

# Understanding the Complexity of the Romany Diaspora

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## 1.0 Introduction – Defining the Concept of “Diaspora”

*What is a diaspora? For the Greeks, from whose language the word originated, diaspora meant the dispersal of population through colonization. For Jews, Africans, Armenians, and others, the word acquired a more sinister and brutal meaning; Diaspora meant a collective trauma, a banishment into exile, and a heart-aching longing to return home. During the early modern period, trade and labor diasporas girded the mercantilist and early capitalist worlds. Today the term has changed again, often implying a positive and ongoing relationship between migrants' homelands and their places of work and settlement.*

-From the University of Washington Press Reviews of *Global Diasporas* by Robin Cohen

Establishing a conceptual framework for the Romany diaspora is itself a complex task, and not one which can be taken for granted. As Toninato argues, there are multiple paradigms attached to the term diaspora, several of which are fundamentally different in structural character (Toninato, 2007). Brubaker (2005) provides an interesting explanation of the evolution of the concept and usage of the term diaspora in recent scholarship:

Most early discussions of diaspora were firmly rooted in a conceptual ‘homeland’; they were concerned with a paradigmatic case, or a small number of core cases. The paradigmatic case was, of course, the Jewish diaspora; some dictionary definitions of diaspora, until recently, did not simply *illustrate*, but *defined* the word with reference to this case (Sheffer, 2003, p. 9). As discussions of Diasporas branched out to include other cases they remained oriented, at least initially, to this conceptual homeland – to the Jewish case and other ‘classical’ Diasporas, Armenian and Greek. When historian George Shepperson introduced the notion of the African diaspora, for example, he did so by expressly engaging the Jewish experience...The Palestinian diaspora too, has been construed as a ‘catastrophic’ diaspora – or in Cohen’s (1977) term, a ‘victim diaspora’ – on the model of the Jewish case. The concept of the trading diaspora – or in John Armstrong’s (1976) terms, the ‘mobilized diaspora’ – was constructed on another aspect of the Jewish, as well as the Greek and Armenian experience. Chinese, Indians, Lebanese, Baltic Germans and the Hausa of Nigeria are among those often mentioned as ‘trading Diasporas’.

...In other cases, the reference to the conceptual homeland – to the ‘classical’ Diasporas has become more attenuated still, to the point of being lost altogether. Transethnic and transborder categories, for example, such as Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone ‘communities’ (a word that should be used only in inverted commas, [Baumann, 1969]) – have been conceptualized as diasporas. So too have global religious ‘communities’ including Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Confucian, Huguenot, Muslim and Catholic Diasporas. It appears to be little more than sheer dispersion that underwrites the formulation of such populations as diasporas.

Brubaker’s analysis denotes the pervasive spread of the use of the concept “diaspora” across multiple kinds of ethno-cultural experiences, and very diverse groups. In order to categorize the Romany diaspora, it would do well to determine where it lies in a more clearly defined set of criteria as a diaspora beyond the

mere fact of historical and geographic dispersion. His analysis sets forth four primary criteria for what he argues is a more analytical treatment of the concept of diaspora:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Dispersion
- (2) Homeland Orientation
- (3) Boundary-Maintenance

Brubaker then goes on to explore the diaspora literature, arguing that many contemporary examples of diaspora are incomplete or inconsistent. On the whole, he admits that a major effort of his work is to “de-substantialize” the use of the term ‘diaspora’, and to this end he highlights tensions in the literature between assumptions about immigration, homogenization, and boundary maintenance and boundary dissolution. We call attention to his treatment, because while his conceptual categories are useful, it may be a bit dangerous to draw upon them uncritically in discussing the Romany diaspora and the Romany paradigm as Toninato does. Her work reaches important conclusions, but sometimes it does so by passing through dangerous territory on a rather tenuous conceptual basis. We shall, nonetheless, side with Toninato (and against those scholars who argue that the Romany diaspora does fit the classical definition) in arguing that the Romany diaspora is a bona fide example of the category and meets the general criteria of a diaspora with sufficient intensity and distinctness that it should be so treated. With respect to dispersion, while, we understand that this is in many cases nearly a self-defining term, the Romany diaspora exhibits all the characteristics of ethnographic dispersion which one would ever need to define a diaspora. While the issues of homeland orientation are more complex, they are nonetheless present, particularly through shared linguistic heritage and Romany boundary maintenance, as we discuss throughout this paper, is a very clear case of precisely the kind of ethnic tension which characterizes a diaspora. As Toninato notes (p. 4):

...the Gypsy diaspora is characterized by a difficult relationship between ‘Gypsy’ communities and their ‘host’ countries...The Roma and Sinti constitute the largest ethnic minority in Europe and they are certainly the least represented and the least protected among the other European minorities. A recent report commissioned by the Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs of the EU revealed that the Roma in the European Union suffer severe discrimination and social exclusion in at least four key areas: education, employment, housing and healthcare (European Commission 2004). The report has also revealed widespread anti-Romani racism and recurrent human rights infringements, not to mention violations of civil and political rights against the Romani minority in Europe. As the report demonstrates, such violations not only occur in the new Central and Eastern EU member-states, but also in older EU member states. The situation of the Roma in Italy is particularly worrying. Italy is known in Europe as ‘Campland’, the

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<sup>1</sup> Toninato also draws an extended definition of diaspora from Cohen, which she summarizes as follows:

- 1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions or expansion from a homeland in search of work/for trade/colonial ambitions;
- 2) a collective memory and an idealization of the homeland and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
- 3) the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation;
- 4) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;
- 5) a troubled relationship with host societies;
- 6) a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement;
- 7) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism.

country of ‘camps for nomads’ (campi-nomadi) which is where many Roma are forced to live, completely isolated from the rest of the population. This glaring lack of integration of the Roma within their countries of settlement is indeed another crucial element that they seem to share with other diasporic groups.

As we shall argue elsewhere in this paper, this kind of discrimination is one of the strongest and historically most persistent features of the Romany diaspora. In many ways, when combined with the commonality of ethnolinguistic heritage, it is a defining feature of the Romany diaspora as a classical instance of the diaspora phenomenon.

## 2.0 Origins of the Romany People

The Gypsy peoples originate from the Sind region of what is now Pakistan. Their Rom language is close to the oldest forms of Indian languages (i.e., Sanskrit and its Indo-European precursors). The three tribes of Rom, 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, before these areas fell in conquest to the Ottoman Turks. Other Romany groups also moved within India migrating to Gujarat and other areas south of Delhi. Gypsy populations can still be found along all of these migration routes.

When entering Western Europe, the Romany 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, 2003), and were part of the foundation of modern methods of impersonal exchange. However, this privileged situation for the Romany did not last long, as amazement at their way of life commonly led to hostilities with the local population. As indicated above by Toninato’s review of recent EU governmental reports on the Romany, the Gypsy way of life still leads to hostilities from the people of their host nations. Europeans regard "private property" as sacrosanct, whereas gypsies do not have a word for "possess". This is the kind of profound cultural difference which gives rise to incompatible ways of life and poses a continual problem for gypsies, who are invariably regarded as "thieves" from the European point of view.

The Roma 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). 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 Romany people. In general, this lack of a written record has meant that the origin and early history of the Romani people was long an enigma. Only in the past two hundred years have linguists and cultural anthropologists properly hypothesized the Indian origins of the Romany peoples based on linguistic evidence. More recent genetic information has confirmed this hypothesis. As we mentioned above, the Roma 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 (Refer to appendix II).

However, until the mid-late eighteenth century, theories of the origin of the Roma amounted to little more than speculation. Then in 1782, Johann Christian Christoph Rüdiger published his research that pointed out the relationship between the Romani language and Hindustani. Subsequent work supported the hypothesis that Romani shared a common origin with the Indo-Aryan languages of Northern India, with Romani grouping most closely with Sinhalese in a recent study.

While the majority of historians accept this work as evidence of an Indian origin for the Roma, some scholars still maintain that the Roma acquired their language through contact with Indian merchants. However, additional evidence for the Indian origin of the Roma came in the late 1990s when it was discovered that Roma populations carried large frequencies of particular Y chromosomes (inherited paternally) and mitochondrial DNA (inherited maternally) that otherwise are found only in populations

from South Asia (Kalaydjieva, Morar, Chaix and Tang, 2005). With respect to these findings 47.3% of Roma men carry Y chromosomes of haplogroup H-M82 which is otherwise rare outside of the Indian subcontinent. Mitochondrial haplogroup M, most common in Indian subjects and rare outside of Southern Asia, accounts for nearly 30% of Roma people. A more detailed study of Polish Roma shows this to be of the M5 lineage, which is specific to India (Malyarchuk, Grzybowski, Derenko, Czarny and Miscicka-Slivka, 2006). Moreover, a form of the inherited disorder congenital myasthenia is carried by around 4% of the Roma population. This form of the disorder, caused by the 1267delG mutation, is otherwise only known in subjects of Indian ancestry. These genetic results are considered to be unambiguous proof that all Roma are descended from a single founding population, originating from the Indian subcontinent around 40 generations ago, which subsequently split into the subgroups we see today.

## 2.1 Possible Causes of the Romany Diaspora

There is at present no universally accepted explanation of the origins of the Romany diaspora. One of the most probable explanations, however, is that the Roma were part of the military in Northern India. Following the early Mughal raids into India by Mahmud of Ghazni (Mohammed Ghazni) and the defeat of these Indian military groups (whether or not they were of the traditional Kshatriya caste is not, at present clear), their civilian elements, as well as some military survivors may have been moved west with their families into the Byzantine Empire. This would have occurred between approximately 1000 and 1050 AD.<sup>2</sup> This departure date is assumed because, linguistically speaking, the Romani language is a New Indo-Aryan language (NIA)--it has only two genders (masculine and feminine). Prior to c. 1000 A.D., Indo-Aryan languages, (Middle Indo-Aryan, or MIA), had three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) as in the classical Sanskrit. By the turn of the 2nd millennium the Middle Indo-Aryan phase had passed into the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) phase, losing the neuter gender. The parallel in grammatical gender evolution between Romani and other NIA languages has been proposed as an explanatory mechanism proving that the change occurred on the Subcontinent rather than outside of it. On this basis, the majority of researches now consider it impossible for the ancestors of the Romas to have left India prior to around 1000 A.D. The Roma then remained in the Byzantine Empire for several hundred years. However, following the Muslim expansions of the 12-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly that of the Seljuk Turks, and repeated incursions into the Byzantine Empire, the Romany people recommenced their movement westwards, towards what was perceived as a more safe haven (see Appendix I).

A competing hypothesis regarding the early years of the Romany diaspora is that the early Mughal conquerors of northern India took the Roma as slaves and marched them home over the unforgiving terrain of Central Asia, taking great tolls on the population and thereby giving rise to such designations as the Hindu Kush mountains of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan. As for the musicians, there is literature painting how the prince Vlad Tsepes Dracula took in the Romani musicians to entertain his court (this has since been turned into the science-fiction Dracula character, with Bram Stoker's novel leading the way in his portrayal as constantly attended by bands of Gypsies). Another explanation relates to Mahmud of Ghazni reportedly taking some 500,000 prisoners during a Turkish/Persian invasion of Sindh and Punjab, which may have included the ancestors of the present day Romany. Other explanations suggest the Roma were originally low-caste Hindus recruited into an army of mercenaries, granted warrior caste status, and sent westward to resist Islamic military expansion. In any case, upon arrival in the Byzantine Empire, the

<sup>2</sup>An additional layer of complexity is added by the fact that there was probably more than one Romany migration, although historians have yet to determine categorically how many migrations may have actually taken place and how closely they were grouped in time. In general, linguistic evidence points to a period of approximately fifty years (1000 A.D. to 1050 A.D.). However, there are other, conflicting indications, of some groups which may have migrated westward significantly earlier. For example, some contemporary scholars have suggested that one of the first written references to the Roma, under the term "Atsinganoi", (Greek), dates from the Byzantine era during a time of famine in the 9th century. In 800 AD, Saint Athanasia gave food to "foreigners called the Atsinganoi" near Thrace. Later, in 803 AD, Theophanes the Confessor wrote that Emperor Nikephoros I had the help of the "Atsinganoi" to put down a riot with their "knowledge of magic". In a reference more consistent with linguistic dating, "Atsingani" was used to refer to itinerant fortune tellers, ventriloquists and wizards who visited the Emperor Constantine IX in the year 1054. The hagiographical text, *The Life of St. George the Anchorite*, mentions that the "Atsingani" were called on by Constantine to help rid his forests of the wild animals which were killing off his livestock. They are later described as sorcerers and evildoers and accused of trying to poison the Emperor's favorite hound.

Roma became a distinct community. Why the Roma did not return to India, choosing instead to travel west into Europe, remains an enigma, but may relate either to military service under the Muslims or to a desire to move further westward to escape increasing Muslim incursions from the East.<sup>3</sup>

### 3.0 The Analytic Problem of Romany Homeland Orientation

In this context, the lack of a traditional “homeland” orientation is a significant differentiator between the Romany diaspora and other classical Diasporas and requires some explanation. A major question in this regard is why the Roma did not go back to India. One hypothesis is that Romany are opportunistic in nature and tend to seek more a developed environment with richer social welfare where they can prosper in their own fashion rather than seeking a return to their ancient historical homeland. If India would become the type of environment they could function: yes but the caste system does not place the Roma on top of the scale as they were skilled in arts and craftsmanship considered to be of lower caste. In addition, the complexity of Romany history and the lack of written historical records has confounded many of the “homeland orientation” issues which are far less complex in traditional cases of diaspora. In the case of the Romany, while we now have clear scientific evidence of their Indian origins and an original Indian homeland, for at least the last five hundred years, the Balkans and portions of Central Europe have been the Romany “heartland”. In this context, we propose that for purposes of analyzing the Romany diaspora, one modification which must be made from standard typologies is that “homeland” orientation needs to be replaced by a different concept, unique to the Romany diaspora, which we label “heartland orientation”. This ‘heartland orientation’ also shifts the emphasis of defining characteristics of the Romany diaspora. Instead of placing a great deal of the emphasis on a return to the homeland, other characteristics, such as Cohen’s descriptors, “a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate”, “a troubled relationship with host societies” and, perhaps most importantly, “a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement” have come to be the core, defining features of the Romany diaspora.

Toninato provides one of the most complete explanations of the complexity of the Romany identity as well as explaining a number of the underlying reasons why the Romany diaspora has what we have labeled as a “heartland” rather than a “homeland” orientation:

“Some Roma prefer to adopt a ‘national minority approach’ – as in the case of Roma activists in Central and Eastern Europe (Barany 1998, 2002; Vermeersch 2003; Kovats 2003), or a ‘civil rights approach’ –pursued by the Romani civil rights movement in Germany (Matras 1998). There are also activists who oppose the conceptualization of the Roma/Gypsies as a separate ethnic group. In addition, there exists a number of versions of Gypsy origins which challenge the Indian paradigm, for example the belief in an Egyptian origin (Trubeta 2005). and prefer to be regarded as a social group in order to avoid stigmatization. In these cases, the activists’ claims tend to downplay the Indian features of Roma identity and remain firmly anchored to a nation-state frame. While early Romani populations on their arrival in Europe were able to say that they had come from India, that fact has become lost over time and is still generally unknown to the vast majority of Roma, many of whom have internalized instead the notion of an origin in Egypt (Hancock 1997:27).

In most cases, though, non-academic Roma ascribe to a notion of being in a diaspora. They nevertheless are unable to locate its ‘centre’ and seem to have no clear

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<sup>3</sup> In 1322 a Franciscan monk named Simon Simeonis described people resembling these “atsinganoi” living in Crete and in 1350 Ludolphus of Sudheim mentioned a similar people with a unique language whom he called Mandapolos, a word which some theorize was possibly derived from the Greek word mantes (meaning prophet or fortune teller). Around 1360, an independent Romani fiefdom (called the Feudum Acinganorum) was established in Corfu and became “a settled community and an important and established part of the economy.” By the 14th century, the Roma had reached the Balkans; by 1424, Germany; and by the 16th century, Scotland and Sweden. Some Roma migrated from Persia through North Africa, reaching Europe via Spain in the 15th century. The two currents met in France. Roma began immigrating to the United States in colonial times, with small groups in Virginia and French Louisiana. Larger-scale immigration began in the 1860s, with groups of Romnichal from Britain. The largest number immigrated in the early 1900s, mainly from the Vlax group of Kalderash. Many Roma also settled in Latin America.

understanding of their ancestors' origins, let alone their Indian origins (Williams 2002, Gay y Blasco 2001, Stewart 2004). This is largely due to their specific relationship with the past. As a Gypsy from Northern Italy told me, the Gypsy memory is a short one. It can only go back a few generations, but not further than that. To non-academic Gypsies, their remote past is not completely irrelevant, but cannot be proven for certain. It is simply 'out of reach'. This attitude confirms the fact that Gypsy ethnicity tends to be rooted in the present, rather than in the past (Silverman 1988; Plasere 1995; Stewart 1995). This is particularly evident in the case of the memories of the Holocaust. Roma activists insist on keeping alive the memory of the extermination camps in which half a million Gypsies lost their lives. By contrast, the traditional attitude of the Roma towards these traumatic events has been to honor their memory with silence, a silence that is not indicative of a lack of interest, but is perceived by the Roma as the best way to show their respect towards the dead (Williams 2002).

To conclude, Gypsy diasporic practices are an internally diversified phenomenon. This is largely due to their nature as social practices, thereby intrinsically context-specific and subject to change. Furthermore, the plurality of voices within the Gypsy diaspora discourse reflects the great differentiation of Romani groups and their diverse situation in their host countries – what Gheorghe and Action have defined as the 'Gypsy archipelago' (2001:55)."

We will discuss the nature of this orientation in the context of assimilation and discrimination and oppression of the Romany people in the next section.

#### **4.0 Difficulties of assimilation and the problem of the social oppression of the Romany peoples**

When the Romani people first arrived in Europe, curiosity was soon followed by hostility and xenophobia. In each host nation gypsies appeared to take on the religion, names and language of their hosts, but within the Rom they maintain their Rom language, names, music, customs and Indian looks. This tight community has meant that after some six hundred years there is still a large population of gypsies not integrated or assimilated with Romanians.<sup>4</sup>

Roma were enslaved for five centuries in Romania until abolition in 1864. Elsewhere in Europe, they were subject to ethnic cleansing, abduction of their children, and forced labor. During World War II, the Nazis murdered 200,000 to 800,000 Roma in an attempted genocide known as the *Porajmos*. Like the Jews, they were marked for extermination and sentenced to forced labour and imprisonment in concentration camps. They were often killed on sight, especially by the Einsatzgruppen (essentially mobile killing units) on the Eastern Front.

In Communist Eastern Europe, the Roma experienced assimilation schemes and restrictions of cultural freedom. The Romani language and Romani music were banned from public performance in Bulgaria. In Czechoslovakia, they were labeled a "socially degraded stratum," and Romani women were sterilized as part of a state policy to reduce their population. This policy was implemented with large financial incentives, threats of denying future social welfare payments, misinformation or after administering drugs (Silverman 1995; Helsinki Watch 1991). An official inquiry from the Czech Republic, resulting in a report (December 2005), concluded that the Communist authorities had practiced an assimilation policy towards Roma, which "included efforts by social services to control the birth rate in the Romani community" and that "the problem of sexual sterilization carried out in the Czech Republic, either with improper motivation or illegally, exists", with new revealed cases up until 2004, in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

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<sup>4</sup> While in Romania some of the Gypsies took to speaking a version of Romanian called Bayesh which can be heard in some of the songs of Gypsy groups recorded in Hungary. Nowadays about 40% of the Gypsies still speak Romany and many can still be seen travelling in lines of carts along the roads of Romania. The majority live in the towns and villages, some fully integrated into villages, some in large ornate houses standing out from the Romanians, but others in small buildings on scraps of lands on the villages edges.

## 5.0 Romany Musicians<sup>5</sup>

Romani musicians were often less nomadic than their craftsmen counterparts, as they were often offered housing and other rewards by their sponsors. This was a traditional practice throughout the Romany heartland as well as for Hungarian Romany musicians in the Hapsburg Court and for Romany musicians in many other regions with deeply rooted musical traditions, including Serbia, Romania and Spain (see Appendix V).

The Rom tribes distinguish themselves by the names of their trades:

- Lăutari = musicians and dancers
- Căldărari (Kalderash) = Tin and coppermiths
- Argintari = Jewellers
- Fierari = Blacksmiths
- Zlateri = gold panners
- Ghurara = sieve makers
- Lovar = horse dealers

Typically nomadic, the Roma have long acted as wandering entertainers and tradesmen. In all the places Roma 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 music characteristically has vocals that tend to be soulful and declamatory, and the music often incorporates prominent glissandi (slides) between notes. Instrumentation varies widely according to the region the music comes from. Romani communities are common in Arab and Middle Eastern countries, but are often found in southern parts of India as well. There is a strong tradition of Romani music in Central and Eastern Europe, notably in countries such as Hungary, Romania and the former Yugoslavia. The quintessentially Spanish flamenco is to a very large extent the music (and dance, or indeed the culture) of the Roma of Andalusia.

## 6.0 Contemporary Evidence Explaining Romany Diffusion, Migration, and Settlement Patterns

Based on the data presented in Appendix V and on both works by Anne Sutherland (1975) on the American Roma and Alexander Ramati (1986) based on the tragedy of Andrzej Mirga's life; the mapping of different Romany migration scenarios has become possible. The first map presented below is a representation of how some American Roma travel throughout the United States, taking advantage of the welfare system as an opportunity to increase their income. As described by Sutherland; they establish a permanent residence with their "real name" and move to their relatives' and friends' residences assuming different identities and applying for additional welfare support under those alternative names and addresses. This particular "migration cycle" within the Romany Diaspora pattern is fairly complex, involving an elaborate system of networks. Further, it is important to note that despite evidence for this pattern; the

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<sup>5</sup> Additional Primary Source Data on Gypsy musicians is contained in appendix V.

American Roma have largely lost their nomadic tradition. Three major areas are also identified by Sutherland as being major concentration areas of Roma: Northern California, Texas and Rhode Island. At present there are approximately one million Roma in the United States (See Appendix I).

## **7.0 Conclusion**

This study began with the ambition to understand the Romany Diaspora. Roma origins have been traced back to their inception in India and three patterns have been discovered as belonging to either “cyclical migration”, “diffusion” or immigration and settlement. What comes out of this work is that the Romany Diaspora, unlike any other mass movement of cultures and ethnicities does not seem to be attracted towards returning to its original (i.e., India). Instead, it appears that the Roma have continually moved West into developing countries and into nations which often appeared to offer greater opportunities including a strong welfare system.

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Appendix I:

Simulation of "Welfare" Romany Diaspora based on Anne Sutherland study in *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans* (1975)

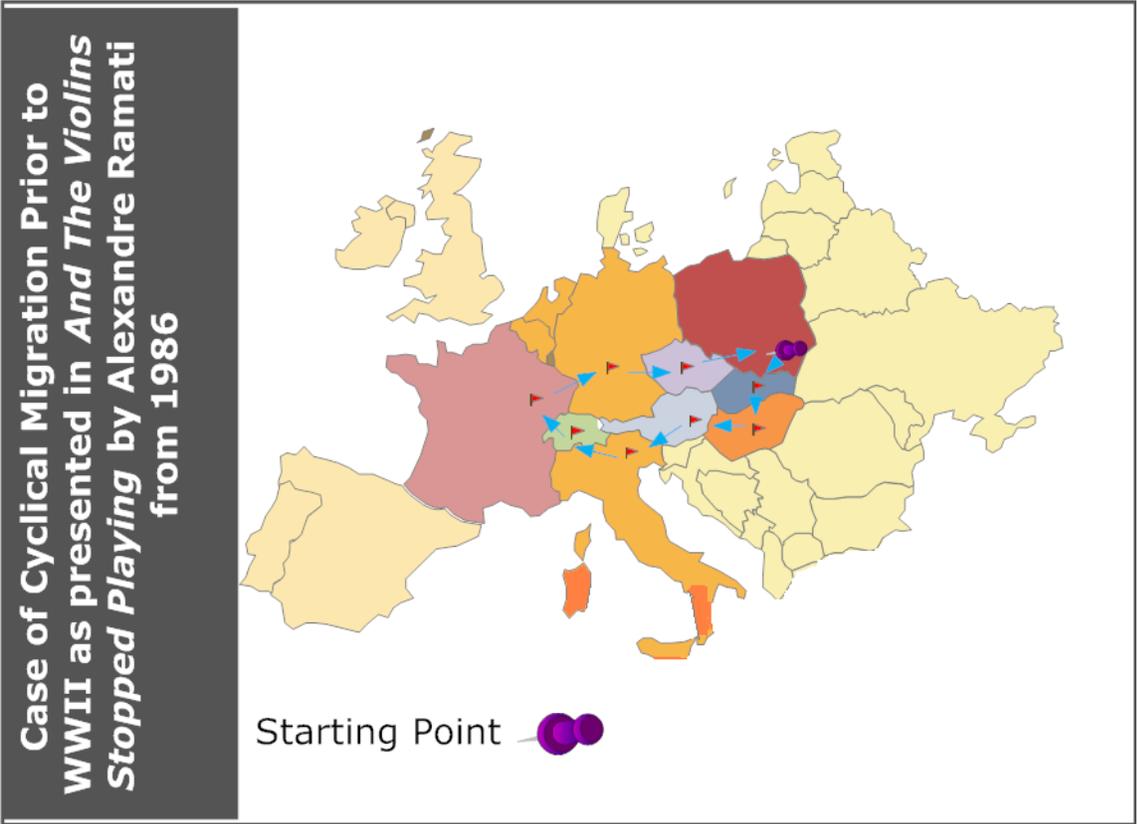


Represent the cyclical migration of one Roma using the welfare system to his or her advantage.



**APPENDIX II:**

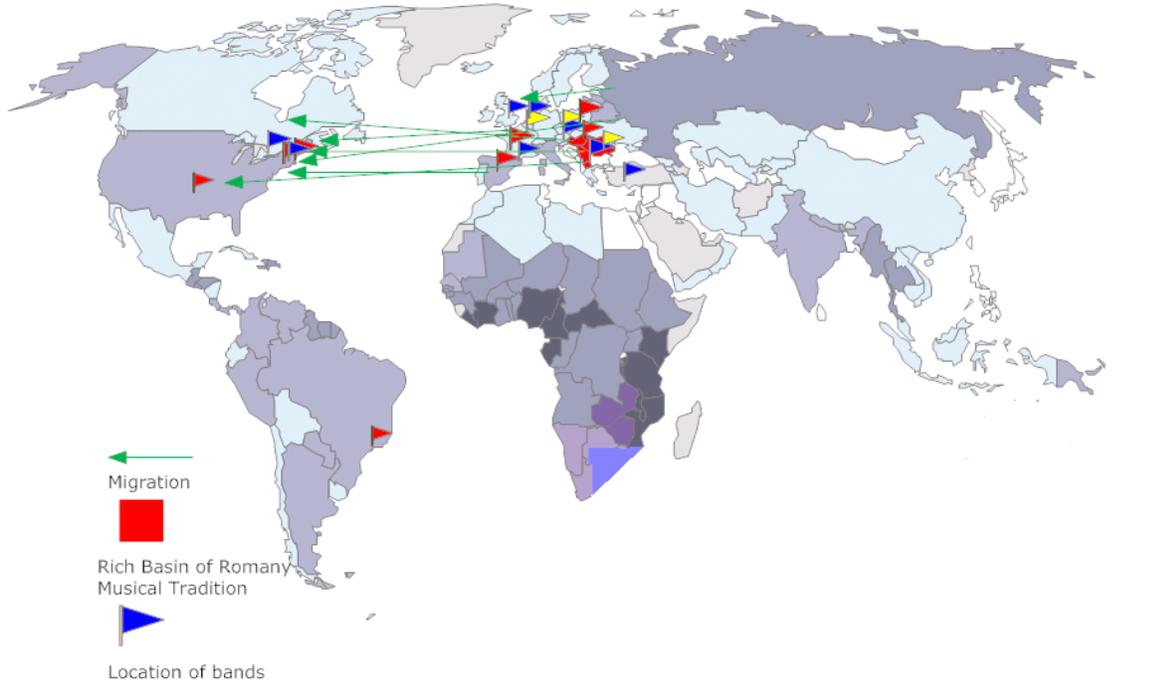
Our second map is based on Ramati’s novel (1986) *And the violins stopped playing* which is based on a manuscript by Andszej Mirga handed to Ramati by Mirga himself, who was a Lowland Gypsy or Polska Roma violinist who travelled with his *familia* (term from Romany used to describe a tribe usually led by a leader who, in this particular case was Andszej’s father) during World War II. This “cyclical migration” or Diaspora pattern was also based on economical needs as Mirga’s *familia* used to trade their goods with folk from local villages in neighboring countries following a route with their caravans which they had been following as long as they could remember. This particular pattern begins in the South East of Poland where the tribe is from. The familia usually settles in the winter as it is too cold for the children and elderly to travel. As soon as the spring comes; they head south to Slovakia, then, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and finally back to Poland in the fall. In Ramati’s work this cycle does not reach completion (as one can easily imagine) considering the circumstances of the War.



**APPENDIX III:**

This last map represents a several different patterns. The settlement and diffusion patterns are described using the data collected form 30 Romany Bands and three generations originating from various regions of the world (See Appendix V). The settlement pattern represented by the red area in Central Europe represents a large number of Roma who have lost their nomadic ways. One of the historical reasons for this phenomenon is (as mentioned in the previous section) that many Romany Musicians have settled (i.e. ceased migration) due to a variety of comfortable situations historically offered to them by various sponsors including those such as Dracul and the Hapsburgs. In such cases, they have established themselves geographically and have created basins of musical tradition which are now as much as three hundred years old. Those basins are Serbia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Macedonia and to a lesser extent Turkey and Spain. Our map also presents a diffusion pattern as it shows bands immigrating to the United States, Canada and Brazil from Europe and Asia.

**Location Of Gypsy Bands Based On Data in Appendix VIII**



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**Appendix IV: Roma Demographic Data**


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<b>Country</b>	<b>Arrived</b>	<b>Population Estimates</b>	<b>Common name</b>	<b>Derived from</b>	<b>Tribal names</b>
Afghanistan		20,000	Gurbet	Arabic "garib=foreign"	Ghorbati, Jalili, Pikraj, Shadibaz
Albania		1300 to 120,000	Medjup	Egypt	
Argentina		300,000			
Armenia			Lom	Rom	
Austria	14 <sup>th</sup> century	40,000			Sinti, Rom (Kalderash, Lovar)
Brazil		678,000			
Bulgaria		370,900 to 750,000			
Canada		80,000			
Czech Republic		12,000 to 220,000			
Colombia		79,000			
England	15 <sup>th</sup> century	44,000 to 94,000	Gypsies	Egypt	

France	15 <sup>th</sup> century	300,000	Tsiganes	Greek "Atsinkanos"	Rom, Sinti, Kalo
Germany	15 <sup>th</sup> century	120,000	Zigeuner	Greek "Atsinkanos"	Sinti, Rom
Greece	11 <sup>th</sup> century	300,000	Ejifos	Egypt	Rom, Handuria
Hungary	15 <sup>th</sup> century	600,000	Ciganyok	Greek "Atsinkanos"	Rom, Vlahura
Italy	15 <sup>th</sup> century	90,000 to 110,000	Zingari	Greek "Atsinkanos"	Sinti, Rom
Iran / Persia	10 <sup>th</sup> century	110,000	Karachi	black	Kouli, Ghorbati, Fiuji
Ireland	15 <sup>th</sup> century	20,000			
Macedonia		54,000 to 260,000			
Netherlands	15 <sup>th</sup> century	35,000			Sinti, Rom (Lovar, Kalderash)
Romania	14 <sup>th</sup> century	Official census is 535,250 but UNDP assess to 1,800,000 to 2,500,000	Jigani	Greek "Atsinkanos"	Rom (Aurari, Kalderash, Lautan)
Russia	15 <sup>th</sup> century	250,000			Luli, Bosha, Marangar, Lovar
Serbia	13 <sup>th</sup> century	108,000 to 500,000	Gitanos	Egypt	Rom (Gurbeti, Arlije, Kalderash)
Spain	15 <sup>th</sup> century	800,000	Gitanos	Egypt	Kale
Turkey		300,000 to 5,000,000	Chinguene		Arlije
UnitedStates	19 <sup>th</sup> century	1,000,000	Gypsies		

There are several factors contributing to the difficulty of performing a precise Romany census: 1) the nomadic nature of the Roma and their constant travelling from one country to another 2) the lack of

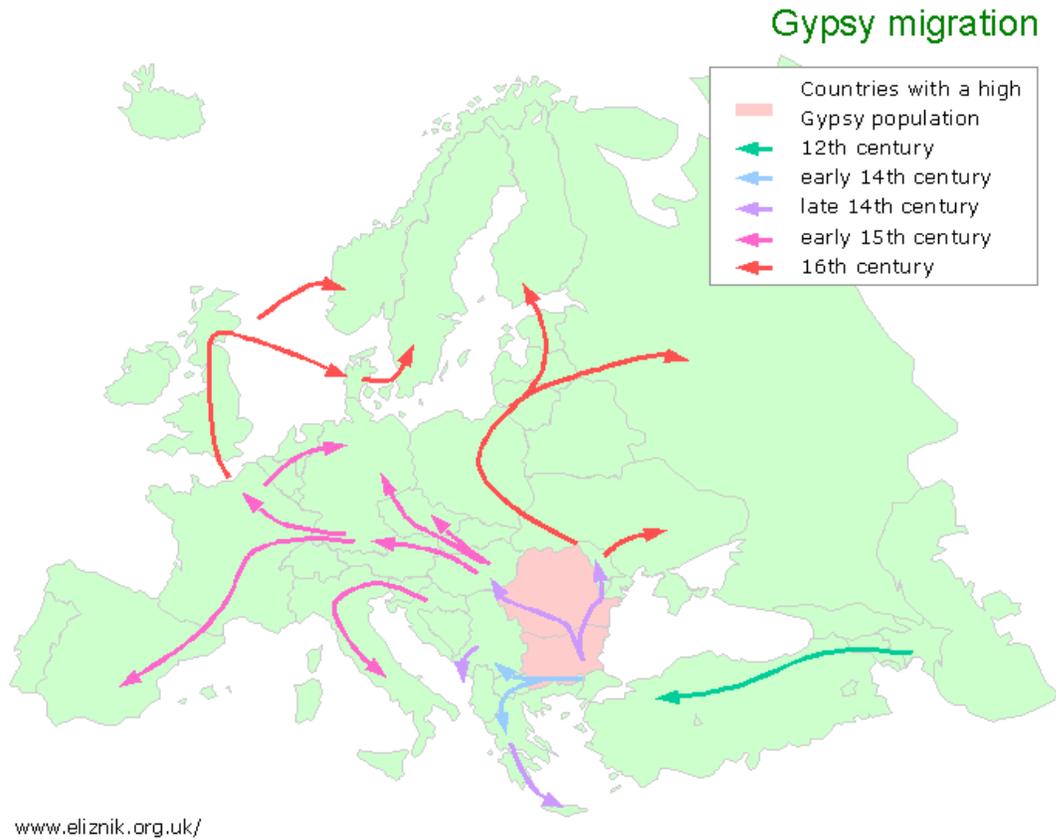
identification such as social security number and identity cards and so on and 3) their having many names making it extremely difficult to assess who is who, particularly since most Roma are illiterate and 4) their being registered at many addresses at the same time or, alternatively having no address whatsoever.

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**Appendix V: Gypsy migration, 12th to 16th centuries**


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**Appendix VI: Relative Arrival Times of the Romany in Europe<sup>6</sup>**


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Place	Date
India	Start
Persia	900
Anatolia	1100
Crete	1322
Constantinople	
Corfu	1346
Serbia	1348
Dubrovnik	1362
Moldavia	1370

<sup>6</sup> Also drawn from <http://www.eliznik.org.uk>

Croatia	1378
Wallachia	1385
Bohemia	1399
Basel	1414
Braşov	1415
Strasbourg	1418
Bruges	1419
Germany cities	1420
Brussels	
Holland	
Paris	1421
Bologna	1422
Rome	1423
Barcelona	1425
Wales	1448
England	1501
Scotland	1505
Denmark	
Poland	1509
Russia	1510
Baltic	1512
Sweden	
Norway	1544
Finland	1597

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## Appendix VII: The Gypsies of Jerusalem: The Forgotten People<sup>7</sup>

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*“A band of itinerant musicians and dancers hired by a Persian king? A caste of entertainers, commissioned to defend their homeland against a Hunnish invasion in the 5th century? Or a number of tribes sent out to Persia to a Turko-Persian general, never to return again? How and when did the Gypsies begin their migration, and how did they end up in Jerusalem of all places? In the early 18th century, historians established that the Gypsy people originated as a caste of entertainers in India who called themselves Dom, which meant “man” in their common language. The Dom of Jerusalem are one of the many communities of Gypsies who have settled throughout the Middle East. Like the Roma and Lom, their European and Armenian counterparts, the Dom have a consciousness that is both uniquely Gypsy and heavily influenced by their host countries. Amidst the theories gleaned from historical records concerning the cause of their departure from India, the Dom of Jerusalem offer a legend which roots them firmly in the Middle East.”*

-Amoun Sleem, Domari Society of Jerusalem -

There are several groups of Gypsy people in Israel, including approximately 600 extended families, originally stemming from Bulgaria. There are some 3,000 Domari people, resident predominantly in east Jerusalem and the Gaza strip. There is also a presence of a Dom organization, the Domari society of Jerusalem, founded in November, 1999, and led by Amoun Sleem. In recent times the size of the Dom community in the region has fallen quite dramatically. Some left the country during the period leading up to 1948. However, the greatest migrations occurred in the aftermath of the 1967 war. Many of the Jerusalem Dom spent the duration of the war seeking sanctuary in the Church of St. Anne. Many of those who fled found refuge in Jordan, Syria and Egypt, from which some return for short visits to friends and family. Many of these have “hidden” their identity by claiming to be Palestinians, and are reluctant or unwilling to reveal themselves as Dom...Some two hundred families resided in the region prior to 1967, but that number has fallen to approximately seventy families at present. Positively, the Dom have been able to sustain their culture, especially with the foundation of the Society. It is committed to protecting the increasingly little-spoken language of the Middle Eastern Gypsies from extinction (Domari), and the Society attempts to inform Dom children about their culture and heritage. It also provides some humanitarian assistance to the local Gypsy community (especially with the support of the Dom Research Centre), and to promote knowledge amongst non-Gypsies about the community’s traditions and its rich culture. As mentioned previously, there are a number of foreign Roma amongst the Balkan people working in Israel.

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<sup>7</sup> Excerpted from “Roma in Israel” by Valery Novoselsky in *Gypsies and the Problem of Identities: Contextual, Constructed and Contested (Transactions)*, Edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand, I.B. Tauris, 2006.

## Appendix VIII: Romany Bands Data Collection

Bands	Generation	Location	Origin	Migration	Influence
Kal	1	Serbia	Hungary/Serbia	yes	Blues/rock
Romica Puceanu	3	Romania	Romanian	no	turkish/romanian
Grabovachki Trio	1	Serbia	serbia/armenia	no	Indian, Vlach, central Serbian and classical
Bojan Krstic	1	Serbia	serbia	no	South serbian 7/8 and 9/8
Feiza Bakic Milan Mladenovic	1,2	Serbia	serbia	no	south serbian
Mahala Rai Banda	1,2	Romania	moldavia	yes	army
Saban Bajramovic	2	Vienna	Serbia	yes	jail jazz orchestra
Szászcsávás Band	2	Transylvania/romania	Hungary	no	hungarian, romanian, basel school
Esmá Redzepova	2	St Louis/USA	Macadonia	yes	jazz
Fanfare Ciocarla	1,2	Romania	Romanian	no	Turkish military brass band
Taraf De Haidouks	1,2,3	Romania	Romanian	no	Turkish
Yuri Yunakov	2	USA	Bulgarian	yes	Turkish, bulgarian, jazz
Balogh Kalman	2	Hungary	Hungary	no	jazz, blakan, hungarian, classical
Vera Bila	2	Czech Republic	Czech republic	no	Traditional
Loyko	1,2,3	England	Russia	yes	russian, classical, traditional
Rosenberg Trio	2	Holland	Holland	yes	Django
Django and Babik Reinhardt	2,3	France	Belgium	yes	jazz
Istanbul Oriental Ensemble	1,2	Turkey	Turkey	no	traditional
Mio Vacite e o Encanto Cigano	1,2	Brazil	Brazil	no	Brazilian
Fapy Lafertin	1	Holland	Belgium	yes	Django
Romano Drom	2,3	Poland	Poland	no	polish folk, traditional, classical
Roby and Sandor Lakatos	2,3	Belgium	Hungary	yes	hungarian, classical, jazz
Yoska Nemeth	3	Hungary	Hungary	no	hungarian, classical
Maty Csiany	3	Hungary	Hungary	no	hungarian, classical
Bohemian Quartet	1	USA	France/Poland	yes	classical, polish, hungarian, romanian...
Nicolae Guta	2	Romania	Romanian	no	django, electric
Gogol Bordello	1,2	USA	Ukraine	yes	rock, jazz, balkan, electric, punk
Manitas del Plata	3	France	Spain	yes	flamenco
E Zhivendi Yag	1,2	Canada	Hungary,Russia,Romania, Bulgaria	yes	electric, turkish, hungarian
Agustin Rios Amaya	2	USA	Spain	yes	flamenco, Moron Gypsy

*Generation explanation: 1<50 years of age; 2>50 and 3 represents deceased musicians.*

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