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**The image of the Gypsies in Transylvanian  
Saxon culture during 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries**

**- Summary of Doctoral Thesis –**

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Table of contents:

1. Introduction	
1.1. Contemporary schools and investigation trends. A short critical survey.....	2
1.2. The Gypsy in the Transylvanian knowledge production of the last century.....	11
1.3. The loom of imitation and the alternatives of a comparative approach.....	26
2. Searching for the origins, mapping ethnicity, certifying the otherness of the Transylvanian Gypsies in 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	33
2.1. Exploring identity in German culture: genres, sciences and ideological trends.....	33
2.1.1 (Pre)Anthropological trends in 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries .....	38
2.2. The erudite search of the self and others: German Orientalism in 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	41
2.3. What is a Gypsy? Between imagery and the origins of some identificatory collocations.....	42
2.3.1. Labels, exonyms and present day debates.....	46
2.3.2. Social and national in ranking the peoples. Locating the Gypsy in the culture of knowledge promoters.....	46
2.3.3. Knowledge and ideology in designating the Gypsies.....	46
2.3.4. Arguments with scientific claims. Erudite discourses and the reinvention of the origins and ethnicity of the Gypsies.....	49
2.4. Hetero-designation of Otherness in Transylvania during the 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries: major cardinal point .....	59
2.4.1. Transylvanian Saxons on the origins of the Gypsies.....	62
2.4.2. Wlislöcki as a turning point and the oriental <i>bonne sauvage</i> in Transylvania.....	82
3. On the religious life of the Transylvanian Gypsies in the Saxon culture during 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	88
3.1. The historical-anthropological functionality of religious identity. General remarks and analytical approaches.....	88
3.1.2. Confessional belongingness and identity in the Christian cultures.....	89
3.2. Between religious deviance and reluctance to believe: the Gypsies in the European society.....	93
3.2.1. Christian frameworks. On knowing and imagining the Gypsies in Europe.....	94
3.2.1.1. The grounds and the evolution of an hetero - image .....	94
3.2.1.2. Concocing a self-identity. From redemption to the edificatory intent (the Gypsies as pilgrims or religious relegates).....	101
3.3. The religious identity and Otherness in Transylvania. Juridical and confessional landmarks from 17 <sup>th</sup> to 19 <sup>th</sup> century.....	104
3.3.1. Tolerance as a political and cultural principle and the Transylvanian Gypsies.....	106
3.4. The first level of rendering the confessional belonging of the Gypsies: from the formal belonging to denying the honest affiliation to any confession.....	108
3.5. Anthropological gazes: the religion of the pagans.....	120

3.5.1. A transition with plenty rebounds: from negation to paganism to the syncretic type of primitive religion.....	121
4. The primitive or/and asocial – the Gypsy as aimless wanderer.....	130
4.1. The nomad in the European cultural discourse in 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	130
4.2. Paradigms in Transylvanian milieu. Domestic orientalism and the significance of the trop <i>nomad</i> .....	135
4.3. From the primitive nomad to the vagabond as incorporation of the asocial.....	145
4.4. Saxon views: the nomadism from cultural anomie to criminalization.....	152
5. Essentialized delinquency and the representation of the Gypsy in the Saxon culture.....	176
5.1. Anomic, deviant or criminal deeds: social stakes and modalities of repression.....	177
5.1.1. Inventing the criminal: a survey of the sources.....	178
5.2. Crime and otherness in (pre)modern times. Cultural frameworks and analytical paradigms.....	181
5.2.1. The ideological roots of the representation and the daily practice of surveillance.....	184
5.3. Dilemmatic discourses: versions of social deviance and the concern with the criminals' ethnicity.....	187
5.4. Provincial juridical discourses and Gypsies' delinquencies.....	191
5.5. National characterologies and criminal profile in Saxon ethnographical works.....	196
5.6. The unusual in mass media and daily deviance/crime.....	202
5.7. Prolegomena to a criminalized repertory.....	202
5.7.1. Saxon press and the criminal Gypsy: a stylistic and quantitative overview.....	204
5.7.2. Criminal narratives and official reaction in Saxon press.....	206
5.7.2.1. The Gypsy as cobbler and other cheats.....	214
5.7.2.2. The Gypsy as firebug.....	219
5.7.2.3. The Gypsy as kidnapper.....	221
6. Between fact and imaginary: the Gypsy woman.....	230
6.1. Gender, class, ethnicity and the feminine otherness.....	230
6.2. The correlational aspect of the Gypsy woman image.....	232
6.3. The Gypsy woman as a member of a disdained (micro)group – European views and Transylvanian voices.....	234
6.3.1. Placing women in the Gypsy culture.....	242
6.3.2. From a subculture of poverty and a set of infamous occupations to a feminine culture of crime.....	249
6.3.3. The Gypsy and the occult world: hetero – identitary attributes.....	256
6.3.3.1. A dilemma: the prophet of fatalities, the protector of the households or the priestess pre/non-Christian.....	259
7. The Transylvanian minstrel.....	269
7.1. The Gypsy music at the crossroad of cultural agendas, subjectivity and the hetero-identity discourse.....	269
7.2. Music as an occupational alternative of the destitute and nomad.....	273

7.3. (Dis)confirming a cognitive typology in (post)Enlightened key: the Transylvanian Gypsy musicians.....	275
7.3.1. Regional diversity of the Transylvanian Gypsies. An ethicized activity in a traditional world.....	279
7.4. Music as an essentialized vocation. From the expression of their own soul to the national hybridisation.....	288
7.5.“Hungarian –Gypsy” music – a stigmatizing hybrid.....	295
7.5.1.The Gypsy minstrel as a medium for a political agenda: from a wounded identity to a rivalry one.....	304
7.5.2. The Gypsy minstrel and the political agenda of normatives. Celebrating unity vs. singing the revolt.....	307
7.6. From denigration to coming to terms. Saxons music and the Gypsy bands.....	315
8. Picturing the Gypsy: ethnographic images between tradition and modernity.....	323
8.1. Image as a text. Cultural discourses, the pursuit of authenticity and technical transformations.....	323
8.2.In the service of (popular) science: the (Photo)graphic representation .....	327
8.3. Transylvanian Gypsies in the Saxons’ visual culture in 18-19 <sup>th</sup> centuries.....	328
8.3.1. Transylvanian Gypsies in iconographic sources: social-professional profiles and their ethnographical ends.....	332
9.Conclusions.....	366
10. Bibliography .....	369

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The literature concerning the Gypsies/Roma is growing richer year after year. This suggests a major concern with a topic that has been often exotic but impossible to neglect in both classical modernity as well as in what is called postmodern world. The Western schools, particularly the German, Anglo-American, French and Italian still dominate the knowledge production which paradigmatically seems to spread in various directions. Hungarian, Slovak or Bulgarian schools cannot be neglected, either, despite the fact that they tend to follow mainly the German and Anglo-American models. The national traditions in the study of ethnography, social history, sociology are factors that supported a growing literature on the topic. Even though the human material is quantitatively well represented in the present day Romania and even if this area has become a somehow compulsory “laboratory” for most scholars interested with empirical fieldwork, for most readers/researchers involved with the topic it may seem like a surprise to see this subject’s precariousness as it is reflected by the Romanian bibliography. Surely, the subject

has been discredited - from political reasons - fact that currently turns into a challenge and this dictates autochthonous researchers to wind themselves up.

Regardless of their ethnic origins, Romanian, Hungarian, Saxons and Roma authors of the 90's, in their enthusiastic attempt to regenerate the field, seemed more concerned with approaches specific to the social sciences. Some proved serious scientific involvement with the subject while others remained obtuse to hard core scientific argument, preferring to restate or record a terrible past or a similarly wrecked present. Slowly but surely, during the 2000's things seemed to change. Papers with solid scientific content came to be published but they remained occasionally shadowed by different amateurish literature or opinions.

The immediate challenges of a social and political assertive agenda made most of the approaches deal with topics relevant to socio-economic, as well as, ethno-cultural present or with the envisioned transformations expected in the future. Except from the studies of Viorel Achim and those written previously by other Hungarian colleagues such as György Szabó, Zoltán Zsupos, the historiographical interest for a more or less remote past was only insularly. Also worth mentioning are the rare contributions of some German researchers (i.e Joachim Krauß, Johannes Ries and Fabian Jacobs) who recently published some papers in this respect, venturing within the area of longer diachronical reconstructions. Nonetheless, despite their curiosity with the past issues, except from the studies of Achim and Szabó or Krauß, the already mentioned authors have a solid background and interest in social issues, as they came from the field of anthropology.

The German speaking historiography from Transylvania or that belonging to the Saxons choosing to work in exile does not significantly differentiate itself from the shortages acknowledged to their Romanian peers. One notices the same few short articles in calendars and even more rarely in scientific journals. Occasionally, Gypsies had been mentioned in the pages or only in few rows of village or town's monographs. The exception here is represented by Franz Rimmel's accomplished attempt to publish in 1993 a book which also refers issues of the past, as well as others concerned with the present, particularly, with the invention of a political nation of Roma people in Romania.

This scarcity of secondary literature and traditions in the field forces the researcher interested in the representation of the Gypsies in the cultures of their neighbors, to simultaneously balance between more discursive -cognitive strategies deriving from that already coined by the cultural and social history. Although it may seem like a upside down construction, with a bottom laying on a documentary and methodologically feeble tradition, or better said lack of it, and an incredibly wide and ever expanding upper end, one can say that the approach inspired by cultural and social history combined with social sciences and cultural studies share some cognitive strengths. Thus, the practice of a hybrid discourse shapes itself as a valid alternative contributing

to the critical examination of the often biased production of knowledge done by more or less recent historians and by the 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries Saxons themselves.

*Methodology:* In my effort to synchronize the approaches from the Western cultures within which interdisciplinarity, specifically the dialogue of historiography with the social sciences is an accomplishment for some decades, resulting in a vast production comprehensible under the umbrella of cultural history, my paper attempts to follow a similar path. Given the already mentioned deficit recognized into autochthonous literature, it may seem a very audacious attempt. It is still worth trying, mainly because the deconstructive discourse analyses, betraying a post-structuralist thinking, offers the chance to outline the collaged nature of the Gypsy's otherness. Tracking the tropes in use and trying to explain their origins and instrumentalization in the cognitive-cultural discourse of the Saxons will be the course I intend to follow.

A fertile and formative encouragement and support was delivered by the vast Western bibliography consulted. Its stimulating results invited to the practice of an asymmetrical comparison (see: Jurgen Kocka). My awareness of the teleological perspective highly visited in the German literature on the topic, does not discourage me from paying particular attention to the West – East transfer of knowledge that influenced the productions of the Saxons as a German cultural enclave in the East. My examination of some Western, exogenous sources, quoted by Saxons or which could be traced in the provincial libraries, encouraged this comparative approach, often exploited due to its heuristic potential. The interest into them is a key factor showing that often the intellectual productions may have played sometimes deeper influence in relating about Otherness despite daily interactions with those who incorporated it. Thanks to its assumed scientific authority, some bookish contributions even reached to set the course for a cognitive-cultural narrative also subordinated to the policy makers' aims and less to the empirical evidences. Basically, the political stakes involved the exercise of power – always a part of the narratives concerning this group –. It was expressed in statistic and ethnographic literature, whose authors acclaimed the process of surveillance and accounting for the human resources available and their abilities; but even such accounts do not always reflect reality as it was, despite an allegedly realist intent interested in authentic information. In other circumstances, the sharing of a common ideological background of Enlightened or Romantic stance could generate options that would be more telling for the author's mindset. Considering these arguments, as well as, the increasingly expanding published literature of the time and its wider circulation, one can uphold that a *communis opinio* of the readers' community appealed more to an imagery of the Gypsy. Accordingly, the accounts concerning the Gypsies had to be in a certain way, had to correspond to the reader's stereotyped narrative constructions and prejudiced expectations in order to meet recognition. This not only tells about the resilience of some clichés and tropes but also provides support for my comparative approach which seems a convincing option even when I treat it heuristically.

Sharing the believe that the knowledge production about Otherness is highly conditioned by the themes considered central within the process of self-definition of the producers of cultural-cognitive discourse, I insisted on the aspects found central to the definitions of the Self within the Saxon's community. Against these normative factors I could better project what stood behind the radicalization of Otherness of the Gypsies, on how and why it incorporated the anomic, the exotic or the primitive at home in the Saxons' discourses. Therefore, my thesis is more likely to talk about the factors which had influenced the knowledge production process about the Gypsies during the 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the way in which it gained consistency within the Saxons culture. Consequently, my project may very well become a critical reference with respect to the prejudiced and derogatory language disseminated in the sources of the time.

More than the Gypsy/Roma, my research follows the way the subject shapes into the mind of the Saxons be them knowledge producers or consumers of it. This does not mean denying the existence of the subject (i.e. the Gypsy/Roma) and its treatment simply as a phantasm of the Saxon's mindset, but stresses the fact that imageries - often an amalgam of stereotypes nurtured by strong prejudices - may very well replace direct observation or contact with the group. This sort of knowledge production affects the language and the narratives chosen to be exponential. The usage of the most negatively charged attributes were, certainly, thought to be more likely to fit the main aim of boundary keeping between the two groups. The entire project deals exactly with the processes and cultural stereotypes of heterogeneous origin professed in order to support this more or less explicitly assumed agenda. Normativity and self-identity appear as key issues, often the narratives concerning the Gypsies representing, nothing else, but a pretext against which Saxons' cultural superiority, their affiliation to the values of a civilized Europe may legitimate a unique, superior and regulatory position. Therefore, taking over a depreciative tinge from the Western, primarily German productions regarding the Gypsies, was a way to express their belongingness to civility. This Western influence may be traced not only in the ethnographical essays but also in the press where overwhelmingly most of the narratives prefer to insist on subjects betraying Gypsies' anomie, as an attempt to enroll in a chorus of authoritative scientific voices who had already settled the topic in very static portraits.

*The sources:* In my effort to distinguish between the lived experience and the bookish influence that both give consistence and strength to the centuries old stereotypes that affected the representation of the Gypsies in Saxon culture, I made use of various sources. On the one hand, trying to apprehend the everyday experience and the instances in which stereotypes were activated and rehearsed, I considered the chronicles and the vast press. Aware of their limitations with respect to the way they intermediate the historian's access to the mindset and prejudiced everyday interactions, these sources are interesting for the narratives which in their content outline the reasons why Saxons displayed precaution, reserve or even express rejection to what I call a *circumstantial Gypsy*, if not to the real one. On the other hand, I went through ethnographic, historiographical, folkloristic, statistical materials dedicated entirely to the topic or

spread in the pages of pedagogical, press, calendar literature. They referred to a *generic Gypsy* highly essentialized and often decontextualized. Again, I could not refrain myself from showing that their dissemination in different sources provided with the chance of wider distribution of a typified Gypsy. Therefore the academic discourse might have ingrained more deeply in the minds of the Saxons an image of the Gypsies that was taken for granted, casting aside everyday interactions. Some other times, academic discourse was only to be confirmed by everyday encounters. This *mélange* between qualitatively and quantitatively uneven information made the image of the Gypsies what it was: the ambiguous, unknown but highly and constantly *radical other*.

Equally important, one must notice that the Gypsies found in the press materials in the so - called soft news have often to do with the political experiments dedicated to this ethnic group, in particular with sedentarization and surveillance. This confirms, once again, the congruence between the agenda of the news-makers and that of the anthropologist of the time, in both categories, the Gypsies standing for an eternal socially dysfunctional group, a real challenge for the normative societies. Certainly, the press is worth attention as their content could be delivered exactly from the authorities who strived to prove their efficiency in protecting the normatives against the dangers of the strangers and dysfunctional others. The interest to outline the ethnicity of the troublemaker in the press narratives proves their sense in confirming a stereotyped cultural representation of both the authorities and the newspapers' readers. With the support of this channel of information of the modern society, the image of the Gypsies undoubtedly gained some attributed criminalized traits it never had to carry before.

A special category of sources I examined here is the visual materials. Be them lithographs, woodprints, paintings and photographs, all have represented the Gypsies in an allegedly realist documentaristic posture, thus, trying to cope with the previous or contemporary scientific discourse already shared by the Saxons. Visibly, the printing of some clichés lead to a wider circulation and fixation of a static image of the Gypsies, consequently, acting more convincingly than thousand words of the essays, otherwise thoroughly followed as the manipulations of the iconographic sources reveal.

Circumstantial or generic, the Gypsy is reserved a place in the narrations or descriptive accounts dedicated or not exclusively to this ethnic group. The interchange between the two postures is almost irrelevant from both the point of view of their content and their intentionality. Accordingly, both types of productions suffer from the auctorial intent as well as his background which is becoming obvious in the way he mediates, records, in other words produces knowledge about Otherness. Consequently, the Gypsies most often do what they are expected to do, conforming, independently of their will and control, to an a priori portrait. Thus, they could more easily fit into the gallery of the observers' predefined expectations. The representation of the Gypsies is undoubtedly at the juncture of the prejudices shared by the Saxon culture and the eventual encounter of the author on daily basis with the subject of his accounts. This mixture of



experiences, bookish and concrete, could be brought together on a middle ground on which to perpetuate a symbolic image that would keep the Gypsies in same low - esteemed status for centuries.

*Key reading paradigms:* Extensive readings on the subject suggested me that the Otherness of the Gypsies was influenced by two main thinking paradigms. They are intrinsic to the (pre)modern social world in which the materials were published. First, I suggest the centrality of the discourse delineating the process of social disciplining in both its versions confessional and policing. Secondly, orientalist readings become more and more influential in the production of knowledge about Otherness from overseas as well as from the one “discovered” at home. Beyond the interest of recording and knowing, Saxon authors mixed the interest for Otherness with the language of social disciplining, thus, confirming that one deals with interrelated discourses of power. They certainly have been referential to the self - identity processes. Without being central to the self-definition attempts, except for the Wislocki’s example, the Gypsy instrumentalized within the Saxon culture of the timespan I am dealing with here, is being used in both readings to incorporate the Other from proximity and the essentially anomic. This reveals the impact of a rationalist enlightened standpoint which contextually meets the Romantic expressions of cultural nationalism. In other words, through these paradigms, which are the expression of rational modernity, old prejudices and stereotypes are conserved, only that the accents move from a religious terrain to a scientific secular type of argument.

The tropes most often visited by the Saxon authors, that appear most often and made me choose to examine them, depended on their recurrence in the exogenous and indigenous sources. Personally, I decided myself to select the tropes with their subthemes such as: the origins and ethnicity, the religious identity, the wanderer/nomad, the delinquency, the representation of the woman, and the image of the Gypsy as musical performer. All these could be rediscovered in a final chapter where I deal with the iconographic representations, which I decided to treat independently primarily because of the methodological challenges these sources raise. In a certain manner, my option for autonomous chapters and the comprehensively as possible digression with respect to the selected tropes specifies my intent to understand their relevance in a wider context and not to dive exclusively into the topic. Thus, the heuristic attribute of a comparative approach proclaims itself once more. It is only in this way that I saw the integration of the subject in a larger discourse as that professed by the cultural history today, understood as a meeting place between the discourse analyses, historical anthropology and social history. Only in this manner I could envision an approach apt to go beyond the traditional historical imagology which often proved too simplistic, behaving more like a collection of older stereotypes acclaimed to be false rather than a domain preoccupied with the processes that stood behind their formation.

Central position of the tropes chosen to delineate the image of the Gypsies reveals not simply the otherness of the Gypsies, but chiefly, the marks considered inherent to the culture whom the individual engaged in the knowledge production belonged to. Otherness invites to question the

orthodoxies of ones' own culture. As far as the Gypsies are concerned, this does not mean that they influence the Saxons' culture in the sense that they reclaimed reevaluation. In their recounting about the Gypsies, everything is restricted to denouncing their anomie, deviance, aberration or deprivation in relation to a self – defined and often auto-referential normativity. Consequently, the visited tropes seem more likely to find and legitimize arguments for stating non-involvement, marginalization and the necessity of building boundaries, rather than actually knowing the Other's culture.

The brief inspection of the Saxons' culture show how the traits found central to the process of self-defining can be encountered in their upside down version and allocated to the Gypsy world, thus giving consistency to the tendency of ridiculing the Otherness. The tones in Saxons culture betray the author's alignment to an allegedly universal civility, in reality a European-centric one, as well as the interest in confirming particular provincial hierarchies. Despite the tendency to uncritically assume the discourse of the Western world, with which the Saxons became familiar, generally speaking, their reports did not share the same persecutory or extermination agenda.

As already mentioned, a first aspect I am dealing with is the topic or origins and ethnicity as it was explored in the writings of the time. I show how the development in the philological research brought a more reliable and convincing answer to the riddle of the Gypsies' identity. This preoccupation with philology is a major trait of the German orientalism that can be regarded as an orientalism without an oversea empire, or else said, a *domestic orientalism*. By its productions, if we are to compare it to the English or French variants, it was by no means less ideologized or biased in its rendering of Otherness. Nurtured by the Indomania, that dominated the academic and intellectual climate in Germany during the 18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, these interests, indeed, lead to the discovery of the India as the *Urheimat* of the Gypsies. It gained sufficient authority becoming the backbone of the argument of the most influential book written by Heinrich von Grellmann, a work widely consulted by the Saxons as alumni of universities like Gottingen. However, in some cases some Saxon authors invented some original genealogies or stuck to older Amorite or Egyptian ones; but they were the exception to the rule. This new discovery did not have any positive impact on the Gypsies because despite of the language compared to the Sanskrit, authors chose to build on the negative aspects they attributed to the present day Indian society. There is only one author, namely Wislocki who saw in this discovery the possibility to throw bridges between the Germans and the Gypsies. In this respect he cultivated a sense of common ancestry and sold it to the pan-German cultural world.

In the third chapter, I explore the notes concerned with the religious identity of the Gypsies. This is important because religious denomination influenced the social and political arrangement in Transylvania. I begin by drafting the image of the apostate which proliferated in the etiological literature and was compiled in various syntheses on the topic or isolate materials published in the pages of pedagogical and folkloristic literature. After I outline the brief and often damning judgments of the Reformation leaders, I reveal the association of the Gypsies with the Jews as

presumptive participants to Christ's passions and, in particular, to his crucifixion. At another level one can notice a more empirical, almost statistical interest of the Saxons to enlist the Gypsies between the Greek - Orthodox believers, side by side with the Romanians, the last often having to carry the stigma of superstitious and barbarians in religious matters for centuries. Nominally, the Orthodox Romanians as well as the Gypsies were *admitted (geduldet)* or simply called *schismatics*. This leads the binary judgments of the Saxons to obliterate as much as possible the lack of a missionary interest with respect to the Gypsies as well as qualitative references to the religious life of the Lutheran communities of Gypsies. The simple accusation of formal recognition motivated by the urge of gaining some concrete advantages constitutes the main idea that can be tracked back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Again Wlislöcki's studies, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, proposed a reevaluation in the sense that, as a result of field work and comparative mythology, he concluded that the nomad Gypsies were the authentic relics of an immemorial past, essentially sharing an animist system of beliefs.

The perpetual and careless transgressing from a confession or religion to another, that has become a premise in reporting about the *generic Gypsy*, had its parallel in the remarks meant to "elucidate" the mobile lifestyle attributed to some otherwise regionally diverse Gypsy cultures. I refer to this topic in the chapter four. Spatial mobility in its diverse forms, ranging from migration in Europe to the nomadism or peripatetic activities, was summoned under the label of aimless wandering. The condition of statelessness was explained also by means of religious narratives, namely an presumed curse cast by different characters populating the Biblical universe with which Gypsies came to cope very well for a while, and even seem to have assumed it as auto-identitary, as the state of pilgrim could advantageously be exploited. At the same time, the negative aspects were, like in the case of the Jews, found more relevant, and their restless wandering came to be seen not only as sinful but also as subversive. With the project of national building this allegation of belonging to nowhere came more and more in foreground. As the national project reclaimed a territorial cradle for one people, Gypsies attributed wandering became a strong argument to exile any foreign element from this project. Therefore, the marginalization of the group grew exponentially and it seemed more legitimate to reject them. Corresponding to some evolutionist theories mixed with the previous national characterologies, some authors did propose a hierarchy between the sedentary and the nomad peoples, the former being associated with progress and civilization while the last with primitiveness. Gypsies' precarious material culture was thought to be adapted to a mobile lifestyle, thus, strengthening the plea for their primitiveness. It was less relevant for the Saxons that this univocal reasoning contradicted the local occurrences and the fact that in Transylvania the vast majority had been sedentarized from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Exponential remained those groups who chose to be nomadic or were guaranteed to practice peripateticism. Consequently, the knowledge production shows to have been more addicted to the clichés and not to keep pace with the real transformation in the life of the "screened" group. It stays static talking about a *generic Gypsy* that is more an imagery of the reader than the real ethnic group. On the one hand, this discourse

developed around the trope of wanderer reveals the effect of the domestic orientalism. On the other, the spatial mobility goes under the lenses of the social disciplining paradigm. In effect, the nomad Gypsy turned during the modernity into the symbol of social deviant prosecuted for the crimes associated with brigandage activities.

The catalogue of accusations brought to the Gypsy as socially deviant and criminal prone is deeper explored in chapter five. Following the previous chapters' structure, I first chose to comparatively outline the general allegation brought to Gypsies in different cultures. They chiefly correspond to the irrational fears of the normative societies and serve in some areas as a basis for future collective persecutions. I then set the discussion in relation to the provincial legal codes be it the Saxon *Eigenlandsrecht* or the Austrian penal code. Later I reveal the essentializing portrait of the Gypsies as incorporating petty theft as it was proliferated in ethnographical and folkloristic productions and which seemed to find confirmation in the press and chronicles narratives. The latter category of sources mentioned also diversified the criminal prone image of the Gypsy by allocating them a new set of accusations; accordingly, we identified the Gypsy as cobbler, as ill-intentioned firebug or as children kidnaper. All these narratives insisting on the hazardous presence of the Gypsies could support the negative rendering of the group and the instrumentalization of their ill - reputed fame, in the sense of strengthening the boundaries.

Gypsy woman has often enchanted the imagination of the Europeans. Therefore, in chapter six I could not refrain from following the subject in the Saxons' productions. European literature and other arts concocted a chimeric presence voluptuous and able to spell the audience. A major part of the chapter insists on the abilities of the Gypsy women in fortune telling. The predominantly enlightened voices, many of them belonging to the priests of different Saxon communities, strived to incriminate these practices and their practitioners which seemed to found audience between the Saxons even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On another level, we realized that in the discourse of the Saxons the Gypsy women's portrait was related to the portrait of the Gypsy male, therefore, having to incorporate as much deviances as possible. The obvious accent on the matter derived from the social disciplining project. They had become particularly poignant when authors had to report about the so - called occult activities. Most of them denounced them as a dishonest, parasitical activity, nothing else but a manipulation of feeble minds of women within the normative society. It was Wislocki who, finally, proposed a rereading of Gypsy women and its manipulation of occult both inside her group as well as outside it, in the service of different Transylvanian cultures. He is equivocal in his reasoning, on the one side revealing Gypsy women's position with the household of her family, with the activity of fortunetelling being understood as a means of life supporting strategy, while on the other, elaborating the image of a gifted old hag, playing the role of a cleric, in opposition to a Christian world the exclusive fief of the men in what the religious cultic practices were concerned. Overall, the Gypsy woman seemed even more subversive because her services were looked for by women within the Saxons

communities, thus, compromising the boundaries between the groups. Gypsy woman was, consequently, perceived as a mediator between the culture of the normatives and a superstitious and perilous subculture of the past, as a remainder of the breaches in project of confessionalization/social disciplining noticed within the community of knowledge producers.

One of the most emblematic postures in the representation of the Gypsies in the European cultures, and mostly in the cultures of the central and south-eastern Europe, was that of musical performer. I discuss this trope in chapter seven. On the one hand, the sources encouraged me to venture in a comparative social reading and appreciate that Saxons stereotypically conceived this activity as a generalized one, often thinking Gypsy is synonymous with minstrel. In this respect, they saw the practice as a backup occupation, able to provide life supporting means to a deprived culture. The equivocal reading is betrayed by suggestions of professionalized bands that came to travel long distance concert trips or at the nobles' courts. The marvel of their artistic ingenuity is occasionally admitted, thus, confirming Romantic stances of the Lisztian discourse. In some other contexts, they were seen simply as amateurish linked to the peddling activities. Regardless of the judgments concerning the qualities of their performances, Saxons had to admit Gypsies' required presence to festive moments occurring in their own communities. Despite this acknowledgement, they tried to discriminate by associating Gypsy music with that of the Hungarians, thus, resulting the inveterate reasons to see the hybrid Hungarian –Gyps music as expression of primitivism. It was also highlighted that this hybrid and highly essentialized relation nurtured the contesting and hostile attitudes of the Hungarians who used Gypsy bands and their performance of popular songs as a medium of civil disobedience, as an affront to the Habsburgs and the German citizens of the empire. Therefore, Gypsy's performances were often regarded as carriers of political nationalist messages of the Hungarians and always accomplice to arise tensions between the ethnic groups within the monarchy. Lastly, when reflecting on the popular music development within their communities, Saxons recognized the dependence on the Gypsies performances which invited to look for a solution inside their own communities. The interest of building their own bands did not exclude the appeal to the Gypsies. These inclusive solutions suggest once again Saxons' credit to an attributed *natural born talent* of the Gypsies.

In the last chapter, I am concerned with the iconographic representation of the Gypsies. Here I consider the technological advances as well as the technical limits in the process of portraying Gypsies' otherness. I notice an explicit and predominant ethnographic interest, occasionally influenced by romanticized themes. Most of the representations are part of some wider interest with the ethnic diversity of the province. In effect they are thought to reinforce an already shared cultural hierarchy. Thus, despite of a preeminent documentaristic aim or paradoxically maybe exactly for the sake of the much haunted *authenticity*, the manipulation of the postures and the requisite became unavoidable. Visualizing the exotic at home has its correspondent in the social world reached by the display of an emphasized poverty of the Gypsies regardless of their gender or age. A primitive state could be very well conveyed by setting them on a natural background

from which the tent almost never missed. One can say that the stereotypes employed in the written sources found confirmation in the visual ones, be those lithographs, woodprints or photographs. Even though tropes like the petty theft or fortunetelling are not exactly the most central to the Saxon iconographic staging of the Gypsies, the accent falling chiefly on the occupational references or on the precariousness of the conditions of life, romanticized themes were not entirely absent. The figure of the brigand or the Gypsy woman exposing parts of her body, usually meant to remain hidden from the perspective of a bourgeois moral, are signs of a voyeuristic treatment of the subject in the iconographic material. As a whole, the staging of the Gypsies in these sources reveal the to and fro movement between the tendency to exoticize the subject, that could fulfill a marketing interest of the image producers, and the critical standpoint implicit in the representation of the Gypsies in most deprived or trivial postures.

To conclude, I suggested that the imagistic sources pretty much like the written ones betray the tension that marked any representation of the Gypsies as exotic or radical Other, the recorder or else said knowledge producer having to mix facticity with fiction.

Various narratives can illustrate a deeply rooted racist attitude and a non-dissimulated derogative language often expressed through different ethnophaulims. Be they of indigenous or exogenous origins, they molded the discourse of the Saxons but never led to persecutions similar to those in the Western cultures or appealed to the final solution. Even though Saxons emphasized the negative attributes of the Gypsies often diminishing the role of the everyday and provincial nuanced realities, instances of subtypization can be also noticed. The paradigms elaborated in the Western literature may have seriously touched the discourse of the Saxons on this subject matter, but their productions can very well be handled independently of any teleological disposition since, it can be said, that they never had the agenda of enforcing or promoting any radical collective anti-Gypsy policies.