Genre, Ethnoracial Alterity, and the Genesis of *jazz manouche*

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> It's French jazz. Why suggest that it's *jazz manouche*?
>
> Django obviously started it, the whole movement, on account of him being a superstar, being a Gypsy, and then afterwards the Gypsies copied him, and it evolved into that.
>
> It's a category that doesn't correspond to reality. People should say "Django style."
>
> For me, *jazz manouche* doesn't exist, in fact. It's a fiction.
>
> [*Jazz manouche*] must exist because everyone talks about it.[1]

In the above quotations, speakers address the ontology of "jazz manouche," a genre originally grounded in the recordings of guitarist Django Reinhardt (1910–53) and invented several decades after his death.[2] They represent only a fraction of the musings on the subject that I recorded while interviewing musicians and others involved in the *jazz manouche* scene in France. Centered on the reproduction of Reinhardt's musical style, the genre is commonly associated with the Manouche subgroup of

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1. Billy Weiss, interview with the author, June 3, 2012: "C'est le jazz français. Pourquoi suggérer que c'est le jazz manouche?"; Denis Chang, interview with the author, March 23, 2014; Engé Helmstetter, interview with the author, July 27, 2012: "C'est une catégorie qui ne correspond pas à la réalité. On doit dire 'Django style'"; Christophe Astolfi, interview with the author, October 22, 2013: "Pour moi, ça existe pas, en fait. C'est une fiction"; David Gastine, interview with the author, August 21, 2013: "Ça existe forcement parce que tout le monde en parle." Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2. "Gypsy jazz" is the commonly used, direct English translation of "jazz manouche."

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Romanies ("Gypsies") to which Reinhardt belonged.[3] Manouches are celebrated as bearers of this musical tradition, a practice in which many take pleasure and pride, and one that is also considered part of French national patrimony. Over the past several decades, *jazz manouche* has been imagined, marketed, and politicized to both the advantage and the detriment of Manouches themselves, who are typically cast as valuable to the French nation only in their musical capacities.[4]

Taking these present-day positions on the birth of *jazz manouche* as a cue for historical investigation, this article explores how the genre evolved in tandem with the development of ethnoracial discourses about Manouches in France.[5] I argue that ethnoracial and generic categories can develop symbiotically, each informing and reflecting ideologies about cultural identity and its sonic expressions. The coalescence of *jazz manouche* as a practice and as a genre label depended overwhelmingly on its associations—forged by music industry representatives, critics, historians, audiences, and musicians themselves—with Manouche ethnorace.[6] In turn, conceptions of Manouche ethnorace have also been shaped through the discourses and practices of *jazz manouche*. Examining ideas about *jazz manouche* and the people who perform it helps to differentiate between ethnoracial imaginaries and the people onto whom those imaginaries are projected.[7] Race and ethnicity are constituted through discourse and cultural practice and are used to unite, distinguish, and segregate populations—processes observable in a wide variety of ethnoracialized music genres and exemplified in *jazz manouche*. To echo the quotations that form this article's epigraph, race, ethnicity, and genre are all simultaneously "fictions" that "necessarily [exist] because everyone talks about [them]."

3. For a glossary of the Romani-related terms used in this article, see the Appendix, below.

4. Throughout the hundreds of years in which they have lived in France, Romanies have faced widespread discrimination. I use "Manouche" to refer to a subgroup of Romanies who have resided primarily in France since at least the eighteenth century, who self-identify as such, and who may speak, with varying degrees of fluency, the Manouche dialect of the Romani language; see Poueyto, *Manouches et mondes de l'écrit*, and Vaux de Foletier, *Mille ans d'histoire des Tsiganes*. On the history of Romanies and Romani politics, see Acton and Mundy, *Romani Culture and Gypsy Identity*; Asséo, *Les Tsiganes*; Liégeois, *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*; Liégeois, *Roma in Europe*; and Matras, *Romani Gypsies*.

5. I use David Theo Goldberg's term "ethnorace" throughout this article to reflect, first, how "race" and "ethnicity" are used interchangeably in many of the sources I consult and in everyday discourse as encountered through fieldwork, and secondly, how this interchangeability suggests conceptual slippages between genetics and culture: Goldberg, *Racist Culture*, 75. I also follow Brubaker in using the terms race and ethnicity with some flexibility, since definitions of these terms depend largely on their contexts of use: Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism."

6. Tamara Roberts refers to this process as "sono-racialization," "the organization of sound into taxonomies based on racialized conceptions of bodies": Roberts, *Resounding Afro Asia*, 4. Similarly, Nina Sun Eidsheim explores the way vocalization, as a necessarily "thick event," is routinely "reduced to socially and culturally categorized and evaluated vocal sounds, such as pitch and voice, as essential markers" of race: Eidsheim, *Race of Sound*, 8–9.

7. See Radano and Bohlman, *Music and the Racial Imagination*.

By tracing how discourse about Reinhardt's musical legacy and his ethnoracial background evolved historically, this article offers new contributions to understandings of genre, identity, and national belonging through music.[8] Just as ideologies about race and language use evolve symbiotically,[9] so ideologies about race and *genre* are mutually constitutive and socially contingent. Scholars such as John Frow, David Brackett, Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, Fabian Holt, and Jennifer C. Lena have all explored how genres are continually emergent and contestable, negotiated both in the process of their creation and afterward, and defined in relation to other genres.[10] A musical genre takes shape through practice in tandem with discourse about music, often as a result of pressures from the music industry to develop a marketable brand.[11] A close examination of the genesis of *jazz manouche* can reveal the social processes by which the development of generic categories and that of ethnoracial ideologies shape each other.

One fruitful area for exploration of these issues has been jazz scholarship that foregrounds the social and political contexts in which jazz has taken shape. Much recent research in this vein centers on sites outside the United States where jazz has developed both in place-specific ways and as part of transnational musical networks.[12] I am interested in the way, as Benjamin Givan observes, "Reinhardt's retrospective redesignation as a practitioner of jazz manouche" might be linked to his "marginaliz[ation] by Americanist jazz narratives" in which *jazz manouche* is rarely, if ever, acknowledged.[13] A number of studies already address Reinhardt's influence on the development of jazz in France,[14] and some focus on his life and

8. Scholars of nineteenth- and twentieth-century French music have engaged with similar issues of discourse, reception, and race in relation to genres other than jazz; see, for example, Pasler, "Musical Hybridity in Flux"; Pasler, "Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France"; and Fauser, *Musical Encounters*. My argument about ethnoracial and generic discourses elaborates on, for example, Karl Hagstrom Miller's analysis of the "musical color line" in the Jim Crow South and Ronald Radano's account of the way ideas about black music and racial difference evolved together in the United States: Miller, *Segregating Sound*; Radano, *Lying Up a Nation*.

9. See Alim, Rickford, and Ball, *Raciolinguistics*, and Rosa, *Looking Like a Language*.

10. John Frow writes that "genres actively generate and shape knowledge of the world" and "are bound up with the exercise of power . . . in discourse": Frow, *Genre*, 2. David Brackett emphasizes the teleological nature of genre, writing that "genre is performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its results": Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*, 13. See also Briggs and Bauman, "Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power"; Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*; and Lena, *Banding Together*.

11. See Taylor, "Fields, Genres, Brands."

12. See Ake, *Jazz Cultures*; Atkins, *Jazz Planet*; Berliner, *Thinking in Jazz*; Bohlman and Plastino, *Jazz Worlds / World Jazz*; Feld, *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra*; Gebhardt, "When Jazz Was Foreign"; Harris, "Jazz on the Global Stage"; and Muller and Benjamin, *Musical Echoes*.

13. Givan, "'Django's Tiger,'" 28.

14. See Fry, *Paris Blues*; Jackson, *Making Jazz French*; Jordan, *Le jazz*; McGregor, *Jazz and Postwar French Identity*; Perchard, *After Django*; and Tournès, *New Orleans sur Seine*. Laurent Cugny writes that several prominent critics who were contemporaries of Reinhardt did not

posthumous legacy.[15] With a handful of notable exceptions, including work by Patrick Williams, Alain Antonietto, and Givan,[16] no other scholarship thoroughly accounts for the social and economic contexts of the development of *jazz manouche*. Although *jazz manouche* may be considered a genre related to but independent of jazz,[17] this article aims to advance current research in jazz studies by analyzing how particular conceptions of race and ethnicity are intimately linked to jazz production outside the United States.

Contemporary *jazz manouche* narratives rely on a compelling and improbably coherent story that begins with Reinhardt's supposed invention of the genre.[18] In the 1930s, Reinhardt became Europe's most illustrious jazz musician thanks primarily to his leading role in the Quintette du Hot Club de France and his development of guitar soloing techniques.[19] Nearly two decades after his sudden death in 1953, groups of Manouche musicians began performing jazz and jazz-derived styles inspired by his recordings, spawning an intergenerationally transmitted community practice. This practice became popularly known as "jazz manouche" only from around the early 2000s as a result of increasing commercial success. The genre is commonly defined by several factors: a mostly string instrumentation centered on one or more guitars; small-group improvisation; a repertoire consisting of American swing tunes popular in the 1930s and 1940s and recorded by Reinhardt, as well as his own compositions; influences from *musette*,[20] French popular song, bossa nova, and sometimes *csárdás*;

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recognize him as an especially important jazz musician at the time: Cugny, "Django Reinhardt et 'Flèche d'or,'" 171–73.

15. See Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*; Balen, *Django Reinhardt*; Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt*; Dregni, *Django*; Dregni, *Gypsy Jazz*; Dregni, Antonietto, and Legrand, *Django Reinhardt*; Spautz, *Django Reinhardt*; and Williams, *Django Reinhardt*.

16. Williams, "Cette chanson est pour vous"; Williams, "L'improvisation et le jazz manouche"; Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission"; Alain Antonietto and Patrick Williams, "50 ans de jazz gitan," *Jazz Hot*, no. 426 (November 1985): 22–34; Givan, "'Django's Tiger.'"

17. See Givan, "'Django's Tiger,'" 26.

18. In her work on constructions of race in Cuban performance genres, anthropologist Kristina Wirtz writes that "histories are heterogeneously conceived, being active creations in and of each moment of the present" and that "the historical imagination is inextricably entangled with the racial imagination": Wirtz, *Performing Afro-Cuba*, 4–5. The history of *jazz manouche* entails this kind of historical and racial revisionism. See also Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

19. The Quintette du Hot Club de France was the signature ensemble of the Hot Club de France, an organization founded in the early 1930s with the aim of promoting "hot" jazz throughout France. In 1934, Hot Club de France member Pierre Nourry enlisted Reinhardt, Reinhardt's brother Joseph, and Roger Chaput on rhythm guitars, Stéphane Grappelli on violin, and Louis Vola on bass to form the first iteration of the Quintette; see Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt*, 63–66.

20. *Musette*—more fully, "bal-musette"—is a French popular dance music genre that originated in the nineteenth century and whose name derives from the *musette* bagpipe of the Auvergnat region. *Musette* remained popular through the mid-twentieth century and came to feature the accordion as its defining instrument.

and a percussive rhythm guitar stroke called "la pompe" (the pump).[21] Although the genre remains grounded in Reinhardt's recordings, including an emphasis on recreating his improvisational techniques, it has evolved into a practice quite distinct from what he performed during his lifetime.

Despite the fact that Reinhardt considered himself a jazzman, with little, if any, stylistic influence from his Manouche origins,[22] critics have tended to project ethnoracial qualities onto his music and persona. These descriptions helped to lay the groundwork for future slippage between Manouche musical production and ideas about Manouche identity that show remarkable continuity from the 1940s through the present day. For example, journalist Michael Dregni recently wrote that the moment Reinhardt recorded a version of "Tiger Rag" in 1934, "so Gypsy jazz was born: a wanderer's music" resulting from the guitarist's "Roma sensibility [that] savoured minor keys and favoured emotional intervals."[23] In addition to linking Romani stereotypes with musical sound, temporal conflations of this kind reflect what Givan calls a "presentist" perspective, as opposed to a "historical" one in which the chronology of Reinhardt's music is understood as distinct from the advent of *jazz manouche*.[24]

In fact, *jazz manouche* is the result of several decades of selective reinterpretation of Reinhardt's work by both amateur and professional musicians, of stylistic influences from the Romani communities that took up his music after his death, and of promotion by nonprofit and governmental organizations as well as the music industry. Particular sociopolitical and economic contexts galvanized the coalescence of *jazz manouche*, from the pro-Romani identity politics that emerged internationally in the late 1960s and 1970s to the development of a "world music" market in the 1980s and 1990s. Two related processes were especially crucial to the growth of *jazz manouche* as a community practice in Alsace, the region on which I focus here: the adoption of Reinhardt's music by a West German Sinti musical collective (Musik Deutscher Zigeuner)[25] and the promotion of Reinhardt-inspired music by French pro-Romani nonprofits such as the Association pour la promotion des populations d'origine nomade d'Alsace (APPONA) as a means of cultural

21. On the contemporary stylistic parameters of *jazz manouche*, see Cruickshank, *Django's Gypsies*; Dregni, Antonietto, and Legrand, *Django Reinhardt*; Givan, "'Django's Tiger'"; Schaaser, "'Sinti—Jazz—Manouche'"; Tuzet, *Jazz manouche*; Williams, "L'improvisation et le jazz manouche"; and Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission." Reinhardt underwent several stylistic phases between the 1930s and his death; see Givan, *Music of Django Reinhardt*, 158, and Fargeton, *La modernité chez Django*. *Jazz manouche* primarily relates to Reinhardt's music from the mid-1930s through the mid-1940s.

22. See Givan, *Music of Django Reinhardt*, 6.

23. Dregni, "Django Reinhardt and *jazz manouche*," 655, 659. See also Dregni, *Django* and *Gypsy Jazz*.

24. Givan, "'Django's Tiger,'" 26–27.

25. Sinti are a western European Romani subgroup closely related to Manouches. Many Manouche groups consider themselves synonymous with Sinti.

activism. Both the producer of the *Musik Deutscher Zigeuner* album series and APPONA's leaders promoted Romani alterity as a positive force: celebrating Romanies for their uniqueness was a way of combating discrimination, proving the value of Romanies to the majority society, and selling records. As such, the work of artists, activists, and entrepreneurs has given rise to a dialectical process in which ethnoracial difference and musical genre are produced.

Changes in French sociopolitical contexts have shaped the way Manouches understand themselves and are understood by others, especially in terms of how ethnoracial difference is valued. France, with its legacy of ostensible color blindness and violently assimilationist policies, is a particularly fraught environment in which to advocate for ethnoracial minorities. Following late nineteenth-century national policy that banned the official recognition of ethnic and racial minorities, French lawmakers classified Romanies on the basis of putatively "nomadic" lifestyles and denied them an array of rights granted to other citizens. Even after several reforms to these laws, Romanies remain among France's most disenfranchised and widely despised populations.[26] French Romanies are subject to what Étienne Balibar calls "racism without races," in which the "dominant theme is not biological heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences" and "the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions."[27] In this sense, the republican mechanisms that claim to ensure equality among citizens actually render white supremacy normative, reproducing racial *in*equalities and casting cultural difference as a barrier to inclusion in the nation.[28]

Romanies have, for centuries, faced similar problems of racialization and exclusion across Europe. The second half of the name "jazz manouche" is an overt appeal to Manouche alterity, echoing a long tradition in which Romanies have been exoticized by western European cultural producers under particular historical circumstances. Numerous scholars have explored how literature, drama, visual art, music, and other media both romanticize and demonize Romanies, contributing significantly to popular stereotypes of Romanies as alluring and dangerous.[29] Music is a powerful realm in which

26. The Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme determined that in 2017 the overall "tolerance" ("tolérance") rate of the general French public for Romani populations was the lowest (34 percent) among designated ethnoracial and religious groups. This figure was well below those for Muslims (61 percent), North Africans (72 percent), and "blacks and Jews" ("les noirs et les juifs," 78 percent). See "Rapport sur la lutte contre le racisme, l'antisémitisme et la xénophobie: année 2017," Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme, République Française, accessed October 19, 2018, https://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/essentiels_du_rapport_racisme_2017_-_pour_impression_ok_1.pdf, 8.

27. Balibar, "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?," 21. Balibar draws on Pierre-André Taguieff's notion of "differentialist racism" ("racisme différentialiste"): Taguieff, *La force du préjugé*. For a similar argument, see Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists*.

28. See Fernando, *Republic Unsettled*, and Fleming, *Resurrecting Slavery*.

29. See Beckerman, "World according to the Roma"; Locke, *Musical Exoticism*; Malvinni, *Gypsy Caravan*; Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture*; Saul and Tebbut, *Role of the Romanies*; and Silverman, *Romani Routes*.

ideas about Romani alterity are exploited, as Romanies are often thought to possess inherent abilities for musical expressivity. On the one hand, Romani musical practices have been characterized as critical parts of national identity-construction projects in countries such as Hungary, Russia, and Spain.[30] On the other, even when Romani arts are included in conceptions of national expressive cultures, Romanies are also considered pariahs in the countries in which they reside and of which they are usually citizens. The history of *jazz manouche* reveals how Manouches have been subject to such ambivalent difference-making endeavors. From its precursors to its inception and development, the *jazz manouche* scene has been a cultural field in which fundamental differences between Manouches and Gadjé—the Romani term for non-Romanies[31]—are constructed and negotiated.[32] As a consequence of strategic ethnoracial branding in the realm of musical performance, ideas about Manouche identity become materialized as commodities while symbolic divisions between Manouches and Gadjé become further entrenched.[33] An analysis along Manouche/Gadjo lines exposes both the implausibility *and*, for many, the imperative of speaking in ethnoracially dichotomous terms.

This article draws primarily on research in public and private archives and on analysis of published critiques of Reinhardt, *jazz manouche*, and related musical practices. My understanding of these materials has also been deeply shaped by a total of nineteen months of ethnographic research in Alsace and Paris conducted between 2012 and 2018. Supplementing critical appraisals of musical performance with interview excerpts and personal observations has allowed me to provide a holistic assessment of *jazz manouche* historiography and its contemporary implications. I use the term "jazz manouche" to designate both a discursive category and a specific musical practice, discrepancies between the two notwithstanding. I focus on the development of *jazz manouche* as a community practice among Alsatian Manouches, though

30. See Hooker, *Redefining Hungarian Music*; Lemon, *Between Two Fires*; and Washabaugh, *Flamenco*.

31. I use the term "Gadjé" (sing. "Gadjo") in part because this is how Manouches and others refer to non-Manouches in the context of relations with each other, and in part to draw attention to the ways in which these groupings are discursively constructed as discrete entities.

32. See Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*. Insight from critical race theory emphasizes the "power of a dominant racial group to shape racial identities, knowledges, ideologies, and, thus, life chances and experiences of an oppressed racial group through coercion, violence, and ideology": Weiner, "Towards a Critical Global Race Theory," 332. On the reliance of definitions of "ethnic identity" on implicit differentiation from an ethnically unmarked counterpart, see Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*.

33. According to anthropologists John L. and Jean Comaroff, "identity is increasingly claimed as *property* by its living heirs, who proceed to manage it by palpably corporate means: to brand it and sell it . . . in self-consciously consumable forms": Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc*., 29. This approach also aligns with Timothy Taylor's injunction to treat capitalism "as a social form that profoundly shapes not only production and consumption but also social relations and perceptions": Taylor, *Music and Capitalism*, 16. The present article supports these arguments, emphasizing that the role of *jazz manouche* as a tool for activism and as a meaningful community practice both complicates and reinforces the genre's function as a commodity.

overlapping processes have been observed among Manouches elsewhere in France and in Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands.[34] *Jazz manouche* also took shape outside of Alsace, within particular communities and in particular places (such as at the Parisian restaurant La Chope des Puces, which dubs itself "the temple of *jazz manouche*");[35] although these represent important contributions to the genre, I limit my scope to the Alsatian threads of the story. My narrative is necessarily incomplete and fragmented, but it sketches the contours of a specific imaginary relevant to current understandings of ethnoracial politics.

In the pages that follow, I progress from the historical reception of Reinhardt and his cohort to the living history of *jazz manouche* in contemporary France and globally. The first section examines the racialization of Reinhardt in popular media from the 1940s through the late 1950s, briefly considering the way his music became discursively linked to actual Romani musical collectivities. The following sections describe how West German Sinti took up and transformed Reinhardt's music, leading to its adoption by Alsatian Manouches as a community practice. I then focus on the cultivation of this music by the Alsatian nonprofit APPONA as a means of cultural activism, and the resulting reification of links between Manouche identity and particular forms of musical expression. After discussing how the commodification of *jazz manouche* solidified its reputation in French popular media, I conclude by further arguing that, for all their contradictions, genre and ethnorace are often mutually contingent and always socially constructed.

Racializing Reinhardt

There exists no documentary evidence for popular use of the term "jazz manouche," nor for that of its English equivalent "Gypsy jazz," until well after Reinhardt's time. According to Givan, "Reinhardt himself had no conception of 'gypsy jazz,' and even if he had lived to witness it, he would likely have had little interest in it."[36] In a wide variety of publications, however, Reinhardt is credited with being the "founder" of *jazz manouche*, with the possible implication that his music was understood to be ethnoracially inflected during his lifetime. Even Alain Antonietto and Patrick Williams, the two most reputable French scholars of *jazz manouche*, misleadingly titled a coauthored article of 1985 "50 Years of Gypsy Jazz," suggesting that the

34. See Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, and Awosusi, *Die Musik der Sinti und Roma*.

35. On the development of *jazz manouche* at Parisian venues such as La Chope des Puces, see Tuzet, *Django Reinhardt et le jazz manouche*.

36. Givan, *Music of Django Reinhardt*, 6.

genre had existed since Reinhardt's first major successes in 1935 (though this was likely meant to be tongue-in-cheek).[37] In contrast, guitarist Matelo Ferret, who knew Reinhardt from the early 1930s, once claimed, "People say Django plays Gypsy style. Django doesn't play Gypsy style. He plays a style that's only his."[38] In part because Reinhardt was notoriously averse to giving interviews, his own opinions on the possible Manouche character of his work remain mostly undocumented.[39] Additionally, most of what is known about Reinhardt's personality comes from secondhand sources, many of which describe him as unreliable, errant, obstinate, and child-like (even while, according to some, he carried himself with a royal elegance).[40]

Attribution of an ethnoracial component to Reinhardt's music tends to result in the conflation of individual creativity and presumed cultural traditions (or even genetics).[41] Such conflations color not only narratives about Reinhardt, but also understandings of Manouches more broadly. Historian Elizabeth Vihlen McGregor argues that from the mid-1950s through the 1980s critics "betrayed their own understandings about this ethnic group [Romanies] and their belief that gypsies were not only culturally but also sometimes racially distinct from the French. According to these writers, this difference contributed in large part to Reinhardt's musical talent."[42] Extending McGregor's argument, I would suggest that the attribution of racial elements to both Reinhardt's music and his persona—by musicians, Reinhardt family members, and others in addition to critics—gave rise to flawed narratives about Reinhardt and *jazz manouche* while shaping subsequent

37. Antonietto and Williams, "50 ans de jazz gitan." In French, the word "Gitans" can either refer to a specific subgroup of southwestern French and Spanish Romanies or be used to designate all Romanies colloquially. In my translations, I preserve "Gitan" in the former case and use "Gypsy" in the latter.

38. Quoted in Jalard, "Django et l'école tsigane du jazz," 57: "On dit que Django joue style gitan. Django ne joue pas style gitan. Il joue un style qui lui est propre." Jean "Matelo" Ferret's brothers, Pierre "Baro" Ferret and Étienne "Sarane" Ferret, were frequent accompanists for Reinhardt. Of the three Gitan brothers, Matelo was the youngest and went on to have the most illustrious career.

39. Reinhardt also struggled with literacy and therefore did not leave much of a written record, though Grappelli has said that he gave Reinhardt informal reading and writing lessons: Grappelli, *Mon violon pour tout bagage*, 91.

40. Andy Fry writes, "Django Reinhardt's life is particularly susceptible to . . . imaginative treatment. Biographers have often concluded their laborious work with a series of anecdotes and recordings, and a disclaimer that whole periods of the guitarist's life are unaccounted for and that they are little the wiser about his personality": Fry, *Paris Blues*, 175–76.

41. According to Andrew Berish, "Rather than try to understand his unique position in jazz, writers on Reinhardt simply assert that he was everything all at once, regardless of any contradictions—'universal' but specifically European (or Manouche); a jazz musician steeped in tradition, but also unprecedented and original": Berish, "Negotiating 'A Blues Riff,'" 241.

42. McGregor, *Jazz and Postwar French Identity*, 168.

understandings of Manouche alterity. Antonietto writes that racial characterizations of Reinhardt

> [deny] the great Manouche (as incidentally they still regularly deny his racial brothers) the faculty to set a goal for oneself and force oneself to make an intensive effort to reach it. Unfit for any personal endeavor as for any collective project, the image of the indolent and irresponsible Tsigane remains alive in our society. Nothing is more wrong. . . . We have been told *ad nauseam* that [Reinhardt] was born a musician, and for many this explanation suffices: after all, do not Tsiganes have music "in the blood"? As blacks have rhythm? . . . We know the refrain of this oblivious racism that attributes to heredity what it denies to the intellect: one is born a Tsigane musician as one is born a hunchback, it's destiny, by Jove![43]

Antonietto's frustration with the tendency of many Reinhardt listeners to project racialized qualities onto his music, and to attribute his musicality (and that of other Manouches) to racial determinants, is testament to the pervasiveness of these sentiments.[44] "[T]he image of the indolent and irresponsible Tsigane" has suffused much commentary on Reinhardt since the 1930s and well beyond the publication of Antonietto's critique of 1984.

Within ethnoracially inflected narratives of Reinhardt's life lie the roots of *jazz manouche*. If *jazz manouche* is so profoundly centered on Reinhardt's music, retrospective projections of ethnoracial qualities onto his musical sound, as well as a focus on his ethnoracial identity more broadly, have contributed significantly to the ethnoracialization of the genre. While several critics have repudiated claims that Reinhardt's ethnorace played a measurable role in his musical style, others—especially those writing well after Reinhardt's death and who contributed to the creation of *jazz manouche* as a concept—have supported such claims. Furthermore, posthumous emphases on Reinhardt's connections to his Manouche community, as propagated by critics and others in the media industries, set a precedent for the transformation of

43. Antonietto, "Django," 77: "Comme si l'on déniait au grand Manouche (comme on le dénie d'ailleurs encore régulièrement à ses frères de race) la faculté de se donner un but et de s'astreindre à un effort intensif pour l'atteindre. Inapte à tout travail personnel comme à tout projet collectif, l'image du Tsigane indolent et irresponsable reste vivace dans notre société. Rien n'est plus faux. . . . [O]n a répété à l'envie qu'il était né musicien, et pour beaucoup cette explication suffit: les Tsiganes n'ont-ils pas la musique 'dans le sang' après tout? comme les noirs ont le rythme? . . . On connaît l'antienne de ce racisme inconscient qui inscrit sur le compte de l'hérédité ce qu'il refuse à l'esprit: on naît musicien tsigane comme on naît bossu, c'est une fatalité parbleu!" I have chosen to retain the French word "Tsigane" in English translations of French passages for reasons of semantic clarity. While in English "Gypsy" is often considered a pejorative term and "Romani" and its variants are generally more respectful and accurate, "Tsigane" is not directly translatable into either.

44. Michael Dregni's Reinhardt biography, *Django: The Life and Music of a Gypsy Legend*, reflects this trend toward ethnoracialization, being the first published Reinhardt biography to reference his Romani identity in its title.

Reinhardt's work into a Manouche-specific community practice. These retrospectives reinforce present-day popular notions that any personal and aesthetic links between Reinhardt and *jazz manouche* are a matter of ethnoracial significance. Although Reinhardt is consistently portrayed as a singular genius, his Manouche roots have come to bear strongly on his biography—in the words of leading member of the Hot Club de France Charles Delaunay, Reinhardt was considered both "primitive" and an "artist."[45] I offer the following sketch of Reinhardt's life and musical output together with ethnoracializing appraisals thereof in order to show how ideas about Reinhardt's relationship to his Manouche background directly shaped the decades-long evolution of *jazz manouche*.[46]

From an early age, Reinhardt became well versed in the popular musics of his time, learning to play the violin, the banjo, the banjo-guitar, and, eventually, the guitar.[47] According to anthropologist Patrick Williams, the Manouche milieu in which Reinhardt was raised had no ethnoracially distinctive musical tradition to begin with.[48] Together with Gitans (a Romani subgroup associated with southwestern France and Spain), Manouches started to become prominent performers in the *bal-musette* scene in the early twentieth century.[49] This was the professional environment that Reinhardt entered in his early teens. *Musette* guitarist and amateur historian Didier Roussin cites several well-known *musette* performers of the time who were astonished by the young Reinhardt's talent, and credits him with popularizing the use of guitar rather than banjo as the *musette* accompaniment of choice.[50] Reinhardt made his first recording in 1928, accompanying the accordionist Jean Vaissade on the banjo-guitar. In late 1928, just as Reinhardt was acquiring a reputation as a *musette* player, progressing from small venues to famous ones such as La Java, he was forced to take a break from performing on account of injuries sustained in a caravan fire. Following his convalescence, during which he retrained himself to play guitar with his deformed left hand (the scarring from the fire had rendered his

45. Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 36: "artiste primitif."

46. Much more detailed accounts of Reinhardt's life may be found in Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*; Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*; and Williams, *Django Reinhardt*.

47. The banjo-guitar is a hybrid instrument, "less forceful" than a typical banjo but with "more harmonic and contrapuntal possibilities": Roussin, "Les Tsiganes," 136 ("moins puissant, mais offrant davantage de possibilités harmoniques et contrapuntiques").

48. Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission," 410. Reinhardt was born in Belgium but grew up primarily in France.

49. See Roussin, "Les Tsiganes," 135. I use the term "scene" as defined by Andy Bennett and Richard Peterson: "the contexts in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans collectively share their common musical tastes and collectively distinguish themselves from others": Bennett and Peterson, *Music Scenes*, 1.

50. Roussin, "Les Tsiganes," 139.

third and fourth fingers virtually unusable, requiring him to rely overwhelmingly on his index finger, middle finger, and thumb), he performed in only the occasional *musette* gig.[51]

According to Delaunay, Reinhardt first encountered jazz as a near-religious revelation upon hearing a record by Louis Armstrong in 1930.[52] Reinhardt's big break into jazz occurred when Hot Club de France member Pierre Nourry enlisted him and his brother Joseph to perform guitar with the club's ensemble.[53] Reinhardt had met violinist Stéphane Grappelli in 1931 while playing in a band under the direction of bassist Louis Vola,[54] and in 1934 the Quintette du Hot Club de France (hereinafter the QHCF) was formed with Reinhardt, Grappelli, Joseph Reinhardt, Vola on upright bass, and guitarist Roger Chaput.[55]

Many of Reinhardt's best-known recordings of the 1930s were made with the QHCF, which performed on and off and with various personnel changes until the late 1940s. The ensemble's first recording session with Odéon in 1934 was deemed by the record company's executives "too modern" for release, but after a successful concert, Ultraphone agreed to release two QHCF records.[56] In addition to his work with the QHCF in the prewar period, Reinhardt performed and recorded with other ensembles and musicians in France, among them American musicians Coleman Hawkins, Rex Stewart, and Benny Carter. His career flourished under the Occupation, but it was not until the end of the war that Reinhardt engaged again with musical developments across the Atlantic. He embarked on a US tour with Duke Ellington's orchestra in 1946 and subsequently recorded more prolifically than ever before, drawing on the musical influences he was exposed to in the United States (especially bebop).[57] During this postwar period, he played on both electric and acoustic guitar and infrequently as part of an all-string lineup. Reinhardt died suddenly of a brain hemorrhage in 1953 at the age of forty-three.

As a Manouche, Reinhardt inhabited an ambiguous position in the racial politics of mid-twentieth-century France. On the one hand, Romanies were often considered a distinctive racial category in the French popular

51. See ibid. For analyses of the way Reinhardt adapted his left-hand techniques to his injury, see Givan, *Music of Django Reinhardt*.

52. Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 31–32. Delaunay writes that Reinhardt also heard recordings by Joe Venuti and Duke Ellington during this listening session organized by photographer Émile Savitry.

53. Ibid., 36–37.

54. See Grappelli, *Mon violon pour tout bagage*, 79–80.

55. Antonietto and Billard recognize the developments in string-based "hot jazz" that were contemporaneous with the QHCF, developments that complicate the designation of a *jazz manouche* genre based almost entirely on Django's work as part of an all-string swing group: Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, 399–401.

56. Quoted in Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 37: "trop moderne."

57. On Reinhardt's postwar period, see Berish, "Negotiating 'A Blues Riff'"; Cugny, "Django Reinhardt et 'Flèche d'or'"; and Fargeton, *La modernité chez Django*.

imagination at this time. Although it was (and continues to be) illegal for the French government to collect statistics about the state's racial, ethnic, and religious demographics, and to enact legislation pertaining specifically to such groups, French lawmakers devised ways of targeting Romanies for discrimination. Legislation passed in 1912 placed onerous restrictions on the rights of a new category of citizens, "nomades," understood to consist primarily of Romanies. According to anthropologist Martin Olivera, under such legislation "the status of 'nomad' was hereditary: children born from 'nomads' were automatically classified as 'nomads' by the administration until their death, whether they travelled or not."[58] Such legislation arose from putative concerns to "strictly control moving populations, perceived as instigators of instability and crime"[59] and did not specify Romani identity explicitly. Yet despite amendments to this legislation, including the redesignation of "nomades" as "Gens du voyage," to this day "in the French national imagination, the 'real Gypsy' is above all a 'nomad.'"[60]

On the other hand, Romanies were not always considered as being entirely distinct from white racial identity, at least not to the extent that African-descended peoples were. This was especially apparent in the way jazz critics approached Romani racialization. In mid-twentieth-century France, racial considerations in discourse about jazz were overwhelmingly situated along a black-white binary (although there was no clear consensus as to the relevance of race to musical style or talent).[61] Within this binary, Romani racial attributes were identified relationally in terms of whiteness or blackness. It was likely convenient for advocates of French jazz to describe Reinhardt, the most vaunted jazz musician France could lay claim to, as white and thus as a legitimate representative of French ethnonationalism.[62]

58. Olivera, "Roma and Gypsies in France," 41.

59. Ibid., 40. Historian Ilsen About writes, "the targeting of 'the Gypsy' and the associated waves of rejection, intolerance and legal exclusion or physical deportation . . . seem to be the regular product of a long Republican tradition stigmatising the Gypsy community through a complex system of police regulation, administrative statuses, identification and control practices, constant surveillance, and rejection of the so-called 'nomadic' way of life": About, "Underclass Gypsies," 98.

60. Olivera, "Roma and Gypsies in France," 40. During World War II, under Nazi and Vichy policies, Romanies were explicitly racialized and targeted for extermination. French Romanies were captured and sent to internment camps within France and, in some instances, to concentration camps abroad; see Asséo, *Les Tsiganes*, and Filhol, "L'indifférence collective," 77. Until 2012, Gens du voyage faced voting restrictions inapplicable to any other class of French citizen, requiring a waiting period of three years from the date of their registration with a "commune de rattachement" (home commune) before their voting rights would become valid; see "Droit de vote des gens du voyage: 14e législature," Sénat, September 20, 2012, https://www.senat.fr/questions/base/2012/qSEQ120901943.html.

61. See McGregor, *Jazz and Postwar French Identity*, 174–81. See also Goffin, *Aux frontières du jazz*.

62. André Cœuroy, a Nazi sympathizer, went so far as to proclaim in 1942 that jazz was truly and rightfully a white European form that had been misappropriated by African Americans, writing, "all these whites who play—[André] Ekyan, [Django] Reinhardt—play swing, a swing

While Reinhardt was sometimes identified as white in jazz publications during his lifetime, by the mid-1940s his Manouche background was often highlighted as an explanation for the allure of his musical style. The writings of Hugues Panassié, a cofounder of the Hot Club de France, reflect this tendency. In identifying Reinhardt as white and Romani, Panassié articulates Reinhardt's racial ambiguity, and that of Romanies more broadly: "Django, one of the rare white jazz musicians comparable to the Negroes, belongs to a race which has remained very primitive, for in truth the gypsies' lives and customs are closer to those of the Negroes than those of the whites."[63] To Panassié, Reinhardt was proof that at least some of the desired "primitive" qualities of jazz did not depend on a performer's African descent, or lack thereof. Reinhardt's expressive capacities were simply mystified as part of his ethnoracial characteristics. Considering that by the 1940s Panassié's mission was to promote what he thought of as "real" jazz—that is, jazz performed in a "hot" style as opposed to "straight," which he associated with blackness and whiteness respectively—Reinhardt's ostensible similarities to black performers would have rendered him a more plausible "hot" performer than other white musicians.[64]

A number of writings published during Reinhardt's lifetime make passing mention of his Romani background, such as an Air France promotional magazine from 1948 that identifies him as a "French guitarist of Gypsy origin,"[65] and a feature in a 1950 issue of the popular magazine *Paris Match* that bears the headline "This disabled Gypsy is one of the kings of jazz."[66] Other publications that invoke his Romani identity in more detail tend to portray Romanies as nomadic, free-spirited, marginal, and even primordial.[67] In a

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that is theirs, a white swing, a European swing, a 'classic' swing, close in spirit to the music of the same name": Cœuroy, *Histoire générale du jazz*, 220 ("Tous ces blancs qui jouent—Ekyan, Reinhardt—jouent swing, un swing à eux, un swing blanc, un swing européen, un swing 'classique,' proche en esprit de la musique du même nom").

63. Panassié, *Real Jazz*, 162.

64. See Panassié, *La véritable musique de jazz* and *Real Jazz*. As Tom Perchard shows, Panassié's critical thinking underwent several religiously and racially informed transformations during his career; his most dogmatic opinions on black musicians' authenticity in "hot" jazz performance emerged publicly in the 1940s: Perchard, "Tradition, Modernity and the Supernatural Swing."

65. "Cannes: Le festival de jazz," *Terre et ciel: Revue du personnel de la compagnie Air France*, no. 5 (1948): 9: "guitariste français d'origine gitane."

66. François Giacobbi and Marcel Descamps, "Ce gitan infirme est un des rois du jazz," *Paris Match*, no. 90 (1950).

67. Earlier, in 1937, Jean Cocteau (an acquaintance of Reinhardt's) had written in promotional materials for the Quintette du Hot Club de France, "The Django Reinhardt–Grappelli 'band' creates a 'hot' atmosphere like the one we know from the blacks of America. It brings us around the fire of a bohemian camp and takes us away to our spiritual families . . . through the prodigy of a race that seems to arise from the beginning of time": Cocteau, "Django, fils de l'air" ("Le 'band' Django Reinhardt-Grappelly [*sic*] crée une atmosphère 'hot' comme celle que nous retrouvons grâce aux nègres d'Amérique. Il nous groupe autour du feu d'un camp

historical overview of the QHCF published in 1948, prominent Hot Club de France member and Reinhardt biographer Charles Delaunay refers to Reinhardt as an "impenitent nomad."[68] Pierre Bonneau's 1945 biographical portrait of Reinhardt in *Jazz Hot* magazine states, "Like all the subjects of his race, incapable of settling down but living randomly on the road in traditional *roulottes*, parking at the gates of cities, we imagine the life of the young Django within errant families, living off the product of good or bad ventures."[69] Jean de Trazegnies, writing in 1945 for the Belgian magazine *Jazz*, extends Romani qualities to the music and personae of both Reinhardt and (non-Romani) Grappelli:

> Musicians who received your talent from the depths of time, Reinhardt, authentic and tanned Tsigane, Grappelli, Tsigane soul and dreamer-adventurer, both magnificent bohemians, I hope that civilization never spoils and corrals you. . . . Continue to be yourselves in your music, do it only for those of your errant race and for those who know how to understand it, as they understand nature and the healthy bitterness of wild fruits.[70]

Here, Trazegnies attributes Reinhardt's and Grappelli's musical allure to the former's Manouche "race" and the latter's "Tsigane soul" (suggesting that Grappelli, though not technically belonging to a Romani "race," shared its supposed behavioral and spiritual traits). Alleged personal characteristics and artistic output are both conflated and essentialized while Romanies are further typified as "errant" and uncivilized. Reinhardt's perceived "tanned" appearance underscores his racialization, also pointing to his ambiguous

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bohémien et nous enlève à nos familles spirituelles . . . par le prodige d'une race qui semble sortir du fond des ages").

68. Charles Delaunay, "L'histoire du Hot Club de France," *Jazz Hot*, 2nd ser., no. 22 (April 1948): 12: "l'impénitent nomade."

69. Pierre Bonneau, "Notes biographiques sur Django Reinhardt," *Jazz Hot*, 2nd ser., no. 2 (November 1945): 13–16, here 13: "Comme tous les sujets de sa race, incapables de se fixer et vivant au hasard de la route dans les traditionnelles roulottes, stationnant aux portes des villes, on se représente la vie du jeune Django au sein des familles errantes, vivant du produit de la bonne ou mauvaise aventure." A *roulotte* is an old-fashioned, horse-drawn caravan, usually made of wood. Manouche settlement patterns have varied widely during their centuries-long residence in France and have certainly not been limited to itinerancy. By the time Bonneau's article was published, many formerly interned Romanies had settled into slums. This settlement pattern was partly due to the Vichy government's forced relocation of Romanies into internment camps during World War II; as a result, such prisoners were left in abject poverty after their release. See Sigot, *Ces barbelés que découvre l'histoire*.

70. Jean de Trazegnies, "Django Reinhardt: de la reverie tzigane . . . à l'improvisation hot," *Jazz*, no. 9 (1945): 16–17, here 17: "Musiciens qui avez reçu votre talent du fond des âges, Reinhardt, tzigane authentique et bronzé, Grappelly [*sic*], âme de tzigane et rêveur-aventurier; tous deux bohèmes magnifiques, je forme le vœu que la civilisation ne parvienne jamais à vous gâter et à vous investir. . . . Restez vous-mêmes dans votre musique, faites-la seulement pour ceux de votre race errante et pour ceux qui savent la comprendre, comme ils comprennent la nature et l'âpreté saine des fruits sauvages."

position in binarized popular understandings of race and jazz in the French imagination.[71]

Although many critics analyzed Reinhardt's music independently of ethnoracial considerations,[72] discursive connections between Reinhardt's ethnoracial origins, his persona, and his music intensified precipitously from the 1950s (after his death). Among the critics who drew the most attention to Reinhardt's background was Delaunay, though he did not explicitly attribute Reinhardt's musical style to his Manouche background. Immediately following Reinhardt's death, Delaunay actually refuted perceived associations between Reinhardt's music and his ethnoracial identity, writing in the June 1953 edition of *Jazz Hot*,

> Some jazz critics have reproached Django for the Tsigane character of his music. Without denying his origins, it seems to us that the connection is, to say the least, fortuitous, and at most motivated by the nature of the instrument. . . . His taste for the arabesque remained in the purest tradition of artists such as Benny Carter, Barney Bigard, and Eddie South, whom it would be difficult to consider as musicians of Tsigane essence![73]

In his 1954 biography of Reinhardt, however, Delaunay resorts to racial stereotypes to explain his eccentric behavior.[74] Though at times he treats Reinhardt's idiosyncrasies as entirely his own, he refers numerous times to the "primitive" character of the nomadic "tribe" that gave rise to his personality, characterizing them as a paranoid, superstitious, "backward," "medieval" people who have "oriental traditions" and a history of stealing children.[75] Delaunay speculates that had Reinhardt been raised among Gadjé, had he "opened his mind to the mysteries of a modern civilization, he might have lost his purity and the richness of his gifts for invention,"[76] yet rejects the notion

71. On Romani exoticization in popular media, see Silverman, "Trafficking in the Exotic," 340.

72. See, for example, Hodeir, *Toward Jazz*. Hodeir's analysis of a Reinhardt solo is examined in Givan, "Discontinuity."

73. Charles Delaunay, "Django Reinhardt," *Jazz Hot*, 2nd ser., no. 78 (June 1953): 9–11, here 11: "Des critiques de jazz ont reproché à Django le caractère tzigane de sa musique. Sans démentir ses origines, il nous semble que le rapprochement est pour le moins fortuit et tout au plus motivé par la nature de l'instrument. . . . Son goût pour l'arabesque restait dans la plus pure tradition d'artistes tels que Bennie [*sic*] Carter, Berney [*sic*] Bigard ou Eddie South, qu'il nous paraît difficile de considérer comme des musiciens d'essence tzigane!" See also Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 20.

74. Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*. A revised version of the biography was published in 1968.

75. Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 13–14: "primitif," "tribu," "arriérées," "médiéval," "traditions orientales." See especially ibid., 13–16, 22–26, 34–35, 43–44. At one point, Delaunay refers to Reinhardt's Manouche cousins as mischievous "monkeys" ("singes," 34). He had also called Reinhardt "primitive" in 1953: Delaunay, "Django Reinhardt," 9 ("primitif").

76. Delaunay, *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs*, 14: "Eut-il . . . ouvert ainsi son esprit aux mystères d'une civilisation moderne, il aurait perdu peut-être sa pureté et la richesse de ses dons d'invention."

that "all his racial brothers are natural musicians" and asserts that Reinhardt's "glory belonged to him alone."[77] Still, he emphasizes Reinhardt's fidelity to his ethnoracial group and his fundamental, enduring Romani character.[78] As the most comprehensive biography of Reinhardt to be written by someone who knew him intimately, Delaunay's book has significantly influenced popular understandings of Reinhardt's persona and ethnoracial background, especially in terms of continuities between the two.

Years later, in 1975, Panassié similarly described Reinhardt as "essentially a Gypsy,"[79] one who "was what one calls in English a 'natural' musician. He was also a 'primitive,' in the good sense of the word. He was a Gypsy, and he had Gypsy qualities."[80] It is unclear here whether Panassié still believed at this point, as he had in the 1940s, that Reinhardt's Romani background could be heard in his music. In the same piece, Panassié also says that Reinhardt expressed a strong sense of "solidarity" with his Manouche community, an aspect of his biography that he had not mentioned in writings published while the guitarist was still alive.[81]

Both Delaunay's and Panassié's accounts point to an important shift in narratives about Reinhardt: while his Manouche background was invoked before and after his death as an influence on his *individual* character, attention to his relationship with a Manouche *collectivity* became more pronounced posthumously.[82] Perhaps public fascination with his premature death and initiatives to memorialize him galvanized a desire for knowledge about his kin. In addition to the release of Delaunay's book, which detailed Reinhardt's relationships with his immediate and extended family, there was the eight-part serial publication of "La légende de Django Reinhardt" by Yves Salgues in *Jazz Magazine* in 1957–58. A work of historical fiction, the series makes frequent reference to the behaviors of Reinhardt's "race" or "tribe" and recreates intimate moments between the guitarist and his family members as well as interactions with hordes of his Romani "brothers." In the final part of the series, Salgues attributes Reinhardt's musicality to racial

77. Ibid., 16: "Je voudrais faire justice d'une croyance assez répandue qui voudrait que tous ses frères de race fussent naturellement musiciens. . . . [S]a gloire lui appartient bien en propre."

78. Ibid., 14.

79. Panassié and Casalta, *Monsieur Jazz*, 211: "il était essentiellement un gitan."

80. Ibid., 210: "Il était ce qu'on appelle en anglais un musicien 'naturel.' C'était aussi un 'primitif,' dans le bon sens du mot. C'était un gitan, et il en avait les qualités."

81. Ibid., 211: "il restait solidaire." For further evidence of racializing descriptions of Reinhardt by Delaunay and other jazz critics, see McGregor, *Jazz and Postwar French Identity*, 167–74.

82. In a 1944 interview about a mass he had begun writing, dedicated to Romanies, Reinhardt said that he was "loved" ("très aimé") by other Romanies, but this is the only statement he is known to have made on record about a connection between his music and his sense of belonging to a Romani community: Reinhardt, *Intégrale Django Reinhardt*, vol. 12, disc 1, track 20 (1:38). He never indicated whether the composition reflected any specifically Manouche influences.

determinants, writing, "music [and] jazz had brought Django to his race. His race brought Django to music, to jazz. Born like that, not otherwise, he lived like that and not otherwise. Perhaps never before was such a good destiny dedicated to such a powerful atavistic inevitability."[83]

The 1958 historical fiction film by Paul Paviot, *Django Reinhardt*, draws similar connections between Reinhardt's ethnoracial community, his personality, and his music. Much of the film overlays images of Romani caravans and gatherings with a soundtrack of Reinhardt recordings and voiceovers (narrated by Chris Marker) describing Reinhardt's devotion to the Manouche people.[84] The final scenes of the film feature clips of Romani children, Reinhardt's brother Joseph, his widow Naguine, and his son Babik passing in and out of their *roulottes* on the dingy outskirts of Paris, accompanied by the following narration: "Perhaps a legend will develop about the Gypsy who had accepted this incredible adventure to go live in the city, and it will appear as fascinating to young Manouches as to us, Tarzan among monkeys."[85] The narrator opines that "there still remains something else of Django, a certain guitar sound on Babik's fingers," and that an objective of the film is "to recover, through the memory of Django, and through all that which is Gypsy in us, the rhythm of a life and a freedom that he brought to fruition with the candor and the stubbornness of a gentle beast."[86]

This complex aim—to awaken a sense of "life" and "freedom" through a racially inflected homage to Reinhardt's life, his music, and humanity's inner "Gypsy"—invites viewers to understand Reinhardt's legacy as uniting Reinhardt with Manouches, Manouches with each other, and the viewing public

83. Yves Salgues, "La légende de Django Reinhardt IX," *Jazz Magazine*, no. 41 (October 1958): 31–33, here 32: "La musique, le jazz avaient pris Django à sa race. Sa race a repris Django à la musique, au jazz. Né comme ça, pas autrement, il a vécu comme ça et pas autrement. Jamais peut-être un aussi bon destin ne fut voué à une aussi puissante fatalité atavique." Salgues also muses that if one were to suggest to Reinhardt that he would die a beggar, he would "respond ironically, with his eyes, 'I was born a Gypsy and I'll die a Gypsy'": Yves Salgues, "La légende de Django Reinhardt VIII," *Jazz Magazine*, no. 40 (September 1958): 28–31, here 29 ("A lui prédire qu'il finira clochard que ses yeux, ironiquement, vous répondent: 'J'ai commencé gitan et gitan je finirai'").

84. An early scene shows images of Samois-sur-Seine, Reinhardt's home in the 1950s and final resting place, accompanied by a romanticizing description of how he was drawn to "the elements, water, clouds, all that is moving and unstable like his race": Paviot, *Django Reinhardt*, 6:03 ("Accordé de bonheur aux éléments, à l'eau, aux nuages, tout ce qui est mouvant et instable comme sa race").

85. Ibid., 20:59: "Peut-être une légende se formera-t-elle du gitan qui avait accepté cet aventure incroyable d'aller vivre à la ville, et aux petits manouches elle apparaitra aussi fascinante que pour nous, Tarzan au milieu des singes."

86. Ibid., 21:30: "Il reste encore autre chose de Django, une certaine sonorité de la guitare sur les doigts de Babik"; 22:23: "retrouver à travers le souvenir de Django, et à travers tout ce qui est gitan en nous, le rythme d'une vie et d'une liberté qu'il amenait jusqu'au bout avec la candeur et l'entêtement d'un doux fauve."

with an otherwise disdained population. This was not lost on critic Michel-Claude Jalard, who wrote in a review of the film in 1958,

> *Django's creation is inseparable from the Tsigane race from which he came*, whose sensibility he had, whose spirituality he shared, and for which his art, because of his greatness, represents one of its best chances of communication with the hostile world on whose margins he lives. In sum, it was necessary [for the film] not only to render the work of Django present, but to make [viewers] feel that in recognizing themselves in [the music], they become aware of an entirely misunderstood and scorned people.[87]

Testimonies provided by Reinhardt's immediate family members after his death have reinforced public understandings of his significance for his community and the significance of his ethnoracial background for his music. In a 1964 episode of the television program *Sept jours du monde*, Naguine Reinhardt is interviewed about her late husband in the midst of a tightly packed group presumed to be her Manouche family, complete with several musicians performing Reinhardt's famous composition "Nuages."[88] And Babik Reinhardt's foreword to a published collection of Reinhardt-related memorabilia states, "My father was, of course, a giant of the jazz world and all his admirers know that he was Tsigane. But many people do not recognize the enormous effect that being Tsigane had on his music, which, in fact, transcended jazz. . . . Above all, my father was a Tsigane."[89] In the decades that followed Reinhardt's death, commentaries that drew explicit causal links between his music, his ethnoracial roots, and his broader Romani community (like Babik Reinhardt's homage above) flourished in books, magazines, films, and other media.[90] In addition to the French sources addressed here,

87. Michel-Claude Jalard, "'Django Reinhardt' de Paul Paviot," *Gazette de Lausanne*, April 19, 1958, 13: "*la création de Django est inséparable de la race tzigane dont il était issu*, dont il avait la sensibilité, dont il a partagé la spiritualité et pour laquelle son art, en raison de sa hauteur, représente une de ses meilleures chances de communication avec le monde hostile en marge duquel il vit. En somme il fallait non seulement rendre présente l'œuvre de Django, mais faire sentir qu'en se reconnaissant en elle, c'est tout un peuple incompris et bafoué qui nous devenait présent" (my emphasis).

88. *Sept jours du monde*, "Interview de l'épouse de Django," aired May 29, 1964, on RTF, available on the INA website, http://www.ina.fr/video/I12282117.

89. Reinhardt, "Avant-propos": "Mon père était, bien sûr, un géant du monde du jazz et tous ses admirateurs savent qu'il était Tsigane. Mais beaucoup de gens ne se rendent pas compte de l'énorme effet que d'être Tsigane a eu sur sa musique, qui, en fait, a transcendé le jazz. . . . [A]vant tout, mon père était un Tsigane."

90. Only a small fraction of these may be cited here: see, for example, Cascio, *Django Reinhardt*; Fatto, "Florilège pour un anniversaire"; Jacques J. Gaspard, "Un blues gitan," *Jazz Hot*, no. 187 (May 1963): 22–28; Gatlif, *Swing*; Jeremy, *Django Legacy*; Le Jean, *Les fils du vent*; Lefort, "Le jazz des Tsiganes"; Robert Pac, "Django," *Droit et liberté*, no. 376 (January 1979): 17; Babik Reinhardt and Michel Maestracci, "Au nom du fils," *Jazz Hot*, no. 541 (June 1997): 38–39; Ténot, "Reinhardt, Django"; and Tuzet, *Jazz manouche*.

English-language commentaries to the same effect abound.[91] Some of the sources dating from the 1980s and later highlight the fact that *jazz manouche* remains an important tradition among numerous Manouche communities. Many of them, however, tend to conflate Reinhardt's music with *jazz manouche*, relying on ethnoracially tinged presumptions that reinforce ahistorical conceptions of Reinhardt's music and its supposed continuity with *jazz manouche*.[92]

I have focused primarily on accounts generated in the decade or so following Reinhardt's death in order to demonstrate how the beginnings of such ethnoracializing narratives set a precedent for the emergence of *jazz manouche*. These narratives would later allow musicians, nonprofit organizations, critics, and others in the music industry to frame Manouches as the natural inheritors of Reinhardt's legacy and to capitalize on the exoticism of Manouche identity in the marketing of *jazz manouche*. Reinhardt would be exalted as a "hero" for Manouches from both emic and etic perspectives.[93] Although Reinhardt's musical style never displayed any discernibly Manouche influences, both Manouche and Gadjo listeners came to retroactively project these influences onto his music, further cementing its putatively ethnoracial character in the popular imagination.[94] Reinhardt's musicality is now frequently perceived as a product of, simultaneously, his incomparable genius *and* his (innate and/or inculcated) Manouche expressivity, eliding any distinction between the artist and his art, a stance that often exhibits the "oblivious racism" once decried by Antonietto.[95]

91. See Max Abrams, "Django Reinhardt: The Jazz Gypsy," *Storyville*, no. 77 (June–July 1978): 163–70; Blesh, *Shining Trumpets*, 270; Dregni, *Django*; Dregni, "Django Reinhardt and *jazz manouche*"; Dregni, *Gypsy Jazz*; David Hajdu, "Triumph of the Gypsies," *New Republic*, May 20, 2010, https://newrepublic.com/article/74546/triumph-the-gypsies; George Hoefer, "The Magnificent Gypsy," *Down Beat* 33, no. 14 (July 14, 1966): 21–25, 60–61; Duncan MacDougald, "Is This the Best Small Swing Group?," *Metronome* 54, no. 6 (June 1938): 12; Shipton, *New History of Jazz*, 388–89; Simon, "Charlie Christian," 318; Schuller, *History of Jazz*, 2:566; Barry Ulanov, "Django Reinhardt, 1912–1953," *Metronome* 69, no. 8 (August 1953): 14; and Zwerin, *Swing under the Nazis*.

92. To be sure, a number of critics have not essentialized Reinhardt in these ways; see, for example, the works of Alain Antonietto, Benjamin Givan, and Patrick Williams, as well as Berish, "Negotiating 'A Blues Riff'"; Cugny, "Django Reinhardt et 'Flèche d'or'"; and Fargeton, *La modernité chez Django*. Additionally, in his writings and interviews, Stéphane Grappelli did not seem to emphasize connections between Reinhardt's music, his character, and his ethnorace; see, for example, Grappelli, *Mon violon pour tout bagage*.

93. See Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, and Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission."

94. See Williams, "Cette chanson est pour vous," 117–18. To be clear, although *jazz manouche* as a genre exhibits some features that can be attributed to its development in Manouche communities—the inclusion of some Romani repertoire, harmonic simplifications, and even the folklorization of Reinhardt tunes, for example—these attributes are not present in Reinhardt's music.

95. See page 674 above.

Articulating a Collective Practice

The first known reference to an emergent practice based on Reinhardt's music dates only from 1959, when the critic Michel-Claude Jalard published his article on "the Tsigane school of jazz."[96] He writes that "by Tsigane jazz, we mean jazz music created by musicians of the Tsigane race. It is really about a race."[97] After speculating for several paragraphs about what may be particularly "Tsigane" about this "school," he concludes that

> neither the [musical] tradition nor the Tsigane condition [of oppression] imply, in parallel to the rise of black jazz, the advent of a Tsigane jazz. But the one and the other reflect characteristic elements that were Django's to crystallize through his prodigious talent: the Tsigane milieu that manifests such a particular expressivity, the destiny of the Tsiganes that orients them toward an art of improvisation, the conjunction of the one and the other that fixes these musicians on certain instruments, the violin and especially the guitar.[98]

Jalard's hypothesis that Romanies inherently possess "characteristic elements," chief among them "expressivity," links Reinhardt's musical genius to ethnoracially determined factors ("the destiny of the Tsiganes" to improvise on certain instruments). His speculation about Romani "expressivity" is central to his definition of Tsigane jazz, as is the identification of Reinhardt as the catalyst that gave rise to it.

Jalard divides the Tsigane school into two groups: "followers," who imitate aspects of Reinhardt's music, and "continuers," who seek to innovate upon the stylistic precedents set by him,[99] referring to the groups as representative

96. Neither Charles Delaunay's *Django Reinhardt: Souvenirs* of 1954 nor his *Django Reinhardt* of 1968 contains any instances of the terms "jazz manouche," "jazz gitan," "swing manouche," or "swing gitan." A Google Books Ngram Viewer search conducted on September 12, 2016, shows the earliest use of "jazz manouche" in French literature to be 1976, though this search is of course limited to the texts obtained by Google. The same search performed on "Gypsy jazz" in English literature yields a review in the *Saturday Review* dating to 1959.

97. Jalard, "Django et l'école tsigane du jazz," 54: "Par jazz tsigane, nous entendrons la musique de jazz créée par des musiciens de race tsigane. Il s'agit bien d'une race." Jalard uses the term "tsigane" to refer to Manouches and Gitans, whom I group here together as "Romanies."

98. Ibid., 56: "ni la tradition, ni la condition tsigane ne supposent, parallèlement à l'essor du jazz noir, l'avènement d'un jazz tsigane. Mais l'une et l'autre renvoient à des éléments caractéristiques qu'il appartint à Django de cristalliser par l'effet même de son prodigieux talent: le milieu tsigane qui manifeste une expressivité si particulière, le sort fait aux tsiganes qui les oriente vers un art d'improvisation, la conjugaison de l'un et de l'autre qui fixe ces musiciens sur certains instruments, le violon et surtout la guitare."

99. Ibid., 66: "suiveurs"; "continuateurs." These continuers include Joseph Reinhardt, Eugène Vees, Sarane Ferret, René Mailhes, and Laro Sollero, among others. More than by a "language" (a word Jalard uses as a metaphor for style) based on Reinhardt's work, the "continuers" of the school are defined by "the kind of sensibility and the creative attitude that are manifest through this language" ("[le] type de sensibilité [et] l'attitude créatrice qui se manifestent à l'occasion de ce langage," 60).

of "folklore" and "art" respectively.[100] Though he demonstrates a clear preference for the latter group, he claims that the two are aesthetically united by their ethnoracial identity:

> Django's musical universe is for them a common language because in addition to his art, and through him, they discover an instrumental lyricism that speaks to their own sensibilities. This "ethnic supplement," if one can say that, means that Django is not only the master of a conception of the guitar . . . but truly the leader of a Tsigane school of jazz. It explains how [this school] *coincides almost exactly with an ethnic group*.[101]

After Reinhardt's death, his guitar accompanists continued to perform his music in and around Paris. Some took inspiration from his late work and developed styles that followed modern jazz trends of the day. Others, such as Matelo Ferret, gravitated more toward *swing musette*. Although the musicians in Jalard's original "Tsigane school" built on Reinhardt's success and were strongly influenced by him, they branched out in idiosyncratic directions that did not cohere into an independent genre called "jazz manouche."[102]

Jalard was one of the earliest critics to speak of a "jazz tsigane," and the first to publish a detailed treatise arguing that both the essence of Reinhardt's music and that of other Romani musicians were contingent upon ethnoracial belonging. Although the musicians identified by Jalard in his 1959 article did not subsequently form the core of the *jazz manouche* genre, his writing marked a consequential moment in the linkage between musical style and ethnoracial identity to which future writings on *jazz manouche* would refer.[103] For example, in several articles, social worker and prominent *jazz manouche* festival organizer Michel Lefort drew on Jalard's article to

100. Ibid., 73: "folklore"; "art."

101. Ibid., 72: "L'univers musical de Django est pour eux un langage commun parce qu'en plus de son art, et à travers lui, ils retrouvent tout un lyrisme instrumental qui renvoie à leur sensibilité propre. Ce 'supplément ethnique,' si l'on peut dire, fait que Django est non seulement le maître d'une conception de la guitare . . . mais vraiment le chef d'une école tsigane de jazz. Il explique que celle-ci *coïncide presque parfaitement avec un groupe ethnique*" (my emphasis).

102. Within Manouche communities on the outskirts of Paris, musicians such as Joseph Reinhardt and Lousson Baumgartner continued to perform Reinhardt's repertoire and to develop jazz guitar performance through a limited degree of community practice. Other Romani guitarists, including René Mailhes, Spatzo Adel, Piton Reinhardt, and Laro Sollero, are frequently identified as part of Reinhardt's milieu, as "inheritors" of his style, or are otherwise associated with the period of Parisian jazz guitar playing in the years immediately following Reinhardt's death. See Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, 410–11. Some critics and musicians consider these musicians to be important figures in the genesis of *jazz manouche*, while others regard their roles as minor or nonexistent.

103. In addition to his 1959 article, various other pieces of Jalard's criticism are referenced in issues of the journal *Études tsiganes* in the late 1950s and early 1960s, suggesting that those in the pro-Romani activism community were also reading his work at this time.

support his descriptions of the contemporary *jazz manouche* scene,[104] writing that for Manouches in the 1990s, *jazz manouche* had become "a *sign of recognition*, *internally* (between members of the community) and *externally* (in their representation to the Gadjo world)."[105] Other key figures in *jazz manouche* scholarship and popular media from the 1980s onward, such as Alain Antonietto, François Billard, and Patrick Williams, also refer to Jalard's article as an important discursive turn in the genesis of *jazz manouche*.[106]

Ultimately, the *jazz manouche* genre that would come to be associated with French Romanies would adhere to the imitative, "folkloric" model outlined by Jalard. This genre developed only after the adoption and specialization of QHCF-style jazz by French Manouche communities. Jalard's notion of "jazz tsigane" as an expressive approach to jazz would later give way to a much broader recognition of "jazz manouche" (sometimes also called "jazz tsigane") as a codified tradition with explicit ties to such communities.

Jazz, Sinti Political Consciousness, and Musik Deutscher Zigeuner

Jazz in a QHCF style might not have become such a widespread familial practice among French Manouches were it not for both the mobility and the religious practices of the families of Jalard's "continuers." In the 1950s and 1960s, French Manouche and Gitan musicians mingled with their West German Sinti cousins during trips to places such as Lourdes, primarily as part of Christian pilgrimages or conventions.[107] A "Tsigane and Gitan gala" organized by the pro-Romani journal *Études tsiganes* in March 1967 was also an important occasion for West German Sinti musicians to encounter French Manouche and Gitan jazz musicians from Reinhardt's inner circle, in addition to musicians, dancers, acrobats, and animal trainers from various other Romani subgroups.[108] In conjunction with the circulation of Reinhardt

104. Lefort, "Ce 'jazz tsigane,'" 36; Lefort, "Le jazz des Tsiganes," 101, 107; Lefort, "La musique des caravanes," 10; Michel Lefort, "Django for Ever," *Jazz Hot*, no. 500 (May 1993): 40–41.

105. Lefort, "Le jazz des Tsiganes," 114: "un *signe de reconnaissance*, *à l'intérieur* (entre membres de la communauté) et à l'*extérieur* (dans la représentation au monde gadjo)" (Lefort's emphasis).

106. Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, 25–26, 98, 389; Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission," 409; Williams, "L'improvisation et le jazz manouche," 34; Williams, *Django Reinhardt*, 20, 111–40.

107. Pilgrimages ("pèlerinages") were Catholic and conventions ("conventions") were Evangelical. Manouche-oriented Evangelical organizations emerged in the early 1950s, splitting many Manouche communities between Evangelical and Catholic followers. See Garo, "Les Rroms."

108. See Vaux de Foletier, "Le gala tsigane et gitan." An article in the same issue of *Études tsiganes* refers to the performances by Matelo Ferret, Boulou Ferret, Joseph Reinhardt, and Babik Reinhardt as "*jazz manouche* and Gitan," though only in order to identify the Romani

recordings, jazz inspired by him and the QHCF spread through these encounters as a performance practice among Romani groups beyond Paris.

Among the West German Sinti who participated in the 1960s pilgrimages and performed at the 1967 gala were a violinist and singer named Schnuckenack Reinhardt and his cousins.[109] In an interview with Michel Lefort in 1997, the West German Gadjo student-turned-entrepreneur Siegfried Maeker discusses his spearheading of the *Musik Deutscher Zigeuner* album series, with Schnuckenack as the frontman, beginning in the 1960s.[110] Maeker's objectives were both entrepreneurial and political: in developing a new market niche for Sinti music, he aimed to increase the visibility of Sinti cultures and communities. After befriending several Sinti musicians, Maeker organized concerts through which to "document" and showcase the music they played for themselves and had never performed for a general audience.[111] This music comprised numerous styles, including those learned from the Polish and Czech Roma whom Schnuckenack had encountered in Nazi concentration camps, as well as jazz inspired by the QHCF and Django's prewar recordings. Maeker emphasizes that although they were familiar with some of Django's music from recordings, West German Sinti desired to learn to play it via personal contact with those who had been close to him. As a result of this "direct" transmission during pilgrimages and other travel opportunities, "Django's music entered the repertoire of German Sinti and became a sort of folkloric music. . . . They knew all the melodies *without knowing where they came from*."[112]

The more traditional Romani styles remained fundamental to the Musik Deutscher Zigeuner collective (hereinafter MDZ), however, especially given

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subgroups to which the Ferrets and Reinhardts belonged, not to designate a new genre: Cullaz, "Le jazz manouche et gitan," 35. See also Andresz, "La musique des Manouches sinti alsaciens," 135–36.

109. Reinhardt is a common last name among French Manouches/Sinti and German Sinti; many who share this name claim Django as a "cousin," regardless of how distant the relationship would be.

110. Michel Lefort and Siegfried Maeker, "Musik Deutscher Zigeuner," *Jazz Hot*, no. 540 (May 1997): 18–25. Seven albums, numbered consecutively, were released with the title *Musik Deustcher Zigeuner* between 1969 and 1974; an eighth, a compilation of previously released recordings, was released on compact disc in 1995. Musicians in the Musik Deutscher Zigeuner collective also released other albums under different names.

111. Ibid., 19: "faire une documentation."

112. Ibid., 20: "La musique de Django était rentrée dans le répertoire des Sinti Allemands et devenue comme une musique folklorique. . . . Ils connaissaient toutes les mélodies *sans savoir d'où elles venaient*" (Lefort and Maeker's emphasis). Several musicians in the MDZ collective developed international musical careers as a result of their participation in the album series, the personnel of which varied over the years. The most legendary member remains Schnuckenack Reinhardt, whose primary training was in central and eastern European Romani musical styles and who, despite his best efforts, "was not really a jazz violinist" (ibid., 21: "n'était pas vraiment violoniste de jazz").

Maeker's vision of "documenting" the familial musical practices of the Sinti he knew. For the purposes of generic categorization, I will call these traditional styles "csárdás," since the majority of the pieces in question can be stylistically classified as such and are referred to collectively by Manouches and Sinti as "Hungarian" (even though a number exhibit possible influences from other central and eastern European styles). MDZ's sonic signature became not a true fusion but a *juxtaposition* of *csárdás* with QHCF-inspired jazz. For example, the first MDZ album (known as *Musik Deutschser Zigeuner 1* following the release of subsequent MDZ albums) includes three tunes that are most accurately described as the "friss" (fast) sections of *csárdás*,[113] as well as nine jazz tunes (seven of which are jazz standards recorded by Django and two of which he composed) and two waltzes. The combination of jazz and *csárdás* could simply mean an alternation between jazz and *csárdás* within the same piece, such as in the song "Lass maro tschatschepen" (composed and sung by guitarist Häns'che Weiss). The jazz tunes often exhibited distinctive *csárdás* elements, however, such as heavier, brisker rhythm guitar strokes than one would hear on Django's recordings. Later MDZ albums would exhibit a greater degree of crossover between the styles within pieces, especially in original compositions with sung lyrics in Romani. The principal distinction between the jazz and *csárdás* repertoires is rhythmic: the jazz pieces swing using the QHCF-associated *pompe* technique on the rhythm guitar, whereas the *csárdás* pieces are played straight, usually in an offbeat-dominant 2/4. Waltzes are more closely affiliated with the jazz repertoire, as they come directly from the *swing musette* tradition represented by Matelo Ferret and others with no discernible influence from any eastern or central European genres. Schnuckenack's violin style remains fairly consistent across the jazz and *csárdás* repertoire, characterized by fits of scalar and arpeggiated runs that push ahead of the beat with heavy legato bowing, frequent use of intense, consistently paced vibrato, and conspicuous slides and ornamentations, especially trills, among other features.[114]

Despite MDZ's transformation of jazz into "a sort of folkloric music," Maeker believed that jazz had the potential to afford far more cultural and social capital to German Sinti than the traditional Romani musics they were familiar with:

> Another thing was important to me at the start: Sinti musicians always wanted to put on the little Hungarian folkloric jacket. I said to them, "No, that's operetta, a cliché in the mind of the ordinary German for whom Tsigane music equals Hungarian music, operetta . . . who thinks that the Tsigane plays for the

113. One of these tunes is "Gari, gari," a traditionally Russian Romani tune.

114. It is clear that Schnuckenack Reinhardt remains rooted in a *csárdás*-oriented tradition, especially since his sense of swing rhythm is stilted and rushed. Rhythmic particularities aside, the consistency of Schnuckenack Reinhardt's technique brings some stylistic coherence across the MDZ repertoire.

> clientele of good restaurants, something servile." I told them, "It's better if you earn money without doing that, with a little more pride, with dignity." And they followed this advice . . . and felt that it was very well accepted by the public.[115]

By performing Django's music in addition to the stereotypically "Tsigane" styles with which MDZ musicians were already familiar, the demeaning, metaphorical "little Hungarian folkloric jacket" could be tossed aside. As Maeker suggested, incorporating jazz repertoire allowed the musicians to present themselves as modern, innovative, and respectable.[116] Music inspired by Django and the QHCF appeared to offer these Sinti an antidote to degrading stereotypes and greater opportunities to be taken seriously as artists.

This appeal to artistic (and social) legitimacy coincided with the leftist political sentiments of the time, as Maeker recalls: "It was the era of the student revolts of '68 and [these students] invited Sinti musicians [to perform]. It was right in line with their political agenda to defend the rights of minorities."[117] The formation of MDZ was also directly related to a growing Romani rights movement in West Germany, which had begun quietly in 1956 and gained public momentum in the late 1970s.[118] As Maeker recounts, "We were ten years before the beginning of the civil rights movement of the Gypsies in Germany. . . . We were a little avant-garde in a political sense."[119] Maeker was especially concerned with the failure of West German society to adequately recognize that Romanies had been racially targeted for persecution and extermination. Yet his intended audience was not only West German: a promotional article published by Maeker in a French journal in 1969 lists the various West German, Austrian, and Swiss cities in which

115. Lefort and Maeker, "Musik Deutscher Zigeuner," 21: "Une autre chose était importante pour moi au début: les musiciens Sinti voulaient toujours mettre la petite veste folklorique hongroise. Je leur disais: 'Non, ça c'est de l'opérette, un cliché dans la tête de l'Allemand ordinaire pour qui musique tsigane égale musique hongroise, opérette . . . qui pense que le Tsigane joue dans les yeux des clients des bons restaurants, quelque chose de servile.' Je leur disais: 'C'est mieux si vous gagnez de l'argent sans faire ça, d'une manière un peu plus fière, avec dignité.' Et on a suivi cette voie . . . et ils ont senti que c'était très bien accepté du public."

116. On the characterization of jazz as a "high art" form in distinction to its prior status as popular music, see Lopes, *Rise of a Jazz Art World*.

117. Lefort and Maeker, "Musik Deutscher Zigeuner," 21: "C'était à l'époque de la révolte des étudiants en '68 et ceux-ci ont invité les Sinti musiciens. Ça allait justement dans le sens de leur politique de défense des droits des minorités." According to historian Gilad Margalit and linguist Yaron Matras, "The Romani national revival of the late 1960s borrowed its methods from the civil rights struggle of the American Indians and from the struggle of the 1968 student movements": Margalit and Matras, "Gypsies in Germany," 111. See also Couvreux, "Panorama du jazz tsigane."

118. See Margalit and Matras, "Gypsies in Germany," 110–11.

119. Lefort and Maeker, "Musik Deutscher Zigeuner," 21: "on était alors dix ans avant le commencement du *Civil Rights Movement of the Gipsies in Germany*. . . . On a été un peu l'avant-garde dans un sens politique" (Lefort and Maeker's emphasis).

MDZ had performed and provides short biographies of MDZ musicians, describing the experiences of those who had survived Nazi concentration camps.[120] Maeker advertised MDZ's ethnoracial specificity as an asset, promoting the "ancestral tradition" of German Sinti music, whose only outside influence was "that of 'hot' jazz, which the glory of Django Reinhardt made popular, from the 1930s onward, among all the musicians of his race."[121]

Although MDZ's music rarely communicated any overt political appeals—the major exception being the 1977 recording of "Lass maro tschatschepen" (Romani for "Let's take our rights")[122]—it was important to showcase this distinctively Sinti music in the context of pro-Romani political activity. MDZ's unique combination of traditional and (relatively) modern musics allowed them to assert a novel aesthetic conception of Sinti identity, one that reflected both adherence to familial heritage and adaptability to new influences, and that indexed a transnational ethnoracial affiliation with their French Manouche cousins. Maeker and MDZ members self-consciously cultivated this particular performance style not just as a commercially viable strategy or as a genuinely pleasurable musical experience (though it certainly was both), but as a means of drawing attention to the political struggles of German Sinti while articulating a new, relatively cosmopolitan conception of Sinti ethnoracial identity.[123]

Alsatian Manouches and the Discovery of Django

Several of my Alsatian Manouche interlocutors have told me that Django Reinhardt's music was not well received by many Manouches during his lifetime and for some years after his death. At least, Manouches at this time were reportedly not eager to listen to it in group settings, let alone reproduce it as a community practice; jazz was deemed too "modern" for their tastes. Alsatian Manouche accordionist Marcel Loeffler remembered that, growing up in the 1970s, he was told by older members of his family that they liked Django, "but at the same time, we knew that it wasn't their

120. Maeker, "Dans la lignée de Django."

121. Ibid., 14: "la tradition ancestrale"; "Si les Sinte allemands ont subi une influence, c'est celle du jazz 'hot,' que la gloire de Django Reinhardt rendit populaire, à partir des années 30, parmi tous les musiciens de sa race."

122. The song appears on the Häns'che Weiss Quintett album *Fünf Jahre Musik Deutscher Zigeuner*. It implores Sinti to abandon their silence about the atrocities of the Holocaust and demand recognition of their plight.

123. In Germany, Romanies are referred to collectively as "Sinti and Roma," a distinction that reflects the unique history and sense of belonging to the German nation of each of these groups: "[Roma] activists regard themselves as members of a [pan-Romani] nation . . . and not as members of a German minority group . . . [whereas German Sinti] have tried to persuade the German public that they, the Sinti, constitute an integral part of the German culture and German nation": Margalit and Matras, "Gypsies in Germany," 112–13.

preferred music. For them, Tsigane music was the music of eastern Europe, that came from Hungary."[124] This included recordings by "Yoska Nemeth, Georges Boulanger, great violinists like that. They played *csárdás*, 'Dark Eyes.' Violins to make you cry."[125] In part because Alsatian Manouches were already fond of such music, typically performed by violinists whose techniques and repertoires resembled those of Schnuckenack Reinhardt, MDZ's generic amalgam provided a model and an entry point for these Manouches' exploration of jazz performance.[126]

Alsatian Manouches experienced a revelation of sorts when they first heard Schnuckenack and his quintet at a performance near Strasbourg in December 1970. In an article on the history of music among Alsatian Manouches, Patrick Andresz, a history teacher and guitarist intimately connected with the Alsatian *jazz manouche* scene, describes the concert:

> On stage, Schnuckenack, bursting with charisma, sings and plays violin. The solo guitarist is the young virtuoso Häns'che Weiss, while the bassist, Hojok Merstein, will be the pillar of the quintet in the years to come. It is the first time that an orchestra composed of Sinti musicians takes to the stage in Alsace. . . . These German Manouche musicians have just unveiled a new horizon. In Alsace, the shake-up is going to be important.[127]

In personal conversations with me, Andresz has gesturally described the reaction of the numerous Manouches in the audience as lifting off their seats in astonishment. He writes that the first Alsatian Manouches to publicly perform Django's music were a guitarist named Poro Reinhardt and his family members, who performed in a Strasbourg café in the early 1970s; their success was confined to this venue, however, and they left no recordings, so the birth of this practice in Alsace remains sonically undocumented.[128]

124. Marcel Loeffler, interview with the author, November 8, 2013: "ils disaient de Django que ça leur plaisait, mais en même temps, on sait que c'était pas leur musique préférée. Pour eux, la musique tsigane, c'était la musique de l'Est, qui venait d'Hongrie." In French, "l'Europe de l'Est" can include central Europe. A 1968 interview with a Manouche elder who was a luthier and musician corroborates this information: "Un Manouche musicien et luthier," 12.

125. Loeffler, interview: "Yoska Nemeth, Georges Boulanger, des grands violonistes comme ça. Ils jouaient de la musique, les csardas, les yeux noirs. Voilà, des violons à pleurer." Nemeth was Hungarian and Boulanger was Romanian.

126. Since at least the 1970s, Alsatian Manouche guitarists have far outnumbered Alsatian Manouche violinists. Among these violinists, techniques have tended to imitate Schnuckenack Reinhardt more than Grappelli or other jazz violinists. See Antonietto and Williams, "50 ans de jazz gitan," and Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission."

127. Andresz, "La musique des Manouches sinti alsaciens," 136–37: "Sur scène, Schnuckenack, débordant de charisme, chante et joue du violon. Le guitariste soliste est le jeune virtuose Häns'che Weiss et le contrebassiste, Hojok Merstein, sera, pour les années à venir, le pilier du quintet. C'est la première fois qu'un orchestre composé de musiciens sinti monte sur une scène en Alsace. . . . Ces musiciens manouches allemands viennent de dévoiler un nouvel horizon. En Alsace, le chamboulement va être d'importance."

128. Ibid. For French Manouches outside of Alsace, the direct influence of MDZ was not nearly as strong. From the 1960s, however, they still adopted Reinhardt's music through direct

In an interview with me, Mandino Reinhardt, one of the most celebrated Manouche guitarists in Alsace, recalled taking up the guitar right around this point of transition, as a teenager in the early 1970s: "When I was fifteen, in the heart of the [Strasbourg] neighborhood where we lived . . . one day, [the chaplain] Marcel Daval brought with him the sons of Piton Reinhardt, who was Django's cousin, and they played so wonderfully that I decided, all of a sudden, that I wanted to do that."[129] Mandino noted that he had already known about Django through his grandfather, who knew a few Django tunes, but that this music did not truly impact Manouches in the region until Schnuckenack and his quintet came to perform: "It's thanks to him that many people today play this music. . . . Thanks to Schnuckenack, we *really* get in touch with Django, in his music, and we say to ourselves, 'What a genius!'"[130]

As a result of their live performances and recordings and Maeker's intensive promotion, MDZ spurred a "rediscovery" of Django's music as performed by Manouches, inspiring some to proclaim, "We have our own music!"[131] Alsatian Manouches began to see and hear themselves in the music of MDZ and to develop associations between their musical aesthetics and a sense of ethnoracial belonging. For these Manouches, MDZ recordings were soon supplemented by an influx of reissued Django recordings that enabled musicians to learn his jazz from the original source. Musicians would listen repeatedly to, and imitate, these vinyl records, a process later facilitated by the introduction of cassette tape technology.[132] They were primarily concerned with reproducing (and in some cases, simplifying) musical material from the QHCF's pre-1946 recordings. Within a decade of Schnuckenack's first performance in Alsace, a repertoire combining MDZ and Django's music had become both an emblem of ethnic identity and a cultural practice among Alsatian Manouches. Over time, musicians' grounding in their own traditional (so-called "Hungarian") music and their affinity with MDZ would give way to a much stronger emphasis on QHCF-style jazz, though the significance of MDZ currently persists among (mostly older-generation) Alsatian Manouches.

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contact with other musicians who were familiar with it, as well as through Reinhardt's recordings. See Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission."

129. Mandino Reinhardt, interview with the author, April 15, 2014: "Quand j'ai eu quinze [ans], quand au sein du quartier où on vivait . . . un jour, [avec l'aumônier] Marcel Daval sont venus les fils de Piton Reinhardt, qui était le cousin de Django, et qui ont joué merveilleusement bien, et tout de suite j'ai décidé de vouloir faire ça."

130. Ibid.: "C'est donc grâce à lui que beaucoup de gens jouent aujourd'hui cette musique. . . . Grace à Schnuckenack, on rencontre *réellement* Django, dans sa musique, et on se dit: 'Quel génie!'"

131. Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission," 415: "'Nous avons une musique à nous!'"

132. See ibid. Cassette technology also allowed musicians to produce and circulate their own recordings, further enhancing familial transmission.

APPONA's cultural activism

By the time Alsatian Manouches began performing jazz on the MDZ model, an international pan-Romani rights movement had taken shape, the first Romani World Congress taking place in London in 1971.[133] In France, although very few Manouches participated in this nationalist movement, local and regional associations formed around the same time to address the needs of Romani populations facing poverty and racial discrimination.[134] Also around this time, French nonprofit organizations and pro-Romani publications began to promote jazz as a distinctive Romani performance genre, in addition to other more traditionally recognized Romani musics. Journals such as *Monde gitan* (published quarterly by the Association Notre-Dame des Gitans, a Catholic organization) and *Études tsiganes* (an academic and activist journal now edited by the nonprofit Fédération nationale des associations solidaires d'action avec les Tsiganes et les Gens du voyage) printed reviews of French and German Sinti jazz musicians alongside scholarly and advocacy-oriented articles about French Romanies. Maeker's 1969 promotional article for MDZ, which communicated his activist aims in West Germany to a French audience, as well as synopses of Jalard's writings that linked Django's music to French Manouche communities, were among these.[135]

One nonprofit organization, the Association pour la promotion des populations d'origine nomade d'Alsace, or APPONA, as it was usually called, was a particularly decisive force in the development of *jazz manouche* in Alsace and beyond.[136] Run mainly by Gadjé but with a limited degree of

133. The Comité mondiale gitane had been established in 1959 in Paris to aid and unite Romani immigrants primarily from Yugoslavia, though some Manouches and members of other Romani subgroups also participated. After its disbandment by the police in 1965 (apparently in part because its leader was issuing Romani "passports"), it regrouped as the Comité internationale tsigane and became closely linked to the Romani Evangelical movement that had gained momentum in France. At the Romani World Congress in 1971, the Comité internationale tsigane was redesignated the Comité internationale rom. See Liégeois, "Naissance du pouvoir tsigane," 300–303.

134. See "Les associations membres par région," FNASAT Gens du voyage, accessed November 24, 2018, http://www.fnasat.asso.fr/carteasso.html.

135. They key aim of *Monde gitan*, published from 1967 to 1992, was "to create a movement of sympathy in favor of Voyagers, principally among Catholics. . . . Its great wish is . . . to collaborate with all those who want the best for dear Gypsies": Collin, "Église et monde gitan," 2 ("le but premier est de créer un courant de sympathie en faveur des Voyageurs, principalement parmi les catholiques. . . . Son grand désir est . . . de collaborer avec tous ceux qui veulent le bien des chers Gitans").

136. The term "d'origine nomade," "of nomadic origin," reflected the fact that many of the organization's constituents were sedentary, and more significantly, fell under the governmental designation of a crypto-racial category. "Nomadic origin," framed as hereditary, meant Romani, and the vast majority of APPONA's constituents identified as Manouche or as belonging to another Romani subgroup.

Manouche leadership, APPONA was founded in 1974 following a spate of discriminatory actions, some violent, against several Alsatian Manouche communities. Until its closure in 2002, APPONA undertook a variety of projects aimed at countering anti-Manouche racism and improving the lives of Manouches in Alsace. In addition to facilitating access to adequate housing, education, healthcare, and employment for Manouches, APPONA sought to enhance public opinion of and engagement with Manouches by promoting Manouche arts.[137] Music, in particular, was seen as a way of bolstering Manouche self-confidence, building relationships with non-Manouches, mitigating what APPONA called the "ethnocide" of Manouche culture, and developing an economic niche for Manouche performers.[138] APPONA organized concerts, festivals, recording projects, and professionalization programs, and even founded its own music school with Mandino Reinhardt as the longtime principal instructor. According to Andresz, APPONA founders were inspired by "the spirit of May '68" and realized that "social action and music could be complementary."[139]

The earliest documented cultural promotion project to be spearheaded by APPONA was the tour of a *roulotte* over two weeks in August 1974. The tour, called "Le Voyage en Roulotte," took five young Manouche musicians and three chaperones through a handful of Alsatian villages to perform their music in the hopes of generating intercultural dialogue. The culminating performance took place in the Polygone, the Romani-dominated neighborhood of the low-income, ethnically diverse suburb of Neuhof on the southern edge of Strasbourg. Following the tour, APPONA president and founding member Marcel Daval wrote, "Alsace, which has demonstrated time and again a veritable racism toward [Manouches], showed this time that it also had a heart sensitive to their music and their issues. Racism often results from ignorance of the other; this is why it is preferable to show Gadjé the other side of the Gypsy world, before hostilities are unleashed."[140] Another such early endeavor aimed explicitly at Gadjé was the "Tsigane Cultural Week" in 1977, featuring musical performances, film screenings, art exhibitions, and a conference intended to "overcome prejudices" against Manouches. As one Manouche participant explained, "We are proud of our race and would like to

137. APPONA benefitted in some ways from gradual increases in governmental funding for cultural programming between the 1970s and the early 2000s; see Pflieger, "Financing the Arts in France," 5–6.

138. See APPONA, "Essai pour la revalorisation," 140.

139. Andresz, "La musique des Manouches sinti alsaciens," 138: "L'esprit de Mai 68 . . . l'action sociale et la musique peuvent être complémentaires."

140. Daval, "Un voyage en roulotte," 14: "L'Alsace, qui a fait preuve à plusieurs reprises d'un véritable racisme à leur égard, a montré cette fois qu'elle avait aussi un cœur sensible à leur musique et à leurs questions. Le racisme résulte souvent d'une méconnaissance de l'autre; c'est pourquoi il est préférable de montrer aux gadjé l'autre face du monde gitan, avant que ne se déchaînent les agressivités."

make others understand this sentiment."[141] Projects like these sought to mitigate anti-Manouche racism both by emphasizing the common humanity of Manouches and Gadjé *and* by glorifying Manouche difference as expressed through music. Celebrating Manouches for their Otherness was, unparadoxically, a way of productively folding them into majority society: cultural differentiation, as a marketable asset, could become a resource for economic incorporation.

Other archival materials further demonstrate that APPONA sought to define Manouche ethnorace in opposition to a normative and unmarked Gadjo population.[142] APPONA literature frequently makes reference to a Manouche or Tsigane "world," implicitly characterized as self-contained and alien to Gadjé, existing in or alongside but not of the Gadjo "world." APPONA's vision was to "integrate" Manouches into majority society in a way that protected certain cultural specificities that the organization deemed worthy of "saving"—namely, expressive practices, language, methods of generating income, and mobile residences. This integration, in turn, would require change within the majority society such that these cultural specificities would be accepted as constituting part of—not contradictions to—the diverse social fabric of Alsace and of France more broadly.

Musical performance was considered an ideal means of achieving integration in these respects. On the one hand, it was a form of skilled labor that, with proper guidance and cultivation, could generate sustainable income and renew a sense of self-sufficiency among Manouches. On the other, it was deemed a universal language, one that would facilitate widespread acceptance of Manouche people into local communities. For these reasons, APPONA privileged music over other Manouche cultural forms in the fight against ethnocide, as captured in a project proposal in 1997:

> The only language that [Tsiganes] have through which to express who they are, to say that they exist, is music. Over the centuries it has been their only means of being recognized, the only means by which all Tsiganes recognize each other. Contrary to what people habitually think, Tsigane society is heterogeneous, there are the same sociological strata as in all societies, poor, middle-class, comfortable, rich. But all, whether sedentary or itinerant, find and recognize themselves in music. During a concert or a festival, when the Tsigane orchestra is on stage, it is the entire Tsigane people that is on stage.[143]

141. "Musique, films et artisanat pour faire connaître la culture tzigane," *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, April 22, 1977: "vaincre les préjugés"; "Nous sommes fiers de notre race et nous voulons faire comprendre ce sentiment."

142. The APPONA archives I consulted include a private collection owned by APPONA's former secretary Stella Funaro, as well as a large collection available at the Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg and donated by former APPONA president Jacques Provôt.

143. Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, 168 Z, "Insertion par le travail: formation pour bénéficiaires du RMI pratiquant un instrument de musique, stage également ouvert aux non bénéficiaires du RMI" (undated), 2: "le seul langage qu'ils ont pour

By unambiguously using musical performance in the service of nonmusical activist objectives, APPONA rendered music "expedient," in the words of language scholar George Yúdice—"a resource for both sociopolitical and economic amelioration."[144]

Music was also regarded as the natural expression of an inalienable Romani essence. In 1978, APPONA member Georges Kautzmann wrote in APPONA promotional materials that Romani music was "free language or the shout of the socialized man" and "more instinctive than interiorized, more natural than civilized."[145] That same year, an anonymous author wrote in the regional newspaper *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, "Music gives rhythm to the journey of the Gypsy people across its history, as if it were the heart of it."[146] Throughout APPONA's documentation, music—and in particular Romani music—is described as an affective link between the lived present moment and a past otherwise lost to history. The parallels between cultural purity, nature, travel, memory, and music are drawn and redrawn with varying degrees of essentialization. According to this discourse, Manouches are closer to nature than Gadjé and their culture is defined by freedom (both in terms of literal, physical mobility and in more figurative, spiritual terms). In an echo of Jalard's and others' descriptions of Reinhardt and his milieu from the 1950s, these Manouche qualities are presented as finding their purest, most potent manifestation through music. Through its emphasis on the centrality of music to Romani cultural identity, APPONA attempted to override negative stereotypes with another essentializing cultural discourse. Not only was culturally specific music considered a practice worth salvaging for the benefit of all, Manouche or Gadjo. The survival of Manouche culture itself, defined largely by collective musical aptitude and interest, was predicated upon the recognition and continuation of musical performance.

APPONA also promoted music as a vital, structuring element of contemporary Manouche life and culture and as a meaningful practice aside from

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exprimer ce qu'ils sont, pour dire qu'ils existent, c'est la musique. Elle a été durant des siècles leur seul moyen pour être reconnu, le seul dans lequel tous les Tziganes se reconnaissent. La société tzigane contrairement à ce que l'on pense habituellement est une société hétérogène, il y a les mêmes strates sociologiques que dans toutes sociétés, pauvres, classes moyennes, aisées, riches. Mais tous, sédentaires ou voyageurs, se retrouvent et se reconnaissent dans la musique. Lors d'un concert, d'un festival, l'orchestre tzigane qui est sur scène, c'est tout le peuple tzigane qui est sur scène."

144. Yúdice, *Expediency of Culture*, 9. Yúdice claims that when culture is used in the service of sociopolitical interests, "the content of culture recedes in importance as the *usefulness of the claim to difference* as a warrant gains legitimacy" (23, Yúdice's emphasis).

145. Kautzmann, "Musique" (private APPONA archive): "langage libre ou le cri de l'homme socialisé"; "plus instinctive qu'intériorisée, plus nature que civilisée."

146. "Concert pour une symphonie tzigane," *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, May 23, 1978: "La musique rythme, comme si elle en était le cœur, la marche du peuple gitan à travers son histoire."

any expediency it may have offered. In the above-cited newspaper article of 1978, Mandino Reinhardt is quoted as saying, "The music we feel, it's our entire life, and we express our life through music in celebration. Django Reinhardt gave us a lot in allowing us to express our freedom."[147] According to Mandino, jazz inspired by Django is the ultimate means through which to "express" a great deal about a shared Manouche identity. He reiterated this sentiment to me in an interview of 2014, saying that Manouches "feel the [cultural] root through the music of Django. It's primarily for that that we play."[148] The music school he led was a principal way of ensuring intra-community social cohesion—a necessary precondition for outward-facing cultural activism, and an objective in itself—as he told me: "The first step . . . the first concern for APPONA, was to reintegrate music into Manouche families. First, the familial recognition of this music, its belonging. And then sharing it, opening it up to the outside world, of course."[149]

While APPONA initially promoted other musics performed by Manouches, jazz eventually became the preeminent genre. Concert and festival programs from the late 1970s and 1980s advertised performances by local Manouche musicians of "traditional Tzigane music" as well as "jazz," and sometimes both within the same ensembles. Texts such as the following in APPONA brochures of the 1970s and 1980s presented jazz as a music inherently appropriate to Manouches:

> Django Reinhardt, the founder of the [Quintette du] Hot Club de France, the leader of French jazz, a Tsigane, a Sinto, like them. [The Manouches] had learned his tunes and played them trembling, so powerfully did they tell of the life of their people, their freedom. Jazz had its roots in Negro spirituals, prayer, the shout of black slaves in America. Django had also unleashed his own shout, around the 1930s, unsettling traditional Tsigane music, renewing the language of his ancestors, recounting in his own way the long tragedy of his people across history.[150]

147. Ibid.: "La musique que nous ressentons c'est toute notre vie et notre vie nous l'exprimons par la musique dans la fête. Django Reinhardt nous a beaucoup apporté en nous permettant d'exprimer notre liberté."

148. Mandino Reinhardt, interview: "on sent la racine à travers la musique de Django. C'est d'abord pour ça qu'on joue."

149. Ibid.: "le premier démarche . . . le premier souci pour l'association APPONA, c'était de réintégrer la musique dans les familles manouches. D'abord, la reconnaissance familiale de cette chose qui est la musique, l'appartenance. Et après le partager, après l'ouverture, évidemment."

150. Marcel Daval, "Musique," in "En Alsace avec les Tsiganes," a supplement to *Uss'm Follik*, no. 152 (June 1982): [6]: "Django Reinhardt, le fondateur du Hot-Club de France, le chef de file du jazz français, un Tsigane, un sinto [*sic*], comme eux. Ils avaient appris ses morceaux et ils les jouaient en tremblant, tellement ils disaient la vie de leur peuple, leur liberté. Le jazz plongeait ses racines dans les negro spirituals, la prière, le cri des esclaves noirs d'Amérique. Django avait lancé son cri lui aussi, autour des années 1930, bousculant la musique tsigane traditionnelle, renouvelant le langage de ses ancêtres, redisant à sa manière la longue tragédie de

It was (and is) not uncommon for some to draw parallels between the Manouche experience in France and the African American experience in the United States, however dissimilar they have been, and to portray jazz as the natural, historically rooted musical expression of both oppressed racial groups.[151] Problematic as these comparisons certainly are, APPONA leaders saw them as a means of articulating the importance of music for Manouches in the struggle for social change.

In a coauthored article of 1989, longtime APPONA employees Marcel Daval and Pierre Hauger list a number of musical genres that the Manouches they worked with "like[d] to listen to and play" in the mid-1980s, including "traditional music for violin of Hungarian inspiration (*csárdás*) or, more generally, Balkan," "waltzes," "classic jazz: swing, middle-jazz, up to certain aspects of bebop and 'cool' style," and "classic Brazilian bossa nova," among others.[152] The authors note that by time of their article's publication, the number and proportion of performing ensembles devoted to jazz had increased conspicuously: "[In 1966,] five out of the nine [Alsatian Manouche] ensembles . . . played mostly variety music. . . . By contrast, all [seventeen] current ensembles practice jazz, only three of them incorporating Hungarian-inspired music, and only one variety music."[153]

By the 1980s, jazz had also become the music that families transmitted to their children. Manouche guitarists Gigi Loeffler and Billy Weiss once told me that, growing up in the 1980s and 1990s, they listened to Django's recordings with awe. When they heard their family members playing similar music, they realized, "Wow, we can do this, too!"[154] For them, Django's music was not confined to mythical recordings, but was something children

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son peuple à travers l'histoire." Django was not actually "the founder" of the QHCF but its most famous member.

151. *Jazz manouche* has sometimes been referred to as the Manouche "blues." For further comparisons with African American musical practices and notions of expressivity, see Lefort, "Le jazz des Tsiganes," 114–16; Reinhardt and Maestracci, "Au nom du fils," 38; and Jalard, "Django et l'école tsigane du jazz," 55–57.

152. Daval and Hauger, "La singularité," 480–81: "ceux-ci aiment à écouter et à jouer"; "la musique traditionnelle pour violon d'inspiration hongroise (les csardas) ou, plus largement balkanique"; "la valse"; "le jazz classique: swing, middle-jazz, jusqu'à certains aspects du be-bop et du style 'cool,'"; "la bossa-nova brésilienne classique." The authors do not distinguish which genres Manouches practiced and which they simply listened to. According to those of my interlocutors who can recall this era, these genres spanned both listening and performing practices to some extent. The authors do note that by 1989, the "nodal point" of Manouche performance practice was "the repertoire of Django Reinhardt" ("point nodal," "le répertoire de Django Reinhardt," 478). "Middle-jazz" is a French synonym for swing-era jazz.

153. Ibid., 484: "5 des 9 formations . . . jouaient surtout de la variété. . . . Au contraire, toutes les formations actuelles pratiquent le jazz, 3 d'entre elles seulement y mêlant la musique d'inspiration hongroise, et 1 seule de la variété." "Variété" here most likely means light music of the sort performed by pops orchestras, as well as mid-century French chansons.

154. Gigi Loeffler and Billy Weiss, conversation with the author, October 24, 2013: "alors, on peut le faire aussi!"

could actively participate in. The immersive, community aspect of musical transmission among Manouches was an important factor in the younger generation's adoption of jazz. Daval and Hauger write that in the 1980s, the musical practices of typical Gadjo children were "less skillful and rich in potential developments than the jazz on which young Manouches cut their teeth."[155] In part, the recognition of this distinction between the musical practices of Manouches and Gadjé, and of Manouche processes of musical transmission, allowed Manouche communities to build reputations as notable jazz musicians.

This shift toward jazz reflected developments in the actual musical practices of Alsatian Manouches, who had already come to regard Django Reinhardt as a cultural hero and considered their performance of his music to be an important homage. These practices, in turn, were shaped by APPONA's encouragement of QHCF-inspired jazz as the most prestigious ethnoracially specific—and most commercially viable—Alsatian Manouche music.[156] Daval and Hauger write that there was a stronger demand among more affluent Gadjo audiences for jazz than for other musics played by Manouches, a demand to which Manouche ensembles adapted.[157] Developing the marketability of this music was a chief concern for APPONA, even around the inception of its music school in 1978. Mandino Reinhardt's oral method of instruction was hailed as traditionally Manouche and the "authentic" way to learn jazz, an advantage that Manouches held over Gadjé. Other APPONA members attempted to teach students extramusical skills such as advertising and time management. Through initiatives aimed at professionalization, guided by a neoliberal ethos of entrepreneurialism and self-sufficiency, students would learn to become good performers and to build sustainable careers as musicians.[158]

One of APPONA's "success stories" is Francky Reinhardt, a Manouche guitarist who currently leads the *jazz manouche* ensemble Di Mauro Swing. In an interview with me, Francky stated that he had enrolled in the school at

155. Daval and Hauger, "La singularité," 479: "moins savant et riche de développements ultérieurs, que le jazz sur lequel les jeunes Manouches font leurs premières armes."

156. APPONA also frequently included Romani groups of non-French origin in their concert and festival programming. Performances by foreign Romani groups such as Ando Drom suggested that APPONA sought to cultivate a pan-Romani ethnoracial identity.

157. Daval and Hauger, "La singularité," 483–84. Andresz notes that prior to Alsatian Manouches' adoption of jazz, their Gadjo audiences were primarily working-class, but that jazz ushered in for them a more "economically comfortable" clientele: Andresz, "La musique des Manouches sinti alsaciens," 141 ("auditeurs économiquement plus aisés").

158. In 1992, APPONA established a subsidiary organization, the Ateliers manouches d'Alsace (ATEMA), whose mission was to encourage Manouche entrepreneurship. In the late 1990s, ATEMA began to take over some music production activities from APPONA, including artist management and album production. ATEMA released CDs by *jazz manouche* artists Note Manouche (*Note Manouche*) and Tchavolo Schmitt (*Miri familia*), and coproduced an album by Dino Mehrstein with Djaz Records (*Point de départ*).

age eleven as part of its first cohort, beginning with instruction on rhythm guitar. Early on in his instruction, he still "followed the traditional thing more."[159] When I asked him what he meant by "traditional," he responded, "Everything that's violin. In the old days, we listened to a lot of *csárdás.* Especially at birthday parties, you saw that, too. We played live, without microphones."[160] Mandino Reinhardt introduced students to Django compositions such as "Minor Swing," which Francky enjoyed upon first hearing; he told me, "I still play it now, because I adore it," and that "[we students] learned slowly, but well."[161] After a few years of studying Django's music with Mandino, and after the gradual adoption of jazz by his own community as well as the rise in popularity of QHCF-style jazz among paying audiences, Francky dedicated the rest of his professional career to what he called throughout our interview "jazz manouche."

The text of a mid-1980s promotional flyer for Francky's ensemble at that time, Le Quartet Reinhardt, reflects this reorientation toward jazz:

> Outside the bounds of formal musical institutions, and under the legendary auspices of Django Reinhardt, Manouches continue to teach each other and to bring their music to life. The Quartet Reinhardt is part of this new generation of guitarists for whom swing and the sense of improvisation are like a native tongue. What they propose to us is a musical itinerary: first, that of the Hot Club of the 1930s, where swing and Parisian popular music took root together, but also an original, unprecedented approach to more recent and diverse musical universes (bossa nova, bebop), as well as remarkable personal compositions.[162]

By referring to "swing and the sense of improvisation" as "a native tongue," the text naturalizes jazz as a long-standing Manouche performance practice. While the advertisement focuses on the influence of Django on a "new generation of guitarists," its reference to other "musical universes," and to the versatility of these musicians, points to the parameters of a nascent genre. Bossa nova developed after Django's death and, together with several other

159. Francky Reinhardt, interview with the author, July 12, 2014: "Je suivais plutôt après le traditionnel."

160. Ibid.: "Tout ce qui est violon. Dans le temps, on écoutait beaucoup les csardas. Donc, surtout dans les anniversaires, on voyait ça aussi. On jouait ça en live, sans micro."

161. Ibid.: "Encore maintenant je le joue, parce que je l'adore. On apprenait doucement, mais bien."

162. Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, 168 Z, "Le Quartet Reinhardt" (undated): "En marge des écoles, et sous l'égide légendaire de Django Reinhardt, les Manouches continuent de s'enseigner mutuellement et de faire vivre leur musique. Le Quartet Reinhardt fait partie de cette nouvelle génération de guitaristes, pour qui le Swing et le sense de l'improvisation sont comme une langue maternelle. Ce qu'ils nous proposent, c'est un itinéraire musical: celui du Hot Club des années 30, d'abord, où le Swing et la musique populaire parisienne prenaient racine ensemble, mais aussi une approche originale et sans à priori [*sic*] d'univers musicaux plus divers et récents (bossa nova, be-bop), ainsi que de remarquables compositions personnelles."

styles not represented in his recorded work, became incorporated into *jazz manouche* as it was later conceived.[163]

A trio version of Francky's ensemble features together with two other ensembles that grew out of the music school in a 1987 APPONA project proposal concerning performances at a Romani music festival in Hungary.[164] The authors of the proposal write that while it may seem "problematic" to include jazz musicians at such a festival, this is "justified" if one recognizes that these musicians "best illustrate the current state of the most authentic Manouche musical tradition."[165] They state that *jazz manouche* "has well and truly become a distinctive genre: for any attentive listener . . . *jazz manouche* is not the jazz of European or American Whites, and its particularities tend to bring it closer to other Tsigane musics."[166] The authors argue that, if what matters in the definition of a traditional Romani music is not so much its content as its approach, and if Romani music is characterized by a history of borrowing, *jazz manouche* must in itself constitute a Manouche tradition. Furthermore, "simply because it fulfills the necessary function of a traditional mode of transmission and musical practice"—oral, immersive, community-based learning—"'jazz manouche' . . . should be considered traditional."[167]

It is especially remarkable that this 1987 proposal offers the first evidence in APPONA's archives of the use of "jazz manouche" to refer to a singular genre. By the early 1990s, the term "jazz manouche" had begun to appear frequently in APPONA's promotional materials and in press about the organization, the majority of local Manouche musicians being categorized under this heading.[168] APPONA documentation from the 1990s through its official closure in 2002 indicates that not only was "jazz manouche" used to classify what its musicians were performing at the time; it also retrospectively described the QHCF-inspired jazz that they had been performing since the 1970s. Although APPONA was probably not the first to use "jazz manouche" in reference to a specific genre, the term helped APPONA to

163. Standards of the contemporary *jazz manouche* repertoire include "Blue bossa," "Mañha de carnaval," and "Bossa Dorado." The other styles include, to a greater or lesser extent (depending on the musicians in question), waltzes, *csárdás*, and songs in Romani.

164. The intended recipient of the proposal is unclear, but it was likely meant for French funding agencies and possibly the organizers of the Hungarian festival.

165. Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, 168 Z, "Traditions manouches d'aujourd'hui: une présentation de l'APPONA aux rencontres internationales de folklore tsigane" (1987), 2–3: "problématique"; "justifiée"; "illustrent au mieux l'état actuel de la plus authentique tradition musicale manouche."

166. Ibid., 4: "il est bel et bien devenu un genre distinctif: pour tout auditeur attentif . . . le jazz manouche n'est pas le jazz des Blancs européens ou américains, et ses particularités tendent d'ailleurs à le rapprocher des autres musiques tsiganes."

167. Ibid.: "tout simplement parce qu'il remplit la fonction nécessaire à un mode traditionnel de transmission et de pratique de la musique"; "'jazz manouche' . . . est à considérer comme traditionnel."

168. *Jazz manouche* was also referred to in the press and promotional materials as "swing manouche" and "jazz tzigane."

crystallize the Manouche musical brand it had been developing since the organization's establishment.

Andresz writes that with regard to the material concerns of Alsatian Manouches, "of course, [APPONA] was not the universal panacea. At certain times, Sinti had the impression that their free will had been confiscated by a[n institutional] structure."[169] Regardless of whether the public legitimization of Manouche musical practices resulted in greater respect for Manouche cultural values, it helped to ensure a market for *jazz manouche* as performed by Manouches. Thanks largely to APPONA's educational and promotional efforts, Alsace remains one of the premier regions in France for Manouche-led *jazz manouche* production.[170] Even those Manouche musicians who did not train in APPONA's music school have benefitted indirectly from the reputation it established. After the dissolution of APPONA in 2002, the school found a home in the municipally run Espace culturel Django Reinhardt, opened in 2010 near Strasbourg's predominantly Manouche Polygone neighborhood.[171] Following Mandino Reinhardt's retirement from teaching in 2018, his nephew Dino Mehrstein took over as lead guitar teacher; Dino's brother Francko Mehrstein has been the rhythm guitar teacher there for several years. By training Manouche musicians and by serving as a recognized, legitimate mouthpiece, APPONA cultivated a generation of performers who would become public representatives of Manouche music and, by extension, of Manouche communities.

APPONA was not the only nonprofit organization to advocate for *jazz manouche* as a specifically Manouche practice. As part of his work as president of the Service d'accueil des Gens du voyage "Les Perrins," a government-funded agency that provides basic services for Gens du voyage in the Angers metropolitan area, Michel Lefort organized small-scale jazz events throughout the 1980s. Lefort expanded these concerts into the Festival Gipsy Swing, held almost annually from the mid-1990s until his retirement from social work in the mid-2010s.[172] Among other genres, this festival promoted *jazz manouche* musicians from Manouche backgrounds across France, including Alsace. Lefort wrote in 1991 of *jazz manouche* that "the public dimension of

169. Andresz, "La musique des Manouches sinti alsaciens," 140: "Bien entendu, cette association n'est pas la panacée universelle. À certains moments, les Sinti auront l'impression que leur libre arbitre est confisqué par une structure."

170. Lorraine, home to famed Manouche guitarist Dorado Schmitt and his family, is also an important region in this respect, and APPONA's music promotion efforts often involved these musicians.

171. The Espace culturel Django Reinhardt is currently one of Strasbourg's premier venues and schools for "world music," including *jazz manouche*. It is funded largely by the City of Strasbourg, maintains partnerships with a variety of local cultural organizations, and attracts audiences and students from various parts of the municipality who would not otherwise venture into the Neuhof suburb.

172. Michel Lefort, interview with the author, June 7, 2012.

this music—professionals, concerts, recordings—is but a glimmer illuminating access to a musical and human universe that vibrates and warms itself by the thousand fires of an indescribable expressivity."[173] Lefort acted simultaneously as Manouche-serving social worker, as author of numerous articles on Manouche jazz practices (cited several times above), and as *jazz manouche* festival promoter. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that *jazz manouche* emerged as a genre closely associated with Manouche communities and Manouche expressivity around the same time that he engaged publicly in all these activities at once.

In addition to Lefort's efforts, APPONA's embrace and promotion of *jazz manouche* solidified the role of this music as a signifier of Manouche identity, both for Manouches themselves and for the wider public. The adoption of *jazz manouche* by Alsatian Manouche communities thus has a much more complex history than one of direct transmission from Django Reinhardt to his extended Manouche family. Attention to the wider social context of genre formation elucidates the processes by which ethnoracial identity, and the symbols that represent it, come into being, especially as concerns the roles of ethnoracial outsiders. Gadjé such as Siegfried Maeker, Michel Lefort, numerous members of APPONA, critics, managers, audience members, and others were crucial forces in this respect. Gadjo authors have emphasized the importance of music, and specifically of *jazz manouche*, as a symbol of Manouche identity: Django Reinhardt is "at the same time unique and other, himself and his people";[174] "this invention [*jazz manouche*] reproduced more or less literally has become an emblem of identity for Manouches: the music that is their music."[175] In everyday discourse, these kinds of statements are often made under the assumption that ethnoracial "identity" is an *a priori* concern for those to whom it is ascribed.[176] A "concern for the affirmation of [Manouche] identity"[177] may have arisen partly from Manouches' own anxieties about the fate of their communities, but this was not a purely internal phenomenon. Gadjé shared and shaped an interest in defining Manouches as a distinctive group, manifested through the cultivation and promotion of particular Manouche musical practices as a form of cultural activism. The concern about "identity" was just as invented as the tradition of *jazz manouche* itself.

173. Lefort, "Le jazz des Tsiganes," 101: "La dimension publique de cette musique—professionnels, concerts, enregistrements—n'est que la lueur éclairant l'accès à un univers, musical et humain, qui vibre et se réchauffe aux mille feux d'une indicible expressivité."

174. Antonietto and Billard, *Django Reinhardt*, 15: "à la fois unique et autre, lui-même et son peuple."

175. Williams, "Un héritage sans transmission," 409: "cette invention répétée quasiment à la lettre est devenue un emblème identitaire pour les Manouches: la musique qui est leur musique."

176. See Poueyto, "Génocide et internement."

177. Daval and Hauger, "La singularité," 483: "un souci d'affirmation de son identité."

Marketing Difference

Thanks in part to promotional work by nonprofit organizations, and to the inclusion of Romani musics in a nascent French "world music" industry, the term "jazz manouche" started to gain traction in French media.[178] It began to appear in France's major newspapers in the 1970s,[179] and from the early 1980s through the 1990s, a number of artists, especially those of Manouche background, advertised their music as "manouche" and variations thereof. Examples include the albums *Manouche partie* by Jo Privat and Matelo Ferret, *Swing 93* by Gypsy Reunion, *Gypsy Music from Alsace* by Note Manouche, *Aimez-vous Brahms* by Les Manouches, and *Gypsy Guitars* by Ensemble la Roue Fleurie, among numerous others. Even so, occurrences of "jazz manouche" and its analogues (various combinations of "jazz"/"swing" and "manouche"/"gitan"/"tsigane") were rather infrequent in French music publicity and press before the early 2000s.

Around the turn of the millennium, *jazz manouche* quickly gained popularity with the French public as a genre in its own right. Michel Mercier, a guitarist who worked for over a decade at Universal Music France in Paris, explained the timeline of the genre's explosion to me:

> MM: [In the early 2000s,] there was no Gypsy jazz. You would go into the record shop, like FNAC, and there was one record by Moreno, two by Romane, one by Angelo [Debarre], and one by [the] Rosenberg Trio. It was really nothing. And over the years, you could really see the shelf expand. Now you have, I don't know, three hundred references.
>
> SL: And so back then, when it was still very small, where would you find these records, like in what categories?
>
> MM: You had to ask to the merchant. So it was sometimes in world music, sometimes in jazz. But now you have a dedicated shelf, "jazz manouche." . . . [From] five records to a hundred and fifty. It took five or six years.[180]

Other factors in the increase in popularity of *jazz manouche* included Woody Allen's film *Sweet and Lowdown* (released in the United States in 1999, and in France as *Accords et désaccords* in 2000), a fictional account of a swing-era

178. See Warne, "Impact of World Music."

179. See, for example, Francis Marmande, "Le troisième Carrefour mondial de la guitare en Martinique: des accords dans la nuit tropicale," *Le Monde*, December 26, 1978, http://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1978/12/26/le-troisieme-carrefour-mondial-de-la-guitare-en-martinique-des-accords-dans-la-nuit-tropicale_3131011_1819218.html.

180. Michel Mercier, interview with the author, December 17, 2013. This interview was conducted in English. Mercier would sometimes say "Gypsy jazz" rather than "jazz manouche." FNAC (Fédération nationale d'achats des cadres) is one of France's largest media and electronics retail chain stores.

guitarist who idolized Django. There was also the release of Tony Gatlif's film *Swing* in 2002, which stars Mandino Reinhardt and fellow Manouche guitarist Tchavolo Schmitt in the story of a young Gadjo who discovers the Manouche community of Strasbourg through musical encounters. In the early 2000s, the acclaimed Alsatian Manouche guitarist Biréli Lagrène, who began his career performing *jazz manouche* as a teenager in the late 1970s and quickly became internationally renowned across several genres, returned to his roots in Reinhardt's music and released the *Gypsy Project* and *Gipsy Project and Friends* albums.[181] Furthermore, the increased availability of recordings and information provided by improved Internet access bolstered interest in *jazz manouche*, especially among Gadjé, who learn it as amateurs and develop careers teaching and performing in the genre. Today, Mercier says, "in France, [*jazz manouche*] has a status. People know what *jazz manouche* [is]. Even if they don't like it, or they don't know it very well, they know. But ten years ago, they didn't know. It was only for, you know, aficionados."[182]

Various publicity materials from the 2000s attest to the popularity of *jazz manouche* as well as the polyvalence of the term. "Jazz manouche" is used to denote jazz performed in a QHCF style and as a synonym for Reinhardt's music itself. An undated promotional brochure produced by FNAC is titled "*Jazz manouche*: The Inheritors of Django" and lists twenty-five albums, including six reissues of Reinhardt recordings.[183] The rest of the albums listed, including the motion picture soundtrack to *Swing*, were released between the early 1980s and the early 2000s. This means that the brochure effectively categorizes four decades' worth of music—the aforementioned late twentieth-century period and Reinhardt's recordings from the mid-1930s to the early 1950s, thus spanning seven decades—as *jazz manouche*. The selection of albums is fairly representative of the most acclaimed *jazz manouche* stars of the 2000s, including Babik Reinhardt, Angelo Debarre, Mandino Reinhardt, Marcel Loeffler, Biréli Lagrène, Romane, Tchavolo Schmitt, Moreno, and Patrick Saussois, among others. A similarly broad assertion is made in the online publicity for the CD *Swing manouche: Anthologie 1933–2003*, which describes the release as representing "a panorama of all the Gypsy jazz recordings produced or rereleased by the La Lichère and Frémeaux & Associés labels between 1933 and 2003."[184] A review of the album published

181. Lagrène benefitted from APPONA's support early in his career, though his rapid rise to fame meant that he did not need to depend on it for long.

182. Mercier, interview. Mercier clarifies that although the genre is now widely known as "jazz manouche," "fifteen years ago, everybody was saying 'jazz gitan,' in magazines everywhere. So thanks to the trend, now people make the difference between Manouche and Gitan people."

183. "Jazz manouche: les héritiers de Django," personal copy.

184. Fremeaux.com, accessed March 15, 2017, https://fremeaux.com/index.php?option=com_virtuemart&page=shop.product_details&flypage=shop.flypage&product_id=503&Itemid

in the same place clarifies that the first disc of the collection spans the years 1933 to 1947, while the second begins in 1989 and "present[s] musics more or less influenced by Manouche music and sometimes very little by jazz," yet all such recordings are still grouped under the heading of "swing manouche."[185] By 2007, *jazz manouche* was so well established that it could be spoken of as a style to be "enriched" and "enlarged" upon, as on the web page for an album by the ensemble Gadjo Combo.[186]

As Mercier's account and these marketing materials suggest, the success of a *jazz manouche* industry correlated with the genre's increased recognition and consumption by a relatively wide audience. Keith Negus identifies this as a process in which "*an industry produces culture* and *culture produces an industry*."[187] Negus writes that although the recording industry does not monolithically determine popular musical tastes, the notion of industry producing culture captures "how the music industry shapes the possibilities for creative practice and how this intersects with broader historical, social and cultural processes."[188] Complementarily, he refers to culture producing an industry in order to describe how music production occurs "in relation to broader culture formations and practices that are within neither the control nor the understanding of the company."[189] As I have shown, *jazz manouche* was not simply a label invented by music industry representatives. It was an extant phenomenon that gained popularity in a national and international marketplace through a dialectic between industry and culture, one whose "possibilities for creative practice" have been shaped, though not determined, by its small- and large-scale commodification. The widespread recognition of *jazz manouche* is thus due in large part to capitalist demands on cultural production.[190]

Conclusions: Reckoning with Ethnorace

Although not all French Manouches perform or listen to *jazz manouche*, and although Manouche musical tastes are necessarily diverse and fluid, many Manouches (especially those in Alsace) consider *jazz manouche* the most

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=13: "un panorama de l'ensemble des enregistrements de jazz gitans [*sic*] produits ou réédités par les labels La Lichère et Frémeaux & Associés entre 1933 et 2003."

185. Ibid.: "présentent des musiques plus ou moins influencées par la musique manouche et parfois très peu par le jazz."

186. Fremeaux.com, accessed March 15, 2017, https://www.fremeaux.com/index.php?page=shop.product_details&category_id=64&flypage=shop.flypage&product_id=944&option=com_virtuemart&Itemid=0: "Une puissance novatrice de composition qui vient enrichir le style Jazz manouche et en élargir le répertoire."

187. Negus, *Music Genres*, 14 (Negus's emphasis).

188. Ibid., 29.

189. Ibid., 19.

190. See Taylor, "Fields, Genres, Brands."

representative music of their communities.[191] This remains the case despite a gradual decline in *jazz manouche* practice within Manouche communities across the nation. *Jazz manouche* is also an internationally recognized genre under various names: Gypsy jazz, *swing manouche*, *Zigeunerjazz*, and Sinti swing, among others. It is performed by amateurs and professionals all over the world, most of whom do *not* identify as Manouche. *Jazz manouche* ensembles have been founded on every inhabited continent; in the United States, there are "Hot Clubs" of myriad cities and regions. The genre's popularity peaked in 2010 with the celebration of what would have been Django Reinhardt's one hundredth birthday, complete with festivals, album releases, and other promotional events and campaigns that drew on his cultural cachet. Since 2010, the popularity of *jazz manouche* has subsided somewhat, though it remains a highly recognizable generic category in France. Today, "jazz manouche" is more likely to evoke a particular set of aesthetic elements than the Manouche communities associated with the term.

And yet, connections between the genre, its progenitor, and its namesake communities remain steadfast and simplified in French (and global) ethnoracial imaginaries. After Reinhardt's death, his ethnoracial background was transformed from a simple fact of his biography to a consequential personal trait, becoming ever more tightly bound to his musical aptitude and expressivity and leading some commentators to generalize about Manouche musicality more broadly. As Manouches began to perform music inspired by Reinhardt and the QHCF, associations between particular musical aesthetics and ethnoracial background were discursively naturalized, flattening out a history of musical transmission, concerted pro-Manouche advocacy, and marketing strategies into an essentialized continuity of inherited taste and talent. Ahistorical correlations between Reinhardt's music and its adoption as a Manouche practice became attractive both for Gadjo consumers of *jazz manouche* and for Manouche communities themselves.

Numerous Manouche musicians I have spoken with have expressed frustration that, despite their expertise in diverse musical styles, their ethnoracial identity is understood to determine their generic classification. Depending on whether a Manouche musician seeks to avoid or exploit ethnoracial stereotypes, these elisions can be a burden or a blessing. As accordionist Marcel Loeffler told me, "somehow, it's all the better for us [Manouches] that this word ["jazz manouche"] exists now,"[192] but many are ambivalent about describing themselves as "jazz manouche" performers. This hesitation (or even

191. Jean-Luc Poueyto has shown that Manouche communities in southwest France, while recognizing Django Reinhardt as a somewhat abstract emblem of their ethnoracial identity, never adopted *jazz manouche* as a community practice: Poueyto, "Loin de Django."

192. Loeffler, interview: "quelque part, c'est tant mieux pour nous que ce mot existe maintenant."

refusal) to embrace the "jazz manouche" label reflects an awareness that, despite the apparent financial and political benefits of autoexoticization, using music in the service of cultural activism and ethnoracial branding can ultimately constrain opportunities for those it is supposed to benefit.

This study highlights the need for scholars of music to examine how, why, and for whom particular musics are promoted as representative of marginalized populations. Discourses about ethnoracialized genres, including *jazz manouche*, often treat minorities as *a priori* groups, whether in everyday talk, artist publicity, or critical analyses. These discourses reveal, in Rogers Brubaker's words, a "tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis."[193] In particular, activist efforts to champion the dignity of ethnoracial minorities may do just as much to construct minority identities as they do to defend them. While this valorization may offer material and symbolic benefits to the minorities in question, it may also compromise possibilities for individual and communal self-determination. The success of Manouches in the music industry has often depended on their status *as* Manouches, whatever that might mean to a listening public. In light of such prospects and drawbacks, we must continue to ask who exactly benefits from cultural activist projects, and what the broader ramifications of these projects are for the constituencies they are intended to serve.

This outline of the ethnoracial history of *jazz manouche* has shown how the genre, as well as racial imaginaries about Manouches, have informed one another since Reinhardt's postwar fame. More broadly, I have shown how genre and ethnoracial identities develop in tandem: both arise as convenient categories into which messy, disjointed histories can be distilled. Though ethnoracial minorities are sometimes portrayed as timeless bearers of tradition, and even as modern-day "noble savages," the very parameters of any ethnoracial category have long been in flux according to an array of social, cultural, and economic forces. Retrospective appraisals of Reinhardt's music, and the production of music inspired by it, reflect a great deal about the way race and ethnicity have been and continue to be constituted in public spheres, pointing to the contingent and constructed nature of ethnorace globally. By closely looking at, and listening to, how these generic and ethnoracial categories take shape at particular points in time, we may better understand that—to recall this article's epigraph once again—they are "fictions" that "necessarily exist."

In closing, I would like to highlight another important link between the past and the present concerning French racial politics. Andy Fry writes that "mythologizing France as a land of equality rings hollow these days," and that "this vision not only proves hard to sustain, it may also have become politically irresponsible."[194] Through his critique of popular historiographies

193. Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, 8.
194. Fry, *Paris Blues*, 9.

of African American musics in France that perpetuate a myth of racial tolerance, Fry shows that "a paradoxical effect of cosmopolitanism and internationalism is the provincialism and prejudice they generate as counterforce: these phenomena must surely therefore be understood in both polarities in order to grasp their historical significance."[195]

Like African-descended performers, Manouche musicians have been celebrated in France for primitivistic reasons and for their creative artistic capacities. At the same time, they have been subjects of xenophobic discrimination. These seemingly contradictory positions are reconciled both through narratives of *jazz manouche* history and through the logics of ethnoracial commodification. Discourses about music, and about the bodies who produce it, offer a revelatory window onto these webs of ethnoracial ideologies, and the paradoxes thereof. The widespread appeal of ethnoracial exoticism indexes the fraught racial politics of contemporary France, which, as this article shows, has never been a purely black-and-white issue. In a nation in which color blindness is official policy and speaking about race is often equated with racist thinking, analyses of race and racialization become ever more crucial. Such analyses may also influence how race and ethnicity are heard, and constructed, well beyond the borders of a single nation—or a musical genre.

Appendix Glossary of Romani-related terms

The nomenclature used for Romani groups can vary widely according to national, linguistic, and other contexts. The following glossary clarifies my use of several terms that appear in this article.[196]

Gadjo (pl., Gadjé). The Romani term for a non-Romani.

Gitan. A French term used either to refer to a specific subgroup of southwestern French and Spanish Romanies or to designate all Romanies colloquially. In my translations, I preserve "Gitan" in the former case and use "Gypsy" in the latter.

Gypsy. A term used to designate Romanies, often with pejorative connotations. While some Romanies self-identify as "Gypsies," it is sometimes considered inappropriate for non-Romanies to use the term to refer to Romanies.

Manouches. A subgroup of Romanies who have resided primarily in France since at least the eighteenth century, who self-identify as such, and who may

195. Ibid., 10.

196. For more extensive definitions of these and other Romani-related terms, see "Council of Europe Descriptive Glossary of Terms Relating to Roma Issues," Council of Europe, May 18, 2012, https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680088eab.

speak, with varying degrees of fluency, the Manouche dialect of the Romani language. Manouches may also self-identify as Sinti, normally referring to themselves as "Manouche" in French-language contexts and as "Sinti" in Romani-language contexts.

Roma. A major branch of Romanies (see "Romanies" below).

Romanies. An ethnoracial group that traces its origins to northwest India and that resides primarily in Europe. I use "Romanies" as a plural noun instead of the more commonly used "Roma" partly to avoid confusion with the French term "Roms," which usually designates Romani people from eastern Europe. I also use "Romanies" as a way of including Sinti as belonging to the same broadly defined ethnoracial group, since Sinti often regard themselves as related to, but separate from, Roma.

Sinti. A western European Romani subgroup closely related to Manouches. Many Manouche groups (principally those in northern and eastern France, as well as Belgium) consider themselves synonymous with Sinti. Though most German and Dutch Sinti do not identify as Manouche, as the term is specific to Francophone populations, it is generally recognized that Sinti and Manouches belong to roughly the same ethnoracial group.

Tsigane. A French synonym for "Romani." While in English "Gypsy" is often considered a pejorative term and "Romani" and its variants are generally more respectful and accurate, "Tsigane" is not directly translatable into either of these terms.

Zigeuner. A German term for "Gypsy." Though it was once widely used among German speakers, it is now considered an inappropriate label for Roma and Sinti, largely on account of its associations with Nazi racial policy.

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Abstract

Based on the music of legendary guitarist Django Reinhardt, *jazz manouche* is a popular genre that emerged during the late twentieth century. This article examines the historical development of *jazz manouche* in relation to ideologies about ethnoracial identity in France. *Jazz manouche* is strongly associated with French Manouches, the subgroup of Romanies ("Gypsies") to which Reinhardt belonged. In the decades following Reinhardt's death in 1953, some Manouches adopted his music as a community practice. Simultaneously, critics, promoters, and activists extolled the putative ethnoracial character of this music, giving rise to the "jazz manouche" label as a cornerstone of both socially conscious and profit-generating strategies. Drawing on analysis of published criticism, archival research, and interviews, I argue that ethnoracial and generic categories can develop symbiotically, each informing and reflecting ideologies about cultural identity and its sonic expressions. *Jazz manouche* grew out of essentializing notions about Manouche identity, while Manouches have been racialized through reductive narratives about *jazz manouche*. In this case, an investigation of genre formation can inform understandings of ethnoracial identity and national belonging.

Keywords: France, *jazz manouche*, race, Django Reinhardt, Romani