as sneaks, robbers, wanderers, and foreigners, and they, too, were called ‘*flamencos*’.”³³ Romani dances and songs are frequent in the *tonadillas*, for the picturesque. This is one of the achievements of the *tonadillas*, that Romani music was admitted to the stage of the legitimate theatre. Romani enlivened the *tonadilla* from the very beginning of its existence.³⁴

6.5 Romani music in Eastern Europe

In Poland, the culture of Podhale has developed against a heterogeneous background and with a variety of influences; those of Little Poland and neighboring southern countries, including the Walachian strata, for instance, had a decisive influence. Any links with other Carpathian cultures, whether western or eastern, cannot be ignored, including the impact of the Romani ensemble on instrumental music in particular. The Romani tradition has been limited in Poland to musical instrumental forms and was never so well developed as in Hungary, Romania, Russia, Ukraine and Czechoslovakia.³⁵ It is still practiced by some street ensembles playing in big cities. This music contributed to the popularity of the dulcimer and played a part in the articulation of some tonal phenomena. It also popularized some more advanced techniques of playing together (*sekund* technique) and stimulated the use of more complex rhythmic patterns performed on drums.³⁶

Press, Humphrey Milford.pp32-33

33 Hamilton, Mary Neal. (1971) *Music in Eighteenth Century Spain*. Da Capo Press, New York. p137 n

34 Hamilton, Mary Neal. (1971) *Music in Eighteenth Century Spain*. Da Capo Press, New York. p61

35 Kovalcsik, K. (1985). *Vlas Gypsy Folk Song in Slovakia*. Budapest. 1987 'Popular dance music elements in the folk music of gypsies in Hungary'. In *Popular Music*, 6, no.1, pp.45-65.

36 Czekanowska, Anna. (1990). *Polish folk music. Slavonic heritage-Polish*

The Romani of Russia occupy a unique place in the history of European Rom. Relative latecomers to Russian parts of the burgeoning tsarist empire, Romani musicians and Rom mystique- captured the imaginations of the Russian public in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and became integral part of Russian music, literature, and theater.³⁷

Three types of Romani music evolved during this period, with the seven-stringed guitar as the favorite instrument for choral accompaniment. The first, *polevuiye tsiganskiye peisny* 'Gypsy songs of the fields' or *tabornuiye* of the camp, were simple and folklorist in style. The next style, Romani Road House music, was exclusively choral, and harmonically more elaborate. The third type of Romani music, *Gypsy romances*, was not Romani music at all but rather music composed "by Russians in a more or less Gypsy-like style." Though some Romani musicians would later adopt some of these tunes, they were not considered authentic. This type of music was particularly popular with the educated classes of Russia, and it was a rare family "that did not possess an album of 'Gypsy' transcriptions for piano," usually "*Gypsy romances*."³⁸ One of the first serious composers in Romani music was Alexis N. Verstovsky, who used Romani music in some of his early compositions and who eventually became director of the Imperial Opera of Moscow. The most famous Romani singer during this period was Tanya (Tat'yana Dmitrievna Dem'yanova). Born in 1808, Tanya was a member of the Orlov chorus directed by Ilya Sokolov. Her singing "often reduced the great poet Pushkin to tears".³⁹

7.1 Conclusion

The diagram at the start of this paper, which is a social network analysis of Romani musicians has a Node Count of 27, a Link Count of 138 and a Density of 0.197 . The dynamic and intricate multi-influential interconnectedness between the various musical traditions, and the role of Romani musicians is presented for the first time through the visualization in this complex network. The emergence of the Romani music(s) in white nodes and the strong centrality of Romani musicians' nodes show how difficult the understanding of the Romani musical genre would be without the support of a social network visualization. The SNA shows the various sub-genres of Romani music. Note that most of those sub-genres could be considered as outliers (Romani Folksongs, Chalga, Classical Manele). The Romani sub-genre that shows the strongest centrality is the Academic Romani Music node. This is explained by its dense interconnectedness with Classical Music, other Folk traditions, and Popular Art music. Also, strong capability measures within this social network visualization occur in the sub-genres of *Gypsy Jazz*, *Gypsy Punk*, *Flamenco*, as well as *Modern Manele*

tradition-contemporary trends. Cambridge University Press, p.204.

37 Crowe, M. David.(1994) *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*. St. Martin's Griffin, New York. P151.

38 Bobri, Vladimir. (1961) *Gypsies and Gypsy Choruses of Old Russia*. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series, Vol.40. Nos.3-4.pp112-120.

39 Bobri, Vladimir. (1961) *Gypsies and Gypsy Choruses of Old Russia*. Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, Third Series, Vol.40. Nos.3-4.pp116-117.

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