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## The Birth of a Group Two Roma Micro-Groups in Bukovina and Transylvania

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*At the origin of both micro-groups lie similar processes of transformation of one enlarged family into two dual exogamic clans, forming one endogamic community.*

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### The Roma Group

**F**ROM THE birth of the modern academic knowledge about the Roma until the present day, one of the central topics in Romani studies has been the issue of the significant internal heterogeneity of the Roma community. Not coincidentally sometimes the plural form of the term is used and the designation ‘Roma communities’ appears to indicate this heterogeneity. Against this backdrop there is the specific type of ethno-social entity of the Roma, which we defined in our previous works as ‘intergroup ethnic formation’ (Marushiakova and Popov 1997, 34–36; 2013a, 40–42; 2013b, 61–62).

The main taxonomic unit among the Roma is the ‘group’, and respectively the subgroup divisions (separated on extended family/clan and/or territorial criteria) and the metagroup units (Marushiakova and Popov 1997, 34–42; 2013a, 40–43; 2013b, 61–63). To avoid any misunderstandings, we would like to clarify that in our texts

the terms ‘community’ and ‘group’ are used as *terminus technicus*. In recent years, after the publication of the renowned article “Ethnicity without Groups” by Rogers Brubaker, among social and humanities scholars we notice a certain reluctance to use the term ‘group,’ in order to avoid accusations of *groupism*, *essentializing*, *naturalizing* and *commonsense primordialism*, etc. (Brubaker 2004, 11).

For us, however, the term ‘group’ was and still is a historically contingent category, in a constant process of development or, to use Brubaker’s words, we consider the group to be a “relational, processual, dynamic, eventful and disaggregated term” (Brubaker 2004, 11). Therefore, we see no need to follow Brubaker’s advice to use as a “basic analytical category not the group as an entity but groupness as a contextually fluctuating conceptual variable” (*ibid.*), and no need to go into scholastic verbal obfuscation between the term ‘groupism’ and ‘groupness.’

Roma groups are not a static social and cultural creation, but historical phenomena; among them, under the influence of different factors, we always see the flow of processes with different directions, velocity and frequency, which can be reduced to two main contradictory and correlated tendencies—consolidation and segmentation. On the one hand, a process of segmentation of the group into separate subgroup divisions occurs on the basis of family/kin and territorial factors; on the other hand, the separate subgroup divisions, differentiated on such bases, consolidate gradually into one group. In both cases, the newly formed communities gradually accept the dimensions of the new, unique Roma group, repeating the main characteristic of an ideal Roma group (the model of which we have developed in our previous works quoted above). Actually these are the two sides of a single process, which has been characteristic for the Roma, at least since the time of their arrival in Europe in the Middle Ages, and which continues even today (Marushiakova and Popov 2004, 145–191).

We find the constant confirmation of this statement in every study conducted in our field over the past 30 years, including in the cases which we shall present below.

During the autumn of 2003, together with a group of students from Leipzig University, we made a field trip visiting Roma in countries of the Carpathian region (Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Hungary and the Czech Republic), the results of which were published in a separate edition (Losemann and Schwanke 2005). In regions of Bukovina (Ukraine) and Transylvania (Romania) our attention was attracted by the Roma living in two villages, Hlynysya in Bukovina and Uila/Weilau in Transylvania. It emerged that there are some common characteristics for both Roma communities, allowing us to formulate conclusions about their historical and current development, which in both cases led to the creation of two new small Roma groups, so small that we introduced term micro-group for these cases. In other words, the gathered evidence gave us the possibility to analyze the very process of creation of a new Roma group.

## The Case of Hlynytsya

**I**N THE village of Hlynytsya, near Chernivtsi, according to data obtained by local authorities, the Roma living there amount to about 150 people (Старик & Халавка 2013, 3). The discrepancy between the “official” data and the actual state of affairs in determining the number of Roma is well known and constantly appeared as an issue worldwide, and Ukraine is no exception in this regard. According to the last census in Ukraine, held in 2001, in the whole region of Chernivtsi live 97 Roma (Всеукраїнський 2001a). According to our estimation, based on observation in situ, the real number of Roma in Hlynytsya is circa 200–300 people, who live in about 50–60 houses.

The rest of the villagers are ethnic Ukrainians, and the entire population of the village amounts to 1,641 people (Всеукраїнський 2001b). The houses of the Roma are not separated, they are mostly (but not allways) grouped in separate streets, and as a whole they do not differ from the houses of the rest of the population, and sometimes are even richer in comparison with the others in the village. The social position of the Roma in village life is also definitely a good one. In 2003 the mayor and the school’s principal were “from our people”; there are also some shops in the village, owned by Roma. The Roma here have been musicians for generations. The profession (main or additional) of most of the Roma is still music-making, which gives them more opportunities for financial gain, in comparison with those working in agriculture, who rely now, as in the past, mostly on natural income.

The Roma orchestras in the village have impermanent members; they are formed according to circumstance. The orchestra usually includes accordion, violin, trumpet and percussion instruments and when necessary a contrabass and a cymbal can be added, and as a whole the orchestras can be bigger. The Roma are hired as musicians for weddings and other celebrations, mainly by Ukrainians; the Romanians in the region have their own musicians. The local people know that they are Roma and call them ‘Gypsies,’ but, as our informants said, this does not offend but rather helps them, because ‘Gypsies’ are known to be the best musicians. Their main repertoire consists mainly of traditional Ukrainian folk music, but sometimes they are asked to play ‘Gypsy’ songs. In such cases they play famous songs and music from the repertoire of the Romen Theater and from Soviet cinema, mostly from the famous Soviet movie *Табор уходит в небо* (The Gypsy camp goes to Heaven, also known as *Gypsies Are Found near Heaven*), which is a 1975 Soviet film by Emil Loteanu, loosely based on various works by Maxim Gorky.

The musicians are extremely proud of their popularity; they have participated in ensembles for folk Ukrainian music, they appeared at festivals, in recitals of

folklore music, and as Ukrainian folk musicians. In conversations they always especially and very proudly stress that their fathers had played for the movie *Белая птица с черной отметиной* (*The White Bird Marked with Black*) by film director Yuriy Ilyenko, in which the assistant director, writer, composer and performer of the title role was Ivan Mikolaychuk, who hails from the neighboring village of Chortoriya. This movie from the 1970s holds special significance for the Ukrainians. In the movie, for the first time in many years, Ukrainian was spoken, and traditional Ukrainian music was played. Ironically, in 1971 this movie was banned in Kiev and in the same year it received a golden medal at a festival in Moscow. At present, in the context of an independent Ukraine, this film is considered to be one of the pillars of modern Ukrainian nationalism (although it was made in the spirit of communist ideology). The participation of musicians from Hlynutsya in this movie is not only widely known (Снігур 2010), but even more, it is assumed that through their contribution to *The White Bird Marked with Black* the Hlynutsya Gypsy musicians forever entered the history of Ukrainian culture (Глиница 2010).

The preservation of various phenomena in the sphere of traditional culture and folklore (such as customs, rituals, music, songs, etc.) by the Roma after they became isolated from the surrounding majority population is a well-known phenomenon, especially in the region of Southeast Europe (Marushiakova and Popov 2007, 33–50; 2012, 9–13). In the case of the musicians from Hlynutsya, however, something more appeared—the preservation of samples from the traditional Ukrainian musical folk culture by Hlynutsyan Roma received wide public acclaim and became a national asset.

In the yard of the village church there is the grave of a Rom. To understand the importance of this fact a little clarification is needed—in the churchyard only the most respected people in the village could be buried, the rest are buried in the village graveyard. The inscription on the grave is partially damaged by time and hard to read. It is written in the Romanian language, but in Cyrillic script. The year of death is visible (1928), and the name of the buried man is Dragosh (?). According to the preserved oral history of the local population (Roma and Ukrainians), that is the grave of Aleka, who was the famous *șef-kapitan*—i.e. the “boss-captain” of the village Roma. According to the local oral history, he was the well-known organizer of a very successful orchestral group. He led them to play in Poland, and following his advice on these trips the Roma dressed poorly, in order to receive more money. In this case, it is possible to guess with relative accuracy what time this story refers to. It is the period between the two World Wars when, following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I, the village found itself within Romania’s state borders, near the border with Poland (only later, in 1940, the region of Chernivtsi was annexed to the USSR, and integrated within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

These explanations are in direct connection with the legends transformed into oral history, which are widespread among the local Ukrainian population even nowadays and explain the origin and history of the Roma in Hlynytsya. According to these legends, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the local landowner Flondor relocated several families of Roma musicians from the Carpathian Mountains (it is not clear exactly from which place) to Hlynytsya. They settled in a separate hamlet, called *Fundoya* after the name of their leader. Gypsy boys married local Ukrainian girls, and their offspring were virtuoso musicians who became famous, and not only in Bukovina. “Once upon a time one local girl gave birth to a son, from a Gypsy father. Years passed, and the boy became a famous musician, a violinist named Aleko Tsurtsurman. The talented musician was invited to perform before the most prosperous people of Chernivtsi and in Chernivtsi’s most expensive restaurants. Even the famous Ferencz Liszt heard Tsurtsurman play and was amazed by his talent. When Aleko died, at his funeral played an orchestra with ten rows of musicians, and so many people followed his coffin that the funeral procession stretched for several kilometers” (Легенди 2012; Старик & Халавка 2013, 20).

According to the legends told by the Roma, Aleko Tsurtsurman is buried in the courtyard of the village church. The inscription on the monument in the cemetery, as mentioned above, points to a different name. It may, however, be indeed the grave of Aleko, as it is not unusual for Roma to have several names, used according to different circumstances. At the same time, it could not be ruled out that this is not in fact Aleko’s burial place. Unfortunately, as we know, in general community narratives are not sufficiently reliable and this case once again confirms the absolute necessity of a critical analysis of the oral history data and the need to compare them with other sources.

Another outstanding Roma musician from the community in question, in the nineteenth century, was Alika Parashchuk. Alika did not play alone, but with a whole orchestra. They are known to have played at the celebrations occasioned by the anniversary of the creative activity of Mykola Lysenko (a well-known Ukrainian composer), hosted by the Ukrainian People’s House in Chernivtsi in 1903 (Старик & Халавка 2013, 20).

Dodko Kerstenyuk continued the tradition of these famous musicians from Hlynytsya during the twentieth century. There are stories about how his playing charmed King Carol II of Romania (who reigned from 8 June 1930 until 6 September 1940). Dodko’s main strength however were rural weddings, and each wedding where he played turned into a memorable event (Глиницький 2006). In Kerstenyuk’s orchestra began the career of the ‘Honored Ukrainian Worker of Culture’ (the Soviet honorary designation for famous artists), Ilya Miskiy from the village of Shypyntsi, who later became the head of the orchestral group known as the National Song and Dance Ensemble of Bukovina (Глиницький 2006).

According to other versions of the oral history of the local Roma community, it originates from two Roma brothers, who came from the north, from the other bank of the river Pruth (i.e. from what is today the Ivano-Frankivsk region, now part of the Ukraine). As already mentioned, at that time the area belonged to Poland, and while one brother settled in Hlynetsya, the other settled in Shypyntsi (the neighboring village), and “we all are descended from them.” This story is not chronologically framed, but because the only time in history when the border with Poland was on the river Pruth is the period between the two World Wars, it is clear that the oral history refers to that period. In the archives of Chernivtsi, however, there are documents which indicate that the Roma were present in the village since the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Добержанський et al. 2003, 134–145). The same pattern of myths and legends (nowadays often presented as oral history) of various local communities about the foundation of their settlements by two newly arrived brothers is very well known and common among the Roma (and non-Roma as well) in many other countries and regions.

Nowadays the described Roma community has very clear borders—they live in the neighboring Hlynetsya and Shypyntsi villages, with some families resettled in the surrounding villages. The community is highly endogamous, marriages are restricted mainly to the confines of the community, as the Roma in each of the villages think of the Roma in the other village as “lower grade” or “poorer musicians” etc., and much of the tension between the communities has to do with the fact that both prefer to take brides from the other but not to reciprocate. Following the same pattern of accepting brides from outside and of reluctance to give one’s own girls away, there are some mixed marriages (mainly involving Ukrainian women, who became integrated into the community).

The identity of the Roma in the village is, as often with the Roma in Eastern Europe, complicated and multidimensional. At first they introduce themselves as ‘Ukrainians,’ but after a conversation, when a certain amount of trust is gained, they would admit that they are *Цигани* (‘Gypsies,’ in Ukrainian), however with some hesitation and using mostly euphemisms, such as *наші людини* ‘our people’ or simply *наші* ‘ours.’ According to the explanations of our interlocutors, when the village was on the territory of Romania between the two World Wars, they were forced to declare themselves ‘Romanians,’ and since the times of the USSR they have been declaring themselves ‘Ukrainians,’ knowing, however, that they are *Цигани*. Their main language is Ukrainian (in a local dialectal variant), and in contrast with all other Roma in the former USSR they speak Russian poorly and don’t speak *Romanes* (the Romani language) at all. According to them, they only know a few words in *Romanes*, described by them as “musicians’ words” (used by the musicians, when bargaining, in order not to be understood), but they were unable to give other examples, except for the words *love* (money) and

*baro* (used in the sense of big, head, chieftain), words which are also known by the non-Roma.

Their knowledge about other Roma outside their community is exceptionally limited. In the region of Chernivtsi live a few other Roma communities, comparatively small in number, speaking *New Vlax* (called also *North Vlax Dialect* by linguists) and *Carpathian* (or *Central*) dialects of the Romani Language (Matras 2002), as well as some Romanian-speaking ‘Gypsies,’ but our interlocutors do not have any contacts with them. However, there exists to some extent the idea, at least on an abstract level, of one common and united Roma community on the territory of the former Soviet Union, as well as globally.

The self-appellation used there is *Цигани* (i.e. ‘Gypsies’), the term ‘Roma’ is absolutely unknown, though rumors about some activities of the Roma NGO sector have arrived there. For instance, they say that somebody recently compiled a list of the Gypsies in the region; that their *Baron* (meaning Gypsy chief/leader) had died in France, and bequeathed to anyone affected by the atrocities committed by the Germans in WWII the sum of 5,000 German marks. This is without any doubt a folklorized echo of the projects for the compensation of the Roma victims of the Holocaust. Despite the contemporary relevance of the ‘Roma issue’ in Ukraine, there are still no signs indicating the development of local Roma organizations in Hlynetsya.

## The Case of Uila/Weilau

**T**HE VILLAGE of Uila (German Weilau, Hungarian Vajola) is located near the town of Reghin, in Transylvania. At the moment in the village live about 200 Romanians, 200 Hungarians and 200 Roma. In the past, German colonists (the so-called Saxons, who settled here in the Middle Ages) were predominant in the village. As time went by, due to several waves of migration and expulsions the number of German inhabitants gradually decreased. The first decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century saw labor migration to the US and Canada. The Second Vienna Award (a territorial dispute arbitrated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy) of 30 August 1940 reassigned the territory of Northern Transylvania from Romania to Hungary. On 11 September 1944 a decree was issued for the evacuation of the German inhabitants of Transylvania, who began to move west in the direction of Austria. Before the evacuation, the ethnic composition of the village included 640 Germans, 2 Romanian families, ca. 150 Gypsies (of the Evangelical, Lutheran confession) and one Jewish family. After WWII these Germans from Uila/Weilau who had been evacuated to Lower Austria, which

became a Russian occupation zone, were sent back to their village, and thus around 270 persons returned (Geschichte n.d.).

A migration/repatriation of the Transylvanian Saxons to Germany began in the 1970s. It gained considerable momentum in the 1980s following the agreement between Germany and Romania, according to which Germany paid Romania for each repatriation. The last “Saxons” left the village during the ’90s, and their place was taken by Hungarians and Romanians from the surrounding villages. At the moment, in the village live 602 inhabitants, roughly 200 Romanians, 200 Hungarians, and 200 Roma.

The Roma have been living in the village since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which is reflected in the records of the local Evangelical Church (Lutherans of the Augsburg Confession). As we were able to see in the church documents, the Roma were accepted in the Lutheran church community, although as a separate category—according to the registers the members of the congregation were divided into men, women and Roma.

The Lutheran Roma from the village of Uila/Weilau received quite a lot of attention from both mainstream and ecclesiastical media, and sporadically also from the academia (Mayr 2007; Krauss 2000; Keul 2002). Their community is well known, thus it is not hidden in the strict sense of the word. However, none of the numerous authors who have written about them until now paid attention to their separation from the other Roma in the country and their transformation into a specific Roma group. In the available written texts we find a nearly idyllic picture of their life and relationships with the Saxons. The Roma narratives collected by different authors, ourselves included, repeatedly describe how working and living together, especially in times of hardship, created friendships between the Roma and the Germans. It is told that during the Second World War “we Gypsies helped the Germans. We kept watch over their empty houses so that no one could plunder them. And when the Germans returned, we put them up in our houses until they could move back into their own homes” (Achtelstetter 1996).

A constantly repeated story also tells us how “the Germans handed over the keys to their cattle sheds, wine cellars and homes to their Gypsies. Their Gypsies, because in those days the Gypsies worked happily as farmhands on the Saxons’ farms. Here they were not, as elsewhere, dismissed as an itinerant people of dubious and restless character. Here they were Uila/Weilauens, good Gypsies, as people called them” (Unger 2007). The picture of this idyllic relationship becomes more nuanced only after examining different data from written and oral history, as well as from the surviving documents. Thus, some accounts show that in the past mixed marriages among German and Roma were considered inappropriate; in the church documents they were, as said above, included as a separate category; the Roma and the Saxons entered the church separately, used



different chalices during church services and only Roma musicians had access to the community festivals (Halmen 1993). In spite of being baptized, confirmed, married and buried as Protestant Lutherans, the local Roma were constantly separated from their neighbors. This is most visible in the village graveyard, where Roma graves are separated from the German ones (Erhaltung 2006). The Roma became full members of the Lutheran parish only after the last Saxons left the village and, in order to save the local Lutheran church and to prevent its transformation into an Orthodox church, in 1989 they were allowed to pay church contributions and to take part in the election of the parish pastor and the Presbytery (Krauss 2000; Unger 2007; Erhaltung 2006).

The adherence of Uila/Weilau Roma to the Lutheran Church is considered to be something exceptional. They remained strict Lutherans during communist times and also during the post-socialist transformations. In other places in Romania the Lutheran Roma gradually changed their religious affiliation and converted to Orthodoxy, Pentecostalism or other appealing denominations. The numbers tell us that in 1930 circa 2,300 Roma belonged to the Lutheran Church in Saxon regions, while nowadays they are less than 300 (Wagner 1971, 56), and obviously the majority of them are in Uila/Weilau and Batoș/Botsch.

The church community nowadays continues to exist solely thanks to the Roma. The curator of the church is a Roma, and after the departure of the Saxons he received the church's house, which he maintains and in which he receives guests. They contributed to the preservation of the Lutheran church by registering as members of the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, attending the Protestant services, and even through hours of voluntary work for the renovation of the church building. The Roma children study the German language in the church school and, in fact, they are the only ones who keep alive the Protestant German culture and the old Saxon traditions in the village (Jürgens 2010; Balomiri & Hauzenberger 2011; Erhaltung 2006). The local Lutheran church also adapted to the new circumstances. From 1988, after the sermon a brief summary in Romanian started to be given (Krauss 2000, 235); Presbyter Lenghel and Pastor Wolfgang Rehner of the Uila congregation work on the translation of prayers, hymns and texts into the Uila Roma's own language (Achtelstetter 1996).

Today the Roma live in a separate, but not especially detached part of the village. Their houses do not differ from the ones of the rest of the villagers, with whom they have good neighborly relationships. In the past, as well as nowadays, the Roma from Uila/Weilau earned their living by working seasonally in agriculture. During socialism, an apple orchard was set up in the village. After the fall of communism, some land ownership problems appeared in connection to the orchard, which have not been solved yet, and there is not enough work for

all the villagers. That is why, using the church's contacts, some of the Roma go to work in Germany, around Nuremberg, Dresden, Bautzen and other places, mainly for seasonal work in agriculture (for instance picking strawberries, piercing asparagus and grubbing fruit trees), and sometimes whole families travel. The Roma rely on the German Saxons support also in other areas. For instance, in Baden (Germany) the Bildungswerk Uila/Weilau e.V., belonging to the Diakonie and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Baden, supports the schooling of Roma children, while a partner community in [the German state of] Saxony donated to them a school bus (Unger 2007), and since the year 2000 the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Göda annually organizes exchange visits with Uila/Weilau and the distribution of aid packages (Rummel 2012), etc.

Traditionally, the village Roma were very famous musicians and combined agricultural labor with musical work. They played only in Saxon villages, and according to their oral histories they were invited even to Saxon villages located outside Transylvania, beyond the Carpathians, in Moldavia, and even went to Bukovina to play on various occasions, mainly at weddings. They told us with pride that their fame for being "thorough in the German way" meant that it was widely known that it would be enough to send them a telegram and they would come, no confirmation needed. And as Andreas Unger (2007) tells us, "sometimes they were away for weeks at a time, traveling from one festivity to the next. They couldn't read music but they certainly knew how to play by ear. Strauss' waltzes were in great demand, then there were the Romanian Sârba, the Hungarian Csárdás and to top it all off the old Gypsy songs." The Roma even told us proudly about their fabled ancestor who went to play as far as distant America. Nowadays they do not have such a huge market for their music, they are hired mainly in the region, and they also occasionally play in Hungarian and Romanian villages.

The orchestras of the Uila/Weilau Roma have impermanent members; they are formed according to the situation, for instance two violins, two guitars, accordion, contrabass, and percussion instruments. Their repertoire is very diverse, changing according to the audience. For example, for the students from Germany, during our 'Karpatenreise,' they played Hungarian, some traditional and Romanian melodies, as well as "Lilly Marlene" and also some music from the Romen Theater. When they are at a celebration in their home area, in the performances women and children also take part with Evangelical hymns, sung in Saxon German and sometimes also in Romanes.

When we first questioned the Roma in the village in the Romani language, the men denied that they understood it at all, but later it emerged that all of them speak Romanes, men and women, comparatively well and freely, while the children understand it only slightly. It seemed to us (without being linguists)

that they speak a Carpathian (Central) dialect of Romanes, but have some specific words that we know from other dialects (eg ‘dumizarav’—speak, ‘zilabel’ sing). One of the girls in the village studied Romanes in the courses organized at the Ministry of Education in Bucharest. Now she is a teacher of the Romani language, which is taught as an elective subject, also having as students some Roma children from the surrounding villages. She spoke a comparatively poorer Romanes, as compared to the others, maybe because she tried to speak the “standard” language, although she knew some words from the “international Romani language.”

The self-awareness the Roma in Weilau as a distinct Roma community is clearly expressed. They describe themselves as “Sasitka Roma” (i.e. German Roma), with the stress on the circumstance that they live in a Saxon village and were connected to German colonists. The borders of the community are clearly determined, and include the Roma from Uila/Weilau and from the neighboring village of Batoș (German Botsch), as well as some families in the surrounding villages. The marriages are confined to the community, preferably from a single village. Mixed marriages do exist, but they are rather exceptional. Surprisingly enough, in comparison with the Uila/Weilau Roma, the Roma from the neighboring village of Batoș/Botsch, who originated from the same Roma community, received no media, church, or academic interest, and one will not find any mention of them, either in books and articles, or on the internet.

According to our interlocutors, when they speak Romanian they prefer to use the term *țigan, țiganilor* and not “Roma.” Also, when others address them, calling them that way that does not bother them. They underline that the usage of the term “Roma” in Romanian conversation sounds very alien to them.

Their attitude towards the other Roma is definitely negative and they avoid any contacts with them in general and distance themselves from them. In our presence and also in conversations with other researchers they explicitly stressed that they are different, not like the other Roma (Krauss 2000, 231). They don’t define other Roma according to their group affiliation; they distinguish among the ‘others’ only two categories. According to the way of life, they distinguish themselves from the (former) nomadic Roma, for whom they use with contempt the umbrella appellation “Nange Roma” (naked Roma). The second criterion is the language they speak, and so they distinguish, although quite faintly, between the Romanian-speaking Roma (including the groups of ‘Vatrași’ and ‘Beași’) and the Hungarian-speaking ones (generally known as ‘Rumungri’).

The Roma in Weilau know about the existence of Roma political parties and Roma nongovernmental organizations, but they show no interest in making contact with them—as they said, “they are not ours, they are not interested in us and we in them, they are far from here—in Bucharest, Cluj.”

## Conclusion

**F**ROM THE descriptions above it is clear that both cases illustrate two specific and quite similar issues. In both cases the different circumstances lead to a result which could be described as a formation of a Roma “micro-group.”

In our earlier work we described the processes of formation of a Roma group, based on the examples of the actively migrating nomadic groups, where the change of the space (and of social and cultural environment) was the most important factor for the appearance of new Roma groups (Marushiakova and Popov 2004, 145–191). In the cases in question, the factors are apparently different, the professional specialization of the two Roma communities and the ethnically specific “market” where they offer their “goods and services” being the most important. Both cases refer to settled Roma, who make their living as hired workers in agriculture, combined with the provision of their musical services to specific ethnic communities in their home region and even farther away. The “market” for their services as musicians is ethnically divided and the communities are obliged to cope with that circumstance—to reach a specific symbiosis in co-existence or, in other words, to choose one of the possible communities and adapt to it, and to convince the community to accept them and to prefer their services. In the case of Transylvania, the additional factor is the religious affiliation of the musician Roma group.

It is no coincidence that in the case on the two micro-groups in question there is a dual division—two main villages, where they are concentrated. The legend mentioned in the beginning of our text about the descent from two brothers is actually very widely spread in world folklore. Whether the legend relies or not on actual historical events is not that important. But there is no doubt that at the origin of both micro-groups lie similar processes of transformation of one enlarged family into two dual exogamic clans, forming one endogamic community.

Of particular importance for the processes of formation of the two micro-groups in question appears to be the socio-cultural context in which they operate (and more importantly the communities which they serve as musicians). In both cases these are minorities—Ukrainians and ‘Saxons’ (i.e. Germans)—and this circumstance contributes to the specific development of both micro-groups. As a clarification, in Bukovina—which till 1774 was a part of Poland and the Principality of Moldavia, until the end of the First World War was a part of the Austrian (later Austro-Hungarian) Empire, and until the end of the Second World War was part of Romania—the Ukrainians were a minority for a long time. The historical development of the two minorities, which the Roma serve

as musicians, goes however in opposite directions. The Ukrainians gradually turn into a dominant majority, and the ‘Saxons’ numbers gradually decrease (until they disappear completely).

These circumstances can also explain the changes in the languages of the two Roma communities (its loss in the first instance and preservation in the second). Considering the historical data, their geographic situation and their ethnographic characteristics, we can assume that at some point in time, maybe 3–4 centuries ago, the two micro-groups were part of one dialectal unit (the so-called Carpathian dialects of the Romani language), which gradually segmented in time, in parallel with the transition from a nomadic to a settled way of life (a process that lasted for centuries).

The time of the formation of the two Roma micro-groups can be determined only approximately. It is clear from the historical data (including oral history) that it began at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was probably completed with the defining characteristics some generations later. These characteristics appear to be very stable and survive to the present day (however, that doesn’t mean that they will remain unchanged in the future).

All this confirms once again that the contemporary mosaic of Roma communities in Europe (Marushiakova and Popov 2001; 2013a, b; 2014), formed as a result of several centuries of Roma presence, is only a temporary historical phenomenon. Moreover, given the modern Roma mass migrations from east to west, after a few decades there will eventually be a new, very different overall picture of the Roma presence in united Europe.



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## Abstract

### The Birth of a Group: Two Roma Micro-Groups in Bukovina and Transylvania

The study is based on a field trip to Roma communities the Carpathian region and focuses on the Roma living in two villages, Hlynysya in Bukovina (Ukraine) and Uila/Weilau in Transylvania (Romania). Both cases refer to settled Roma, who make their living as hired workers in agriculture, combined with the provision of musical services to specific ethnic communities in their home region and even farther away. The analysis of some characteristics common to both Roma communities makes it possible to draw several conclusions about their historical and current development, which in both cases led to the creation of two new small Roma groups. The study comes to confirm once again that the contemporary mosaic of Roma communities in Europe, formed after several centuries of Roma presence, is only a temporary historical phenomenon.

## Keywords

Roma communities, ethnic groups, ethnic identity, traditional occupations