

Ljubljana, Slovenija, 21.–23. avgust 2025  
Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Gosposka 15 in  
Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2

21.–23. 8.  
2025

Mednarodni simpozij

# *Romani and Sinti Musicians between the State, Market, and Society*

## *Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice med državo, trgom in družbo*

International Symposium

Ljubljana, Slovenia, 21–23 August 2025  
City Museum Ljubljana, Gosposka 15 &  
Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2



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Filozofska fakulteta



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NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE  
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agencija za raziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije



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## International Symposium

Ljubljana, Slovenia, 21-23 August 2025  
City Museum Ljubljana, Gosposka 15 &  
Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2

# PROGRAMME / PROGRAM

International symposium Romani and Sinti Musicians between the State, Market, and Society  
Mednarodni simpozij Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice med državo, trgom in družbo

Thursday, 21 August, 2025 / Četrtek, 21. avgust 2025

**Venue / lokacija: City Museum Ljubljana / Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Gosposka ulica 15, Ljubljana**

08:30–09:00 REGISTRATION / REGISTRACIJA

## Opening remarks / Uvodni nagovori:

09:00–09:10 **Jožek Horvat – Muc** (Romani Union of Slovenia / Zveza Romov Slovenije)

**Katarina Bogunović Hočevar** (Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana / Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani)

09:10–09:30 **Svanibor Pettan:** Romani and Sinti Musicians between the State, Market, and Society (opening presentation and remarks) / *Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice med državo, trgom in družbo (uvodna predstavitev in nagovor)*

## Topic of the Day / Tema dneva:

**Romani and Sinti Musicians, State, Media, and Activism /**

**Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice, država, mediji in aktivizem**

## 09:30–11:00 Session 1 / Sekcija 1

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Marija Dumnić Vilotijević**

**1. Alenka Bartulović:** Sevdalinka and Romani Musicians: Between Heritigisation and “Musical Discomforts” / *Sevdalinka in romski glasbeniki: med dediščinjenjem in »glasbenim nelagodjem«*

**2. Burcu Yaşın:** Music for Whom?: God, Good Citizens, and the Political Economy of Music Education in Neoliberal Türkiye / *Glasba za koga?: Bog, dobri državljani in politična ekonomija glasbenega izobraževanja v neoliberalni Turčiji*

**3. Gökçe İşler:** The Transition from Zurna to Clarinet in Türkiye: Musical Transformation in the Context of Romani Musicians / *Prehod od zurne do klarineta v Turčiji: glasbena preobrazba v kontekstu romskih glasbenikov*

11:00–11:15 COFFEE BREAK / ODMOR ZA KAVO

11:15–12:45

## Session 2 / Sekcija 2

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Zuzana Jurková**

1. **Elif Özen: The Romani-ness of Karagöz:** Identity, Representation, and Performance / *Romskost Karagöza: identiteta, reprezentacija in izvajanje*
2. **Marlies de Roos-Linden:** Staging Musical Identities: Musical Identity in the 'Lăutari Space' at De Nacht van de Balkan Concert (1980) / *Uprizarjanje glasbenih identitet: glasbena identiteta v »lautarskem prostoru« na koncertu De Nacht van de Balkan (1980)*
3. **Jana Ambrózová:** Kolotoc.sk: A Digital Revolution in Romani Music Distribution in Slovakia / *Kolotoc.sk: Digitalna revolucija v distribuciji romske glasbe na Slovaškem*

12:45–14:30

LUNCH / KOSILO: Plečnikov hram, Trg Francoske revolucije 2, Ljubljana

14:30–16:00

## Session 3 / Sekcija 3

Chair / Predsedujoči: **Damjan Mandelc**

- Panel title / Naslov panela: Romani Music, Media, and Systemic Exclusion: Cultural and Social Dimensions / *Romska glasba, mediji in sistemska izključenost: kulturne in družbene dimenzije*
1. **Damjan Mandelc:** Romani Culture and Music as European Identity: Between Inclusion and Marginalization / *Romska kultura in glasba kot evropska identiteta: med vključenostjo in marginalizacijo*
  2. **Tjaša Učakar:** Beyond the Margins: Challenging Media Discourse on Roma in Slovenia / *Onkraj obrobja: izzivanje medijskega diskurza o Romih v Sloveniji*
  3. **Ana Ješe Perković:** Intersectional Discrimination in Practice: Structural Exclusion of the Romani Population / *Intersekcijska diskriminacija v praksi: strukturna izključenost romske populacije*

16:00–16:15

COFFEE BREAK / ODMOR ZA KAVO

16:15–17:45

## Session 4 / Sekcija 4

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Burcu Yaşin**

1. **Carol Silverman:** Bulgarian Romani Music, Migration and Activism: Responding to Neo-nationalism / *Bolgarska romska glasba, migracije in aktivizem: odzivi na neonacionalizem*
2. **Alenka Janko Spreizer:** Romani Studies, Their Critical Turn, and the Culture of Remembrance on the Genocide of the Roma during the Nazi Era / *Romske študije, njihov kritični obrat in kultura spominjanja na genocid nad Romi v času nacizma*
3. **Iva Nenić:** Sounding Presence: Contemporary Romani Music Activism in Serbia / *Zvočna prisotnost: sodobni romski glasbeni aktivizem v Srbiji*

Venue / lokacija: Faculty of Arts / Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana

18:30–21:00

## Social evening / Družabni večer

Presentation of publications on Romani and Sinti musicians / *Predstavitve publikacij o romskih in sintskih glasbenikih in glasbenicah*  
Dinner / večerja  
Photo exhibitions on *Roma in Slovenia* (Jožek Horvat – Muc, Monika Sandreli) and *Romani Musicians in Kosovo* (Svanibor Pettan) / *Razstavi fotografij Romi v Sloveniji* (Jožek Horvat – Muc, Monika Sandreli) in *Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice na Kosovu* (Svanibor Pettan)

Friday, 22 August, 2025 / Petek, 22. avgust 2025

**Topic of the Day / Tema dneva:**

**Interactions between Romani and Sinti Musicians and the Society /**

**Interakcije med romskimi in sintskimi glasbeniki in glasbenicami ter družbo**

**Venue / lokacija:** City Museum Ljubljana / Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Gosposka ulica 15, Ljubljana

**09:00–10:30 Session 5 / Sekcija 5**

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Iva Nenić**

1. **Mojca Piškork**: Wavering Degrees of Separation: Romani Musicians and the Changing Social Worlds of Interwar Croatia / *Nestanovitne stopnje ločenosti: Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice ter spreminjajoči se družbeni svetovi medvojne Hrvaške*

2. **David Verbuč**: Beyond Binary Opposition: Complexities of Social and Music Interaction Between Romani / Sinti and Non-Romani / Non-Sinti People in North Slovenia / *Onkraj binarnih nasprotij: kompleksnost družbenih in glasbenih odnosov med Romi / Sinti in Neromi / Nesinti v severni Sloveniji*

3. **Anja Moric**: Ritual, Music, and Belonging: The Romani Pilgrimage to Brezje / *Ritual, glasba in pripadnost: romanje Romov na Brezje*

10:30–10:45 COFFEE BREAK / ODMOR ZA KAVO

**10:45–11:45 Session 6 / Sekcija 6**

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Alma Bejtullahu**

1. **Krenar Doli, Bestar Vula**: The Role of Romani Musicians in the Tradition of Aheng in the City of Gjakova / *Vloga romskih glasbenikov v tradiciji ahenga v Đakovici*

2. **Visar Munishi**: The Romani Sound: A Living Heritage in Kosovo / *Romski zvok: živa dediščina na Kosovu*

12:00–13:00 LUNCH / KOSILO: Namaste, Breg 8, Ljubljana

**Venue / lokacija:** Faculty of Arts / Filozofska fakulteta, AŠkerčeva 2, Ljubljana

**13:30–15:00 Roundtable / Okrogla miza**

Romani and Sinti Musicians in Popular Music of Slovenia / *Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice v popularni glasbi v Sloveniji*.

Participants / Udeleženci: **Saša Debeljak, Jožek Horvat – Muc, Sandi Horvat – Sunny, Jože Kovač – Uri, Darko Rudaš.**

Moderators / Povezovalca: **Maša K. Marty in / and David Verbuč**

**Venue / lokacija:** City Museum Ljubljana / Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Gosposka ulica 15, Ljubljana

**15:30–17:00 Session 7 / Sekcija 7**

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Margaret Beissinger**

1. **Alma Bejtullahu**: Being “the Other” or Being a Slovene? Identifications of Romani Musicians as a Minority within the Majority / *Biti “Drugi” ali biti Slovenec: identifikacije romskih glasbenikov kot manjšine v večinskem kontekstu*

2. **Sandi Horvat**: How Much Do Roma Benefit from “Money for Roma”? / *Koliko imajo Romi dejanske koristi od »denarja za Rome«?*

3. **Maša K. Marty** The Roma in the Slovenian Folk Tradition: Echoes of the Past and Reflections on the Present / *Romi v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu: odmevi preteklosti in razmišljanja o današnjem času*

17:00–17:15 COFFEE BREAK / ODMOR ZA KAVO

**17:15–19:15 Film Screening and Discussion / Projekcija filma z razpravo:**

**Petr Nuska**: Rooted Musicians from Klenovec / *Glasbeniki, ukoreninjeni v Klenovcu* (16 min) and Hopa Lide / *Hopa lide* (90 min)

**Evening / Večer:**

**Open-air concerts at Nights in Ljubljana Old Town International Festival /**  
**Koncerti na prostem v sklopu Mednarodnega festivala Noči v stari Ljubljani**

**Venue / lokacija:** Gornji trg, Ljubljana

20:00 **Vito Marenče Flamenco Trio** (Slovenia / Slovenija)  
21.30 **Romano Glauso** (Slovenia / Slovenija)

**Venue / lokacija:** Križanke, Trg francoske revolucije 1, Ljubljana

20.30 **Budapest Gypsy Symphony Orchestra - From Csardas to Waltz / Budimpeški romski simfonični orkester: Od čardaša do valčka** (Hungary / Madžarska)  
(free tickets for symposium participants / brezplačne vstopnice za udeležence simpozija)

Saturday, 23 August, 2025 / Sobota, 23. avgust 2025

Topic of the Day / Tema dneva:

Romani and Sinti Musicians and the Music Market /  
Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice ter glasbeni trg

Venue / lokacija: City Museum Ljubljana / Mestni muzej Ljubljana, Gosposka ulica 15, Ljubljana

09:30–10:30 Session 8 / Sekcija 8

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Mojca Piškor**

1. **Jelka Vukobratović**: Romani Musicians in the Interwar Yugoslav Record Industry / *Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice v medvojni jugoslovanski diskografski industriji*
2. **Marija Dumnić Vilotijević**: Representations of “Gypsyess” in Yugoslav Discographic Market from 1960s to 1990s / *Reprezentacije »ciganskosti« na jugoslovanskem diskografskem trgu od šestdesetih do devetdesetih let 20. stoletja*
3. **Julijana Baštić, Mark Forry**: “Who's Playing?” ‘Some Gypsies’: The Journey of Romani Tambura Recording and Broadcast Artists from Invisibility to Recognition in the 20th Century / »Kdo igra? ‘Neki Cigani’«: Pot romskih tamburaških posnetih in medijsko izpostavljenih umetnikov od nevidnosti do priznanja v 20. stoletju

10:30–10:45 COFFEE BREAK / ODMOR ZA KAVO

10:45–12:15 Session 9 / Sekcija 9

Chair / Predsedujoča: **Jana Ambrózová**

1. **Margaret H. Beissinger**: Gendered Roles among Romani Musicians in Southern Romania: Occupational Strategies of Female Performers / *Spolno pogojene vloge med romskimi glasbeniki in glasbenicami v južni Romuniji: Poklicne strategije glasbenic*
2. **Zuzana Jurková**: Romani Musicians in the Czech Lands in the Beginning of the 21st Century / *Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice na Češkem na začetku 21. stoletja*
3. **Kai Viljami Åberg**: Romani Music and Musicians in Finland: Persistence and Change in the Public Image of Local Romani Musicians / *Romska glasba ter glasbeniki in glasbenice na Finskem: vztrajnost in spremembe v javni podobi lokalnih romskih glasbenikov in glasbenic*

12:15–13:30 LUNCH / KOSILO: Plečnikov hram, Trg Francoske revolucije 2, Ljubljana

Venue / lokacija: Faculty of Arts / Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana

13:30–14:10: Film Screening and Discussion / Projekcija filma z razpravo:

**Hazel Marsh, Lisa Smith, Esbjörn Wettermark, Tiffany Hore**: “A Basket Full of Eggs”: A Romani Film and Music Archives Project / »Košarica, polna jajc«: projekt Romskega filmskega in glasbenega arhiva

14:15–15:30: Roundtable / Okrogla miza

The Position and Precarity of Women Musicians in Romani Contexts and Interactions / *Položaj in prekarnost glasbenic v romskih kontekstih in interakcijah*.  
Udeleženci / Participants: **Bajsa Arifovska, Nina Brasseur, Sara Brizani, Laura Vučak, Darja Žalik**  
Moderator / Povezovalka: **Alma Bejtullahu**

15:45–16:15 Closing Discussion / Zaključna razprava

16:15–16:30 Presentation / Predstavitev:

Presentation of the new executives of the ICTMD Study Group on Music and Minorities / Predstavitev novih vodstvenih članov Študijske skupine ICTMD za glasbo in manjšine

16:45–18:45 Excursion / Izlet:  
Boat trip on the Ljubljanica River / Izlet z ladjico po Ljubljanici

Evening / Večer:

Open-air concerts at Nights in Ljubljana Old Town International Festival /  
Koncerti na prostem v sklopu Mednarodnega festivala Noči v stari Ljubljani

Venue / lokacija: Novi trg, Ljubljana

- 19:30 **Lana Trotovsšek and Emars String Orchestra: Amaro Trajo – Our Story in Strings / Lana Trotovsšek in Godalni orkester Emars: Amaro Trajo - Naša zgodba v strunah** (Slovenia / Slovenija)
- 20.45 **Romano Drom** (Hungary / Madžarska)
- 22.15 **Imer Traja Brizani & Amala** (Slovenia / Slovenija)

Venue / lokacija: Gornji trg, Ljubljana

- 20:00 **Swingatan** (Slovenia / Slovenija)
- 21.45 **Bajsa Arifovska feat. Harmelologic** (North Macedonia, Slovenia / Severna Makedonija, Slovenija)

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prekarnost glasbenic v romskih  
kontekstih in interakcijah*

## Romani and Sinti Musicians between the State, Market, and Society

### Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice med državo, trgom in družbo

This presentation provides introductory reflections for the symposium under the same title, pointing to the interplay of twenty-four individual papers, one pre-organized panel, two roundtables, three film projections, presentations of publications on Romani and Sinti musicians, two photo exhibitions, several carefully selected open-air concerts, final discussion, and the ICTMD Study Group on Music and Minorities. Participants from more than a dozen countries include scholars with different disciplinary backgrounds and musicians performing a variety of musical genres; their academic presentations and performances provide a joint platform for addressing past and present activities of Romani and Sinti musicians and their interactions both within and beyond their ethnic and professional backgrounds. The three key-terms are linked to the following research questions:

1) State: How state's social and cultural policies affect the activities of Romani and Sinti musicians, their social status, self-representation, motivation, repertoire, stylistic features, venues for performances, and other relevant domains?

2) Market: What are the strategies of Romani and Sinti musicians in addressing market circumstances, past and present, in terms of age, gender, economic status, technology, musical choices, presence in the media, level of professionalism, and other relevant factors?

3) Society: How social and musical interactions between Romani and Sinti musicians and their Romani / Sinti and non-Romani / non-Sinti audiences affect the quality of communication on the levels of individuals, groups, and communities?

Inspired by applied ethnomusicology and collaborative activist approaches, a joint search for improvements in all three selected foci emerges as an important aim beyond broadening and deepening of the academic knowledge and understanding.

Thematic, theoretical, and methodological considerations for the current symposium are contextualized regarding the past symposia, which were brought to fruition in Ljubljana by the same co-organizers in the past 25 years.

Prispevek ponuja uvodne refleksije za simpozij z istim naslovom, pri čemer opozarja na preplet štiriindvajsetih posameznih prispevkov, ene vnaprej organizirane panelne razprave, dveh okroglih miz, treh filmskih projekcij, predstavitev publikacij o romskih in sintskih glasbenikih, dveh fotografskih razstav, več skrbno izbranih koncertov na prostem, zaključne razprave in študijske skupine ICTMD za glasbo in manjšine. Med udeleženci iz več kot ducata držav so znanstveniki in znanstvenice z različnimi disciplinarnimi ozadji in glasbeniki in glasbenice, ki izvajajo različne glasbene žanre; njihove akademske predstavitve in nastopi zagotavljajo skupno platformo za obravnavo preteklih in sedanjih dejavnosti romskih in sintskih glasbenikov in glasbenic ter interakcij znotraj in zunaj njihovega etničnega in poklicnega okolja. Trije ključni pojmi so povezani z naslednjimi raziskovalnimi vprašanji:

1. Država: Kako socialne in kulturne politike države vplivajo na dejavnosti romskih in sintskih glasbenikov in glasbenic, njihov družbeni status, samoreprezentacijo, motivacijo, repertoar, slogovne značilnosti, prizorišča za nastope in druga relevantna področja?

2. Trg: Kakšne so strategije romskih in sintskih glasbenikov in glasbenic pri obravnavanju tržnih okoliščin, preteklih in sedanjih, glede na starost, spol, ekonomski status, tehnologijo, glasbene izbire, prisotnost v medijih, raven profesionalnosti in druge pomembne dejavnike?

3. Družba: Kako družbene in glasbene interakcije med romskimi in sintskimi glasbeniki in glasbenicami ter njihovim romskim / sintskim in neromskim / nesintskim občinstvom vplivajo na kakovost komunikacije na ravni posameznikov, skupin in skupnosti?

V soglasju z aplikativno etnomuzikologijo in njenimi sodelovalnimi aktivističnimi pristopi, se skupno iskanje izboljšav pri vseh treh raziskovalnih vprašanjih izpostavlja kot pomemben cilj, ki presega zgolj širjenje in poglobljanje akademskega znanja in razumevanja. Tematski, teoretični in metodološki premisleki za trenutni simpozij so kontekstualizirani glede na pretekle simpozije, ki so jih isti soorganizatorji v zadnjih 25 letih izvedli v Ljubljani.

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## Sevdalinka and Romani Musicians: Between Heritagization and “Musical Discomforts”

### Sevdalinka in romski glasbeniki in glasbenice: med dediščinjenjem in «glasbenim nelagodjem»

In 2024, sevdalinka was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO). UNESCO describes it as a “form of traditional urban singing performed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.” The text also emphasizes that “sevdalinka provides a sense of connection and belonging to the same community» and “is an important cohesive factor that is accepted, appreciated, and promoted by people of all ethnic groups, genders, and identities.” The accompanying film states that, “regardless of its Islamic-Oriental roots,” it is the result of influences from various communities and plays a key role in the cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Despite this scholarly, inclusive description, historical and political processes in the (post-) Yugoslav region have contributed to the politicization and dynamic heritagization of the genre. The hybrid nature of sevdalinka has enabled its appropriation in different political registers and opened numerous interpretative frameworks. Contemporary debates in Bosnia and Herzegovina reflect post-war processes of nationalization, which encourage exclusive understandings of the genre, mostly associated with the Bosniak / Muslim community. Yet, the “discursive cleansing” of sevdalinka has a long history and is also linked to the long-standing racialization directed against Romani musicians.

The paper first outlines the importance of Romani musicians in performing sevdalinka since the Ottoman period. In particular, it focuses on racialized discourses and the processes of the so-called “gypsification” of sevdalinka, which emerged in the early 20th century during the political construction of Yugoslavism. The othering of Roma has often been associated with “musical discomfort”, which can be defined as a set of emotional and affective reactions to certain sounds or performers, as well as opposition to particular reinterpretations of the familiar musical genre. Such discomforts are significant in processes of boundary-making and identity formation. The paper also highlights the ambivalences accompanying Romani performers of sevdalinka in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina and beyond.

Leta 2024 je bila sevdalinka uvrščena na Reprezentativni seznam nesnovne kulturne dediščine človeštva (UNESCO). UNESCO jo opisuje kot »obliko tradicionalnega urbanega petja, ki se izvaja v Bosni in Hercegovini«, besedilo poudarja, da »sevdalinka nudi občutek povezanosti in pripadnosti isti skupnosti ter je pomemben kohezijski dejavnik, ki ga sprejemajo, spoštujejo in negujejo ljudje vseh etničnih skupnosti, spolov in identitet«. Spremljevalni film pa dodaja, da sevdalinka, ne glede na islamsko-orientalne korenine, združuje vplive različnih skupnosti in zato igra ključno vlogo pri oblikovanju kulturne identitete Bosne in Hercegovine.

Kljub vključujočemu, znanstvenemu opisu so zgodovinski in politični procesi v (po)jugoslovanskem prostoru prispevali k nacionalizaciji glasbenega žanra. Hibridna narava sevdalinke je omogočila njeno prisvajanje v različnih političnih registrih in spodbudila številne reinterpreteracije. Sodobne razprave v Bosni in Hercegovini odsevajo povojne procese nacionalizacije, ki spodbujajo izključujoče percepcije žanra, večinoma – vendar ne izključno – povezanega z muslimansko oz. bošnjaško skupnostjo. »Diskurzivno čiščenje« sevdalinke pa ima daljšo zgodovino in je med drugim povezano tudi z rasizacijo, usmerjeno zlasti proti romskim glasbenikom in glasbenicam.

Prispevek najprej oriše pomen romskih glasbenikov in glasbenic pri izvajanju sevdalinke od osmanskega obdobja dalje. Osredinja se na analizo rasiziranih diskurzov o t. i. »ciganizaciji« sevdalinke, ki so se pojavili v začetku 20. stoletja skupaj s politično konstrukcijo jugoslovanstva. Drugačenje Romov je pogosto povezano z »glasbenim nelagodjem«, ki ga lahko opredelimo kot skupek čustvenih ter afektivnih reakcij na določene zvoke ali »neprimerne« izvajalce, pa tudi kot reakcijo na specifične reinterpreteracije znanih žanrov. Tovrstna »glasbena nelagodja« so ključna v procesih oblikovanja meja in skupinskih identitet. Prispevek izpostavlja tudi nekatere ambivalentnosti, ki spremljajo romske izvajalce in izvajalke sevdalinki, in sicer tako v sodobni Bosni in Hercegovini kot tudi onkraj njenih meja.

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## Music for Whom? God, Good Citizens, and the Political Economy of Music Education in Neoliberal Türkiye

### Glasba za koga? Bog, dobri državljani in politična ekonomija glasbenega izobraževanja v neoliberalni Turčiji

In 2009, as part of Türkiye's EU bid, the AKP government launched the "Romani opening" initiative to address discrimination against Turkish Roma, emphasizing education, health, and social mobility. In its wake, the government established the Mustafa Kandıralı Music School in Kasımpaşa, a Romani neighborhood in Istanbul. Its location and curriculum, focusing on Ottoman, religious, and popular music, made it particularly appealing to local Romani youth, who now form most of its students. Beyond providing music education, the school functions at the intersection of Romani music, religion, and political governance. It maintains strong ties with governmental institutions such as Ottoman music ensembles and religious lodges, while also being integrated into AKP's broader project of Islamic nationalism through connections with Islamist foundations. However, despite this institutional framework, students navigate these structures in diverse ways. Some embrace religious music, while others leverage their education to enter the mainstream music industry (*piyasa*), challenging dominant narratives about music and governance framed within binaries of discipline and authority. The school, therefore, is not merely a vehicle of ideological dissemination but a contested space where students, teachers, state actors, and religious institutions negotiate their positions. This paper critiques hegemonic views of Turkish-Romani music as solely a tool of identity and resistance, arguing instead for a more nuanced understanding of its entanglement with governmentality. Drawing on ethnographic data from participant observation, it calls for (ethno)musicology to move beyond rigid binaries and consider the situational affordances of music.

Leta 2009 je vlada AKP v okviru turške kandidature za vstop v EU sprožila pobudo »Romani opening« za odpravo diskriminacije turških Romov s poudarkom na izobraževanju, zdravju in socialni mobilnosti. Vlada je na podlagi te pobude ustanovila glasbeno šolo Mustafa Kandıralı v romski četrti Kasımpaşa, v Carigradu. Zaradi svoje lokacije in učnega načrta, ki se

osredotoča na osmansko, versko in popularno glasbo, je bila šola še posebej privlačna za lokalno romsko mladino, ki zdaj sestavlja večino njenih učencev. Poleg glasbenega izobraževanja šola deluje na stičišču romske glasbe, religije in političnega upravljanja. Ohranja močne vezi z vladnimi institucijami, kot so osmanski glasbeni ansambli in verske lože, hkrati pa je preko povezav z islamističnimi fundacijami vključena v širši projekt islamskega nacionalizma stranke AKP. Navljub pričujočemu institucionalnemu okviru se učenci soočajo s tovrstnimi šolskimi strukturami na različne načine. Nekateri sprejemajo versko glasbo, drugi pa svojo izobrazbo izkoristijo za vstop v mainstream glasbeno industrijo (*piyasa*), pri čemer izzivajo prevladujoče diskurze o glasbi in upravljanju, uokvirjene v binarno logiko discipline in avtoritete. Šola torej ni le sredstvo za širjenje ideologije, temveč tudi prostor pogajanj med učenci, učitelji, državnimi akterji in verskimi institucijami. Članek vzpostavi kritiko hegemonkega pogleda na turško-romsko glasbo kot izključno orodja identitete in upora in namesto tega zagovarja bolj pretanjeno razumevanje njene prepletenosti z logiko vladanja. Na podlagi etnografskih podatkov pridobljenih z metodo opazovanja z udeležbo članek poziva (etno)muzikologijo naj preseže toge binarnosti in upošteva situacijske možnosti glasbe.

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## The Transition from Zurna to Clarinet in Türkiye: Musical Transformation in the Context of Romani Musicians

### Prehod od zurne do klarineta v Turčiji: glasbena preobrazba v kontekstu romskih glasbenikov

Romani musicians in Türkiye were continuously reshaping their musical traditions in response to socio-cultural and economic dynamics. In this context, the transition from zurna to clarinet, which has been particularly observed since the second half of the 20th century, marks a significant transformation in Romani music. Traditionally prominent in open-air weddings, the zurna has gradually been replaced by the clarinet due to urbanization, shifts in musical preferences, and increasing professionalization. This study examines the historical, sociological, and musical aspects of this transformation and explores its impact on the musical identity of Romani musicians in Türkiye. At the core of this transition lies the clarinet's tonal diversity, broad repertoire, and suitability for Turkish music. The clarinet's adaptability to indoor performances, its stronger connections with Western music, and its wider tonal range compared to the zurna have accelerated this shift in music instrumentation. Furthermore, Romani musicians' efforts to expand their economic and professional networks have contributed to the clarinet's growing presence in the popular music scene. Based on ethnographic field research, oral history interviews, and musical analyses, this study provides a detailed examination of the zurna-to-clarinet transition and discusses its structural and stylistic effects on Romani music. This musical transformation, shaped by the instrumental preferences of Romani musicians, will be analysed in the contexts of social identity, cultural adaptation, and artistic representation.

Romski glasbeniki v Turčiji nenehno preoblikujejo svoje glasbene tradicije kot odziv na družbenokulturne in ekonomske dejavnike. V tem kontekstu pomeni prehod od zurne do klarineta, ki je še posebej opazen od druge polovice 20. stoletja, pomembno preobrazbo v romski glasbi. S svojo tradicionalno pomembno vlogo na porokah na prostem je zurno zaradi urbanizacije, sprememb v glasbenem okusu ter vse večje profesionalizacije postopoma zamenjal klarinet. Študija obravnava zgodovinske, sociološke in

glasbene vidike te preobrazbe ter raziskuje njen vpliv na glasbeno identiteto romskih glasbenikov v Turčiji. Jedro te preobrazbe zaznamujejo tonska raznolikost klarineta, širok repertoar in njegova primernost za turško glasbo. Prilagodljivost klarineta za izvajanje glasbe v zaprtih prostorih, njegova močnejša povezanost z zahodno glasbo in širši tonski razpon v primerjavi z zurno so pospešili to spremembo glasbil. Poleg tega so prizadevanja romskih glasbenikov, da bi razširili svoje ekonomske in poklicne mreže, prispevala k večji prisotnosti klarineta na prizorišču popularne glasbe. Študija na podlagi etnografske terenske raziskave, intervjujev o ustni zgodovini in glasbene analize podrobno preučuje prehod od zurne do klarineta ter obravnava njegove strukturne in slogovne učinke na romsko glasbo. Dotično glasbeno preobrazbo, ki so jo oblikovale preference romskih glasbenikov, analizira skozi kontekste družbene identitete, kulturne prilagoditve in umetniške reprezentacije.

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## The Romani-ness of Karagöz: Identity, Representation, and Performance

### Romskost Karagöza: identiteta, reprezentacija in izvajanje

Karagöz puppet plays of Türkiye are often associated with Romani contexts, as the main character of the play, Karagöz, is frequently described in the literature as having a Romani identity. This connection is often established through various jobs Karagöz engages in. My presentation aims to explore the dynamics of such a view in the literature surrounding the play and in the performance practice I am involved in as a musician.

In the Ottoman Empire, the term 'Kıpti' was used for Romani populations and Evliya Çelebi refers to Karagöz's Kıpti identity in the 17th century. Later, Cevdet Kudret maintains the Karagöz's Romani identity in his textbooks on Karagöz plays. Is this identity linked to Karagöz's roles within the play, or does it stem from the association of the puppeteer (karagözcü) as an entertainer figure with Romani identity? In one of the Karagöz play texts, *Salıncak (Swing)*, Karagöz himself refers to his Romani-ness. In this sense, the connection to Romani identity is directly tied to the character of Karagöz. From a musical point of view, *Çeribaşı'nın Gelini*, a song frequently associated with Karagöz, is still used as an opening piece in contemporary performances, çeribaşı referring to a leader of a Romani group.

In the paper, I further explore the question of Romani-ness of Karagöz in literature and musical repertoire by using the lenses of Erving Goffman's and Stuart Hall's theories of representation and performance in the context of changing state policies over a long-time frame.

Turška lutkovna tradicija Karagöz se pogosto povezuje z romskimi konteksti. Karagöz, glavni lik v predstavah je v literaturi pogosto opisan kot oseba z romsko identiteto. Ta povezava je pogosto vzpostavljena prek različnih poklicev in dejavnosti, ki jih opravlja Karagöz. Namen moje predstavitve je raziskati dinamiko takšnega pogleda v literaturi in v uprizoritveni praksi, v katero sem neposredno vključena kot glasbenica.

V Osmanskem cesarstvu se je izraz »Kıpti« uporabljal za romsko prebivalstvo in Evliya Çelebi se v 17. stoletju sklicuje na Karagözovo kıptsko

identiteto. Kasneje Cevdet Kudret v svojih učbenikih ohranja Karagözovo romsko identiteto. Ali je ta identiteta povezana s Karagözovimi vlogami v predstavah ali izhaja iz povezave lutkarja (karagözcü) kot zabavljača z romsko identiteto? V eni izmed Karagözovih predstavah, *Salıncak (Swing)*, se Karagöz sam sklicuje na svojo romskost. V tem smislu je povezava z romsko identiteto neposredno povezana z likom Karagöza. Z glasbenega vidika se pesem *Çeribaşı'nın Gelini*, ki je pogosto povezana z izvedbami Karagöza, še vedno uporablja kot uvodni del v sodobnih predstavah, naziv çeribaşı pa se nanaša na vodjo romske skupine.

V prispevku podrobneje raziskujem vprašanje romskosti Karagöza v literaturi in glasbenem repertoarju z uporabo teorij reprezentacije in performansa Ervinga Goffmana in Stuarta Halla v kontekstu spreminjajočih se državnih politik v dolgoročnem časovnem okviru.

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## Staging Musical Identities: Musical Identity in the 'Lăutari Space' at *De Nacht van de Balkan Concert* (1980)

### Uprizarjanje glasbenih identitet: glasbena identiteta v »lăutarskem prostoru« na koncertu *De Nacht van de Balkan* (1980)

In the 1980s, Romania was marked by political turmoil, economic hardship, and the repressive control of the socialist regime, set against the backdrop of growing tensions and a near-war-like atmosphere. The Romanian state strategically utilised the talents of Romanian Romani musicians, the lăutari, to construct a distinctive national musical identity for international audiences. As a result, the lăutari faced both marginalisation as Roma and recognition as musicians. International tours offered them brief glimpses of freedom, prompting some to seek asylum and consider permanent migration.

This paper examines the concert *De Nacht van de Balkan* in the Netherlands in 1980, which featured performances by the lăutari and Dutch musicians, highlighting Eastern European and 'Gypsy' musical traditions. The event serves as a case study to analyse how intercultural exchanges influence identity formation. While the concert sought to celebrate diversity, it simultaneously reinforced stereotypes through exoticized representations. This study thus offers insight into the unintended perpetuation of exoticism in Western contexts and the complexities of identity formation for the lăutari. Utilising Margaret Beissinger's concept of the 'lăutari space', derived from Homi K. Bhabha's notion of the 'third space', and the perspectives of Timothy Rice and David Hargreaves on the interplay between music and identity, this paper provides a fresh perspective on the resilience and adaptation of musical identities.

V osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja so Romunijo zaznamovali politični nemiri, gospodarske težave in represivni nadzor socialističnega režima, ki se je odvijal v kontekstu naraščajočih napetosti in skorajda vojnega vzdušja. Romunska država je strateško izkoristila talente romunskih romskih glasbenikov, lautarjev, za oblikovanje prepoznavne nacionalne glasbene identitete za mednarodno občinstvo. Posledično so se lautarji soočali z marginalizacijo kot

Romi in s priznanjem kot glasbeniki. Mednarodne turneje so jim nudile kratke utrinke svobode, zaradi česar so nekateri zaprosili za azil in razmišljali o trajni migraciji.

Prispevek obravnava koncert *De Nacht van de Balkan* na Nizozemskem iz leta 1980, na katerem so lautarji nastopili skupaj z nizozemskimi glasbeniki ter poudarili vzhodnoevropske in »ciganske« glasbene tradicije. Dogodek služi kot študija primera za analizo vpliva medkulturnih izmenjav na oblikovanje identitete. Čeprav je koncert želel proslaviti raznolikost, je z eksotiziranimi predstavami hkrati krepil stereotipe. Ta študija tako ponuja vpogled v nenamerno utrjevanje eksotičnosti v zahodnih okoljih in zapletenost oblikovanja identitete lautarjev. Z uporabo koncepta »lăutarskega prostora« Margaret Beissinger, ki izhaja iz pojma »tretjega prostora« Homija K. Bhabhe, ter pogledov Timothyja Ricea in Davida Hargreavesa na prepletanje glasbe in identitete, prispevek ponuja nov pogled na odpornost in prilagajanje glasbenih identitet.

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## Kolotoc.sk: A Digital Revolution in Romani Music Distribution in Slovakia

### Kolotoc.sk: Digitalna revolucija v distribuciji romske glasbe na Slovaškem

In May 2007, Michal Krupička launched Kolotoc.sk, an online platform designed for the presentation, archiving, and sale of Romani music in Slovakia. The portal quickly gained popularity, particularly among Rom-pop bands, who used it to share both studio and home-recorded music. Within just four years, the site amassed over 65,000 songs, making it one of the largest online collections of Romani music in Slovakia and neighbouring countries.

Although Kolotoc.sk was eventually replaced by platforms like Facebook and YouTube, it played a crucial role between 2007 and 2015 in boosting the Rom-pop genre and expanding its reach. The site was more than just an alternative to the traditional music industry – it provided a free and accessible space for Romani musicians in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and even the UK to enter the digital world on their own terms.

This presentation will explore the significance of Kolotoc.sk through an analysis of the website's structure, content, and impact. Drawing on an ethnographic interview with its creator and data collected from Google Analytics, I will introduce the platform's music categorization system, user interaction, and broader cultural implications. The discussion will highlight how Kolotoc.sk not only preserved and promoted Romani popular music genre but also empowered a new generation of musicians by democratizing access to digital distribution.

Maja 2007 je Michal Krupička zagnal spletno platformo Kolotoc.sk, namenjeno predstavitvi, arhiviranju in prodaji romske glasbe na Slovaškem. Portal je hitro postal priljubljen, zlasti med Rom-pop skupinami, ki so ga uporabljale za izmenjavo studijske in doma posnete glasbe. V samo štirih letih se je na portalu nabralo več kot 65.000 pesmi, s čemer je postal ena največjih spletnih zbirk romske glasbe na Slovaškem in v sosednjih državah.

Čprav so spletno stran Kolotoc.sk sčasoma nadomestile platforme kot sta Facebook in YouTube, je imela stran med letoma 2007 in 2015 ključno

vlogo pri popularizaciji žanra Rom-pop in širjenju njegovega dosega. Spletna stran je pomenila več kot le alternativo tradicionalni glasbeni industriji – romskim glasbenikom in glasbenicam na Slovaškem, Češkem in celo v Veliki Britaniji je zagotavljala brezplačen in dostopen prostor za vstop v digitalni svet pod njihovimi lastnimi pogoji.

V tej predstavitvi raziskujem pomen spletnega mesta Kolotoc.sk skozi analizo njegove strukture, vsebine in vpliva. Na podlagi etnografskega intervjuja z ustvarjalcem platforme ter nanašajoč se na podatke, zbrane skozi stran Google Analytics, bom predstavila sistem kategorizacije glasbe na Kolotoc.sk, interakcije uporabnikov ter širše kulturne posledice platforme. V razpravi poudarjam, kako je Kolotoc.sk ne le ohranil in promoviral žanr Rom-pop glasbe, temveč tudi opolnomočil novo generacijo glasbenikov in glasbenic z demokratizacijo dostopa do digitalne distribucije.

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## PANEL

### Romani Music, Media, and Systemic Exclusion: Cultural and Social Dimensions

#### Romska glasba, mediji in sistemska izključenost: kulturne in družbene dimenzije

This panel examines the intersection of Romani cultural production, systemic exclusion, and media representation, focusing on how Romani music serves as both a site of identity formation and a reflection of broader social inequalities. Despite their historical significance in European musical traditions, Romani musicians remain marginalized due to structural discrimination, limited access to professional opportunities, and stereotypical media portrayals.

The first paper situates Romani music within the European identity framework, addressing the paradox of cultural appreciation versus economic and social marginalization. The second paper critically analyzes media discourse surrounding Roma in Slovenia, highlighting the erasure of their cultural and artistic contributions from mainstream narratives. The third paper explores the systemic exclusion of Romani communities in Slovenia, linking legal and social barriers to the underrepresentation of Romani musicians in cultural policy and professional spheres.

By integrating sociological, political, and media studies perspectives, this panel seeks to challenge dominant narratives and advocate for a more inclusive understanding of Romani artistic and cultural agency. Through these discussions, we highlight the need for structural reforms in state policies, market access, and media representation to ensure the equitable recognition of Roma musicians and cultural practitioners.

Panel obravnava presečišče romske kulturne produkcije, sistemske izključenosti in medijske reprezentacije, s posebnim poudarkom na vlogi romske glasbe kot prostora oblikovanja identitete in zrcala širših družbenih neenakosti. Kljub zgodovinskemu pomenu romskih glasbenikov v evropskih glasbenih tradicijah ostajajo ti marginalizirani zaradi strukturne diskriminacije, omejenega dostopa do profesionalnih priložnosti in stereotipnega medijskega portretiranja.

Prvi prispevek umešča romsko glasbo v okvir evropske identitete ter obravnava paradoks med kulturnim priznanjem in ekonomsko ter družbeno marginalizacijo. Drugi prispevek kritično analizira medijski diskurz o Romih v Sloveniji in izpostavlja izbris njihove kulturne in umetniške produkcije iz prevladujočih naracij. Tretji prispevek se osredotoča na sistemske izključenosti romskih skupnosti v Sloveniji ter povezuje pravne in družbene ovire z njihovo podzastopanostjo v kulturnih politikah in profesionalnem umetniškem prostoru.

Z vključevanjem socioloških, političnih in medijskih pristopov panel spodbuja premislek o prevladujočih naracijah in si prizadeva za bolj vključujoče razumevanje umetniške in kulturne dejavnosti Romov. Prispevki izpostavljajo potrebo po strukturnih reformah državnih politik, dostopa do trga in medijskih reprezentacij, da bi zagotovili enakopravno prepoznavnost romskih glasbenikov in kulturnih ustvarjalcev.

## Romani Culture and Music as European Identity: Between Inclusion and Marginalization

### Romska kultura in glasba kot evropska identiteta: med vključenostjo in marginalizacijo

The Roma have been an integral part of European cultural history for centuries, yet they remain among the most marginalized communities on the continent. This paper examines the paradox of Roma cultural inclusion and social exclusion, with a specific focus on music as both a space of recognition and a tool of economic survival. Romani music has played a crucial role in shaping various European musical traditions, from flamenco in Spain to jazz in France, while simultaneously being subjected to processes of exoticization and stereotyping. Through the lens of multiculturalism and minority rights, the paper explores how Romani musicians navigate the complex intersections of state policies, market forces, and societal prejudices. Despite the European Union's initiatives for the inclusion of the Roma, economic marginalization and systemic discrimination persist, affecting the professional trajectories of Romani artists. This study also highlights the globalized circulation of Romani music, which, while increasing its visibility, does not necessarily translate into social and economic empowerment for Romani musicians.

Drawing on sociological and political frameworks, the paper argues that Romani music should not merely be celebrated as a token of diversity but recognized as an essential part of European identity, requiring structural changes in cultural policy, market accessibility, and anti-discrimination measures. By analysing Romani cultural production within broader social and political contexts, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of how music mediates the dynamics between inclusion and exclusion, challenging dominant narratives about Romani identity in contemporary Europe.

Romi so stoletja sestavni del evropske kulturne zgodovine, a kljub temu sodijo med najbolj marginalizirane skupnosti na celini. Prispevek raziskuje paradoks romske kulturne vključenosti in družbene izključenosti, pri čemer se osredotoča na glasbo kot prostor prepoznanja in orodja za ekonomsko preživetje. Romska glasba je oblikovala številne evropske glasbene tradicije – od

flamenka v Španiji do jazza v Franciji – hkrati pa je bila podvržena eksotizaciji in stereotipizaciji.

Skozi prizmo multikulturalizma in pravic manjšin prispevek analizira, kako se romski glasbeniki soočajo s prepletenostjo državnih politik, tržnih mehanizmov in družbenih predsodkov. Kljub pobudam Evropske unije za vključevanje Romov, ekonomska marginalizacija in sistemska diskriminacija še vedno močno vplivata na njihove profesionalne poti. Prispevek obravnava tudi globalno kroženje romske glasbe, kar ji sicer zagotavlja večjo vidnost, a ne nujno tudi družbeno-ekonomskega opolnomočenja.

Na podlagi socioloških in politoloških teoretskih okvirjev avtor zagovarja, da romska glasba ne bi smela biti le simbolna izkaznica raznolikosti, temveč temeljni del evropske identitete, kar terja strukturne spremembe v kulturnih politikah, dostopnosti trga in ukrepih proti diskriminaciji. S tem prispevek pogloblja razumevanje razmerja med vključevanjem in izključevanjem ter izziva prevladujoče naracije o romski identiteti v sodobni Evropi.

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## Beyond the Margins: Challenging Media Discourse on Roma in Slovenia

### Onkraj obrobja: izzivanje medijskega diskurza o Romih v Sloveniji

Romani communities in Slovenia continue to experience systemic discrimination, social exclusion, and limited access to essential services, including education, employment, housing, and healthcare. Despite their persistent marginalization, public discourse predominantly focuses on other socially constructed “outsiders,” such as refugees and immigrants, further rendering the Romani community invisible. The limited representation of Roma in Slovenian media and academic research contributes to the perpetuation of stereotypes and institutional racism, reinforcing their exclusion.

One of the most striking absences in media discourse is the acknowledgment of Romani cultural and musical contributions. Romani musicians have played a key role in shaping local and national musical landscapes, yet their presence is often framed through exoticization or negative stereotyping rather than genuine artistic recognition. This paper examines dominant media narratives surrounding Roma in Slovenia and highlights the erasure of their cultural production from mainstream representation. It explores how alternative discursive strategies – including media advocacy, digital platforms, and grassroots initiatives – can challenge this exclusion and promote the recognition of Roma as active and socially significant members of society. By integrating media analysis with cultural studies, the paper seeks to redefine the role of Romani artists in shaping contemporary Slovenian identity.

Romske skupnosti v Sloveniji se še naprej soočajo s sistemsko diskriminacijo, družbeno izključenostjo in omejenim dostopom do ključnih storitev, kot so izobraževanje, zaposlitev, stanovanja in zdravstvo. Kljub vztrajni marginalizaciji je javni diskurz usmerjen predvsem na druge družbeno konstruirane »drugačne«, kot so begunci in migranti, kar Romom dodatno jemlje vidnost.

Izredno pomanjkljiva prisotnost Romov v slovenskih medijih in deloma tudi v akademskem raziskovanju ohranja stereotipe in institucionalni rasizem,

kar utrjuje njihovo izključenost. Eden izmed najbolj izstopajočih deficitov v medijskem diskurzu je priznanje romskih kulturnih in glasbenih prispevkov. Čeprav so romski glasbeniki pomembno sooblikovali lokalne in nacionalne glasbene krajine, so njihovi nastopi pogosto predstavljeni skozi eksotizacijo ali negativne stereotipe, ne pa kot izraz umetniškega ustvarjanja.

Prispevek analizira prevladujoče medijske naracije o Romih v Sloveniji in izpostavlja izbris njihove kulturne produkcije iz osrednjega diskurza. Raziskuje tudi, kako lahko alternativne diskurzivne strategije – vključno z medijskim aktivizmom, digitalnimi platformami in iniciativami skupnosti – prispevajo k prepoznavanju Romov kot aktivnih in družbeno relevantnih članov družbe. S prepletom medijske analize in kulturnih študij prispevek redefinira vlogo romskih umetnikov pri oblikovanju sodobne slovenske identitete.

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## Intersectional Discrimination in Practice: Structural Exclusion of the Romani Population

### Interseksijska diskriminacija v praksi: strukturna izključenost romske populacije

This paper explores the systemic discrimination faced by Romani communities in Slovenia, with a focus on the intersection of social exclusion, inadequate access to basic services, and legal barriers to citizenship. Romani individuals in Slovenia experience profound marginalization, characterized by substandard housing conditions, limited access to clean water and sanitation, and restricted opportunities in education and employment. Additionally, discriminatory policies and administrative hurdles often deny Romani individuals citizenship, leaving them stateless and unable to access essential rights and protections.

While these forms of exclusion impact all aspects of life of the Roma, cultural and musical practices offer a crucial yet overlooked site of resilience and self-representation. Despite structural marginalization, Romani musicians in Slovenia and across Europe continue to maintain and innovate musical traditions that serve both as cultural heritage and as a means of economic survival. However, restrictive state policies and broader societal prejudices limit their access to professional opportunities, funding, and institutional recognition. This paper argues that addressing the systemic exclusion of Roma requires not only legal and social reforms but also an acknowledgment of the role of Romani music in cultural sustainability and social mobility. By integrating discussions on cultural production, this paper highlights the interplay between discrimination and artistic expression within Romani communities.

Prispevek raziskuje sistemsko diskriminacijo, s katero se soočajo romske skupnosti v Sloveniji, s poudarkom na presečišču družbene izključenosti, omejenega dostopa do osnovnih storitev in pravnih ovir pri pridobivanju državljanstva. Romi živijo v izjemni marginalizaciji, ki jo zaznamujejo slabi bivalni pogoji, omejen dostop do pitne vode in sanitarij ter zmanjšane možnosti na področju izobraževanja in zaposlovanja. Diskriminatorne politike in upravne ovire pogosto onemogočajo pridobitev

državljanstva, zaradi česar številni ostajajo brez državljanskih pravic in zaščite. Čeprav te oblike izključenosti zaznamujejo vse vidike življenja, kulturna in glasbena praksa predstavlja ključen, čeprav pogosto spregledan prostor odpornosti in samo-reprezentacije. Romski glasbeniki v Sloveniji in drugod po Evropi ohranjajo glasbene tradicije, ki pomenijo obenem kulturno dediščino in sredstvo za preživetje. Kljub temu jim omejujoče državne politike in širši družbeni predsodki onemogočajo dostop do profesionalnih priložnosti, financiranja in institucionalnega priznanja.

Prispevek zagovarja, da je za učinkovito naslavljanje sistemske izključenosti Romov nujno potrebna kombinacija pravnih in družbenih reform ter priznanje romske glasbe kot elementa kulturne vzdržnosti in družbene mobilnosti. Z vključevanjem razprav o kulturni produkciji prispevek osvetljuje preplet diskriminacije in umetniškega izraza v romskih skupnostih.

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## Bulgarian Romani Music, Migration and Activism: Responding to Neo-nationalism

### Bolgarska romska glasba, migracije in aktivizem: odzivi na neonacionalizem

Several music projects have recently emerged addressing migration, exclusion and prejudice against Bulgarian Roma. What forms and genres do these projects embrace, who produces them, why and how, and what effect do they have? In short, what are the challenges regarding attempts to merge activism and Romani music in the context of the neo-nationalist political landscape? Although the Roma are revered for their musical talent, they face xenophobia and racism on and offline. With this fraught context, activism merits a deeper treatment than merely “protest songs.” Activism may emerge in texts and images as well as declaring identity in non-stereotypical ways, managing your own career, or changing the unequal structures of music production. One case study investigates a media scandal about a Romani cover version of a beloved song from the 1970s on the theme of migration. Migration itself is a charged issue: while nationalists demonize Syrian and Afghan migrants, over 3 million Bulgarians, including many Roma, have moved westward. Recently, the radical pop / folk music non-binary icon Azis has become more public about their Romani identity. Azis has a long history of exposing exclusions related not only to gender and sexuality but also to poverty, disability, race and ethnicity. I examine recent videos, interviews, and social media posts to explore this work. I compare celebrities to struggling performers such as Neno Iliev who released a biting satire of the political landscape while also criticizing his fellow Roma for being apathetic. Research is based on 40 years of fieldwork with Bulgarian Roma.

V zadnjem času se je pojavilo več glasbenih projektov, ki naslavljajo migracije, izključenost in predsodke do bolgarskih Romov. Katere oblike in žanre ti projekti vključujejo, kdo jih ustvarja, zakaj in kako ter kakšen je njihov učinek? Na kratko, kakšni so izzivi v zvezi s poskusi združevanja aktivizma in romske glasbe v kontekstu neonacionalistične politične krajine? Čeprav so Romi cenjeni zaradi svoje glasbene nadarjenosti, se soočajo s ksenofobijo in

rasizmom na spletu in v neposrednih družbenih odnosih. V tem težavnem in napetem kontekstu si aktivizem zasluži globljo obravnavo kot zgolj »protestne pesmi«. Aktivizem se lahko pojavlja tako v besedilih in podobah kot tudi pri deklariranju identitet skozi nestereotipne načine, upravljanju lastnih karier ali spreminjanju neenakih struktur v glasbeni produkciji. Eden od primerov v tem prispevku raziskuje medijski škandal zaradi romske priredbe priljubljene pesmi iz sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja na temo migracij. Tema migracij je sama po sebi polemična: medtem ko nacionalisti demonizirajo sirske in afganistanske migrante, se je več kot tri milijone Bolgarov, med njimi veliko Romov, preselilo na zahod. Nedavno je tudi Azis, kot radikalna in spolno nebinarna ikona bolgarske pop-folk glasbe, začel bolj javno govoriti o svoji romski identiteti. Azis že dolgo razkriva družbena izključevanja, povezana ne le s spolom in seksualnostjo, temveč tudi z revščino, hendikepiranostjo, raso in etnično pripadnostjo. V svojem raziskovanju preučujem videoposnetke, intervjuje in objave v družbenih medijih. Glasbene zvezdnike primerjam z drugimi izvajalci, kot je Neno Iliev, ki je izdal jedko satiro na temo bolgarske politične krajine v kateri hkrati kritizira svoje romske sodržavljane zaradi njihove domnevne apatičnosti. Raziskava temelji na štiridesetletnem terenskem delu z bolgarskimi Romi.

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## Romani Studies, Their Critical Turn, and the Culture of Remembrance on the Genocide of the Roma during the Nazi Era

### Romski študiji, njihov kritični obrat in kultura spominjanja na genocid nad Romi v času nacizma

This socio-anthropological contribution provides an introductory overview of Romani studies and its critical turn in knowledge production, summarized in the statement “Nothing about us without us”, connected with epistemic justice. It analytically reviews the topics addressed over the past decades, during which the research perspective has shifted from deconstructing Gypsies as a distinct category to efforts aimed at recognizing the civil rights of the Roma. This shift, in connection with a postcolonial approach, introduces among other topics discussions on racism, antigypsyism, memory, trauma, and societal healing, alongside the Nazi genocide of the Roma. Subsequently, the contribution analytically describes the culture of remembrance connected to the Nazi-fascist genocide of the Roma, focusing on questions of when, how, and why initiatives to study this tragic period in Roma history emerge. Recently, within the framework of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), Recommendations for teaching and learning about the persecution and genocide of the Roma during Nazism have been developed. The paper provides a descriptive analysis of websites dedicated to education and research on the culture and history of the genocide of the Roma and of media reporting on August 2, Roma Genocide Remembrance Day. It will shed light on the content review of online and media materials related to how Romani music is incorporated into the education, teaching, and commemoration of the Roma genocide and what content about Romani music concerning the genocide is brought forward by selected examples.

Predlagani socialnoantropološki prispevek prinaša pregledni uvod o romskih študijih ter kritičnemu epistemološkemu obratu znotraj njih. Podaja analitski pregled obravnavanih vsebin zadnjih desetletij, ko se je raziskovalna perspektiva premaknila od dekonstrukcije Ciganov kot posebne kategorije k prizadevanjem za priznavanje državljskih pravic Romov. Omenjeni obrat v povezavi s postkolonialnim pristopom med drugim vpelje v razprave razizem,

anticiganizem, spomin, travmo ter zdravljenje družbe, ob prizadevanjih za zgodovinsko raziskovanje nacističnega genocida nad Romi. V nadaljevanju prispevek podaja analitični opis kulture spominjanja in komemoriranja nacističnega in fašističnega genocida nad Romi, s poudarkom na vprašanjih kdaj, kako in zakaj se pojavi iniciativa za proučevanje tega tragičnega obdobja iz zgodovine Romov. V okviru kulture spomina, ki jo oblikuje Mednarodna zveza za spomina na holokavst – IHRA so bila nedavno oblikovana priporočila za poučevanje in učenje o preganjanju in genocidu nad Romi v obdobju nacizma, kjer je izpostavljeno tudi komemoriranje posebnega spominskega dneva, 2. avgusta, mednarodnega dneva spomina na žrtve nacistične genocida nad Romi. Prispevek podaja deskriptivno analizo spletnih strani, ki so namenjene poučevanju in raziskovanju kulture ter zgodovine genocida nad Romi ter medijev, ki poročajo o obeleževanju 2. avgusta. Prispevek bo osvetlil vsebinski pregled spletnih in medijskih vsebin v povezavi z vprašanjem, kako je v izobraževanju, poučevanju in komemoriranju genocida nad Romi vpeta glasba Romov, ter katere vsebine o romski glasbi v zvezi z genocidom nad Romi prinašajo izbrani primeri.

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## Sounding Presence: Contemporary Romani Music Activism in Serbia

### Zvočna prisotnost: sodobni romski glasbeni aktivizem v Srbiji

Since the 2000s, Romani musicians from Serbia have engaged in various forms of sociopolitical activism, from showcasing diverse traditional and contemporary expressions of Romani culture in Serbia and the Balkans to raising awareness and addressing the issues affecting both the Roma community and larger society. Sometimes the platform for articulating a political message can come from a broader sociomusical field of popular music where a performer might use her / his voice to engage with the problems of racism and discrimination faced by Roma, like rock / world music band Kal, or to speak against discrimination practices and additionally address, from the position of an ally, the difficulties experienced by other social groups, like the pop singer Zejna Murkić recently did for Serbian LGBTQ+ community.

Fusion oriented approaches based on the Western-derived and localized musical genres like rap / hip hop have also been successful in addressing different intersectional positions and related difficulties faced by Roma. A notable example is the all-female band Pretty Loud, whose work highlights issues such as early marriage, social integration, and the resistance to gender-based violence within the Romani community and beyond. Other collectivities engage in promoting inclusivity through activism, like the organization Art Aparat, whose intercultural choir Raspevano Svrtište includes Romani children and provides space both for the learning about Romani culture and for fostering creative expression and bonding through music for different social groups in need. In this paper I discuss how the diverse approaches centered on Romani musical culture and activism actually work both for the betterment of the local Romani community and for the wider society, by taking intersectionality and the contested identity as the entry point for negotiation.

Od začetka 21. stoletja romski glasbeniki iz Srbije sodelujejo v različnih oblikah sociopolitičnega aktivizma, od predstavljanja raznolikih tradicionalnih in sodobnih izrazov romske kulture v Srbiji in na Balkanu do ozaveščanja ter naslavljanja vprašanj, ki zadevajo romsko skupnost in širšo družbo. Glasbena

platforma za artikulacijo političnih sporočil lahko izhaja iz širšega družbenega okvira popularne glasbe, kjer izvajalec uporabi svoj glas za soočanje s problemi rasizma in diskriminacije, s katerimi se Romi soočajo, kot je na primer rok / world music skupina Kal, ali pa za izpostavljanje diskriminatornih praks in dodatno naslavljanje težav drugih, kot je to storila pop pevka Zejna Murkić, ki se je nedavno zavzela za srbsko LGBTQ+ skupnost. Fuzijski pristopi, ki temeljijo na zahodnih in lokalnemu okolju prilagojenih glasbenih žanrih, kot je rap / hip hop, so bili prav tako uspešni pri naslavljanju različnih intersekcijских položajev in težav, s katerimi se soočajo Romi. Opazen primer je ženska skupina Pretty Loud, katere delo izpostavlja teme, kot so zgodnje poroke, integracija in odpor proti nasilju na podlagi spola v romski skupnosti in širše.

Tudi druge skupnosti si prizadevajo za spodbujanje inkluzivnosti skozi aktivizem, kot je organizacija Art Aparat, katere medkulturni zbor Raspevano svrtište vključuje romske otroke in jim omogoča prostor za učenje o romski kulturi ter spodbuja ustvarjalno izražanje in povezovanje različnih socialnih skupin v stiski.

V prispevku bom predstavila, kako ti pristopi, ki temeljijo na romski glasbeni kulturi in aktivizmu, dejansko delujejo tako v dobrobit lokalne romske skupnosti kot tudi širše družbe, pri čemer sta intersekcionalnost in sporna identiteta izhodišče za pogajanja.

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## Wavering Degrees of Separation: Romani Musicians and the Changing Social Worlds of Interwar Croatia

### Nestanovitne stopnje ločenosti: Romski glasbeniki in spreminjajoči se družbeni svetovi medvojne Hrvaške

Even though existing musicological and ethnomusicological literature on interwar music in Croatia rarely addresses the role played by the Romani musicians – thereby effectively contributing to their invisibilization – the scattered traces of their involvement in both urban and rural musical life suggest that their role may have been considerably more significant than previously recognized.

The paper presents findings from ongoing research on the lives and livelihoods of Romani musicians who earned a living by playing music for diverse audiences in both Zagreb and rural and small-town communities in the eastern regions of Croatian territories in the first half of the 20th century. Drawing on insights gained from a range of scarce and scattered sources – including periodical press, archival material, literary works, commercial recordings, ethnological collections, as well as preserved testimonies of WWII concentration camp survivors – the author will attempt to address the question of potential role music and musicianship might have had in the re-drawing of lines of separation between Romani musicians, their non-Romani audiences, and broader society in the turbulent interwar years.

Kljub temu, da obstoječa muzikološka in etnomuzikološka literatura o medvojni glasbi na Hrvaškem redko obravnava vlogo, ki so jo imeli romski glasbeniki – in s tem dejansko prispeva k njihovi nevidnosti – razpršene sledi njihovega sodelovanja tako v urbanem kot tudi v podeželskem glasbenem življenju nakazujejo, da je bila njihova vloga morda precej pomembnejša, kot je bilo doslej prepoznano.

Prispevek predstavlja ugotovitve iz tekočih raziskav o življenju in preživetju romskih glasbenikov, ki so si kruh služili z igranjem glasbe za različna občinstva tako v Zagrebu kot tudi v podeželskih in manjših mestnih skupnostih v vzhodnih regijah hrvaških ozemelj v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. Izhajajoč iz zbranih spoznanj, pridobljenih iz različnih redkih in razpršenih virov – vključno

s tedanjim tiskom, arhivskim gradivom, leposlovnimi deli, komercialnimi posnetki, etnološkimi zbirkami ter ohranjenimi pričevanji preživelih iz koncentracijskih taborišč druge svetovne vojne – bo avtorica skušala nasloviti vprašanje morebitne vloge, ki sta jo imela glasba in glasbeno udejstvovanje pri ponovnem začrtovanju meja ločevanja med romskimi glasbeniki, njihovim neromskim občinstvom in širšo družbo v burnih medvojnih letih.

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## Beyond Binary Opposition: Complexities of Social and Music Interaction Between Romani / Sinti and Non-Romani / Non-Sinti People in North Slovenia

### Onkraj binarnih nasprotij: kompleksnost družbenih in glasbenih odnosov med Romi / Sinti in Neromi / Nesinti v severni Sloveniji

Throughout the history and up to the present, Romani and Sinti people experienced many forms of inhumane mistreatment by the majority societies with which they were in contact. This has also been widely acknowledged by scholars. However, other types of relations such as acceptance and solidarity also existed between the minority Romani / Sinti populations and the majority societies surrounding them, and while these kinds of interactions are sometimes mentioned in scholarly literature (often in passing), they are rarely systematically researched. It is therefore important to move beyond the reductive binary and “oppositional” perspective (i.e., about negative relations and essentialist differences between both groups) and to acknowledge and study a wider range of social interactions that exist between Romani / Sinti and non-Romani / non-Sinti populations, especially regarding the Romani / Sinti relationships with a peasant society in the countryside (Tervonen 2016; Illuzzi 2019; Tauber 2019). Based on ethnographic, archival, and other sources, this study therefore explores a wide range of various types of social relations existing in the contact zone (Pratt 1991) between Romani / Sinti and non-Romani / non-Sinti populations in the Upper Savinja valley, north Slovenia, in the decades before and after the WWII. It specifically focuses on two Romani and Sinti families from the region and examines the complexities and contradictions of their social, and musical interchange with peasants and townspeople. Finally, this analysis adopts a dialectical perspective of understanding cultural differences in relation to human similarities, positive social relations between both populations in relation to negative, informal in relation to institutional, and rural in relation to urban.

Romi in Sinti so v zgodovini in vse do danes doživljali številne oblike nečloveškega ravnanja s strani večinskih družb, s katerimi so bili v stiku. O tem pišejo tudi mnogi znanstveniki. Vendar so med manjšinskim romskim

/ sintskim prebivalstvom in večinskimi družbami, ki so jih obkrožale, obstajale tudi druge vrste odnosov, kot sta sprejemanje in solidarnost, in čeprav so te vrste interakcij včasih omenjene v znanstveni literaturi (pogosto mimogrede), so le redko sistematično raziskane. Zato je pomembno preseči reduktivno binarno in »opozicijsko« perspektivo (tj. o negativnih odnosih in esencialističnih razlikah med obema skupinama) ter preučiti širši spekter družbenih interakcij, ki obstajajo med romskim / sintskim in neromskim / nesintskim prebivalstvom, zlasti glede odnosov med Romi / Sinti in kmečko družbo na podeželju (Tervonen 2016; Illuzzi 2019; Tauber 2019). Ta študija zato na podlagi etnografskih, arhivskih in drugih virov raziskuje široko paleto različnih vrst družbenih odnosov, ki so obstajali na stičnih območjih (Pratt 1991) med romskim / sintskim in neromskim / nesintskim prebivalstvom v Zgornji Savinjski dolini v severni Sloveniji v desetletjih pred in po drugi svetovni vojni. Prispevek se posebej osredotoča na dve romski in sintski družini iz regije ter pri tem preučuje zapletenost in protislovja njunih družbenih in glasbenih odnosov s kmeti in meščani. Pričujoča analiza zavzema dialektično perspektivo razumevanja kulturnih razlik v odnosu do človeških podobnosti, pozitivnih družbenih odnosov med obema populacijama v odnosu do negativnih, neformalnih v odnosu do institucionalnih ter podeželskih v odnosu do mestnih.

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## Ritual, Music, and Belonging: The Romani Pilgrimage to Brezje

### Ritual, glasba in pripadnost: romanje Romov na Brezje

Pilgrimage serves as a vital space for religious devotion, cultural expression, and communal bonding. Across Europe, Romani pilgrimages integrate Christian traditions with Romani-specific religious practices, reinforcing both religious and collective identity. These journeys are not merely acts of worship but also significant social events that strengthen intergenerational ties and cultural continuity. One of the most well-known Romani pilgrimages is the annual gathering in Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, France, where thousands of Romani people honor Saint Sarah (Sara-la-Kâli), their patron saint. In Slovenia, Romani communities participate in pilgrimages to local and regional Marian shrines, particularly Brezje, one of the country's most significant pilgrimage sites. Since 2010, an annual spiritual and pastoral event for Roma has been held there every August, coordinated by the Slovenian Bishops' Conference in collaboration with the local community and the Franciscan monastery Brezje. The central event is a candlelight procession, during which participants pray and sing in both Slovenian and Romani. Representatives from different Romani settlements take turns carrying the image of St. Mary Help of Christians (Marija Pomagaj), and Romani families camp at Brezje for several days during the event. This paper, based on participant observation and conducted interviews, explores the significance of ritual practices within the pilgrimage to Brezje for Slovenian Romani communities. Particular attention is given to singing, prayer, and the use of language in these practices. This analysis examines whether Romani participation in Slovenian Catholic pilgrimages signifies their integration into the wider religious and social framework while preserving their distinct spiritual and cultural identity. Additionally, it investigates to what extent participation in pilgrimage rituals and musical practices (in the Romani or Slovene language) is driven by community engagement (bottom-up) or shaped by institutional influence (top-down).

Romanja predstavljajo prostor poglobljene verske izkušnje, izražanja kulturnih značilnosti in krepitve skupnostnega povezovanja. Po vsej Evropi romska romanja združujejo krščanske tradicije z romsko specifično religioznostjo, s čimer krepijo tako versko kot kolektivno identiteto. Ta potovanja

niso le izraz vere, temveč tudi pomembni družabni dogodki, ki spodbujajo medgeneracijsko sodelovanje, prenos tradicij in kulturno kontinuiteto. Eno najbolj znanih romanj Romov je vsakoletno romanje v Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer v Franciji, kjer se tisoči zberejo, da počastijo sveto Saro (Sara-la-Kâli), svojo zavetnico.

V Sloveniji se romske skupnosti udeležujejo romanj k lokalnim in regionalnim Marijinim svetiščem, zlasti na Brezje, ki velja za eno najpomembnejših romarskih središč v državi. Od leta 2010 tam vsako leto avgusta poteka duhovno in pastoralno srečanje Romov, ki ga organizira Slovenska škofovsko konferenca v sodelovanju z lokalno skupnostjo in frančiškanskim samostanom Brezje. Osrednji dogodek predstavlja večerna procesija s svečkami, med katero udeleženci molijo in pojejo v slovenščini in romščini. Predstavniki različnih romskih naselij izmenjaje nosijo podobo Marije Pomočnice (Marija Pomagaj), številne romske družine pa v tem času taborijo na Brezjah. Prispevek, ki temelji na opazovanju z udeležbo in opravljenih intervjujih, na primeru romanja na Brezje raziskuje pomen ritualnih praks za romske skupnosti na Slovenskem, pri čemer je posebna pozornost namenjena petju, molitvi in uporabi jezika. Odgovoriti skuša na vprašanje, ali sodelovanje Romov pri slovenskih katoliških romanjih pomeni njihovo vključevanje v širši verski in družbeni prostor in hkratno ohranjanje njihovih duhovnih in kulturnih posebnosti. Raziskuje tudi v kolikšni meri je udeležba v romarskih ritualih in glasbenih praksah (v romskem ali slovenskem jeziku) rezultat angažmaja skupnosti same (od spodaj navzgor) in vpliva drugih institucij (od zgoraj navzdol).

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Anja Moric je politologinja in etnologinja, raziskovalka na Znanstvenoraziskovalnem centru Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, docentka na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Ljubljani in sodelavka na projektu *Romski glasbeniki na Slovenskem: družbeni status, kulturne prakse in interakcije*.

## The Role of Romani Musicians in the Tradition of Aheng in the City of Gjakova

### Vloga romskih glasbenikov v tradiciji ahenga v mestu Đakovica

This paper presents the role of Romani musicians in the tradition of aheng for men in the city of Gjakova in Kosovo. The aheng tradition includes a musical repertoire of urban traditional songs and dances, displaying layers of modal-diatonic and modal-chromatic music rooted in the oriental musical culture introduced to the Balkans through Ottoman influence. Romani musicians have contributed to the preservation, performance and transmission of this repertoire.

We find this influence particularly evident in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the aheng tradition incorporated musical terms from the Ottoman culture, including the names of musical scales and musical instruments. From its establishment onward, aheng focused primarily on preserving and documenting urban traditional song and dance repertoire of Gjakova, traditionally accompanied by the instruments such as the tambura (or sharkia), bugaria and dayre (def).

Who were the earliest known Romani musicians in the aheng tradition of Gjakova? Who was the Romani musician who taught Ymer Riza to play the sharkia? Who were the other Romani musicians in Ymer Riza's group? What was the character of the songs and dances through which Riza's subtle emotions were most vividly expressed? What unique approaches to diatonic structure and interval extension did they bring to the tradition?

Answers to these questions will contribute to the identification of common elements between the tradition of aheng of Gjakova and the imperial musical heritage of southeastern Europe.

The paper also points out that the repertoire of aheng, shaped and preserved largely by Romani musicians, has played a crucial role in defining the concept of musical originality, as well as in the gradual development of its musical content and instrumental accompaniment, ultimately evolving into a reformed part of the contemporary aheng.

Prispevek predstavlja vlogo romskih glasbenikov v tradiciji ahenga za moške v mestu Đakovica na Kosovu. Tradicija ahenga se nanaša na glasbeni repertoar tradicionalnih mestnih pesmi in plesov, ki kaže plasti modalno-diatonske in modalno-kromatske glasbe, zakoreninjene v orientalski glasbeni kulturi, ki se je na območju Balkana uveljavila pod osmanskim vplivom. Romski glasbeniki so prispevali k ohranjanju, izvajanju in prenosu tega repertoarja.

Ta vpliv je bil še posebej očiten v 18. in 19. stoletju, ko je tradicija ahenga ponotranjila glasbene termine iz osmanske kulture, vključno z imeni glasbenih lestvic in glasbil. Od utemeljitve naprej se je aheng osredotočal predvsem na ohranjanje in dokumentiranje mestnega tradicionalnega pesemskega in plesnega repertoarja mesta Đakovice, ki so ga tradicionalno spremljali instrumenti, kot so tambura (ali šarkija), bugarija in dajre (def).

Kdo so bili najzgodnejši znani romski glasbeniki v tradiciji ahenga v Đakovici? Kdo je bil romski glasbenik, ki je Ymerja Rizo učil igrati na šarkijo? Kdo so bili drugi romski glasbeniki v skupini Ymerja Rize? Kakšen je bil značaj pesmi in plesov, skozi katere so se subtilna čustva najbolj živo izražala? Katere edinstvene pristope k diatonični strukturi in sistemu intervalov so prinesli v tradicijo?

Odgovori na ta vprašanja bodo prispevali k prepoznavanju skupnih elementov med tradicijo ahenga v Đakovici in imperialno glasbeno dediščino jugovzhodne Evrope.

Članek tudi poudarja, da je repertoar ahenga, ki so ga v veliki meri oblikovali in ohranili romski glasbeniki, igral ključno vlogo pri opredelitvi koncepta glasbene izvirnosti, pa tudi pri postopnem razvoju njegove glasbene vsebine in instrumentalne spremljave, kar je na koncu pripeljalo do prenovljene podobe tradicije v sodobnem ahengu.

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## The Romani Sound: A Living Heritage in Kosovo

### Romski zvok: živa dediščina na Kosovu

The Romani community of Kosovo has an exceptionally rich musical tradition and plays an important role in the country's cultural life. The Romani community located (not only) in the two border regions, the Gjilan and Prizren areas, makes an outstanding contribution to Kosovo's musical landscape through performances with the ensembles featuring zurla (shawm) and tupan (double-headed drum).

Romani musicianship in these regions is not confined to their own community but serves as a key element of intercultural interaction. Romani musicians perform at weddings and other celebrations and ceremonies for ethnic Albanians and other groups living in Kosovo, demonstrating an exceptional ability to adapt their musical skills to the traditions and preferences of different communities. This musical flexibility makes them not only masters in terms of musicianship but also as bridgebuilders among the diverse cultures coexisting in Kosovo.

My presentation aims to examine the musical characteristics of the two respective regions of Kosovo and demonstrate how Romani musical interpretations reflect the cultural diversity of their surroundings. A significant aspect of the presentation will be the inclusion of audio and video materials collected in the fieldwork, which will best illustrate the mastery of Romani musicians and their role in Kosovo's musical ecosystem.

Romska skupnost na Kosovu ima izjemno bogato glasbeno tradicijo in igra pomembno vlogo v kulturnem življenju države. Romi, ki živijo (ne le) v dveh obmejnih regijah, območjih Gnjilana in Prizrena, izjemno prispevajo k glasbeni podobi Kosova z nastopi v ansamblih, ki jih sestavljata zurla (šalmajka) in tupan (dvoglavi boben).

Romsko muziciranje v teh regijah ni omejeno na njihovo lastno skupnost, temveč služi kot sredstvo za medkulturno komuniciranje. Romski glasbeniki nastopajo na porokah in drugih praznovanjih ter slovesnostih za Albance in druge skupine, ki živijo na Kosovu, in dokazujejo izjemno sposobnost prilagajanja svojih glasbenih veščin tradicijam in preferencam različnih skupnosti. Zaradi te prilagodljivosti niso le glasbeni mojstri, temveč tudi

graditelji mostov med različnimi kulturami, ki sobivajo na Kosovu.

Moj prispevek predstavlja glasbene značilnosti dveh omenjenih regij na Kosovu in demonstrira kako romske glasbene interpretacije odražajo kulturno raznolikost okolja. Pomemben vidik predstavitve so avdio in video posnetki gradiva, zbranega med terenskim delom, ki najbolj neposredno ponazarja mojstrstvo romskih glasbenikov in njihovo vlogo v glasbenem ekosistemu Kosova.

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## ROUNDTABLE 1: Romani and Sinti Musicians in Popular Music of Slovenia

### OKROGLA MIZA 1: Rromski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice v popularni glasbi v Sloveniji

The main topics and questions are framed according to the following issues: What is the role of the family and environment of the Romani community in shaping the musical path? What obstacles and what incentives do musicians perceive when interacting with audiences, the media, organizers, and the music industry? To what extent do musicians in their musical creativity rely on their Romani identity (in sound, lyrics, image, presentation)? How do musicians assess the role of the state, the market (music industry) and society (audiences, media) in their music-making?

Participants: **Jožek Horvat – Muc** (author of song lyrics, organizer of music events, Roma Union of Slovenia; Murska Sobota), **Sandi Horvat – Sunny** (S. H. Sunny, cultural association Človek / Human; Murska Sobota), **Jože Kovač – Uri** (Halgato Band, Uri Band; Murska Sobota), **Darko Rudaš** and **Saša Debeljak** (Romano Glauso; Murska Sobota).

Moderators: **Maša K. Marty** and **David Verbuč**

Poglavitne teme in vprašanja pri pogovoru na okrogli mizi »Rromski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice v popularni glasbi v Sloveniji« bodo sledile naslednjim iztočnicam:

Kakšna je vloga družine in okolja romske skupnosti pri oblikovanju glasbene poti? Katere ovire ali spodbude zaznavajo glasbeniki in glasbenice pri interakcijah z občinstvom, mediji, organizatorji in glasbeno industrijo? Koliko se glasbeniki in glasbenice pri svojem glasbenem ustvarjanju naslanjajo na svojo romsko identiteto (glede na zvok, besedila, podobo, predstavitev)? Kako glasbeniki in glasbenice ocenjujejo vlogo države, trga (glasbene industrije) in družbe (občinstev, medijev) pri svojem glasbenem ustvarjanju?

Udeleženci: **Jožek Horvat – Muc** (pisec besedil, organizator glasbenih dogodkov, Zveza Romov Slovenije; Murska Sobota), **Sandi Horvat – Sunny**

(S. H. Sunny, Kulturno društvo Človek; Murska Sobota), **Jože Kovač – Uri** (Halgato band, Uri Band; Murska Sobota), **Darko Rudaš** in **Saša Debeljak** (Romano Glauso; Murska Sobota).

Povezovalca: **Maša K. Marty** in **David Verbuč**

## Being “the Other” or Being a Slovene: Identifications of Romani Musicians as a Minority Within the Majority Context

### Biti »Drugi« ali biti Slovenec: identifikacije romskih glasbenikov kot manjšine v večinskem kontekstu

This paper explores the situations when Roma, as minority musicians, assess their identity from the perspective of the majority while making music. With the long history of being “othered” in Slovenia, Roma as one of the country’s minorities have undergone a systemic marginalisation. In their case, the ground for the marginalisation is manifold. Starting from the theories that address the othering, from DuBois and Gilroy to Bateson (among others), the paper addresses the process in which members of a minority identify themselves through the majority’s perspective. In case of Romani musicians, this has caused them to choose various strategies to address their “non-normativity.”

Based on the recent fieldwork conducted in Slovenia, including interviews with musicians and observations of their music making in public, this paper considers a selected Romani music band as a case study to address the issue of its identification. It examines the ways Romani musicians choose to either subdue or display their identity while making music within the majority environment. The paper aims to address the question of how this identification affects the minority musicians and their musicianship, and how its perception by the majority affects the way they perceive their own music. Furthermore, this paper examines the established theories as well as the newer approaches that address the identification in the case of othering, contributing to minority studies in general within the Slovenian circumstances.

Prispevek preučuje situacije, ko Romi kot manjšinski glasbeniki med glasbenim ustvarjanjem presojujejo svojo identiteto z očmi Neromov (večine). Zaradi dolge zgodovine »drugačenja« v Sloveniji so bili Romi kot manjšina v državi podvrženi sistemski marginalizaciji, razlogi oziroma načini diskriminacije pa so večplastni. Ob tem se upošteva več teorij, ki obravnavajo »drugačenje«, od DuBoisa in Gilroya do Batesona (med drugimi). V prispevku se preučuje tudi proces, ko se pripadniki manjšin identificirajo skozi perspektivo večine. V primeru romskih glasbenikov je to povzročilo, uporabo različnih strategij, da bi

se spoprijeli s svojo »nenormativnostjo«.

Na podlagi nedavnega terenskega dela, opravljenega v Sloveniji, vključno z intervjuji z glasbeniki in opazovanjem njihovega javnega muziciranja, se kot študija primera primera obravnava izbrana romska glasbena skupina in vprašanje identifikacije pri njej. Raziskovalne pozornosti so deležni načini, kako se romski glasbeniki odločajo, da bodo med glasbenim ustvarjanjem v večinskem okolju svojo identiteto bodisi utišali bodisi poudarili. Namen prispevka je odgovoriti na vprašanje, kako ta identifikacija vpliva na manjšinske glasbenike in njihovo muziciranje ter kako percepcija njihove glasbe s strani večine vpliva na njihovo dožemanje le-te. Prispevek upošteva tako uveljavljene teorije kot tudi novejšje pristope, ki obravnavajo identifikacijo v primeru drugačnosti, in s tem prispevajo k preučevanju manjšin na splošno v slovenskih razmerah.

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## How Much Do Roma Benefit from “Money for Roma”?

### Koliko imajo Romi dejanske koristi od »denarja za Rome«

In this paper, I present my research on how governmental funds, dedicated for Roma, are used in practice, particularly for supporting Romani culture and art. Every year, the Republic of Slovenia allocates several million euros for the needs and measures to address challenges and improve the status of Roma. Last year, the Republic of Slovenia spent more than twenty million euros for this.

My paper raises the question on how much of this money reaches the Romani community and who benefits the most in this case. Based on my research of the laws, by-laws and regulations, as well as documentations of the public calls for funds, and interviews with Romani cultural activists and governmental clerks, I analyse the financial resources that the state, through its ministries and other institutions, allocates for the preservation and development of Romani culture. Further on, I examine the effect of this distribution of the funds on the position of Roma. Based on these findings, I address the more general issue on the perception of contribution of Roma and Romani cultural heritage to the cultural heritage of society as a whole.

V prispevku predstavljam rezultate raziskave in ponujam odgovor na vprašanje kako se v praksi uporabljajo vladna sredstva, namenjena Romom, zlasti za podporo romski kulturi in umetnosti. Republika Slovenija vsako leto nameni več milijonov evrov za potrebe in ukrepe za reševanje izzivov in izboljšanje položaja Romov. Lani je Republika Slovenija porabila več kot dvajset milijonov evrov.

Koliko tega denarja dejansko pride do romske skupnosti in kdo ima od tega največ koristi? Na podlagi študija zakonov, podzakonskih aktov, predpisov, dokumentacije javnih razpisov ter intervjujev z romskimi kulturnimi aktivisti in vladnimi uradniki analiziram finančna sredstva, ki jih država prek svojih ministrstev in drugih institucij namenja za ohranjanje in razvoj romske kulture.

Nadalje je zanimivo vprašanje vpliva porazdelitve omenjenih sredstev na položaj Romov. Na podlagi ugotovitev obravnavam tudi širše vprašanje,

kako se dojemajo prispevki Romov in njihove kulturne dediščine k skupni kulturni dediščini družbe kot celote.

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**Sandi Horvat je novinar, voditelj in urednik na RTV Slovenija ter predsednik Romskega akademskega kluba.**

## The Roma in the Slovenian Folk Tradition: Echoes of the Past and Reflections on the Present

### Romi v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu: odmevi preteklosti in razmišljanja o današnjem času

Through the prism of Slovenian oral tradition, it becomes clear that the Romani minority in Slovenia was not treated with leniency. In the folk tradition we find many prejudiced, discriminatory and paternalistic views about this minority, which reflects the historical perception of the Romani community in the wider Slovenian society. Even today, songs, sayings and proverbs that are not always friendly, benevolent and respectful towards this minority are preserved in the living language and in the musical song tradition. This proves the endurance of the oral tradition but also shows the place that the Romani community still occupies in the consciousness of society at large. The preservation and passing on of this part of Slovenian song heritage to the present day not only repeats historical patterns but also ensures that the 'otherness' of the Roma minority is constantly perceived anew in the wider environment.

Some of this content is still included in the school repertoire, where it is repeatedly passed on to new generations as part of an unproblematic cultural heritage and stereotypical images of the Roma community are renewed.

In this presentation I discuss some examples of published and still living poetic oral traditions in Slovenia that describe people from the Romani community. The cases discussed raise the question of where the boundaries of acceptability lie and how the role of cultural heritage in today's society can be reconsidered to better meet societal challenges and reflect contemporary values. But perhaps it is also simply time to leave some parts of the past behind and steer the transmission of cultural heritage towards greater respect and inclusion.

Skozi prizmo slovenskega ustnega izročila je razvidno, da romska manjšina na Slovenskem ni bila obravnavana prizanesljivo. V ljudskem izročilu najdemo nemalo predsodkov, polnih diskriminatornih in paternalističnih pogledov na to manjšino, kar zrcali zgodovinsko razumevanje te skupnosti med širšo družbo slovenskega prostora. Še danes se v živi govorici pa tudi med

glasbenim pesemskim izročilom ohranjajo pesmi, reki, pregovori, ki niso vedno prijazni, naklonjeni in spoštljivi do te manjšine. To dokazuje trdoživost ustnega izročila, obenem pa kaže tudi mesto, ki ga še danes zaseda romska skupnost med umevanjem širše družbe. Ohranjanje in prenašanje tega dela slovenske pesemske dediščine v današnji čas ne ponavlja le zgodovinske vzorce, temveč skrbi tudi za vedno znova obnavljajoče se dojemanje »drugosti« romske manjšine v širšem okolju.

Nekatere od teh vsebin so še vedno vključene v šolski repertoar, kjer tako kot del neproblematične kulturne dediščine, nove generacije vedno znova seznanjajo ter obnavljajo stereotipne podobe o romski skupnosti.

V predstavitvi se osredotočam na pregled nekaterih primerov objavljenega in še vedno živečega pesemskega ustnega izročila na Slovenskem, ki opisujejo posameznike iz romske skupnosti. Obravnavani primeri tako postavljajo vprašanje kje so meje sprejemljivega in kako ponovno razmisliti o vlogi kulturne dediščine v sodobni družbi, da bi bolje služila družbenim izzivom, v skladu z današnjimi vrednotami. Ali je mogoče le napočil čas, da se nekatere dele preteklosti pusti za seboj ter usmeri prenašanje kulturne dediščine v smer večjega spoštovanja in vključevanja.

**Maša K. Marty is an ethnomusicologist and participant in the project Romani and Sinti Musicians in Slovenia: Social Status, Cultural Practices, and Interactions.**

**Maša K. Marty je etnomuzikologinja in sodelavka na projektu Romski glasbeniki na Slovenskem: družbeni status, kulturne prakse in interakcije.**

## Rooted Musicians from Klenovec

### Glasbeniki, ukoreninjeni v Klenovcu

The short film *Rooted Musicians from Klenovec* explores the cultural and social significance of music within the Romani communities of Klenovec in Slovakia through participatory filmmaking. The film documents the return of photographs taken by French photographers Claude and Marie-José Carret, who first visited the region in the 1980s. These photographs, which depict generations of local musicians, serve as a tool for collective reflection and a means to engage with the community's musical heritage. By co-organising exhibitions and using photo-elicitation, the film facilitates a dialogue between past and present generations, revealing the evolving relationships between music, memory, and identity.

The film explores how state policies and limited economic opportunities have shaped the musicians' livelihoods, with music becoming not only a profession but a vital survival mechanism for these communities. It also shows the social interactions within the community, as younger generations relate to the musical legacy of their predecessors. Through reflexive filmmaking, *Rooted Musicians* emphasises the emotional and affective power of photography in generating empathy, enabling a participatory exchange between the filmmakers and the community. This collaborative process allows both the filmmakers and participants to reflect on the significance of their shared cultural heritage.

Kratki film *Rooted Musicians from Klenovec* (Glasbeniki, ukoreninjeni v Klenovcu) raziskuje kulturni in družbeni pomen glasbe v romskih skupnostih v Klenovcu na Slovaškem skozi participativno filmsko ustvarjanje. Film dokumentira vrnitev fotografij francoskega fotografa in fotografinje Clauda in Marie-José Carret, ki sta to regijo prvič obiskala v osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja. Fotografije, ki prikazujejo generacije lokalnih glasbenikov, služijo kot orodje za kolektivno razmišljanje in kot sredstvo za povezovanje s skupnostno glasbeno dediščino. S soorganizacijo razstav in uporabo tehnike fotografske elicitacije film omogoča dialog med preteklimi in sedanjimi generacijami, pri čemer razkriva razvijajoče se odnose med glasbo, spominom in identiteto.

Film raziskuje, kako so državne politike in omejene gospodarske možnosti oblikovale življenje glasbenikov, pri čemer glasba ni postala le poklic, ampak tudi ključen mehanizem preživetja za te skupnosti. Predstavlja tudi družbene interakcije znotraj skupnosti, saj mlajše generacije vzpostavljajo odnos do glasbene dediščine svojih prednikov. Z reflektivnim filmskim ustvarjanjem film *Rooted Musicians* poudarja čustveno in afektivno moč fotografije pri ustvarjanju empatije, kar omogoča participativno izmenjavo med filmskimi ustvarjalci in skupnostjo. Ta sodelovalni proces omogoča tako filmskim ustvarjalcem kot udeležencem razmislek o pomenu njihove skupne kulturne dediščine.

## Hopa Lide

### Hopa Lide

*Hopa lide* (2023, 90 minutes) is an ethnographic documentary that explores the lives and music-making of three Romani musicians in Slovakia. The film brings contemporary Romani music to the screen through the lens of participatory filmmaking, where the musicians themselves actively shape the narrative and their self-representation. Through a three-chapter structure, the film uncovers the complexities of being a Romani musician in the context of Slovak society.

The film subtly explores how the musicians negotiate their visibility and cultural expression within a society that often marginalises their identity, navigating both non-Roma-imposed and self-defined boundaries. The musicians' engagement with new technologies, music videos, and social media platforms highlights the tension between tradition and modernity, as they position themselves within a globalised and glocalised marketplace. The film explores the musicians' interactions with both Romani and non-Romani communities, shedding light on the ways in which music serves as a form of both resistance and connection.

The film represents a powerful example of how participatory filmmaking can transform the relationship between ethnographic subjects and filmmakers, offering a unique space for Romani musicians to define their

own narratives, reclaim their heritage, and challenge the dominant cultural frameworks imposed on them. Through *Hopa lide*, these musicians not only share their stories but also become co-creators of their own cinematic representation.

*Hopa lide* (2023, 90 minut) je etnografski dokumentarni film, ki raziskuje življenja in glasbeno ustvarjanje treh romskih glasbenikov na Slovaškem. Film sodobno romsko glasbo prinaša na platno skozi objektiv participativnega filmskega ustvarjanja, kjer glasbeniki sami aktivno oblikujejo pripoved in svojo lastno reprezentacijo. Film v treh poglavjih razkriva kompleksnost življenja romskega glasbenika v kontekstu slovaške družbe.

Film na subtilen način raziskuje, kako glasbeniki usklajujejo svojo vidnost in kulturni izraz v družbi, ki pogosto marginalizira njihovo identiteto, pri čemer krmarijo med mejami, ki jih postavljajo neromi in tistimi, ki jih določijo sami. Njihovo ukvarjanje z novimi tehnologijami, glasbenimi videi in platformami družbenih omrežij izpostavlja napetost med tradicijo in modernostjo, saj se umeščajo v globaliziran in glokaliziran trg. Film raziskuje tudi interakcije glasbenikov z romsko in neromsko skupnostjo ter osvetljuje, kako glasba služi kot oblika odpora in povezovanja.

Film predstavlja močan primer, kako lahko participativno filmsko ustvarjanje preoblikuje odnos med etnografskimi subjekti in ustvarjalci filma ter ponudi edinstven prostor, kjer romski glasbeniki sami določajo svoje pripovedi, ponovno pridobivajo svojo dediščino in izzivajo prevladujoče kulturne okvire, ki so jim vsiljeni. Skozi *Hopa lide* ti glasbeniki ne le delijo svoje zgodbe, temveč postanejo tudi soavtorji lastne filmske upodobitve.

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**JELKA VUKOBRATOVIĆ**

## **Romani Musicians in the Interwar Yugoslav Record Industry** **Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice v medvojni jugoslovanski** **diskografski industriji**

The literature about the Romani musicians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is practically non-existent. Unlike the lacking scholarly focus of the time, the music industry, because of its profit-orientation, displayed a relatively free and opened space for the production of music and musicians who largely remained outside of the national music canons. Within the record production in the first Zagreb record factory, Edison Bell Penkala, during the late 1920s and 1930s, Romani ensembles were present among the regular performers on the record labels, mostly indicated as a specific category of music – a “Gypsy band” (*ciganska kapela*). Results of the recently finished musicological research project about the first decades of the domestic record industry in Croatia also showed that most of the recorded Romani musicians migrated between Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, playing an important role in supporting various music scenes of the Yugoslav major cities. This paper will bring forward some of their activities and contributions.

Literatura o romskih glasbenikih v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji je praktično neobstoječa. V nasprotju z odsotnostjo znanstvene pozornosti v tistem času je glasbena industrija, zaradi svoje usmerjenosti v dobiček, predstavljala razmeroma svoboden in odprt prostor za produkcijo glasbe in glasbenikov, ki so večinoma ostajali zunaj nacionalnih glasbenih kanonov. V okviru produkcije gramofonskih plošč v prvi zagrebški tovarni plošč Edison Bell Penkala so bili v poznih dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja romski ansambli redni izvajalci na gramofonskih ploščah, večinoma označeni kot posebna glasbena kategorija – »ciganska kapela«. Rezultati nedavno zaključenega muzikološkega raziskovalnega projekta o prvih desetletjih domače fonografske industrije na Hrvaškem so pokazali tudi, da je večina posnetih romskih glasbenikov migrirala med Beogradom, Zagrebom in Sarajevom ter igrala pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju raznolikih glasbenih prizorišč v glavnih jugoslovanskih mestih. Ta referat bo predstavil nekatere njihove dejavnosti in prispevke.

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## Representations of “Gypsiness” in Yugoslav Discographic Market from 1960s to 1990s

### Predstavitev »ciganstva« na jugoslovanskem diskografskem trgu med šestdesetimi in devetdesetimi leti 20. stoletja

The aim of this paper is to present how the Yugoslav folk music discography, which was primarily systematized according to the ethnicity and regionality of the music and performers, represented Roma music. “Gypsy songs” and “Gypsy orchestras” had a significant place on the Serbian and Yugoslav folk music market since the beginning of Yugoslav discography, i.e. from the beginning of the 20th century, which continued throughout the century both in radio and television programming. In this paper, I consider how this minority music was represented, especially bearing in mind that music making was stereotypically considered one of the typical Romani professions. Were Romani recordings present in Yugoslav market to the extent as it was the case with Romani live performances, and what were the strategies, but also the goals of presenting “Gypsiness” in Yugoslav discography?

In addition to presenting Romani vocal and instrumental soloists and instrumental ensembles of the period, I examine what “Gypsy songs” actually were. They were the voice of the Roma (especially if they were in the Romani language), a voice for the Roma in a society in which they were a marginalized community, and they became partly the voice of non-Romani performers instead of them. In the period from 1960s to 1990s, several Romani musicians stood out; their performing and / or compositional opus is still considered significant today.

Special attention in the presentation is paid to explaining the musical approaches through which Romani identity was articulated in the Yugoslav discography of the second half of the 20th century. Finally, I discuss Romani “newly composed folk music” (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*) recordings within the Yugoslav folk-pop discography. Consideration of selected Romani music recordings published by Yugoslav record labels PGP RTB, Jugoton, Jugodisk, Diskos, Diskoton, Komuna and Južni vetar aims to contribute to imagological studies in ethnomusicology.

Namen tega prispevka je raziskati, kako je bila romska glasba predstavljena v jugoslovanski diskografiji, ki je bila večinoma sistematizirana glede na etnično in regionalno pripadnost glasbenikov in izvajalcev. »Ciganske pesmi« in »ciganski orkestri« so imeli pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju srbske in jugoslovanske ljudske glasbe že od začetka jugoslovanske diskografije, torej od sredine 20. stoletja, pri čemer se je ta trend nadaljeval skozi celotno stoletje tako v radijski kot tudi v televizijski produkciji. V tem prispevku obravnavam, kako je bila ta manjšinska glasba predstavljena, še posebej ob dejstvu, da je ustvarjanje glasbe stereotipno veljalo za eno od tipičnih romskih poklicev. Ali so bili romski posnetki na jugoslovanskem trgu prisotni v enaki meri kot romski živi nastopi in kakšne so bile strategije in tudi cilji predstavljanja »ciganstva« v jugoslovanski diskografiji?

Poleg predstavitve romskih vokalnih in instrumentalnih solistov ter instrumentalnih zasedb iz tega obdobja v prispevku poskušam določiti, kaj so »ciganske pesmi« v diskografiji pravzaprav bile. Najprej so bile glas Romov (zlasti če so bile v romskem jeziku), glas za Rome v družbi, v kateri so bili marginalizirana skupnost, in so deloma postale tudi glas neromskih izvajalcev namesto njih. V obdobju od 1960-ih do 1990-ih let je izstopalo več romskih glasbenikov in glasbenic, katerih izvedbeno in / ali kompozicijsko delo je še danes pomembno.

Posebna pozornost je namenjena razlagi glasbenih pristopov, s katerimi je bila romska identiteta artikulirana v jugoslovanski diskografiji druge polovice 20. stoletja. Nazadnje prispevek obravnava posnetke romske »novokomponirane narodne glasbe« (*novokomponovane narodne muzike*) v kontekstu diskografije jugoslovanske »folk-pop« glasbe. Obravnava izbranih posnetkov romske glasbe, ki so jih izdale jugoslovanske glasbene založbe PGP RTB, Jugoton, Jugodisk, Diskos, Diskoton, Komuna in Južni vetar so mišljene kot spodbuda k imagološkim študijam v etnomuzikologiji.

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## “‘Who’s Playing?’ ‘Some Gypsies’”: The Journey of Romani Tambura Recording and Broadcast Artists from Invisibility to Recognition in the 20th Century

»‘Kdo igra?’ ‘Neki Cigani’«: Pot romskih tamburaških posnetih in medijsko-izpostavljenih umetnikov od nevidnosti do priznanosti v 20. stoletju

Tambura music is a multi-ethnic Central and Eastern European string band practice that originated in the 19th century, and which remains popular today in its home areas and the diaspora. Romani tambura musicians have transformed it into a virtuosic musical style that is little known outside northern Serbia and Croatia, although it is well-known in tambura musicking circles. This musical mastery developed in an environment where the affect of Romani musicians' performance is highly valued, but the general status of Roma in local society is usually devalued. In fact, until the late 1960s, the identity of individual Romani tambura musicians was generally unknown. Thus, the earlier conception of “anonymous folk creation” was reinforced by the ambiguous social position of these musicians. Our study aims to recognize the accomplishments of Romani tambura musicians, from the first verified appearance on commercial recordings in 1928, through the first published use of the term “Gypsy ensemble” (*ciganski orkestar*) to refer to them in 1967, and ending with the first commercial recording labelled and marketed as Romani tambura music in 1978. In so doing, this study locates Romani tambura musicians – in the terms of this Symposium – between the State (what was permitted to be shown), the Market (what was commercially available), and Society (the increasing visibility of these musicians despite socio-cultural disadvantages).

Tamburaška glasba je večetnična praksa ansamblov strunskih glasbil v Srednji in Vzhodni Evropi, ki je nastala v 19. stoletju in je še danes priljubljena v okoljih nastanka in v diaspori. Romski tamburaški glasbeniki so jo preoblikovali v virtuozen glasbeni slog, ki je zunaj severne Srbije in Hrvaške malo znan,

čeprav je dobro znan v krogih izvajalcev tamburaške glasbe. To glasbeno mojstrstvo se je razvilo v okolju, kjer je vpliv nastopov romskih glasbenikov zelo cenjen, vendar je splošni status Romov v lokalni družbi običajno razvrednoten. Pravzaprav je bila identiteta posameznih romskih tamburaških glasbenikov do poznih šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja na splošno neznana. Tako je bila prejšnja koncepcija »anonimnega ljudskega ustvarjanja« podkrepljena z dvoumnim družbenim položajem teh glasbenikov. Naša študija si prizadeva prepoznati dosežke romskih tamburašev, od prvega potrjenega nastopa na komercialnih posnetkih leta 1928, preko prve objavljene uporabe izraza “Gypsy ensemble” (*ciganski orkestar*), ki se je nanašal nanje leta 1967, in konča s prvim komercialnim posnetkom, označenim in trženim kot romska tamburaška glasba leta 1978. S tem ta študija umešča romske tamburaše – v smislu tega simpozija – med državo (kaj je bilo dovoljeno prikazovati), trg (kaj je bilo komercialno dostopno) in družbo (naraščajoča prepoznavnost teh glasbenikov kljub družbeno-kulturnim prikrajšanostim).

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## Gendered Roles among Romani Musicians in Southern Romania: Occupational Strategies of Women Performers

### Spolno pogojene vloge med romskimi glasbeniki in glasbenicami v južni Romuniji: poklicne strategije glasbenic

Among professional Romani musicians (*lăutari*) in southern Romania, men have historically dominated performance at weddings and other public events. Music-making has long been an occupation passed along the male kin line within families. Yet starting in the twentieth century, some Romani women have begun to make music in public although their participation traditionally has been internally restricted to singing in ensembles in which their husbands and / or male relatives perform. How have female Romani musicians found their niche in a world of male privilege? How have considerations of the state, market, and society in general informed strategies of professional performance by Romani women? In this paper, based in part on fieldwork, I explore gendered roles in Romani music-making: what and how female, as compared to male, Romani musicians perform in public (including social practices of live performance), whether and how they address glocal circumstances, and their relationships with their audiences. I consider how female musicians are “formed,” including the role of urban vs. rural upbringing; family and the traditional focus on sons (as opposed to daughters) as career musicians; their vocal “training”; acquisition and choice of repertoire; autonomy in music-making; and degree of professionalism. I suggest that while the situation of female Romani vocalists is generally evolving, traditional gendered boundaries between male and female musicians continue to determine, in large part, the parameters of public performance. Traditional gender roles, widespread within Balkan Romani communities, are deeply embedded in the state, market, and social mechanisms that inform Romani music-making.

Med poklicnimi romskimi glasbeniki (lăutari) v južni Romuniji so na porokah in drugih javnih prireditvah v preteklosti prevladovali moški. Glasbeništvo je že dolgo poklic, ki se v družinah prenaša po moški sorodstveni liniji. Vendar so od dvajsetega stoletja nekatere romske ženske začele javno muzicirati, čeprav je bilo njihovo sodelovanje tradicionalno omejeno na petje

v zasedbah, v katerih so nastopali njihovi možje in / ali moški sorodniki. Kako so romske glasbenice našle svojo nišo v svetu moških privilegijev? Kako so premisleki o državi, trgu in družbi na splošno vplivali na strategije profesionalnega nastopanja romskih glasbenic? V tem prispevku, ki delno temelji na terenskem delu, raziskujem spolno pogojene vloge v romskem glasbenem ustvarjanju: kaj in kako romske glasbenice v primerjavi z moškimi izvajajo v javnosti (vključno z družbenimi praksami izvajanja v živo), ali in kako se odzivajo na glokalne okoliščine, kakšna so njihova razmerja z občinstvom. V raziskavi me zanimajo naslednji procesi: kako se glasbenice »oblikujejo«, vključno z vlogo mestne in podeželske vzgoje, vloga družine in tradicionalnega poudarka na sinovih (v nasprotju s hčerkami) kot poklicnih glasbenikov, vokalno »usposabljanje« glasbenic, pridobivanje in izbira repertoarja, samostojnost pri glasbenem ustvarjanju, stopnja profesionalnosti. Menim, da se položaj romskih pevk sicer na splošno spreminja, vendar tradicionalne spolne zamejitve med glasbeniki in glasbenicami še vedno v veliki meri določajo parametre javnega nastopanja. Tradicionalne spolne vloge, razširjene v balkanskih romskih skupnostih, so globoko zasidrane v državnih, tržnih in družbenih mehanizmi, ki vplivajo na romsko glasbeno ustvarjanje.

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## Romani musicians in the Czech lands at the beginning of the 21st century

### Romski glasbeniki in glasbenice na Češkem na začetku 21. stoletja

During decades of research among Romani musicians in the Czech Republic, I have followed the shaping of various trends in their musical activities. Therefore, in 2016, I undertook several in-depth interviews with representatives of these trends, and published the four most significant ones in *Romani Musicians in the 21st Century* (Jurková 2018). The interviewees are Olga Fečová, a bearer of the interwar tradition of Romani musician families and one of those who use music as a method of preventing socio-pathological phenomena in community outreach centers; her grandson Josef Fečo, a professional musician, active across musical genres and very visible on the Romani scene; Pavel Dirda, a member of the widely popular funk group Gulo čar and later a band leader in the Brno Salvation Army; and Jan Dužda, a representative of a new, educated generation of Rompop musicians and activists. In 2024 in 2025, I conducted a follow-up research based on these interviews, and this paper presents its results.

V desetletjih raziskav med romskimi glasbeniki na Češkem sem spremljala oblikovanje različnih trendov v njihovih glasbenih dejavnostih. Zato sem leta 2016 opravila več poglobljenih intervjujev s predstavniki teh trendov, štiri najpomembnejše pa sem objavila v knjigi *Romski glasbeniki v 21. stoletju* (Jurková 2018). Intervjuvanci so Olga Fečová, nosilka medvojne tradicije romskih glasbenih družin in ena tistih, ki uporabljajo glasbo kot metodo za preprečevanje socialno-patoloških pojavov; njen vnuk Josef Fečo, profesionalni glasbenik, aktiven v različnih glasbenih žanrih in zelo viden na romski sceni; Pavel Dirda, član zelo priljubljene funk skupine Gulo čar in kasneje vodja benda v sklopu Salvation Army v Brnu; in Jan Dužda, predstavnik nove, izobražene generacije glasbenikov Rompopa in

aktivistov. V letih 2024–25 sem na podlagi teh intervjujev izvedla nadaljnjo raziskavo, katere rezultate predstavlja ta članek.

Zuzana Jurková is an Assistant Professor and Chair of the ethnomusicology program and anthropological studies at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague, Czechia.

Zuzana Jurková je docentka in vodja etnomuzikološkega programa ter antropoloških študijev na Fakulteti za humanistiko Karlove univerze v Pragi na Češkem.

## Romani Music, Culture and Musicians in Finland: Persistence and Change in the Public Image of Local Romani Musicians

### Romska glasba, kultura, glasbenice in glasbeniki na Finskem: Vztrajnost in sprememba pri javni podobi romskih glasbenic in glasbenikov v družbenih medijih

About 14,000 Finnish Roma (Kaale) live permanently in Finland. Influenced by local and global stereotypes, they are generally considered musically talented. In recent years, also at the will of the state, the traditional music of the Roma has become visible like in other old minorities in Finland such as Karelians and Sámi. As a result, state cultural measures have begun to support Romani music and their culture. However, in the emancipation or popularization of Finnish Romani music, there are a number of both internal and external cultural issues, which I want to bring out in my presentation.

Through active participation in social media, many Romani singers and instrumentalists deal with the changing world of norms and values that challenge tradition with perceptive observations about the past, present and future. They encounter sexual diversities, consider women's roles from a feminist perspective, and examine art and gender from the perspective of the aging population. An increasing number of artists challenge the narrowness of the roles associated with femininity, and the texts of young men suggest new perspectives for their future, different from those of their parents and traditional culture. Against this background, marketing Romani music offers a space for versatile musical and cultural reflection, where rigid cultural models – gendered value and norm settings – become elastic. Thereby I explore how Romani culture's internal and traditional values and norm systems, like age- and gender-associated roles or rules of purity, cope with the new circumstances in marketing Romani music.

My presentation is based on more than thirty years of intensive fieldwork, both as a researcher and as a musician, among the Roma in Finland and other countries.

Na Finskem živi približno 14.000 finskih Romov (Kaale), ki zaradi lokalnih in globalnih stereotipov veljajo za glasbeno nadarjene. V zadnjih letih je, tudi zaradi državnih politik, tradicionalna glasba Romov, tako kot drugih starih manjšinah, kot so Kareljci in Sami na Finskem, postala prepoznavna. Posledično so se z državnimi kulturnimi ukrepi začeli podpirati romska glasba in kultura. Vendar pa se pri emancipaciji oziroma popularizaciji finske romske glasbe pojavljajo številna notranja in zunanja kulturna vprašanja, ki jih želim izpostaviti v svoji predstavitvi.

Številni romski glasbeniki in glasbenice se z aktivnim sodelovanjem v družbenih medijih soočajo s spreminjajočim se svetom norm in vrednot, ki spodbijajo tradicijo, in pronicljivo opazujejo preteklost, sedanjost in prihodnost. Srečujejo se s spolno raznolikostjo, razmišljajo o vlogi žensk s feminističnega vidika ter preučujejo umetnost in spol z vidika starajočega se prebivalstva. Vedno več umetnikov izpodbija ozkost vlog, povezanih z ženskostjo, besedila mladih moških pa nakazujejo nove perspektive za njihovo prihodnost, drugačne od tistih, ki so jih imeli njihovi starši in tradicionalna kultura. V tem kontekstu trženje romske glasbe ponuja prostor za vsestransko glasbeno in kulturno refleksijo, kjer togi kulturni vzorci – spolne vrednote in normativi – postanejo prožni. Zato v prispevku iščem odgovor na vprašanje, kako se notranji in tradicionalni sistemi vrednot in norm romske kulture, kot so vloge v povezavi s starostjo in spolom ali pravila čistosti, spopadajo z novimi okoliščinami pri trženju romske glasbe.

Moja predstavitve temelji na več kot tridesetletnem intenzivnem terenskem delu med Romi na Finskem in v drugih državah, ki sem ga opravil kot raziskovalec in glasbenik.

Kai Viljami Åberg is Adjunct Professor of traditional music at the Department for Finish language and Cultural Research, University of Eastern Finland.

Kai Viljami Åberg je zunanji profesor tradicijske glasbe na Oddelku za finski jezik in kulturne raziskave na Univerzi vzhodne Finske.

## “A Basket Full of Eggs”: A Romani Film and Music Archives Project

### »Košarica, polna jajc«: projekt romskega filmskega in glasbenega arhiva

This short film (13 min, 2025) follows Romani dancer and journalist Liza Mortimer as she visits England's national folk music and dance archive at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library in London. Through conversations with song collectors, singers and archivists, she explores her great grandmother Minty Smith and her family's influence on English folk music.

The following presentation discusses the representation of Romani and Traveller groups in English folk music. Drawing on the film project and further work with the music archive and community members (VWML, 2023; Marsh, Wettermark & Hore 2024) we discuss how academics, archivists and Romani artists and filmmakers can work together to tell new stories about the shared music culture(s) of the British Isles (10min). Includes Q/A with Romani film maker Lisa Smith (10min).

Ta kratki film (13 min, 2025) spremlja romsko plesalko in novinarko Lizo Mortimer, ki obiše angleški nacionalni arhiv ljudske glasbe in plesa v Vaughan Williams Memorial Library v Londonu. V pogovorih z zbiratelji pesmi, pevci in arhivisti raziskuje svojo prababico Minty Smith in vpliv njene družine na angleško ljudsko glasbo.

Predstavitev v nadaljevanju obravnava zastopanost Romov in drugih popotniških skupin v angleški ljudski glasbi. Na podlagi filmskega projekta ter nadaljnega dela z glasbenim arhivom in člani skupnosti (VWML, 2023; Marsh, Wettermark in Hore 2024) razpravljamo o tem, kako lahko akademiki, arhivisti ter romski umetniki in filmski ustvarjalci sodelujejo pri nastajanju novih zgodb o skupni glasbeni kulturi / kulturah Britanskega otočja (10 min). Sledijo vprašanja in odgovori z romsko filmsko ustvarjalko Liso Smith (10 min).

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Hazel Marsh is Professor of Cultural Politics at University of East Anglia in Norwich, UK.

Hazel Marsh je profesorica kulturnih politik, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK.

Lisa Smith is a filmmaker, consultant and curator, founder of Patrin Films, an Independent production company dedicated to amplifying Romani perspectives and advocating for better representation in the European film industry.

Lisa Smith je filmska ustvarjalka, svetovalka in kustodinja, ustanoviteljica neodvisne produkcijske hiše Patrin Films, posvečene krepitevi romskih perspektiv in zavzemanju za boljšo zastopanost Romov v evropski filmski industriji.

Esbjörn Wettermark is a Research Associate in Music Department, University of Sheffield, UK.

Esbjörn Wettermark je raziskovalec na Oddelku za glasbo, University of Sheffield, Združeno kraljestvo.

Tiffany Hore is Director of Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, UK.

Tiffany Hore je ravnateljica, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, London, Združeno kraljestvo.

## ROUNDTABLE 2: Position and Precarity of Women Musicians in Romani Contexts and Interactions

### OKROGLA MIZA 2: Položaj in prekarnost glasbenic v romskih kontekstih in interakcijah

The main topics and questions of the roundtable are framed on the following issues:

What is the position of the Romani musicians vis-à-vis ethnic Slovenian women musicians in the society at large? What are their strategies for achieving and maintaining the equal position with male musicians? What is the position of the Romani music from the perspective of the economy of the women's musicianship? Is there a systemic of the transmission of knowledge and experience? What can we learn from comparing the Macedonian and Slovenian practices? How do the young Romani female musicians encounter the identity shifting?

Participants: **Bajsa Arifovska, Nina Brasseur, Sara Brizani, Laura Vučak** and **Darja Žalik**

Moderator: **Alma Bejtullahu**

Poglavitne teme in vprašanja pri pogovoru sledijo naslednjim iztočnicam: Kakšen je položaj romskih glasbenic v družbi vis-à-vis večinskimi glasbenicam? Kakšne strategije uporabljajo za izboritev in vzdrževanje enakega položaja z moškimi glasbeniki? Kakšen je položaj romske etnoglasbe na področju glasbenega trga? Ali imamo sistemske rešitve za prenos glasbenih izkušenj na mlade (primerjava med Makedonijo in Slovenijo)? Kako mlade Rominje vidijo proces identifikacije?

Udeleženke: **Bajsa Arifovska, Nina Brasseur, Sara Brizani, Laura Vučak** in **Darja Žalik**

Povezovalka: **Alma Bejtullahu**

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Glasbenica – pevka, Slovenija  
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Oblikovalka, glasbenica - didžejka, Slovenija

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 10, 65

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11, 76, 77

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6, 20, 21

#### DARJA ŽALIK

Musician – singer (ensembles Beltinška banda and Stil), Slovenia  
Glasbenica – pevka (zasedbi Beltinška banda in Stil), Slovenija  
11, 78

## LIST OF PERFORMING MUSICIANS / SEZNAM NASTOPAJOČIH GLASENIKOV

#### Bajsa Arifovska feat. Harmellogic

(North Macedonia / Severna Makedonija, Slovenia / Slovenija)  
Bajsa Arifovska, *caval, bagpipe, tamboura, clarinet, violin / kaval, dude, tambura, klarinet, violina*  
Kris Korat, *keyboards / klaviature*  
Damir Mazrek, *percussion / tolkala*

#### Imer Traja Brizani & Amala

(Slovenia / Slovenija)  
Anja Burnik, *flute / flavta*  
Armando Brizani, *keyboards / klaviature*  
Miha Vanič, *vocals / vokal*  
Uroš Rakovec, *guitar / kitara*  
Jakob Avsenak, *drums and percussion / bobni in tolkala*  
Kristian "Kiki" Klinc, *cajón, percussion / cajon in tolkala*  
Imer Traja Brizani, *vocals, bass guitar / vokal, bas kitara*  
Guest musicians / Gostujoči glasbeniki:  
Domen Lorenz, *violin / violina*  
Aleš Suša, *saxophone / saksofon*

#### Lana Trotovšek and Emars String Orchestra /

#### Lana Trotovšek in Godalni orkester Emars

(Slovenia / Slovenija)  
Artistic Director and Concertmaster / Umetniški vodja in koncertni mojster: Janez Podlesek, *violin / violina*  
Soloist / solistka: Lana Trotovšek, *violin / violina*  
Simeon Goshev, *violin / violina*  
Lana Kunčič, *violin / violina*  
Maša Leskovic, *violin / violina*  
Lara Kramer, *violin / violina*  
Katarina Viher, *violin / violina*  
Miha Denac, *violin / violina*  
Tinkara Andrejč, *violin / violina*  
Ivona Lederer, *violin / violina*  
Maja Marija Rome, *viola / viola*  
Ema Bornšek, *viola / viola*  
Igor Mitrovič, *cello / violončelo*  
Maximilian Kolloros, *cello / violončelo*  
Filip Tomac, *cello / violončelo*  
Stevan Jovanović, *double bass / kontrabas*

Antal Kovács, *guitar, vocals* / *kitara, vokál*  
Máté A. Kovács, *guitar, vocals* / *kitara, vokál*  
Krisztián Kovács, *percussion* / *tolkala*  
Csaba Winterverber, *bass guitar* / *bas kitara*  
Máté Müller, *drums* / *bobni*

Darko Rudaš, *guitar / kitara*  
Igor Baranja, *accordion / harmonika*  
Marijo Horvat, *violin / violina*  
Leonardo Horvat, *piano / klavir*  
Tilen Horvat, *drums – percussion / bobni – tolkala*  
Dušan Horvat, *vocal / vokal*

Peter Ugrin, *violin / violina*  
Zmago Štih, *accordion / harmonika*  
Aljaž Bassin, *guitar / kitara*  
Mykhailo Levit, *guitar / kitara*  
Nikola Matošić, *double bass / kontrabas*

Vito Marenče, *guitar / kitara*  
Andrej Tomažin, *percussion / tolkala*  
Mitja Obed, *dance / ples*

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International symposium Romani and Sinti Musicians between the State, Market, and Society:  
Programme booklet with abstracts

*Mednarodni simpozij Romski in sintski glasbeniki in glasbenice med državo, trgom in družbo:  
Programska knjižica s povzetki*

Ljubljana, Slovenia / Slovenija, 21–23 August 2025 / 21.–23. avgust 2025

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*37. Mednarodni festival*

# **Noči v stari Ljubljani**

**21.–23. 8. 2025**