

The Roma Theatre in Romania: Between Expression and Institutionalization

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Abstract: This article examines the relationship between Romanian state cultural policies and the emergence of a Roma theatrical movement over the past two decades. Although the recommendation to establish a State Roma Theatre appears recurrently in governmental strategies, institutionalization remains blocked, revealing the limits of the official discourse of inclusion. The study contextualizes this absence within the historical continuity of Roma marginalization, from slavery and eugenic racism to distorted representation in dominant culture. Drawing on conceptual frameworks proposed by Stuart Hall, theatre becomes a space of symbolic resistance, where memory, social justice, and the reconfiguration of collective identity are articulated through artistic expression. The analysis maps the main contemporary Roma theatrical initiatives, highlighting how they function as autonomous forms of knowledge production and challenges to cultural hegemony. In the absence of an institutional infrastructure, Roma theatre acquires political and epistemic value, proposing an alternative model of representation within the Romanian cultural sphere.

Keywords: Roma theatre, ethnic minority, self-representation, memory and identity

“In an act of imagination, not only of the future, but of solid foundation, I dream of a theatre of Roma solidarity and self-representation, a *magnifying mirror*-theatre in which cultural differences generate value, language is no barrier, and social injustice is cancelled. A theatre of education for solidarity and civic consciousness, a militant and socially engaged theatre, in which tradition and openness to the new coexist and restore confidence in the strength of this long-patient and sorely tested ethnic community.”¹ For the period 2022-2027, *the Romanian Government’s Strategy for the Inclusion of Romanian Citizens Belonging to the Roma Minority* reiterates, within the cultural component of the initiative, the recommendation to establish a Roma State Theatre. The measure aims to promote Roma culture as part of a broader

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¹ Giuvlipen, Alexandru Fifea, <https://giuvlipen.com/alexandru-fifea/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

institutional reconstruction of Roma identity, with the Ministry of Culture, the National Agency for Roma, the Department for Interethnic Relations, and Romano Kher – The National Centre for Roma Culture, responsible for implementation. The proposed approach calls for developing “a concept for a Roma State Theatre, subject to public debate and agreed upon by the responsible institutions”². The preparation of the governmental programme *The Decade of Roma Inclusion*³, implemented in Central and South-Eastern Europe, facilitated dialogue on cultural identity, encouraging the crystallization of a Roma theatrical movement in Romania. The idea of creating “a theatre of the Roma, in which both translations of plays from the universal canon and original works in the Romani language would be staged”⁴ was articulated as early as 2001, in the first strategy issued in the context of alignment with European directives. It has since been reaffirmed for over two decades across all subsequent iterations. The Ministry of Culture has stated that “it cannot provide financial support, but will grant the necessary methodological assistance for establishing the Roma State Theatre”⁵, and reported in 2024 that “no progress has been recorded”⁶. The logic behind public resource allocation must be understood in relation to the dominant ideology and the various forms of social engineering that derive from it. In a multicultural society where the history of ethnic minorities is not fully integrated into national history, institutional agendas tend to favour the majority culture, thereby restricting the space for minority cultural expression and the possibilities for intercultural dialogue. Building on Stuart Hall’s perspectives on the relationship among power, culture, and identity⁷, we aim to identify the social mechanisms that have produced this status quo and examine how systemic exclusion

² Official Gazette of Romania, *The Romanian Government’s Strategy for Inclusion of Romanian Citizens Belonging to the Roma Minority for the Period 2022-2027*, p. 72, <http://www.anr.gov.ro/images/2022/Monitorul-Oficial-Partea-I-nr.-450Bis.pdf>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

³ Government of Romania, National Agency for the Roma, *The Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015*, [http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/rapoarte/Raport_un_an_de_Presedentie-deceniu%20\(ro\).pdf](http://www.anr.gov.ro/docs/rapoarte/Raport_un_an_de_Presedentie-deceniu%20(ro).pdf), accessed on 10.11.2025.

⁴ Official Gazette of Romania, *The Romanian Government’s Strategy for Improving the Situation of Roma (2001)*, <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliuDocumentAfis/52418>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

⁵ ANR, *SNIR ANNUAL REPORT 2022-2027, Evaluation period: May 2022 - April 2023*, p. 43, <https://cancelarie.gov.ro/strategia-nationala-de-incluziune-a-romilor/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

⁶ ANR, *SNIR ANNUAL REPORT 2022-2027, Evaluation period: May 2023 - April 2024*, p. 38, <https://sgg.gov.ro/1/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/RAPORT.pdf>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

⁷ See Stuart Hall, *Cultural studies 1983. A Theoretical History*, ed. Jennifer Daryl Slack and Lawrence Grossberg, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2016.

becomes a form of resistance in the process of articulating Roma identity through theatre.

Hall argues that cultural identities are not fixed but constantly defined through opposition within power relations: “Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, of discourse, we need to understand them as produced in a specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of the difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity, an ‘identity’ in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation)”⁸. Roma actress Mihaela Drăgan, founder of Romania’s first independent Roma feminist theatre company *Giuvlipen* (from Romani: Feminism), was part of the lobbying group advocating for institutionalization. Examining how State Theatres were established for other national ethnic minorities (Hungarian, Jewish, German), she and director Mihai Lukács noted that the alleged lack of a Romani theatrical tradition served as a justification for postponing the implementation of the strategic objective⁹. Such a tradition does exist, even if it does not follow the model of continuity and coherence expected in the evolution of modern theatre from popular theatrical forms. Recognizing this tradition would, however, require a deconstruction of nationalist discourse in order to incorporate the contributions that Roma have made to Romanian culture. Yet, as historian Marius Turda shows, Romanian culture has consistently avoided confronting the discriminatory beliefs and structures that shaped its development: “The argument that the concept of race played only a minor role in mobilizing and energizing Romanian nationalism in the modern period is deeply rooted in historiography. In many studies on the construction of Romanian identity from 1990s, (...) Romanian racism is not taken seriously, but rather described as an aberration or an imitation of fashionable currents of opinion in other countries. (...) It is accepted that Romanian political, cultural, and religious elites were antisemitic in the interwar periods and early 1940s, but not that their attitudes toward the Roma were motivated by racism and eugenics”¹⁰. Turda also notes the presence of radical views in the press and

⁸ Stuart Hall, Paul Du Gay (eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*, Sage Publications, 1996, p. 4.

⁹ Ionuț Dulămiță, *A Roma Theatre for Romania*, October 12th, 2017, Scena 9, <https://www.scena9.ro/article/un-teatru-rom-pentru-romania>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

¹⁰ Marius Turda, *În căutarea românului perfect: specific național, degenerare rasială și selecție socială în România modernă* (*In Search of the Perfect Romanian: National Character, Racial*

literature of the early twentieth century, such as those of professor and politician A. C. Cuza: “In 1905, Cuza published *Nationality in Art*, an article filled with antisemitic and racist reflections, later expanded into a book. In the preface to the third edition, Cuza defined the nation as *the totality of individuals of the same blood*. Each nation had its own biological structure shaped by centuries of shared existence, and its own form of artistic and cultural expression. True art, Cuza believed, *could exist only as national art*. Therefore, only those of the same *Romanian* blood could create a Romanian national culture”¹¹.

We do not know the exact period when Roma migration into Romanian territories occurred; historical records describe them as enslaved in the earliest surviving documents, from 1385¹² in Wallachia and 1428¹³ in Moldavia. For almost five centuries, denied legal status, they were bought, sold, and transferred as property, under the control of the church, princes, and boyars. Ioan Massoff, analysing the beginnings of Romanian theatre, identifies in the testimonies of foreign travelers the first performers of early court theatrical entertainment as Roma: “Eighteenth-century princes, especially when hosting foreign guests and wishing to impress them, organized theatrical spectacles within their palaces. (...) A lit candle was placed in a mound of flour in which coins were hidden; a Roma slave was instructed to extract the coins with his teeth. As his first impulse was to blow out the candle, the flour would ignite and burst into his face; sometimes soot was used instead of flour, to the great amusement of the boyars”¹⁴. Likewise, they are documented as puppeteers in Kogălniceanu’s notes: “(...) The Gypsies are also actors, especially in the winter holidays, when they roam the streets at night shouting *puppets, puppets!* If you call them into the house, you see two men carrying a lit theatre, eight feet long and three or four feet high; they place it on two chairs, and immediately the puppet appears onstage, playing the shepherd and then the sheep; then a Gipsy arrives with a bear, chased by Vasilachi, who courts two girls while his wife searches for him through all the neighbourhoods and taverns; then come the Turk and the Cossack, who quarrel; when the Russians were in the principalities, the Cossack would decapitate the Turk,

Degeneration and Social Selection in Modern Romania), trans. Marius-Adrian Hazaparu, Iași, Polirom, 2024, p. 12.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

¹² Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României (The Roma in Romanian History)*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1998, p. 21.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

¹⁴ Ioan Massoff, *Teatrul românesc. Privire istorică (The Romanian Theatre. A Historical Overview)*, Vol. I, Bucharest, Literature Publishing House, 1961, p. 55.

and when the Turks were in power, the Turk would kill the Cossack. Who knows who wins today? The Gypsy who plays the puppets speaks sometimes as the Turk, sometimes as the Cossack”¹⁵. I. C. Butnaru, analysing the impressions of a captain invited to a spectacle performed in honour of the engagement of Duca Vodă’s daughter in 1681, wonders: “No one preserved the name of the great artist and acrobat Hindiu-Harap. Was he an Indian, a Hindu, hired and brought from afar for the princely festivities, or simply a local Gypsy of unusual talent, strength, and skill?”¹⁶ Roma also appeared in rural Romanian rituals; as figures of social and symbolic alterity, Roma girls performed the Paparuda rain-invoking dances; for the pagan ritual of Brezaia, a demonic figure rejected by the church¹⁷, „young men would seek a Gypsy or a Hungarian to play the Brezaia, covering his body with a carpet down to the ankles, placing a long stork-like beak and horns on his head”¹⁸ etc. Aside from a few isolated references, Romanian culture does not account for the extent of this active Roma participation in performative or spectacular practices. Hall observes that “cultural power, in our society depends, in the first instance, on this drawing of the line, always, in each period in a different place, as to what is to be incorporated into *the great tradition* and what it is not. Educational and cultural institutions, along with the many positive things they do, also help to discipline and police this boundary”¹⁹. Thus, efforts to reclaim memory function as critical interventions that challenge the dominant cultural order and renegotiate mechanisms of selection and exclusion. As part of the research project on Roma slavery in Romania, initiated by the Foundation *Împreună* Agency for Community Development and the Romano Butiq Association supported by the Roma Initiative Office, Mihai Lukács analyses the role played by Roma slaves in the entertainment practices of the era, providing an important

¹⁵ M. Kogălniceanu, *Schiță despre Țigani (Notes on the Gypsies)*, trans. prof. Gh. Ghibănescu, Iași, Dacia Printing House, P. Iliescu & D. Grossu, 1900, p. 22.

¹⁶ I. C. Butnaru, *Călătorie în lumea circului: din istoricul circului din România, (Journey into the World of the Circus: From the History of the Romanian Circus)*, Bucharest, Meridiane, 1967, pp. 38-39.

¹⁷ Mirel Bănică, *Bafta, Devla și Haramul. Studii despre cultura și religia romilor (Studies on the Roma Culture and Religion)*, Iași, Polirom, 2019., Iași, Editura Polirom, 2019, pp. 93-94.

¹⁸ Tudor Pamfile, *Sărbătorile la români (Holidays in Romania)*, Bucharest, Saeculum I. O., 2006, p. 379.

¹⁹ Stuart Hall, *Essential Essays, Volume 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies*, (ed.) David Morley, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2019, p. 357.

contribution to acknowledging the Roma theatrical tradition²⁰. Lamenting the state of nineteenth-century Romanian literature, Vasile Alecsandri wrote to Ghica that, as a counterpart to *Tartuffe*, “the Romanian had incarnated the grotesque in the figure of “Vasilake The Gypsy”²¹; the observation confirms a representational mechanism through which national identity defines and legitimizes itself in opposition to marginalized elements. “Vasilache The Gypsy”, Lukács explains, “is the specific example of Romanian theatrical culture, a personification of the Roma slave jester who will only become Vasilache, losing his status of Roma slave, through a sudden Romanianization of the character, as Alecsandri explains in *Ion the Puppeteer*: Vasilache becomes a ‘citizen’, owner and ‘one of those new Romanians’, raising up his people”²². *He raises up his people* following the 1848 Revolution in Romania, when, under the influence of Western liberal ideas, the *Commission for the Emancipation of the Gypsies* was formed. The suppression of the revolution delayed the initiative until 1856, when *the Law on the Emancipation of All Gypsies in Wallachia* was passed; in late 1855, Moldavia had already passed *the Law for the Abolition of Slavery, the Regulation of Compensation and the Integration of the Emancipated into Taxation*²³. Kogălniceanu’s 1891 speech reflects the harsh reality of those centuries: “Even on the streets of Iași, in my youth, I saw human beings wearing chains on their hands or feet, some even iron horns attached to their foreheads and fastened around their necks. Cruel beatings, starvation and smoke punishments, confinement in private prisons, thrown naked into snow or frozen rivers, such was the fate of the unfortunate Gypsies! Then there was the disregard for the sanctity of family ties. Women taken from their husbands, girls stolen from their parents, children torn from their mothers’ arms, scattered and sold like cattle to different buyers in the four corners of Romania. Neither humanity, nor religion, nor civil law offered any protection to these wretched beings, it was a terrible, heaven-crying spectacle. Guided by the spirit of the age and the laws of humanity, a number of old and young boyars undertook to cleanse their homeland of the shame of slavery”²⁴. Slavery abolition did

²⁰ Mihai Lukács, *Roma Slave Jesters: The Origins of Theatre in Wallachia and and Moldavia*, în RomArchive, 2018, <https://www.romarchive.eu/en/theatre-and-drama/roma-slave-jesters/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

²¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Proză (Prose)*, Bucharest, Literature Publishing House, 1966, p. 526.

²² *Op. cit.*

²³ Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României (The Roma in Romanian History)*, Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1998, pp. 96-97.

²⁴ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *The Emancipation of the Gypsies, the Abolition of Boyar Privileges, the Emancipation of the Peasants*, Speech delivered on April 1st (13), 1891, at the solemn session of the

not bring effective measures for the socio-economic or cultural integration of Roma. They remained marginalized and vulnerable to nation-building ideologies that placed the Romanian peasant at the centre of society as the ideal model of the nation. Turda identifies the emergence of concerns about protecting the race in this period: “As Romanian medicine began to professionalize and institutionalize after 1880, inspired by French and German models, the first discussions appeared about the possible degeneration of the Romanian peasant. According to physicians, this resulted from natural factors, poor nutrition, inadequate hygiene, hereditary diseases, alcoholism, and from the presence of ethnic groups such as Jews and Roma, who either contributed directly to the economic ruin of the Romanian peasant through commercial activities (in the case of Jews), or caused a deterioration of the community’s biological and psychological capital through their infiltration into Romanian villages (in the case of Roma). It was necessary, they argued, to introduce preventive medical measures, public health policies, and eugenic ideas on the protection of the race”²⁵. This biopolitical reasoning persisted and evolved over subsequent decades, providing the ideological framework that enabled the deportation of tens of thousands of Roma to Transnistria during the Second World War. “The racist opinions expressed in Romania in the 1930s by some proponents of eugenics, though isolated, undoubtedly played a role in preparing policies toward Jews and Gypsies. (...) The political regime established under General Ion Antonescu and Romania’s ideological alignment with Hitler’s Germany transformed measures against minorities into state policy”²⁶, notes Achim. As with slavery, the Roma Holocaust is underrepresented in dominant historiography.

After more than half millennium of policies aimed at the acculturation of Roma people, the Romanian state is still unable to formulate or implement adequate reparative measures, not only discursively but also institutionally. Establishing a Roma State Theatre would constitute an act of responsibility and official recognition that the Roma minority belongs to Romanian society through its own ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity, not in spite of it.

Romanian Academy on the occasion of its 25th anniversary, <https://partidaromilor.ro/mihail-kogalniceanu-despre-dezrobirea-tiganilor/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

²⁵ Marius Turda, *În căutarea românului perfect: specific național, degenerare rasială și selecție socială în România modernă* (In Search of the Perfect Romanian: National Character, Racial Degeneration and Social Selection in Modern Romania), trans. Marius-Adrian Hazaparu, Iași, Polirom, 2024, p. 13.

²⁶ Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României* (*The Roma in Romanian History*), Bucharest, Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1998, pp. 136-137.

In contemporary theatre, artistic expressions of Roma consciousness reveal multiple nuances of resistance. Actor Sorin Aurel Sandu, a native speaker of the *Ursari* dialect and graduate in Standard Literary Romani, translated Caragiale's *A Stormy Night* into Romani under the title *Jekh răt lisiăme*. In 2022 he staged the premiere at Teatrul Mic in Bucharest, playing Chiriac and casting the other roles with young members of Rromani CRISS Organisation. Through the cultural company *Amphiteatrrom*, he produced and presented theatrical shows in the Romani language with Romanian surtitles²⁷. Looking back to eighteenth-century Transylvania, where Habsburg authorities implemented forced assimilation policies, banning Roma from speaking their language and punishing those who disobeyed with 24 rod blows²⁸, the translation and performance of a national classic in Romani becomes a remarkable act of intercultural dialogue, one that Roma themselves offer to society.

In 2015, Alexandru Fifea, Cătălin Rulea and David Schwartz presented the theatrical production *You haven't seen anything!*, developed following extensive research into the real case of Daniel-Gabriel Dumitrache, a young man beaten to death at Police Station No. 10 in Bucharest, in 2014. The performance examines institutional violence, racism, and the mechanisms of power that sustain them, proposing a critical reading of public discourse and of the social structures that make such crimes possible²⁹.

In 2017, actor and activist Andrei Șerban directed *Vi me sem rom!/I Myself am Roma!*, based on a text created together with Mădălina Brândușe, Alfredo Minea, Raj Alexandru Udrea, drawing from personal experiences. The performance explores identity and ethnic-assumption within the context of being or appearing to be Roma in Romania: "Being an invisible Roma, on the sense of colorism, since I am light-skinned, I was spared racism addressed directly to me. *Vi me sem rom!* is a manifesto urging invisible Roma to embrace their ethnicity and fight alongside those less privileged than themselves, but also a performance that aims to reveal the absurdity of racism"³⁰.

²⁷ Gheorghe Sarău, *Promotori ai limbii rromani în România: confesiuni și biografii (Promoters of the Romani Language in Romania)*, Bucharest, Sigma, 2020, pp. 184-187.

²⁸ Petre Petcuț, Delia Grigore, Mariana Sandu, *Istoria și tradițiile romilor (The History and Traditions of Roma)*, Bucharest, Ro Media, 2003, pp. 56-57.

²⁹ Arta politica, *You haven't seen anything!*, <https://artapolitica.ro/teatru/voi-n-ati-vazut-nimic/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

³⁰ Oana Stoica, „Theatre has become a form of activism for me” – interview with actor Andrei Șerban, *Dilema Veche*, no. 810, August 29 – September 4th, 2019, <https://dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/la-zi-in->

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Between 2017 and 2018, *Giuvlipen* launched the tour *Roma Theatre Is Not Nomadic!*, revisiting five of the company's productions curated into a manifesto-like declaration on the importance of a Roma State Theatre and on the recognition of Roma culture as a valuable part of the European culture. *Gadjo Dildo* is a cabaret-style show addressing the intersectionality of Roma and queer identity, offering a deconstruction of the exoticized image of the Romani woman that Tony Gatlif's film imprinted on popular culture; *Kali Traş/The dark fear* is a performance about the Roma Holocaust, inspired by the novel *Cu moartea-n ochi (Seeing the death)*, a biographical work by the Roma writer Valerică Stănescu. Following the story of a travelling Roma theatre company deported from Romania to Transnistria, director Mihai Lukács stages, through simple scenic means, the universe of Bug camps; an interpretation that reminds the audience through its final line, that *Oblivion is the greatest curse.; Who killed Szomna Granca?* – explores a real case, the suicide of a Roma teenager girl in Harghita, unfolding as an inquiry into the collective responsibility behind the tragedy. Racism, poverty, depression, the isolation of traditional Roma communities, and the way the press exploits suffering for sensationalism emerge as causes that incriminate an entire societal system³¹. *La harneală/Jokingly* – a story built around real-estate mafia networks and the forced evictions in the Rahova-Uranus district; *Del Duma/Tell them about me* confronts the issue of early marriages.

In 2019, *Giuvlipen* and *Andrei Mureşanu Theatre* in Sfântu Gheorghe, premiered the coproduction *Romacen – The Age of the Witch*, directed by Tina Turheim. This is a science-fiction story of six Techno-Witches, experts in technology and physics, who travel back in time to prevent the persecution and oppression of Roma, fight planetary destruction, and build a society in which peace and understanding prevail. The concept belongs to Mihaela Drăgan, part of the cast and also the playwright, who frames the performance within a new artistic current: *Roma Futurism*, of which she says: “It was born from reclaiming the figure of the Roma witch, frozen as a stereotype in the collective imagination, with witchcraft evolving as an artistic and political response to the injustices of the present in which we live³²”. The under two hours performance delivers lessons of Roma history, addresses stereotypes and offensive expressions with humour and self-irony, identifies and

cultura/arte-performative/teatrul-a-devenit-pentru-mine-o-forma-de-628280.html#google_vignette, accessed on 10.11.2025.

³¹ Giuvlipen, *Who killed Szomna Granca?*, <https://giuvlipen.com/szomna-granca/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

³² Giuvlipen, *Romacen*, <https://giuvlipen.com/en/romacen>, accesat în accessed on 10.11.2025.

denounces racist behaviours, curses oppressors (leaders and politicians, such as Adolf Hitler and General Antonescu to former Romanian president Traian Băsescu or former British Prime minister Boris Johnson), supports the idea of a matriarchal society and that of women's freedom of choice, and repeatedly poses, at key moments, the question: what would the present of Roma people look like if their past had been different? The possibility of travelling back in time and creating an alternative history, by saving the victims or punishing murderers by using magical forces, helps identify and disseminate trauma in a manner that gradually enables healing. Drăgan adapts and modernizes archaic incantations transforming them into dramatic text: "The idea that Roma might call upon supernatural forces, because they have no other power in the face of oppression, felt subversive to me"³³, she explains.

In 2021, the first International Roma Theatre Festival in Romania *KATHE, AKANA!// HERE, NOW!*, was organized under the artistic direction of Alexandru Fifea. By 2025, the festival had reached its fourth edition.

In 2022, the *I.L. Caragiale* National Theatre in Bucharest announced the premiere of *The Best Child in the World*, a one-woman autobiographical show with actress Alina Șerban, who thus became the first Roma stage director in the history of the National Theatre.

In 2024, Giuvlipen and the *Marin Sorescu* National Theatre in Craiova presented *Caliban and the Witch*, written and directed by Mihaela Drăgan: "*Caliban and the Witch* is a rewriting of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, a title inspired by Silvia Federici's eponymous book and by the revolutionary texts and speeches of Frantz Fanon, Angela Davis, Malcom X, Ghassan Kanafani. Set in a fictional reality in which the power dynamic between white Europeans and people of colour is reversed, the performance challenges the audience to confront the deeply rooted legacy of colonialism, slavery, and systemic oppression. In this reimaged world, the Roma people, who historically have never had a nation of their own, rise to power and colonize Western Europe"³⁴.

These are few of the artists who have contributed to the development of contemporary Roma theatre. Overall, the Roma theatrical movement takes shape in a

³³ Adina Marincea, *The feminist artists and Roma witches whose curses you should be afraid of*, *Vice*, March 2nd, 2021, <https://www.vice.com/ro/article/n7vg9d/feminism-roma-futurism-si-vremea-vrajitoarei>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

³⁴ Giuvlipen, *Caliban and the Witch*, <https://giuvlipen.com/caliban-si-vrajitoarea/>, accessed on 10.11.2025.

space of tension between raised expectations and unmet objectives, asserting through all its efforts a platform of self-representation. The visibility it has gained highlights a dual function: the recovery of memory and the articulation of a political identity through art. In the absence of an institutional framework that genuinely supports Roma culture, these initiatives become autonomous spaces of resistance and knowledge production, in which Roma identity is affirmed against mechanisms of exclusion. In this sense, theatre becomes not only an artistic act but also a structural intervention upon power relations, with the potential to reshape both collective memory and the discourse of the dominant culture.

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