

— Music and Transnational Identity: The Life of Romani Saxophonist Yuri Yunakov

Abstract

Yuri Yunakov's life history provides insight into key issues of transnationalism: border-crossings, hybridity, and the multiplicities of identity. Variouslly labeled as Bulgarian, Turkish, Romani, Gypsy, American by others and himself, Yunakov is a musician who has performed both for local Romani communities (on several continents) and for the world music market. In this article, I illustrate how musical performances are strategies in personal and global identity politics.

This article explores identity and resistance in transnational contexts via a case study of Yuri Yunakov, a Bulgarian/Turkish/Romani musician who has performed both for local Romani communities (on several continents) and for the global music market. In discussing Yunakov's life history, I also question the very dichotomy of local/global, arguing that many of the supposedly recent distinguishing characteristics of the global age, such as border-crossings, hybridity, multiplicities of identity, and the interconnectedness of economic systems, have been operable for Roma for centuries. Further, I insist that we interrogate the local and national arenas with as much vigor as we interrogate global arenas (Shuman, 1993), for all arenas reveal economic and political hierarchies and stylistic and representational conflicts. Romani music is a particularly rich site for examining these multiplicities because music historically has been one of the primary commodities in cross-border traffic.² Through Yunakov I illustrate how musical

¹ Carol Silverman is Professor of Anthropology and Folklore at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oregon. E-mail: csilverm@uoregon.edu

² For centuries, some Romani groups in Eastern Europe have been professional musicians, playing for non-Roma (as well as Roma) for remuneration in cafes and at events such as weddings, baptisms, circumcisions, fairs, and village dances. This professional niche, primarily male and instrumental, requires Roma to know expertly the regional repertoire and interact with it in a creative manner. A nomadic way of life, often

performances are strategies in personal identity politics. With music, Yunakov mediated the tension between supposed binaries such as official/unofficial, traditional/modern, authentic/hybrid, socialism/postsocialism, inclusion/exclusion, and local/global. But rather than a celebratory tale, Yunakov's life also reveals the disjunctures and challenges in Balkan Romani identity-making via musical performance.

My theoretical framework seeks to initiate a conversation between the literatures on globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Erlmann, 1999; Ebron, 2002; Taylor, 1997; Shannon, 2003) and hybridity (Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1989, 1997; Hutnyk, 2000; Gross, McMurray, and Swedenburg, 1996), highlighting the issues of representation central to both (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Ortner, 1995). Since the global is often tied to the modern, I begin by noting that while Roma are often considered pre-modern, anti-modern, or traditional (by marketers and scholars, and themselves), they may offer a critique of the paradigm of universalizing modernity. By now it is accepted in anthropology to criticize totalizing definitions of modernity like those of evolutionary thinkers such as Morgan and Engels or those of development theorists such as Rostow. As the Comaroffs suggest, classic discourse on modernity is "ideology in the making" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1993: xii), positing itself as the all encompassing present and future and all alternatives ('the traditional') as an outmoded past" (Turino, 2000: 6-7). Similarly, Lisa Rofel writes that modernity serves as a sign to mark itself as distinct from the pre-modern or traditional, "a story that people tell themselves in relation to Others" (Rofel, 1992: 96). This is particularly relevant for Roma, who are the quintessential "other" for Western and even East Europeans, being simultaneously South Asian, Balkan, and "oriental" (Middle Eastern) (Lee, 2000).

One turn in the critique of modernity literature points to "alternative modernities" which are not derivative of a Western Ur-form, but rather locally sensitive (Ong, 1996, 1999). Ong, however, rejects "the simplistic binary opposition of the West and the non-West in accounting for emerging multiple modernities. Alternative visions of modernity may exist within a single country or a single region [...] Furthermore, there are alternative modernities expressed by subalterns that are marginalized." (Ong, 1997: 172-3). Although Roma are "other" for the west, I posit that they embrace an "alternative modernity." Consigned to the margins, Balkan Romani musicians have been "ironic cosmopolitans" (Silverman, 2007a)

enforced upon Roma through harassment and prejudice, gave them opportunities to enlarge their repertoires and become multimusical and multilingual. In addition to nomadic Roma, numerous sedentary Roma in major European cities professionally perform urban folk, classical, and/or popular music. Neither one worldwide nor one pan-European Romani music exists. Roma constitute a rich mosaic of groups that distinguish among themselves musically (Silverman, 1999).



| Ivo Papazov (clarinet) and Yuri Yunakov (saxophone) pose for their 2005 American tour.
Photograph courtesy World Music Institute |

operating in a flexible, mobile, capitalistic mode for centuries, creating and borrowing while simultaneously providing an indispensable commodity. Let me introduce Yuri Yunakov to illustrate the issues I have raised.³

³ Fieldwork with Yunakov spanned the mid-1980's to the present and took place in Bulgaria, New York City, and on several national and international tours. Quotes in this article are drawn from interviews conducted from 1994 to the present. I would like to thank the following funders: the Open Society Institute, the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research, and several units at the University of Oregon.

1. Early Years: Border Crossings

Yuri Yunakov was born in 1958 in the Muslim Romani/Turkish-speaking neighborhood of Haskovo, Bulgaria, and considered himself a Bulgarian Turk until quite recently: “My type of Turk was dark [...]. We had nothing to do with them [the lighter Turks], we weren’t like them at all. We never said we were Roma, we didn’t identify as Roma. Even today, they don’t identify as Roma because they don’t know the Romani language.” While Yuri’s relatives identified as a type of Turk, according to historians they were indeed Roma who lost the Romani language and adopted Turkish in the Ottoman period in their effort to move up the social and economic hierarchy; they continue to speak Turkish as their primary language (Marushiakova and Popov, 1997).⁴ More importantly despite language, most Bulgarians saw Yuri as Romani, a point to which I will return below.

“I’ll tell you my life history in short form: all my male relatives are musicians. If a male child was born, he had to become a musician [...]. The neighborhood was my school,” Yuri insists, meaning that informal music instruction was the rule. As a young child, he learned to play the *tüpan* (two-headed drum) to accompany his father and older brother at weddings, and then switched to clarinet. While his own community preferred Turkish music, his role of professional musician necessitated knowing multiple repertoires, including Bulgarian; in the Haskovo region the ethnic groups served included Bulgarians, Turks, Turkish-speaking Roma, Romani-speaking Roma, Bulgarian-speaking Roma, and Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, the majority of whom migrated from the Rhodope mountains since the 1950s). Singers of the appropriate ethnicity were essential for filling patrons’ musical needs. Yuri’s older brother was his model because of his extensive ties with Bulgarian as well as Turkish music.

Yuri expanded his repertoire and mastered Bulgarian music and the saxophone under the auspices of the legendary accordionist Ivan Milev, an ethnic Bulgarian. In 1982 Yuri was playing in a restaurant and Milev walked in:

He listened, he drank [...] and he said to me, ‘I want you in my band.’ [...]. At first I refused – I was scared of his music. I hardly played Bulgarian music before that [...]. Ivan said, ‘Now I’ll show you that you can do it.’ [...]. I needed a great deal of time to master his repertoire – maybe a month and a half [...]. Ivan was up at 7 or 8 in the morning and we would play for 12 or 13 hours. People were still sleeping but Ivan was ready to play. It was very gratifying [...]. I found strength in myself.

⁴ This shift in identities is also found among Egyupkjani, Askhali, and other non-Romani speaking Roma in the Balkans.

Yuri's performance in Milev's band was one of the first borders he crossed to venture outside his community to become adept in many musical styles. Another bridge to "Bulgarianness" was his boxing career. In fact when Yuri made his public debut with Milev's band at the Stambolovo Festival of Wedding Bands in 1985, the public knew him only as a boxer. Yuri won several championships but realized that "you couldn't make a living from boxing. You couldn't support your family. All the best sportsmen from Bulgaria had emigrated. There was always discrimination against Roma."

Yuri experienced prejudice during the late 1970s and 1980s when the socialist government forced all Muslims to change their names to Bulgarian ones, and prohibited Turkish and Romani music, clothing, languages, and customs (such as circumcision) (Marushiakova and Popov, 1997; Buchanan, 1996; Silverman, 1996). "I had to change my name, Husein Huseinov, to become a boxer. My trainer told me: 'If you want to succeed as a boxer, you have to make your name Bulgarian.' And my father was so angry at me for that that he wouldn't let me into the house for years. He hit me." Despite living in Bulgaria for 37 years Yuri commented that he never felt wholly Bulgarian due to racism. Boxing and the context of Bulgarian music both lauded him for his talent, but there were always strings attached.

2. Wedding Music: Creativity, Resistance, and Accommodation

Yunakov's life reveals insights into the selective and exclusionary representations of folk music during the socialist period. Rice (1996) and Buchanan (2006) have thoroughly explored the socialist ideology whereby "authentic folk music" was narrowly defined as "village" music played on "traditional" instruments and was valorized as the soul of the nation.⁵ Relevant here is that the musics of Bulgaria's minorities were excluded from the public realm. Thus Yuri, growing up, heard Romani music neither on the radio nor on television, on a recording, at a folk festival, in school, or played by an ensemble. Instead, he was bombarded by media that lauded only the socialist brand of "pure" Bulgarian music. In the 1970's officials and scholars alike claimed Turkish and Romani musics were "foreign" to Bulgaria and were corrupting folk music, to which no one listened anymore. The new genre called "wedding music" was seen as the culprit for the decline in folk music.

⁵ These authors point to the myriad ironies in socialist ideology such as the fact that most "authentic" music was arranged and packaged by ensembles and folk music schools into polyphonic arrangements with a western ensemble aesthetic.

Loud, electrified, and displaying a modern aesthetic akin to rock music, wedding music typically utilizes clarinet, saxophone, accordion, guitar, bass, synthesizer, and drum set. Disparate elements, such as jazz and the musics of other cultures (e.g. Indian, Serbian, Greek, Turkish), are combined, and eclecticism and improvisation are valued. Wedding music is characterized by melodies with wide ranges, syncopations, daring key changes, fast tempos, and chromatic and arpeggio passages. These practices were threatening to the socialist establishment because they represented a stylistic abandonment of the official folk music formula. Furthermore, wedding music was coded as “ethnic” because Roma helped to create the style,⁶ and the Romani genre *kyuchek* (solo dance with torso and abdomen movements, in 2/4, 4/4, 7/8, and 9/8) represents a large part of the repertoire. *Kyuchek* became a musical emblem of the suppressed ethnicity of Roma and Turks; the more the government regulated *kyuchek*, the more Roma and Turks demanded to dance and play it. Everyone in Bulgaria was supposed to identify as Bulgarian; the ethnic (and Muslim religious) threat, as expressed through music, had to be erased.

Wedding music was also a social threat to the establishment because it was a mass movement of young fans of all ethnicities who made music, not socialist jobs and loyalty to the state, the center of their lives; they followed famous musicians around and spent their money on expensive underground recordings and on lavish three-day weddings. Wedding music also posed a political threat because it inherently defied the socialist order; it was music performed at family celebrations, not music found in official contexts. It was unofficial, countercultural, and even subversive (Silverman, 1996, 2007b; Buchanan, 1996, 2006).

Precisely during this time, Yuri was “developing a really different style on the saxophone [...] I was used to playing very fast on the clarinet, so I transferred that to the saxophone, [...] long runs and a richer tone.” In 1985 Ivo Papazov, the legendary star of wedding music (also of Turkish Romani ancestry), invited Yuri to join his band *Trakiya*. “I didn’t refuse. I was ready, prepared. At that time, every musician’s dream was to play with Ivo Papazov. We played together for ten years [...] I spent more time with Ivo Papazov than with my wife!” Despite regulations in the 1980s (or perhaps because of them), wedding music reached its apex of popularity, with fans crowding wedding tents to glimpse the superstars. Hundreds of uninvited onlookers would arrive from miles around. People booked *Trakiya* years in advance and married in the middle of the week to accommodate their busy schedule. Yuri was earning a typical month’s salary in a weekend. “Everyone wanted us to play at their

6 Turkish Romani musicians Ivo Papazov and Neshko Neshev played significant roles in creating the style; other Roma such as Matyo Dobrev played important roles. Note, however, that many Bulgarians such as Ivan Milev also had prominent roles in the creation and dissemination of wedding music. Note also that Bulgarians also dance *kyuchek* and request it at their celebrations, particularly after drinking.

celebrations – weddings, engagements [...]. One day we would be at one end of Bulgaria, the next day at the other end, sometimes two weddings in one day, or even three. It was very hard but we needed the money.”

The 1980s was also the era of socialist attempts to harass, regulate, and intimidate wedding musicians.⁷ In 1985 the Stambolovo Festival of Wedding Bands was initiated to regulate wedding music, and a “category system” was introduced to reign in the free market value of wedding music. Yuri and his colleagues were jailed twice for playing *kyucheci*; their heads were shaven, they had to break rocks, and their cars were confiscated by the police. He narrated:

In the early days, we didn’t add many new musical elements because we were afraid of the authorities. Those were very difficult years. Our orchestra was the most well known in all of Bulgaria. We were so well known that there were ministers who weren’t as well known as we were. Every kid knew us! But the most significant part of this story is that Romani and Turkish music was forbidden. I was in prison for 15 days twice [...]. This was a shameful thing, all because of music! We could stir the poorest and richest with our music. But unfortunately, Bulgarian politicians mixed music with politics. According to me, music has nothing to do with politics; I think music remains music. Our politicians made music political [...]. Imagine yourself in a big field, in a tent where we hold our weddings, and you see fifteen police cars coming. We run away. Imagine Ivo Papazov with his weight, running, because he had been in prison already and he didn’t want to go back. They arrested the sponsor of the wedding also, and, if we were in a restaurant, the owner too [...] But in spite of this, we played Romani and Turkish music anyway. Jailing us was the most shameful thing for our country and everyone learned about it via newspaper and radio. They put us, the most famous, in jail, so that other musicians would see. They made examples of us so that others would be afraid.

Yuri’s comments suggest that playing *kyucheci* was not a deliberate anti-government move, not conscious resistance, but rather a strategic and subjective life choice based on his

7 Sometimes Yuri was harassed just because he was Romani. He recalls a bank robbery in Haskovo: “I was playing in a restaurant and they made me stop playing in the middle, they took me as a suspect. I was a boxer, Romani. We were in jail all night. My wife was pregnant. She asked them: ‘Why are you holding my husband?’ But they lied and said: ‘We don’t have anybody here.’ The true culprit was the son of the secretary general of the communist party in Haskovo. That is the kind of corruption we suffered.”

beliefs. Yuri vividly remembered strategies for avoiding arrest, e.g., posting a lookout on the roof to scout for the police, stylistically morphing a *kyuchek* into a Bulgarian Slavic genre such as *pravo horo*, and developing intuition for approaching police officers. Many times Trakiya musicians ran away even before the police arrived. According to Ortner (1995), the literature on resistance unfortunately tends to be “thin” because it is not grounded in thick ethnography. Ortner calls for fieldwork that moves beyond the binary domination vs. resistance in political terms and investigates cultural ramifications. Scott (1985, 1990) opens up the question of what can be counted as “everyday forms of resistance,” and his attention to performance as power is useful for music (Ebron, 2002: 117). Resistance needs to be grounded in the subjectivity and agency of actors who are individuals with unique motives and histories (Ortner, 1995, 1999). Thus, Yuri’s strategy of performing *kyucheci* in the face of sanctions made sense to him in aesthetic, cultural, and economic terms: Yuri loved Turkish and Romani music, it was the music of his community, plus he was making a good living from playing this music.

Yuri’s resistance, however, should neither be romanticized (Abu-Lughod, 1990) nor elevated to heroic defiance because, in several arenas, he (as well as other wedding musicians) accommodated to the socialist government. For example, he ran away from the police, he did not resist the name changes even though his father ostracized him,⁸ and he recorded sanitized, censored versions of his music so it could be disseminated via the state media. Even at the Stambolovo festival in the 1980s he abided by regulations not to include *kyucheci* and to “clean up” Bulgarian music. Scott suggests that in public spaces, “public transcripts” are performed to flatter elites, while backstage, “hidden transcripts” express grievances (Scott, 1990; Ebron, 2002: 117-18). Indeed, wedding musicians courted favors with communist officials so they wouldn’t be driven out of business. Yuri recalls private parties where socialist officials requested *kyucheci*: “These ministers, they were our fans!” Similarly, in 1980 I attended the baptism of wedding musician Matyo Dobrev’s son where the local police chief was invited to dance *kyuchek*.

It is difficult, however, to fit weddings into Scott’s rubric “hidden.” Family celebrations take place in public space (the street, the village square) but still should be coded as unofficial as opposed to official. Furthermore, they are located in the free market realm, one reason the socialist government was trying to regulate them. Precisely here wedding musicians staged their resistance. They felt they were making an economic point rather than a political one. So then, is Yuri naive when he states that music is apolitical? Doesn’t he know that

⁸ I know of no wedding musicians who overtly resisted the name changes. Whereas Turks in general resisted the name changes, Roma in general did not resist.

prohibiting *kyuchek* was an anti-ethnic move? Of course he does, but his statement may be a utopian sentiment or else a strategic defense of his resistance. Given the range of social acts I have considered, I underscore that collaborations with the dominating order exist side by side with acts of resistance; these are the performative contradictions that musicians enact. I will return to this point in discussing transnationalism.

3. Becoming Romani: Gypsy Music and World Music Markets

The wedding band Trakiya became an international phenomenon as part of the emerging “world music” market through tours in 1989, 1990 and 1992 organized by impresario Joe Boyd. On one American tour Yuri made contact with the Muslim Macedonian Romani community living in New York City. Several Macedonian Roma offered their hospitality to him and invited Trakiya to play at a private dance party. Yuri claims that the musicians received \$5000-6000 in tips at this event. After the dance party Yuri was invited back to the United States to play at the wedding of a Macedonian Rom who then sponsored him for a work permit. He connected with Macedonian Romani musicians and started playing with them.

At this time, Yuri decided to stay in the United States and try to emigrate because the situation of Roma in Bulgaria was declining rapidly (Silverman, 1995; Ringold, 2000).⁹ He claimed that his children, living in his home town of Haskovo were threatened with abduction by the local mafia. Yuri decided to apply for political asylum, based on a well-founded fear of persecution if he returned to Bulgaria. I helped him assemble his file and was his translator for his hearing. Asylum was granted in 1995 and he received a green card several years later.

In the United States Yuri came to feel he was Romani on a deep personal level. In 2001 he reflected:

9 Roma were targeted by skinheads, racially profiled by the media, dismissed from employment in large numbers, and harassed and attacked by the police. In the mid-1990's, one of Yuri's closest friends was permanently maimed in a racially motivated attack. He had earned enough money in Germany to open a nice restaurant in downtown Haskovo, and Yuri often played there. The mafia, in cahoots with the local police, ordered the business to close because, according to Yuri, they said: “We can't have a thriving Gypsy business on main street. A Gypsy can't have a successful restaurant in the middle of this town.” When he refused to close down, they trashed the restaurant and brutally beat him. Yuri explained: “The mafia, that is tied to the police, beat him up and destroyed the restaurant. He is brain-damaged from the beating. They also beat up my cousin who is a drummer.”

Only here in America, seven years ago, did I feel like Rom. I'm speaking here of my inner feelings [...]. People have told me I'm a Gypsy but my inner feeling was that I wasn't a Gypsy. I knew who Gypsies were – those that speak that language. I've played at every kind of Gypsy wedding: they are different people, and we are different. I felt that we were Turkish. But here, I understood. I thought about it and understood things, how it is, and why it is. In Bulgaria, the history wasn't clear, who you are, why.

I believe one reason Yuri came to identify as Romani was his immersion in the Macedonian Romani neighborhood in New York City where he lived for many years. His closest friends all identified as Muslim Macedonian Roma in spite of the fact that many did not speak Romani. Not only did a cultural tie resonate within Yuri but also this is the only Balkan-American community that readily accepted him.¹⁰ A second reason for Yuri rethinking his identity may be his exposure to Romani history via conversations with me, and a third reason may be the public attention to “Gypsy” music in the last decade, discussed below.

As soon as he arrived in New York, Yuri widened his musical niche, partly due to necessity (to obtain more work) and partly because he was able to learn quickly new genres. He was the only musician I knew from Bulgaria who was able to support himself in the United States for several years solely from music.¹¹ This was possible because he was so versatile. His instrument and his ability to improvise could be adapted to pan-Balkan and even Middle Eastern music. His restaurant and club jobs facilitated contact with several prominent Turkish, Israeli, Greek, Armenian and other Middle Eastern musicians, and they began to invite him to gigs and record with him.¹² In 1997 he began playing with the legendary Albanian singer Merita Halili and her Kosovar husband, accordionist Raif Hyseni, and currently he plays with several Albanian bands.

In addition, Yuri has served as a bridge between Americans interested in Romani music and Macedonian Romani community musicians. For example, he is mentoring a young

10 There are very few Bulgarian Roma in New York City. Several thousand Bulgarians live in New York City but they do not comprise an organized community and do not have regular musical events. In addition, most Bulgarians are very prejudiced against Roma and do not socialize with them.

11 When he needed increased income due to the purchase of a home, he took a non-musical job: during the day he drove (and still drives) a limousine, but he continues to perform music at night and on weekends.

12 See, for example, *Gypsy Fire* (Traditional Crossroads CD 4272). Yuri remarked: “The person who helped me learn that repertoire was Hasan Iskut [Turkish Romani kanun player and singer] – his repertoire is huge. Ara Dinkjian [prominent Armenian keyboardist, guitarist, composer and arranger] helped me a lot. The more technical aspects of classical Turkish music I learned from Tamer Pinarbasi [kanun player].”

Macedonian Romani community clarinetist, Sal Mamudoski. Sal was only a child when he first heard Yuri at community events and when his parents lived upstairs from Yuri. Sal became very serious about music and devoted many years to teaching himself. Yuri has shared repertoire and styling with Sal, but most important, he has taught him the sense of how to communicate with an audience. Sal toured with Yuri in 2007, sponsored by the non-governmental organization Voice of Roma, and they currently perform together at the New York club Mehanata. Due to Yuri, Sal has connected with wider American audiences.

Because he missed playing the Bulgarian genres of wedding music, Yuri formed the Yuri Yunakov Ensemble in 1995, composed of Roma, Bulgarians, and Americans (Silverman, 2000). From 1999 to 2002 the Ensemble included Ivan Milev who emigrated to New York from Bulgaria after he received a green card. This represented a historic reunion on American soil since Yuri had not played with Milev since the mid-1980s. Milev is featured on the 2001 Ensemble CD *Roma Variations* (Traditional Crossroads 4306). For years, Yuri dreamed of inviting Ivo Papazov and his other former colleagues from Trakiya to the United States, but the logistics were difficult to arrange. Finally, in 2003 I helped to arrange a national tour, which was very successful and produced a CD, *Together Again: Legends of Bulgarian Wedding Music* (Traditional Crossroads 4330). The label Traditional Crossroads sponsored a second tour in 2005 in conjunction with the release of the album.

Because of my respect for Yuri's musicianship and my confidence that he could teach well, I tried to facilitate his connection to the world of Americans playing Balkan music. All over the United States (and clustered on the two coasts) there is a network of Americans who are involved with Balkan music as dancers, instrumentalists, and singers. Yuri taught Americans saxophone and clarinet at the East European Folklife Center's Balkan Music and Dance Workshop for the first time in 1995, and was so successful that he was asked back several times. In addition, Yuri is one of the few Balkan Romani musicians in the United States to become involved in activist Romani projects. Yuri himself organized a benefit concert in New York for a Bulgarian Romani orphanage; he also has performed in several other benefit events. In 2005, 2006, and 2008 he played at the Herdelezi Festival in California sponsored by the non-governmental organization Voice of Roma. As soon as he arrived in New York City in 1994, I encouraged him to participate in panel discussions, lectures, newspaper interviews, and other informative events about Roma that were associated with concerts and dance parties. I believe that music can be combined with education, but not all musicians agree and cooperate. I hypothesize that Yuri agreed to participate in these projects not only because he believed in them but also because he wanted to cooperate with Voice of Roma and with me to facilitate future connections.

It should be clear by now that Yuri is not only a versatile musician but also a practical strategist. He is a consummate collaborator and, unlike most Balkan musicians, initiates diverse musical contacts for possible future business. One contact was Frank London of the Klezmer All Stars; Yuri performed with London's group at the National Folk Festival in Richmond, Virginia, in 2005. Another important contact is Eugene Hutz of the Gypsy punk band Gogol Bordello. Yuri has performed with Gogol Bordello several times and has recorded with them (the recording has not been released yet). At the 2005 New York Gypsy Festival Yuri participated in the circus-like atmosphere of the Gogol Bordello show by stripping off his shirt like Gogol Bordello front man Eugene Hutz; he also convinced Ivo Papazov to perform with Gogol Bordello. Yuri does not seem to object to the stereotypes Gogol Bordello portrays in its shows; he is willing to go along with anything that is "good for business," whether it is a stereotypical show or an activist panel.

Yuri has also cultivated a relationship with the directors of the first New York Gypsy Festival (2005), Alex Dimitrov (a Bulgarian) and Serdar Ilhan (a Turk); he communicates well with them because he speaks both Bulgarian and Turkish. He continued his relationship with Serdar for subsequent festivals. Yuri performed regularly in their old downtown clubs Maia and Mehanata and in each of their new clubs, Drom and Mehanata. He was also involved in helping to lobby the community board for a liquor license for Mehanata in its new location. Another project Yuri enjoyed tremendously was the "The Clarinet All-Stars" at the New York Gypsy festivals: in 2005, for example, Husnu Senlendirici (from Turkey), Ismail Lumaovski (from Macedonia, now living in New York), and Ivo Papazov each took turns in a dazzling showcase of solo reed playing.

The Yunakov Ensemble was fairly successful in performing at festivals throughout the United States but its identification with the global aspect of Gypsy music was cemented in 1999 when it was invited to take part in the North American Gypsy Caravan tour, sponsored by the World Music Institute. Elsewhere I have analyzed the representational dilemmas of the six groups in the Gypsy Caravan, including Musafir from Rajasthan, India, the Kolpakov Trio from Russia, Kalji Jag from Hungary, Taraf de Haidouks from Romania, Antonio El Pipa from Spain, and the Yuri Yunakov Ensemble (Silverman, 2007a). In this section I will discuss Yuri's actions and comments on the Caravan tour, for example, the question of the definition of Gypsy music.

Before the tour, Yuri had prepared a program entirely composed of *kyucheci* plus songs in *Romanes* because to him this is what distinguished Bulgarian Romani music from Bulgarian music. When Yuri heard the Taraf de Haidouks sing in Romanian and play Romanian village

dance music, he decided to include Bulgarian music in his program. Ironically, the Taraf originally included an instrumental piece that was very similar to a Bulgarian *kyuchek*, as this has become a very popular genre in Romania in the last twenty years (*manele*, *muzica orientala*), but Robert Browning, the director of the tour, cut this piece because it didn't sound distinctly Romanian. Similarly, Kalji Jag also had a *kyuchek*-like instrumental in their performance, but the director cut it for similar reasons.

Although we may think the tour director was too restrictive by cutting these new pan-Balkan Romani styles, we should also realize that Roma themselves can be very possessive and essentialist about styles and genres. On the 2001 Gypsy Caravan tour, Macedonian Romani singer Esma Redžepova was upset that the Romanian Romani group (Fanfare Ciocarlia) performed *kyucheci*. Esma and Yuri agreed that the Roma from Romania and the Roma from Hungary "stole it from us, from the Balkans." On the other hand, Yuri's and Esma's band members tremendously enjoyed jamming backstage with the younger Romanian Roma precisely because they had this genre in common. These examples illustrate that Gypsy music means different things to different performers: some groups define Gypsy music as that music which is distinctly Romani while others define it as the entire range of music that Roma perform. While media critics and audience members look for unifying musical factors which might be indetical to older layers, the one genre that is in fact currently shared by the Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian, and Hungarian Roma is not the oldest layer, but rather the newest layer (Silverman, 2007a).

The dichotomy traditional/modern lurks behind many representations of Roma. They are pictured in the West but not of the West, in the modern but not of the modern (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). They are pictured as exotic, sexual, dangerous, bound by family, tradition and custom. Shannon points out that authenticity is conferred through enactment on the global stage. Transnational circuits produce the idea of local musical cultures (Shannon, 2003: 267). Western European audiences are especially receptive to the trope of local authenticity because they feel that they have lost their own authenticity and traditions. This current association of Gypsy music with authenticity is ironic considering the historic East European exclusion of Gypsy music from the category tradition. Remember that the Bulgarian socialists prohibited Romani music from festivals of authentic music, claiming it could not represent the nation.

A controversy over authentic instrumentation arose in 2000 when Yuri toured western Europe. His managers wanted him to replace the synthesizer in his band with a *kanun* because the latter is folky and acoustic. Manager Henry Ernst said European audiences

booed when Esma Redžepova used a synthesizer: “The controversy is that many people say, that is a great band, but it is a shame that the synthesizer is there [...] The crowds in Europe have this kind of purist view that it should be authentic.” Manager Helmut Neumann concurred: “Now it is the fashion to hear real acoustic Gypsy music [...]. If it’s amplified, electrified, audiences think it is not authentic.” The Yunakov Ensemble has also been rejected from European Romani music festivals because their music was not viewed as authentic. Both Yuri and Esma were adamant, however, in their decision to continue using the synthesizer (Silverman, 2007a; Silverman, in press).

Note that Yuri, like other Romani musicians, rarely resists the use of the exotic/authentic stereotype. Yuri was neither interested in nor surprised at how Roma were pictured and narrated in advertisements for the Caravan tour.¹³ Most Roma accommodate to exoticism because it helps to sell tickets. Historically, Roma have sometimes believed and transmitted stereotypes about themselves, such as their “genetic” gift for music (Peicheva, 1999). Fortune-tellers, for example, often presented themselves as exotic and powerful to their clients and Ottoman female dancers capitalized on their perceived sexuality (Silverman, 2003). Ong reminds us that “speaking subjects are not unproblematic representers of their own culture” (Ong, 1997: 194). Everyone speaks from a point of view with various motives. “Self-orientalizing” moves should not be taken at face value but should be examined within the webs of power in which they are located. “Self-orientalization” displays the predicaments of marginal “others” in the face of western hegemony, but also points to their “agency to maneuver and manipulate meanings within different power domains” (Ong, 1997: 195). Romani musicians, who have never been in control of their own imagery and reputations, are quite used to being made and making themselves into “exotic others” or “authentic originals.” This is part of the collaboration with dominance which is always paired with resistance according to Ortner (Ortner, 1995, 1999). “Neither submitting to power, nor ‘resisting’ it in any simple sense,” Yuri works through it and turns it to his purposes (Ortner, 1999:158).

13 Zirbel’s research with “Gypsies” from Egypt who perform at European festivals supports this claim: “Most groups either did not realize or were just not interested in what they [...] signified for audiences” (Zirbel, 1999: 86).

4. Conclusion

Rather than focusing on the dichotomies of local vs. global or Romani musicians vs. non-Romani marketers and managers, I argue that these categories themselves need to be interrogated. This echoes Ortner's call to examine not just the politics between resisters and dominants but also the internal conflicts within marginal groups (Ortner, 1995). All the local contexts in Yuri's life reveal representational conflicts. Through his life we have seen the myriad divisions and conflicts within the category Roma; in Bulgaria he felt this label did not include him and in transnational musical contexts the label Roma includes widely disparate groups.¹⁴

Throughout his life Yuri accommodated to some representations of himself imposed by dominant structures, such as his name (imposed by socialists) and the Gypsy authenticity of his music (imposed by capitalists), but he resisted in selected arenas, such as repertoire and instrumentation. Yuri flatly rejected certain images of Gypsies he found offensive, such as that of the "backward peasant." When the Taraf de Haidouks members arrived in New York from Romania for the 1999 Gypsy Caravan tour with suitcases with holes, without cases for their musical instruments, and wearing tattered clothing in which they performed, Yuri, from an urban clothes-conscious tradition, offered to personally take Taraf members shopping at his expense. He spoke to Michele Winter, the Taraf manager, about this "disgrace," but Winter replied that audiences actually like the tattered peasant image – it is good for business.¹⁵ Similar to Senagalese musician Youssou D'Nour, Yuri faces "constant pressure from westerners to remain musically and otherwise pre-modern – that is culturally 'natural' – because of racism and western demands for authenticity" (Taylor, 1997: 126). According to Taylor, musicians such as D'Nour "are concerned with becoming global citizens and do this [...] by making cultural forms as (post)modern as the west's" (Taylor, 1997: 143). Yuri embraces an "alternative modernity" which rejects purity and embraces eclecticism. According to Hall, "the aesthetic of modern popular music is the aesthetic of the hybrid [...], the crossover, [...] the diaspora, [...] creolization" (Hall, 1997: 38-39). Further, "the diaspora experience is defined not by essence or purity but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and

14 Note that the pan-Romani human rights movement is facing precisely this challenge: of unifying disparate Roma for political purposes, see Mirga and Gheorghe, 1997.

15 Yuri's group, by contrast, created an urban sophisticated image, wearing suits and ties and fashionable styles. Yuri's sophisticated attitude was also revealed by his outrage that the Taraf de Haidouks members were busking on the street and collecting money in a hat. To Yuri, this was low-class while for Taraf members it was another way to make money (see Silverman, in press).

diversity; it is a conception of ‘identity’ which lives through, not despite, difference by hybridity” (Hall, 1989: 80).

Heterogeneity may describe a specifically Romani sense of adaptation or perhaps it is Yuri’s personal style. Yuri may sound like a free-spirit hybrid, but part of Yuri’s strategy comes from exclusion – from being an outsider. Yuri arrived in America neither with a stable band nor with a saleable music product. His mainstay, wedding music, was not viable in America so it had to be broken into parts and expanded.¹⁶ His fluency with Romani and Turkish music served as entry points into Albanian and Middle Eastern styles. He was a loner who needed to find several musical niches because no simple musical niche was reliable. His role as performer (rather than composer, arranger, organizer) necessitated fitting into other musician’s groups.

Music is Yuri’s language of artistry, commerce, and socialization. Music allowed him to cross borders but music also created barriers. Through his style of music and his dark-skinned physical appearance he was known according to various labels: Muslim, Turk, Gypsy, Bulgarian, which implied alternately inclusion and exclusion. Among Westerners, he could be seen as exotic, among Bulgarians he might be suspicious. He could never be fully accepted by Bulgarians because he is Muslim, Turkish-speaking, and Romani; he could never be accepted by Turks because he is from Bulgaria; even Macedonian Roma, with whom he felt most comfortable, often reminded him he is Bulgarian.

Yuri’s life and Hunyk’s book *Critique of Exotica* urge us not to romanticize and valorize hybridity as mere creativity – the celebration of hybridity sometimes obscures its economic and political implications (Hutnyk, 2000). Embracing hybridity doesn’t necessarily activate a critique of the world music market that itself promotes hybridity. Hutnyk urges us to use Marxist analysis to interrogate how precisely capitalism commodifies music and “other-love can turn out to be its opposite” (Hutnyk, 2000: 6). Striving to neither essentialize capitalism nor hybridity, I have rather focused on the negotiating practices within capitalism that musicians such as Yuri have fashioned.

16 Ironically, wedding music has declined in popularity in Bulgaria in the 1990 although it is now making a comeback (Silverman, 2007b). After 1989 people no longer had the income for lavish celebrations, and newer pop-folk fusions such as *chalga* became the rage. Kyucheci are still popular both in *chalga* and also at Romani music festivals, but wedding musicians are suffering economically.

References

- ABU-LUGHOD, Lila. 1990. The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women. *American Ethnologist* 17(1), 41-55.
- APPADURAI, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- BUCHANAN, Donna. 1996. Wedding Musicians, Political Transition, and National Consciousness in Bulgaria. In SLOBIN, Mark (ed.). *Retuning Culture: Musical Change in Eastern Europe*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 200-230.
- . 2006. *Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- CLIFFORD, J., MARCUS, G. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- COMAROFF, John and Jean. 1993. *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Post-colonial Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- EBRON, Paula. 2002. *Performing Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ERLMANN, Veit. 1999. *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- GILROY, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- GROSS, J., MCMURRAY, D., and SWEDENBURG, T. 1996. Arab Noise and Ramadan Nights: Rai, Rap and Franco-Magrebi Identities. In LAVIE, S. and SWEDENBURG, T. (eds.). *Displacement, Diaspora, and Geographies of Identity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 119-155.
- HALL, Stuart. 1989. Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation. *Framework* 36, 68-81.
- . 1997. The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In KING, Anthony (ed.). *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 19-40.
- HUTNYK, John. 2000. *Critique of Exotica: Music, Politics, and the Culture Industry*. London: Pluto Press.
- KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, Barbara. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- LEE, Ken. 2000. Orientalism and Gypsyism. *Social Analysis* 44(2), 129-156.
- MARUSHIAKOVA, E., and POPOV, V. 1997. *Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

- MIRGA, A., and GHEORGHE, N. 1997. *The Roma in the Twenty-first Century: A Policy Paper*. Princeton: Project on Ethnic Relations.
- ONG, Aihwa. 1996. Anthropology, China, Modernities: The Geopolitics of Cultural Knowledge. In MOORE, Henrietta (ed.). *The Future of Anthropological Knowledge*. London: Routledge, 60-92.
- . 1997. Chinese Modernities: Narratives of Nation and of Capitalism. In ONG, A. and NONINI, D. (eds.). *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 171-202.
- . 1999. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationalism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- ORTNER, Sherry. 1995. Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37(1), 173-193.
- . 1999. Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering. In ORTNER, Sherry (ed.). *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 136-163.
- PEICHEVA, Lozanka. 1999. *Dushata Plache, Pesen Izliza*. Sofia: Terart.
- RICE, Timothy. 1996. The Dialectics of Economics and Aesthetics in Bulgarian Music. In RINGOLD, Dena. 2000. *Roma and the Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- ROFEL, Lisa. 1992. Rethinking Modernity: Space and Factory Discipline in China. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1), 93-114.
- SCOTT, James. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SHANNON, Jonathan. 2003. Sultans of Spin: Syrian Sacred Music on the World Stage. *American Anthropologist* 105(2), 266-277.
- SHUMAN, Amy. 1993. Dismantling Local Culture. *Western Folklore*. 52(2-4), 345-364.
- SILVERMAN, Carol. 1995. Persecution and Politicization: Roma (Gypsies) of Eastern Europe. *Cultural Survival* 19(2), 43-49.
- . 1996. Music and Marginality: The Roma (Gypsies) of Bulgaria and Macedonia. In SLOBIN, Mark (ed.). *Retuning Culture: Musical Change in Eastern Europe*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 176-199. SLOBIN, Mark (ed.). *Retuning Culture: Musical Change in Eastern Europe*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 231-253..

- . 1999. Rom (Gypsy) Music. In RICE, T., PORTER, J. and GOERTZEN, C. (eds.). *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Europe volume. New York: Garland, 270-293.
- . 2000. Researcher, Advocate, Friend: An American Fieldworker among Balkan Roma, 1980-1996. In DE SOTO, H. and DUDWICK, N. (eds.). *Fieldwork Dilemmas: Anthropologists in Postsocialist States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 195-217.
- . 2003. The Gender of the Profession: Music, Dance and Reputation among Balkan Muslim Romani (Gypsy) Women. In MAGRINI, Tullia (ed.). *Gender and Music in the Mediterranean*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 119-145.
- . 2007a. Trafficking in the Exotic with „Gypsy” Music: Balkan Roma, Cosmopolitanism, and „World Music” Festivals.“ In BUCHANAN, Donna (ed.). *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 335-361.
- . 2007b. Bulgarian Wedding Music between Folk and Chalga: Politics, Markets, and Current Directions. *Musicology* 7, 69-97.
- . in press. *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music in Diaspora*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- TAYLOR, Timothy, 1997. *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. London: Routledge.
- TURINO, Thomas. 2000. *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ZIRBEL, Kathryn. 1999. *Musical Discursions: Spectacle, Experience, and Political Economy among Egyptian Performers in Globalizing Markets*. Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Michigan Department of Anthropology.

Resumé

Carol Silverman

Hudba a transnárodní identita: Život saxofonisty Juriho Junakova

Kulturní antropoložka a folkloristka Carol Silverman (profesorka na Katedře kulturní antropologie na Oregonské univerzitě, USA) se ve svém bádání věnuje hudbě a kultuře Balkánů obecně více než dvacet let. V minulosti se často zabývala zkoumáním vztahů mezi politikou, etnicitou, rituály a genderem, a to zejména v kontextu bulharské a makedonské společnosti. V poslední době svou pozornost zaměřila na zkoumání fenoménu „romské“ hudby z hlediska toho, jakou roli hraje při konstruování identit jejích interpretů a tvůrců v rámci globálního trhu v oblasti world music, což je i stěžejním tématem tohoto článku.

Teoretický rámec, v kterém se v tomto případě Silverman pohybuje, čerpá z literatury o globalizaci a hybriditě, přičemž z obou oblastí je pro ni stěžejní téma prezentace objektu. Silverman upozorňuje na rozšířené vnímání Romů (nejen širokou společností, ale i akademickou obcí a samotnými Romy) jako před-moderní nebo tradiční společnosti, a namítá, že právě jejich případ nabízí další možnou kritiku zevšeobecňujícího konceptu modernity jako „nově vznikající ideologie“ (Comaroffs, 1993), „postulující sama sebe jako všezahrnující přítomnost a budoucnost, přičemž všechny alternativy odsouvá do sféry minulosti“ (Turino, 2006). Silverman poukazuje na koncept „alternativních modernit“ (Ong, 1996, 1999), přičemž pro ni jsou to právě Romové, kdo takový koncept alternativní modernity zosobňují: balkánští romští hudebníci vedou po staletí na okraji společnosti „paradoxně kosmopolitní“ život fungující na kapitalistických principech flexibility a mobility, přičemž s pomocí neustálého vypůjčování a vlastní kreativity produkují pro trh nepostradatelnou komoditu.

V dalších částech článku autorka zmíněné teoretické koncepty ilustruje na životě Juriho Junakova. Junakov se narodil v roce 1958 v muslimské čtvrti města Haskovo v Bulharsku.¹ V této čtvrti se mluvilo romsky a/nebo turecky. Sám Junakov se až donedávna považoval za bulharského Turka: „Byl jsem tmavý Turek [...] se světlými Turky jsme neměli nic společného. Neidentifikovali jsme se jako Romové. Ani dnes se moje rodina nepovažuje za Romy, protože neumí romsky.“ Ačkoliv se tito lidé identifikují jako Turci, podle historiků se skutečně jedná o Romy, kteří za vlády Osmanů začali používat turečtinu ve snaze posu-

1 Etnické složení obyvatelstva Haskova a přilehlých oblastí tvořili Bulhaři, Turci, turecky hovořící Romové, romsky hovořící Romové, bulharsky hovořící Romové a Pomakové (bulharsky mluvící muslimové).

nout se na sociálním a ekonomickém žebříčku. Většina Bulharů je však bez ohledu na jazyk vnímala jako Romy.

Všichni Junakovovi mužští příbuzní byli muzikanti. On sám se naučil hrát už jako malý chlapec na *tûpan* (dvouhlavý buben) a doprovázel na něj otce a bratry na svatbách. Později přešel ke klarinetu. Zatímco v jeho komunitě byla v oblibě turecká hudba, Junakov se jako profesionál musel naučit znát různorodý repertoár, včetně bulharského. Důkladněji se do bulharské hudby a hry na saxofon Junakov ponořil díky legendárnímu bulharskému akordeonistovi Ivanu Milevovi, který ho přizval v roce 1982 do své kapely.

V sedmdesátých a osmdesátých letech se Junakova citelně dotkla proti-etnická politika socialistické vlády: všichni muslimové byli nuceni přijmout bulharská jména, turecká a romská kultura začala být potlačována. Nátlaku na změnu svého jména (Husein Huseinov) podlehl i sám Junakov a jeho otec s ním na několik let přerušil styky. Přestože v Bulharsku žije 37 let, Junakov tvrdí, že se kvůli místnímu rasismu nikdy úplně jako Bulhar necítil. Byl sice okolím uznáván, ale jen za cenu určité konformity.

Junakovův život poskytuje dobrý vhled do selektivního způsobu prezentace lidové hudby v době socialismu. Silverman odkazuje na podrobné studie prezentace lidové hudby v rámci socialistické ideologie (Rice, 1996; Buchanan, 2006), která „autentickou lidovou hudbu“ definovala úzce jako „vesnickou“ hudbu hranou na „tradiční“ nástroje, a vyzdvihovala ji jako projev národního ducha.² Hudba etnických menšin byla z veřejné sféry naprosto vyloučena. V sedmdesátých letech byla turecká a romská hudba prohlášena za prvek cizí bulharské kultury, jehož vlivem došlo k znehodnocení lidové hudby. Za příčinu úpadku lidové hudby byl prohlášen tehdy nový žánr „svatební hudby“.³

Pro socialistický režim byl žánr svatební hudby nebezpečný, protože naprosto nerespektoval jím stanovený vzor lidové hudby. Navíc představoval hudbu „etnickou“, protože ji primárně rozvíjeli Romové a také proto, že velkou část repertoáru představoval romský žánr *kjuček* (hudba doprovázející solový tanec), který se stal hudebním symbolem potlačované romské a turecké etnicity.⁴ V Bulharsku však byly jakékoliv projevy odlišné etnicity (nebo nábo-

2 Oba zmínění autoři poukazují na zřejmý paradox: státní ideologie viděla jako nejautentičtější takovou hudbu, která vznikala v souborech a lidových školách umění úpravou do podoby vícehlasých kompozic podle vzoru západní estetiky sborového zpěvu.

3 Svatební hudba používá elektrické nástroje a zesilovače a staví na improvizaci a podobné moderní estetice jako rocková hudba, přičemž kombinuje různorodé hudební prvky (jazz a etnickou – indickou, srbskou, řeckou, tureckou – hudbu).

4 Silverman ovšem upozorňuje, že na rozvoji tohoto hudebního žánru měli vedle romských hudebníků svůj

ženské příslušnosti) – byť vyjádřené hudbou – pronásledovány. Svatební hudba byla z hlediska státní ideologie ohrožením i proto, že se stala masovým hnutím mladých lidí pocházejících z různých etnik, pro které byla středem jejich života hudba, nikoliv práce a oddanost státu. Byla to hudba soukromá, odporovala oficiální kulturní linii, a proto byla pro režim podvratná.

V roce 1985 přizval Junakova do své kapely Trakija Ivo Papazov, legendární hvězda svatební hudby (romsko-tureckého původu). Navzdory regulacím (nebo možná díky nim) svatební hudba dosahovala v té době vrcholu popularity. Stovky nezvaných diváků se ze všech koutů Bulharska sjížděly na soukromé svatby, kde vystupovaly jejich hvězdy. Lidé si objednávali Trakiji léta dopředu a brali se klidně uprostřed týdne, aby se přizpůsobili nabitému programu kapely. Částku, která představovala průměrný měsíční plat, vydělával Junakov za víkend.

Komunisté se v osmdesátých letech snažili získat nad hráči svatební hudby kontrolu. Za tímto účelem byl také v roce 1985 z oficiálních míst iniciován vznik Festivalu svatebních kapel ve městě Stambolovo. Junakov a jeho kolegové byli za hraní *kjučeku* pronásledováni a Junakova dokonce dvakrát zavřeli. Silverman Junakovův postoj k hraní *kjučeku* neinteretuje jako projev vědomého protirežimního odporu, ale spíše jako záležitost strategie a osobní volby – hrát *kjuček* navzdory sankcím pro něj mělo smysl, protože tím získával hodnoty v estetické, kulturní a (zároveň) ekonomické sféře. Svůj střet s režimem také tito hudebníci popisují jako střet ekonomický (důvod, proč stát svatební hudbu reguloval, byl i fakt, že se organizace svateb a s nimi i objednávání hudebníci začali pohybovat v oblasti volného trhu). Tuto tendenci zasazovat svůj střet s režimem do ekonomické sféry a naoko přehlížet fakt, že pronásledování hráčů *kjučeku* bylo součástí perzekuce etnických menšin, sice Silverman vidí jako způsob strategické obrany vlastního protirežimního odporu, který ale odmítá jakkoli romantizovat či glorifikovat. Připomíná, že existovaly oblasti, ve kterých Junakov režimu neodporoval nebo s ním i spolupracoval – nechal si změnit jméno, natáčel cenzurované verze svých skladeb, na Festivalu svatebních kapel respektoval zákaz *kjuček* hrát.

Svatební kapela *Trakija* se v letech 1989–92 dostala na několik zahraničních turné a stala se mezinárodním fenoménem díky rodícímu se trhu s world music. Na jednom z těchto turné se Junakov v New Yorku seznámil s komunitou makedonských muslimských Romů, dostal se do kontaktu s hudebníky z této komunity a začal s nimi hrát. Vzhledem k rychle se zhoršující situaci Romů v Bulharsku a výhrůžkám směřovaným na jeho rodinu začal v této době Junakov

podíl i hudebníci bulharští a že *kjuček* je oblíbeným tancem i mezi Bulhary, kteří si jeho hraní na svatbách sami objednávají.

uvažovat o emigraci. V roce 1995 skutečně získal ve Spojených státech azyl a o několik let později i zelenou kartu.

Ve Spojených státech začal Junakov přehodnocovat svou identitu a na hluboké osobní úrovni se začal cítit jako Rom. Tuto změnu vysvětluje Silverman několika důvody: Junakov se v New Yorku stal součástí komunity makedonských Romů (z nichž mnozí, stejně jako on, nepoužívají romštinu), která jej okamžitě přijala za svého. Dalším faktorem mohly být rozhovory s Carol Silverman (mimo jiné mu pomáhala se sestavováním žádosti o azyl a při jednotlivých slyšeních mu tlumočila) a v nich stále se opakující téma historie Romů. A v neposlední řadě i v posledním desetiletí vzrůstající popularita „romské“ hudby u světové veřejnosti.

Junakov je dle C. Silverman – díky svým schopnostem a nadání – jedním z mála bulharských hudebníků, který byl po léta schopen se ve Státech živit čistě hudbou. Získal kontakty na prominentní hudebníky z Turecka, Izraele, Řecka, Arménie a Středního východu, kteří s ním začali hrát a nahrávat. Od roku 1997 hraje s legendární albánskou zpěvačkou Meritou Halili a jejím kosovským manželem, akordeonistou Raifem Hyseinim, v současnosti hraje s dalšími albánskými kapelami. V roce 1995 zformoval z romských, bulharských a amerických hudebníků Hudební soubor Juriho Junakovova (Yuri Yunakov Ensemble) a během let se mu podařilo znovu si v Americe zahrát i s Ivanem Milevem (1999–2002) i s Ivo Papazovem a dalšími kolegy z Trakije (2003, 2005). Soubor byl primárně zaměřený na Junakovův oblíbený žánr svatební hudby, se kterou měl v Americe relativně velký úspěch, v roce 1999 se však jasně projevilo jeho napojení na globální aspekt fenoménu „romské hudby“, a to účinkováním na severoamerickém turné Gypsy Caravan.

Od začátku svého pobytu v USA se Junakov angažoval i v dalších pro-romských projektech (spolupracoval např. s neziskovou organizací Voice of Roma, mimo jiné organizátorem kalifornského Herdelezi festivalu, na kterém také několikrát účinkoval). Důvodem této angažovanosti v otázkách vzdělávání o Romech a podpoře pro-romských aktivit ze strany Junakova bylo podle Silverman nejen to, že v cíle těchto aktivit upřímně věřil, ale i fakt, že za nimi viděl příležitost dalších využitelných kontaktů. Junakov je totiž nejen všestranným hudebníkem, ale také pragmatickým stratégem, který umí podnítit a využít rozličné hudební kontakty (mezi jinými Silverman jmenuje Franka Londona z Klezmer All Stars a Eugena Hütze z Gogol Bordello – se kterými Junakov účinkoval na jejich představeních, přičemž neměl problém například právě s reprodukováním „cikánských“ stereotypů, se kterými právě Gogol Bordello pracují). Junakov je ochotný účastnit se čehokoliv, co je dobré pro obchod – ať je to aktivistický panel nebo stereotypizovaná show.

Pro severoamerické turné Gypsy Caravan⁵ Junakov pro svůj soubor vybral program sestávající výlučně ze žánru kjuček a z písní zpívaných v romštině, protože právě tyto prvky podle něj odlišovaly bulharskou romskou hudbu od hudby bulharské. Když ale Junakov zjistil, že Taraf de Haidouks mají ve svém programu i rumunskou venkovskou taneční hudbu, zařadil do programu i ukázkou hudby bulharské. Paradoxem bylo, že skupiny Taraf de Haidouks a Kalji jag původně do svého programu zařadily rumunskou/maďarskou obdobu kjučeku (tento žánr se totiž především v Rumunsku stal v posledních dvaceti letech velmi populárním), ale ředitel turné tyto skladby z jejich programu vyškrtl, protože dle jeho názoru nezněly dostatečně „rumunsky“ nebo „maďarsky“.

Je nutné si uvědomit, že posesivní a esencialistické postoje k jednotlivým žánrům a stylům zaujímají i samotní Romové. S ohledem na *kjuček* se Esma Redžepova i Juri Junakov shodli na tom, že jim ho Romové z Rumunska a Maďarska „ukradli“. Na druhé straně jednotliví členové kapel obou zmíněných interpretů v zákulisí s velikým nadšením s mladšími rumunskými muzikanty jammovali, k čemuž došlo právě díky sdílení tohoto specifického žánru. Zatímco kritici a publikum hledají v hudbě těchto romských kapel společné prvky pocházející ze starších vrstev romské hudby, jediný žánr, který v současné době hudbu bulharských, makedonských, rumunských a maďarských Romů opravdu spojuje, patří k nejnovější vrstvě jejich produkce.

Opozice tradice a modernity najdeme i v mnoha jiných prezentacích Romů – žijí na Západě, ale nejsou považováni za součást Západu, žijí v moderní době, ale mluví se o nich jako o tradičních. Jsou vyobrazováni jako exotičtí, sexuální, nebezpeční, s pevnými vazbami k rodině, tradicím a zvykům. Právě na pozadí transnárodního kontextu, na globálním jevišti turné zahraničních hvězd vzniká punc autenticity a myšlenka existence jednotlivých lokálních hudebních kultur – a ta je zvláště přitažlivá právě pro západoevropské publikum, které cítí, že svou autenticitu a tradice ztratilo.

Představa (západoevropského publika) a požadavek autenticity se promítá i do tlaku na instrumentální obsazení romských kapel. Junakov mu (úspěšně) čelil na turné po západní Evropě v roce 2000. Jeho manažer po něm chtěl, aby místo syntezátoru kapela použila strunný nástroj *kanun*, protože je lidový a akustický. Argumentoval tím, že z pohledu publika syntezátor „autentickou“ romskou hudbu kazí. Pokud kapela hraje na elektrické nástroje, má obecně dojem, že jejich hudba není „pravá“. Z těchto důvodů Junakova a jeho soubor odmítli na

5 Kromě Hudebního souboru Juriho Junakova se turné účastnily kapely Musafir z Rádžastánu, ruské Trio Kolpakov, Kalji jag z Maďarska, Taraf de Haidouks z Rumunska a Antonio el Pipo ze Španělska.

několika evropských romských hudebních festivalech. Junakov, stejně jako Esma Redžepova, však zůstal neoblomný a syntezátor dál používá.

Na druhé straně však Junakov (i další romští hudebníci) velmi zřídka oponuje využívání stereotypu exotického/autentického Roma (který se projevil mimo jiné i ve vyobrazování romských interpretů v rámci turné Gypsy Caravan). „Hra na exotickou strunu“ totiž zvyšuje prodej lístků. I v jiných historických etapách se Romové sami podíleli na utvrzování stereotypních představ o sobě samých. Spolu s Ong (1997: 194) Silverman konstatuje, že ani představování vlastní kultury mluvícím subjektem není neproblematické. Každý totiž zaujímá určité stanovisko a má pro své jednání určité motivy. „Orientální sebe-stylizaci“ je nutné nahlížet kriticky se zřetelem na mocenskou strukturu, jíž je součástí, protože prozrazuje nesnáze, kterým tváří v tvář západní hegemonii čelí marginalizovaní „druzí“, ale také poukazuje – jak píše Ong – na jejich schopnost manévrovat a manipulovat s významy v rámci různých mocenských sfér. Romští hudebníci nikdy neměli kontrolu nad tím, jak jsou zobrazováni, jsou celkem zvyklí na to, že z nich někdo nebo sami ze sebe dělají „exotické druhé“ nebo „ty pravé, autentické Romy“. Toto jednání je součástí kolaborace, podvolování se aktuální moci, které ale vždy vyvažují projevy odporu a opozice vůči ní. Stejně tak jedná i Junakov a svůj složitě obojaký vztah k dominantnímu řádu vždy obrací ve svůj prospěch.

Život Juriho Junakova ve všech místních kontextech odhaluje nesčetné konflikty ve způsobu (sebe)prezentace. Například kategorie Rom: v Bulharsku Junakov necítil, že by do ní spadl, na mezinárodním hudebním poli zahrnuje mnoho různorodých skupin. Během života se Junakov přizpůsoboval některým způsobům prezentace vlastní osoby, které mu byly vnuceny dominantními strukturami: v případě svého jména (na nátlak komunistů) nebo autenticity své hudby (tlak kapitalismu); do jiných oblastí, jako např. repertoáru a instrumentace si však nenechal zasahovat. Kategoricky však odmítá určitá vyobrazení Romů, která jej urážejí – například jako „zaostalých vesnických křupanů“. ⁶ Stejně jako senegalský hudebník D’Nour čelí Junakov neustálému tlaku zůstat hudebně i jinak před-moderní – tedy kulturně „přirozený“, ačkoliv se sám ztotožňuje s principy alternativní modernity, která odmítá „čistotu“ a velebí eklektismus.

Heterogenita je koncept, pomocí kterého je zřejmě možné dobře popsat specificky romský způsob adaptace na prostředí obecně, rozhodně to ale platí pro Junakova. Z určité části

6 Junakov, pocházející z městského prostředí, kde se dbá na oblečení, například vnímal jako ponížení marketingovou image rumunské kapely Taraf de Haiduks (kterým při příletu do New Yorku nabídl na svůj vlastní účet zabezpečit ošacení a cestovní vybavení).

však tato Junakova adaptační strategie vyplývá z jeho pozice člověka vyloučeného ze společnosti – po příjezdu do Ameriky byl osamělým hráčem, který si musel najít několik různých hudebních prostorů, kde začal působit, protože neměl jistotu žádného jedno bezpečného žánru nebo stylu. Hudba má v Junakově životě funkci uměleckou, ekonomickou i socializační. Na jedné straně mu dovoluje překračovat hranice, na druhé je ale také vytváří – jeho hudební styl a tmavá pleť způsobila, že byl považován za muslima, Turka, Roma nebo Bulhara – což v různých prostředích znamenalo přijetí, v jiných vyloučení. V kontextu v současné době hojně citovaného pojmu hybridity Junakovův život jasně ukazuje, že romantizující oslava hybridity často vede k ignorování jejího ekonomického a politického rozměru, a jako takový je vhodným materiálem pro studium způsobu vyjednávání prostoru v rámci mocenských struktur kapitalismu, který si hudebníci jako Junakov vyvinuli.

Nikola Ludlová

Romano džaniben – jevend 2009

Časopis romistických studií

Tento časopis vychází díky finanční podpoře Ministerstva kultury České republiky.

Publikace byla financována hlavním městem Praha z Celoměstských programů na podporu aktivit národnostních menšin na území hl. m. Prahy pro rok 2009.

Vydává Romano džaniben

Ondříčkova 33, 130 00 Praha 3

tel.: 222 715 947, e-mail: dzaniben@email.cz, www.dzaniben.cz

bankovní spojení: 161582339/0300

Šéfredaktorka: Eva Zdařilová

Výkonní redaktori: Kari Kisfaludy, Pavel Kubaník, Helena Sadílková, Lada Viková,

Peter Wagner a Anna Žigová

Technická redaktorka: Eva Zdařilová

Redakční rada:

Mgr. Michael Beníšek; PhDr. Jan Červenka, Ph.D.; Mgr. Viktor Elšík, Ph.D.;

PhDr. Jana Horváthová; PhDr. Anna Jurová, CSc.; PhDr. Arne B. Mann, CSc.;

Mgr. Helena Sadílková; Mgr. Lada Viková; Dipl.-Phys. Peter Wagner; PhDr. Renata Weinerová, CSc.

Odborná poradní a konzultační skupina:

doc. PhDr. Stanislav Bohadlo, CSc.; Mgr. Pavla Čevelová; Dr. Christiane Fennesz-Juhasz;

Petra Gelbart, M.A.; Ass. Prof. Mag. Dr. Dieter Halwachs; PhDr. PaedDr. Karol Janas, Ph.D.;

doc. PhDr. Zuzana Jurková, Ph.D.; Bernard Leblon; Mgr. et Mgr. Petr Lhotka; Elena

Marushiaková, Ph.D.; Mgr. Marta Miklušáková; prof. Ctibor Nečas; doc. PhDr. Jiří Nekvapil, CSc.;

Mgr. Elvíra Němečková; Vesselin Popov, Ph.D.; Mgr. Lukáš Radostný

Sazba: Petr Teichman

Obálka: Daniela Kramerová

Tisk: PBtisk, Příbram

Produkci zajišťuje nakladatelství G plus G, s.r.o.,

Plavecká 14, 128 00 Praha 2

tel: 222 588 001, e-mail: gplusg@gplusg.cz, www.gplusg.cz

Náklad: 600 ks

Doporučená cena: 160 Kč

Roční předplatné: 320 Kč (včetně poštovného a balného)

ISSN 1210-8545

Evidenční číslo podle tiskového zákona: MK ČR E 6882

Nevyžádané rukopisy a fotografie se nevracejí. Obsah zveřejněných polemických článků nemusí být totožný se stanoviskem redakce. Podávání novinových zásilek povoleno

Ředitelstvím pošt Praha č.j. NP 1360/1994 ze dne 24.6.1994.