

# “Django’s Tiger”: From Jazz to Jazz Manouche

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Not long ago, I saw an online amateur video of the French guitarists Adrien Moignard (b. 1985) and Sébastien Giniaux (b. 1981), who are two of the leading players of the genre known as “jazz manouche” (or “gypsy jazz”) (Moignard and Giniaux 2010). They had been filmed in 2010 at the French village of Samois-sur-Seine during its annual *Festival Django Reinhardt*. Seated outdoors at sunset, closely encircled by throngs of festival-goers, the two musicians were performing a composition called “Django’s Tiger” by the festival’s dedicatee, the guitarist Django Reinhardt (1910–53). Midway through a breakneck virtuosic solo, Moignard insistently reiterated several high B-naturals, halfway down his guitar’s neck, before launching decisively into a four-bar phrase, high up the fretboard. A more tentative, indistinct arpeggiation followed. And then, for a fleeting instant, he stopped playing, his left hand slack against the instrument. After scrambling through another rapid arpeggiation, his left fingers only grazing the strings, Moignard fully reconnected physically with his guitar and confidently concluded the chorus. I laughed. It seemed to me that this was not merely the sort of everyday stumble that adventuresome, risk-taking improvisers inevitably make from time to time. Moignard was paraphrasing a melodic passage that Reinhardt had improvised on a recording years ago, but it did not work out as deftly as it had for Django. Its harmonic context was different, for reasons that were far from trivial. In fact, it occurred to me that this near-imperceptible musical disruption encapsulated an epistemological contradiction within an entire musical genre inspired by a single musician. It embodied the disjunction between the real historical figure of Django Reinhardt and his own posthumous legacy.

Before proceeding, it’s worth mentioning that, ever since I first heard his recordings during the early 1980s, I have always thought of Django Reinhardt as a jazz musician. In the last three decades, however, the world has changed, and with the recent emergence of the jazz manouche genre, many musicians and listeners now see him in an altogether new light. Moignard and Giniaux’s videotaped performance motivated me to gingerly begin to explore this new genre, and to try to understand how, and why, many people today think of Reinhardt’s place in music and in history quite differently from the way I do—or, at least, used to. To that end, I set out to take stock of published literature by journalists and music scholars, to analyze recordings, and to observe and interview some professional and ama-

teur players. The project has brought into sharper focus certain common misapprehensions, originating in a persistent essentialist racial ideology, concerning both Reinhardt's musical identity and jazz manouche's history and aesthetics. It has also raised interrelated questions about how musical genres take root and evolve, how music history is written, and how, in both instances, past realities can be effaced by present-day artistic, social, and political concerns. These questions are not solely theoretical; from time to time, glimpses of truth burst into plain view, even if only evanescently, hurtling across the frets of a guitar.

### Django Reinhardt in the Jazz World

Today widely regarded as the first European to become a major influential jazz musician, Django Reinhardt was born, not long before World War I, in the Belgian village of Liberchies to a family of Manouche Romanies ("gypsies").<sup>1</sup> Like most Romanies, the Manouche trace their roots to Northern India; they have lived peripatetically in Northwestern Europe since at least the late fifteenth century (Williams 1998, 7–8). Reinhardt, who spent most of his life in France, began his professional musical career during the early-to-mid 1920s as a banjo-guitarist playing *musette* music in Parisian cafés and cabarets (Delaunay 1961, 40–42; Dregni 2004, 25–33). Around 1930, after recovering from a severe hand injury that almost derailed his career, he adopted the acoustic steel-stringed guitar as his main instrument and began playing the popular music, African American in origin, known as jazz. American jazz musicians had begun arriving in France around a decade earlier, some touring briefly while others settled among a vibrant expatriate community. Many local musicians quickly adopted the newly imported idiom, though at first they were largely regarded, not without reason, as artistically inferior to Americans, to the point that the French musicians' union, perceiving a threat to its members' livelihood, began advocating quotas restricting the employment of non-native musicians (Jackson 2003, 146–49).

By the early 1930s, a small group of young Paris-based jazz enthusiasts had formed a society in order to connect fans, circulate information about the music through newsletters and magazines, and stage concerts (Legrand 2009, 29–33; Conte 2001, 223–36). Before long, the organization, which they called the Hot Club of France, also began promoting French jazz musicians, and in late 1934 it lent its imprimatur to a new ensemble of local players led by Reinhardt and the violinist Stéphane Grappelli (1908–97): the Quintet of the Hot Club of France. With its swinging improvisa-

tions on American popular songs and jazz tunes, the Quintet was soon touring France, England, and the Netherlands, and by 1939 Reinhardt had also played and recorded with leading visiting American jazz musicians such as Coleman Hawkins, Dicky Wells, Benny Carter, Eddie South, and Rex Stewart (almost two thirds of his recordings from 1934–39 are not with the Quintet).<sup>2</sup>

The Hot Club's ensemble, which featured a rhythm section of two additional guitarists and a string bassist supporting its two soloists, has today become probably the best-known all-string group in jazz's history. While certainly atypical in jazz then as now, its strings-only lineup was not nearly so out-of-the-ordinary in its time. This is a point worth stressing, because, since the 1930s, the violin and acoustic guitar have become rarer in jazz, and the drums more common, such that the Quintet's instrumentation appears less conventionally jazz-like to twenty-first century ears than it would have to audiences of its day. Reinhardt and Grappelli's immediate inspiration was the American violin-guitar duo of Eddie Lang and Joe Venuti, and the violin had been a prominent lead instrument in New Orleans music around the turn of the twentieth century (Hobson 2014, 112).<sup>3</sup> Similar guitar-and-string-bass rhythm sections were used by groups ranging from Charles "Buddy" Bolden's band around 1900 through the well-known 1940s "Big Four" of Muggsy Spanier and Sidney Bechet. Drummerless jazz bands were often recorded during the 1920s, including those of Louis Armstrong's Hot Five, Clarence Williams's Blue Five, and many discs by blues singers such as Bessie Smith. At any rate, by 1940 the Hot Club Quintet's membership had evolved to more closely resemble that of its typical American counterparts: Grappelli, who spent World War II in England, had been replaced by a solo clarinetist and one of the rhythm guitarists was supplanted by a drummer. From the late 1940s onward, Reinhardt mainly played the electric guitar, an instrument he had first encountered on a U.S. tour with the Duke Ellington Orchestra, and during the remaining few years of his life he preferred a rhythm section of piano, bass, and drums, which had by then become standard in jazz, as it remains today.<sup>4</sup>

Ellington and Armstrong were among the American artists who attested to Reinhardt's standing as a major figure in jazz.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the guitarist himself appears always to have regarded himself a jazz musician, playing an American idiom (Berish 2009, 263);<sup>6</sup> during the so-called "Swing Era" of the late 1930s and early '40s, he and the Quintet were profiled, and their records reviewed, in jazz-focused American periodicals, as well as French and British jazz magazines.<sup>7</sup> Even so, during the 1940s and '50s, book-length chronicles of jazz's history often consigned Reinhardt to a marginal

role.<sup>8</sup> As the years passed, the guitarist's posthumous fame grew, and by 1971, when he was elected by music journalists to the U.S. jazz magazine *Down Beat's* "Hall of Fame," he was widely regarded as an important figure in the idiom's history, receiving substantive coverage in most jazz history textbooks of the 1970s through the present (Morgenstern 1971, 13; Collier 1978, 323–30; Sales 1984, 121–22; Schuller 1989, 835–39; Porter and Ullman 1993, 169–72; Gioia 1997, 171–72; Shipton 2001, 384–92; Giddins and DeVeaux 2009, 255–58).

Through the second half of the twentieth century, then, Reinhardt's status as a canonic figure in the jazz genre was widely taken for granted and considered a straightforward, unambiguous matter; to this day, certain musicians, such as Paul Brady, guitarist with the Hot Club of Detroit ensemble, take issue with the "consistent misapplication of the term 'gypsy jazz' to Reinhardt's music" and continue to regard Reinhardt as "first and always a true jazz guitarist" (2012, 18). For the most part, the musicians with whom Reinhardt regularly played were also, until recently, routinely considered jazz musicians—the guitarist's longtime colleague Grappelli, up until his death in 1997, often performed and recorded with major American jazz artists, from Duke Ellington and Earl Hines to Barney Kessel, Oscar Peterson, and McCoy Tyner. Today, however, this consensus has begun to fray.

### Jazz Manouche: Real and Imagined Histories

The term "jazz manouche," along with its English-language synonyms "gypsy jazz" and "gypsy swing," seems to have begun to acquire widespread currency around the late 1980s, a few years after players such as Ginjaux and Moignard were born.<sup>9</sup> The origins of the musical genre itself have been most succinctly summarized, historicized, and interpreted in a 2000 study by the anthropologist Patrick Williams. Williams writes that, "the creation of a single person . . . [became] the emblem of all" (2000, 416).<sup>10</sup> At the time of Django Reinhardt's birth in 1910, no clearly defined Manouche musical genre existed; musicians of Manouche heritage typically played a variety of popular and folk tunes of the era, ranging from operetta excerpts to the sorts of cabaret melodies that were commonly played throughout France (410).<sup>11</sup> This repertoire was usually played by small accordion-led ensembles whose music was often called *musette*, after the *bal-musette* (literally "bagpipe dance") dance halls that emerged in urban France during the late nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The idiom that is now called jazz manouche did not exist before—or even, it could be argued, during—Reinhardt's

lifetime; it emerged later, once musicians began imitating the instrumentation, repertoire, swing rhythms, and improvisational virtuosity that the guitarist himself originated with the Quintet of the Hot Club of France in the mid-1930s. “Django does *not* play in the Gypsy style,” his friend and fellow guitarist Jean “Matelot” Ferret once explained. “He plays in a style that is his alone. Django’s music begins with himself. . . . He created a style” (Jalard 1959, 57).<sup>13</sup> As such, Williams asserts, jazz manouche “is not the patrimony of a community but the invention of an individual or group of individuals” (2000, 411).<sup>14</sup>

After Reinhardt’s death, in 1953, a few of his relatives, including his brother, Joseph, and sons, Lousson Baumgartner (1929–92) and Babik Reinhardt (1944–2001), pursued careers playing jazz on electric guitars in a style heavily influenced by postwar American jazz. Then, around 1970, several German Romani musicians, led by violinist Schnuckenack Reinhardt (unrelated to Django), began releasing a series of eleven albums entitled *Musik Deutscher Zigeuner* [“Music of German Gypsies”] that recreated the Hot Club Quintet’s music of the 1930s along with a few Hungarian *Csardas* melodies and songs in the Manouche language (Williams 2000, 411–14).<sup>15</sup> A small number of other Romanies likewise began imitating the music of the pre-World-War-II Quintet, learning by studying Reinhardt’s recordings.<sup>16</sup> As their music began to be diffused through live performances and audio cassettes, it gradually was taken up by Romanies in Germany and, even more so, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France (Williams 2000, 416), functioning as an “invented tradition”—a symbolic practice of relatively recent vintage that “establish[es] or symboliz[es] social cohesion” within these communities (Hobsbawm 1983, 9). By the late 1980s, with the emergence of the terms “jazz manouche” and “gypsy jazz”/“gypsy swing,” and the increasing involvement of *gadjé* (i.e. non-Romani<sup>17</sup>) players and listeners, the idiom’s profile began to rise.

At the twentieth century’s close, Williams identified five principal factors that contributed to the rise of jazz manouche: a worldwide trend among jazz musicians, in the 1980s and ’90s, toward exploring jazz styles of earlier generations; a small coterie of amateur enthusiasts who began recording and distributing the music, as well as publishing related articles and pedagogical books; a concurrent revival of interest in the *musette* music, and “swing-musette,” of the interwar years; the emergence in Europe of “Gypsy festivals” (“festivals ‘tziganes’”) that often presented public concerts of music associated with Romani communities;<sup>18</sup> and finally, a late-twentieth-century fad for “anything with an ethnic character” (Williams 2000, 417).<sup>19</sup> Subsequent research by Siv B. Lie (2012) has found that, since the turn of the millennium, jazz manouche’s popularity has been further fueled

by French governmental subsidies that have, rather ambivalently, promoted the music as an emblem of, on the one hand, French national patrimony in general and, on the other, Manouche culture in particular. The idiom has now become an international phenomenon, coinciding with increased attention to Reinhardt and his legacy by the entertainment industry.<sup>20</sup> Today, a small but vibrant global network of jazz manouche players flourishes, heavily relying—like most of today’s musical cultures—on the internet and other digital media for the exchange of knowledge and information (Lysloff 2003; Waldron 2009; Miller 2012; Prouty 2012, 115–50). Most of this media—such as Moignard and Giniaux’s 2010 video—is generated and distributed by fans, free of charge.<sup>21</sup>

In short, a single musician’s idiolect has evolved into an invented folkloric expression. Some of today’s jazz manouche players are fully aware of how this transformation has unfolded, among them the Canadian guitarist and pedagogue Denis Chang. Using the common term *Sinti* (more or less synonymous with Manouche), Chang writes that “Django was simply a Gypsy who played guitar and who played great music. Historically, the whole idea of Gypsy Jazz came much later, after Django’s death; Django’s style of playing eventually became a folk music for the *Sinti*” (Chang 2014).<sup>22</sup> This development, Williams observes, has paradoxically led to “the disappearance of the hero: since he is everywhere, he ceases to be a unique creator” (2000, 416).<sup>23</sup> Reinhardt’s original, formerly distinctive musical innovations are now widespread and normative within an extensive, international community of players.<sup>24</sup>

The consequences for published biographical and historical literature on Reinhardt have been decisive. No longer is the guitarist always straightforwardly situated in the context of the jazz genre, broadly defined, as he was throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Within the last decade and a half or so, as Andrew Berish observes, the literature has grown “schizophrenic”—the former view of Reinhardt within “the long continuum of jazz history” now faces a competing notion of the guitarist as “a total original, *sui generis*, who established his own completely new musical style, ‘gypsy jazz.’” (2009, 240). The latter, more recent perspective is itself predicated on a misconception that jazz manouche (or “gypsy jazz”) has existed, and been identified as such, ever since Reinhardt’s time. This anachronistic historical narrative began to germinate discursively several decades ago, but it has only become firmly consolidated quite recently. Historiographically, it somewhat mirrors the way that jazz history itself, as Scott DeVaux has shown, has been retrospectively constructed by journalists and critics so as to imbue the music with “the prestige, the ‘cultural capital’ . . . of an artistic tradition” (1998, 484). The retrospective

narrative of jazz manouche differs, however, in that it often (though not always) tends to represent the genre as a comparatively stable, collective folkloric expression rather than as an art form evolving in the hands of individual innovators, as jazz itself has often, if simplistically, been portrayed (498–99).

From almost the beginning, some of the most influential writings on jazz manouche have advanced a race-based, essentialist notion of the idiom. In portraying its musical style as a genetic inheritance, they have tended to cite the fact that several rhythm guitarists who played with the Quintet of the Hot Club of France at various times were familial relatives of Romani heritage: Reinhardt's brother Joseph ("Nin Nin"); their cousin Eugène Véès; and the three Ferret brothers, Sarane, Pierre ("Baro"), and Jean ("Matelot"). One of the earliest authors to categorize these players together on account of their Romani origins was the composer and writer André Hodeir, in his 1945 book, *Le Jazz: Cet Inconnu [Jazz: This Unknown]* (Hodeir 1945). However, Hodeir, who had recorded pseudonymously as a jazz violinist with Joseph Reinhardt two years before the book's publication, mentions these musicians' common heritage in just a single cursory paragraph, without explicitly attributing their mutual stylistic affinities to their ethnicity rather than their social proximity (172).<sup>25</sup> In contrast, the first comparatively thorough study of a "Gypsy school" of jazz, Michel-Claude Jalard's 1959 article "Django et l'École Tsigane du Jazz" ("Django and the Gypsy School of Jazz"), unequivocally defines its topic in racial terms (Jalard 1959, 54–73). Writing within a decade of Reinhardt's death, Jalard, who does not use the term "jazz manouche," asserts categorically that, stylistically, "jazz tzigane does not signify the integration of so-called 'Gypsy' ['tsigane'] music with jazz" (55).<sup>26</sup> He instead acknowledges that Reinhardt "was less an extraordinary 'Gypsy' guitarist than he was a jazz musician *par excellence*"<sup>27</sup> (64) and that the Quintet's music "is directly based on the jazz of its time" (61).<sup>28</sup> What therefore defines "jazz tzigane," Jalard states from the outset, is above all the ethnicity—indeed, the "race"—of its practitioners. "By jazz tzigane," he writes, "we mean jazz music created by musicians of the Gypsy ['tsigane'] race" (54).<sup>29</sup>

Jalard's essentialism persists in scholarship as recent as the American author Michael Dregni's 2008 book-length chronicle of jazz manouche, though it generally takes a subtler rhetorical form: rather than explicitly invoking race, Dregni traces the music's transmission through kinship lineages, both literal and metaphoric (Dregni 2008).<sup>30</sup> He highlights the contributions of Reinhardt's guitar-playing sons, Lousson and Babik, grandson David Reinhardt, and great-grandson Dallas Baumgartner, even though, with the exception of the last mentioned, they have been electric

guitarists favoring a post-bebop idiom rather than the Quintet's acoustic interwar style (2008, 213–22, 278–87).<sup>31</sup> Dregni's historical narrative is also replete with rhetorical allusions to essentialized, putatively natural characteristics of Romani culture and music, even at times perpetuating longstanding negative stereotypes.<sup>32</sup> Metaphorically, the notion of jazz manouche as a biological inheritance emerges most unambiguously in his "Gypsy Jazz Family Tree." This schematic listing of musicians, past and present, is divided fourfold into a "founding generation" and three subsequent generations that appear to be loosely defined by literal bloodlines—Django is indicated as a founder, his sons as part of the "second generation"—as well as approximate temporal chronology (ix–xi).<sup>33</sup> Here, and throughout the book, Dregni treats the music of Reinhardt himself, and that of other Romani jazz musicians active before the 1970s and '80s, as jazz manouche *avant la lettre*.<sup>34</sup> He accordingly characterizes the idiom's late-twentieth-century onset as a "reviv[al]" (233) or "renaissance" (262) rather than a new phenomenon.<sup>35</sup>

It is no exaggeration to say that, with the emergence of jazz manouche as a musical genre associated with Western European Romani communities, a late-twentieth-century essentialist ideology has prevailed over interwar anti-essentialism.<sup>36</sup> In the 1930s, Reinhardt's social background was primarily considered noteworthy within the jazz community insofar as he was not American. As a European whose playing had evidently demonstrated that jazz was not simply the inheritance of a particular nation (the United States) or ethnic community (black America), he was thought to exemplify the detachment of music from culture. Yet today his Manouche identity has been powerfully reasserted and his music reclassified as an authentic expression of his own community.<sup>37</sup> Once an exception among his people, he is now the rule.

### Learning Jazz Manouche Today

At present, among a dedicated cohort of Western European Romanians, jazz manouche has become an effective medium for preserving the memory of Reinhardt himself—the guitarist remains, in the words of Manouche musician Joseph "Ninine" Garcia, "the pride of our people."<sup>38</sup> A substantial number of the style's exponents are nevertheless of non-Romani origin (Moignard and Giniaux are both *gadjé*), and highly geographically dispersed. Digital technology and the internet have, needless to say, proven efficient pedagogical media.<sup>39</sup> Instructional material abounds online, including demonstration videos, pedagogical manuals, transcriptions using

Western notation and tablature, and play-along rhythm tracks.<sup>40</sup> Chang's website, DC Music School, which has monetized and professionalized instrumental instruction, has over 12,000 registered users (not all of them gypsy jazz players).<sup>41</sup> An especially sophisticated online technology is Soundslice, a software application, co-invented by the Chicago-based jazz manouche guitarist Adrian Holovaty, that enables videos to be synchronized with scrolling guitar tablature that users can manipulate by slowing tempi and looping short excerpts.<sup>42</sup>

Naturally, musical knowledge of jazz manouche is also propagated through face-to-face interaction. In addition to everyday informal interpersonal contact, direct oral/aural transmission also occurs in institutionalized venues such as festivals and instructional courses. Of the various worldwide annual festivals dedicated to the idiom, the oldest and largest is the *Festival Django Reinhardt* held in Samois-sur-Seine, the village where Reinhardt made his home in his final years and in whose cemetery he is buried.<sup>43</sup> The Samois Festival, which originated with sporadic small informal gatherings of musicians in the late 1950s and became a professionally-organized annual event by the 1980s, currently hosts several days of outdoor concerts for large paying audiences each summer; amateur and professional musicians also interact and play together informally at nearby campsites throughout the event.<sup>44</sup> (Moignard and Geniaux's 2010 rendition of "Django's Tiger" was filmed at one such impromptu jam session.)

One of the most well-known jazz manouche instructional courses is Django Camp, held for a week each summer since 2007 in Northampton, Massachusetts, in conjunction with a concert series entitled "Django in June."<sup>45</sup> At the 2014 event, which I attended for several days, approximately two hundred students, each having paid close to \$1,000 in tuition and room-and-board, received daily group lessons from professional North American and European musicians (Moignard and Geniaux have taught there, as have Chang and Holovaty). Most participants were U.S. or Canadian residents; several had traveled from Europe and East Asia. Formal group instruction was offered, at four designated skill levels, for instruments including guitar, violin, bass, mandolin, and accordion. The daily schedule also included "facilitated jams"—ad hoc playing sessions with professional supervision—as well as informal talks and recreational activities such as wine tasting.<sup>46</sup>

As recently as the 1970s and '80s, musicians of the nascent jazz manouche idiom relied almost exclusively on Reinhardt's recordings as their guiding source of reference, but today's community is sufficiently large, active, and durable to have yielded numerous diverse, evolving repositories of musical knowledge, disseminated via many social and technologically-

mediated networks.<sup>47</sup> Jazz manouche has, in effect, reversed the stereotypical chronological narrative of folk musics that begin as aural traditions and later are transformed by contact with sound recording technologies. Recordings came first and aural, person-to-person transmission followed. Today, my anecdotal impression, from observing the Northampton Django Camp, is that many jazz manouche players do not really see themselves as having any strong social or musical connections with either the current jazz community or jazz of the past. I occasionally encountered attendees who knew of canonical jazz guitarists such as Charlie Christian (1916–42) and Wes Montgomery (1923–68), and I met several players in their teens or twenties who had studied jazz performance in college music programs. But most of those with whom I spoke had backgrounds in other genres—such as pop, rock, bluegrass, and Western classical music—and had begun playing jazz manouche within the last decade or so, as the genre's popularity surged.

Nor did the predominantly North American participants at Django Camp appear to have dwelt deeply on jazz manouche's links to contemporary European Romani communities, and Romani musicians, notwithstanding the presence at the summer course of two Romani guitar instructors, Christophe Lartilleux and Samson Schmitt. Although I did not meet anybody who seemed inclined to rhetorically disassociate the music from Romani culture (as has been documented among non-Jewish Klezmer players [Kaminsky 2014]), I heard only a few fleeting, intermittent mentions of present-day Romanies and their traditions. There were a few signs of Romani culture being somewhat fetishized or romanticized: a replica of a horse drawn Romani *roulotte* (caravan) was parked in a central courtyard for several days; one participant said that he occasionally dreamed of renouncing his American lifestyle and living on the road in a caravan. While such attitudes can be attributed in part to naiveté or insensitivity, they may also reflect the reality that, being a phenomenon of recent decades, jazz manouche does not actually have any longstanding historical connection with current European Romani culture. To put it another way, we should not be terribly surprised if *gadjé* jazz manouche enthusiasts have stereotyped misconceptions about the idiom's relationship to Manouche culture, given that the genre itself is a factitious late-twentieth-century invention, grounded in essentialist ideology from its outset. Among the jazz manouche community, essentialist misconceptions are plentiful, and some of them, so to speak, are entirely authentic; they have always pervaded the genre's discourse. The lines between erroneous negative stereotypes and expressions of ethnic pride, admiration, or communal solidarity can be blurry.<sup>48</sup>

A more immediate factor contributing to these ahistorical views of jazz manouche may be the pedagogically-motivated codification of instrumental practices. With Django Camp's workshops focusing on guitar techniques such as "la pompe" (rhythm-guitar accompaniment), melodic phrasing, harmonic substitution, and guitar pick manipulation, the music's cultural context inevitably becomes subordinated to its formal principles.<sup>49</sup> At one instruction session, a North American guitar instructor remarked that, "some of the Gypsy players play a lot of wrong chords." When one of the workshop attendees asked, "but doesn't it have its own logic?," the instructor replied, "the logic is that they don't give a shit!" Evidently, from the perspective of North American jazz manouche players, a subset of European Romani practitioners can appear insufficiently consistent and, at times, aesthetically deficient.<sup>50</sup> *Gadjé*, in at least some cases, privilege standardized musical techniques over what they perceive to be actual Romani practices.

Still, the eponymous figure of Django Reinhardt himself—that is, his idealized persona—loomed large at Django Camp.<sup>51</sup> The guitarist's imposing photographic portrait adorned posters advertising the event's concurrent "Django in June" concert series, many participants were very familiar with his recordings and knowledgeable about his basic biographical details, and his name was frequently invoked in casual conversations throughout the event. At almost every performance workshop I attended, either the teacher or students referred at least once or twice to some detail of Reinhardt's personal musical legacy—a certain melodic phrase he favored, a chord he played, a particular fingering he used, and so forth. Indeed, in the broader community of jazz manouche players, as documented by Lie (2013a), Reinhardt has become a symbolic cultural hero among Western European Romani musicians, and among *gadjé* enthusiasts worldwide he is at times the object of near-cultish adulation.<sup>52</sup>

Reinhardt's recordings remain by far the single dominant influence on jazz manouche, musically speaking. Not only do the early Hot Club Quintet's instrumentation, style, and repertoire continue to define the idiom's core musical features, but the note-for-note replication of Reinhardt's recorded improvisations is a popular practice. What is more, unlike in the jazz or rock idioms, where recreating improvised solos is mainly associated with private pedagogical contexts, jazz manouche players often duplicate Reinhardt's solos in public.<sup>53</sup> At "Django in June" concerts in 2014, attended by some 800 spectators, I saw Schmitt duplicate Reinhardt's 1946 solo on "Coquette"<sup>54</sup> and Lartilleux's band recreate the Quintet of the Hot Club of France's complete 1936 recorded arrangement of "Nagasaki."<sup>55</sup>

Lartilleux is one of a number of jazz manouche guitarists who even sometimes go so far as to fret their instrument's strings with only their index and middle fingers, mimicking the idiosyncratic left-hand technique that Reinhardt devised because of his permanently disabling hand injury. Some players, including Lartilleux, occasionally improvise afresh using two fingers in this way, but the practice is especially common when musicians replicate Reinhardt's own solos.<sup>56</sup> It appears in part to be a symptom of the widespread fascination and curiosity among listeners, scholars, and musicians with Reinhardt's awe-inspiring feat in triumphing over physical adversity (Antonietto 1984; Marty 2005; Givan 2010, 7–24; Cougoul 2010; Winiger and Williams 2015). One amateur French player who has posted online several video recordings of himself playing Reinhardt solos with two fingers told me that, "I'm interested in getting as close as possible to Django's original sound (intonation, effects) and in trying to understand the logic of the positions on the [guitar] neck."<sup>57</sup> Visually, of course, voluntary (i.e. not necessitated by disability) two-fingered performances are an effective crowd-pleasing gimmick that simultaneously encapsulates two of the jazz manouche community's perennial fixations: Reinhardt's unique biographical history and extravagant instrumental virtuosity.

### "Django's Tiger," Then and Now

Jazz manouche's overtly virtuosic dimension is amply illustrated by Moignard and Giniaux's 2010 rendition of "Django's Tiger" at Samoï. <sup>58</sup> A bravura, at times physically theatrical, display of swift technical dexterity and in-the-moment melodic ingenuity, their duo performance epitomizes the contagious exuberance and electrifying intensity that have become the idiom's trademarks. Moreover, the theme itself, a staple of today's jazz manouche repertoire, exemplifies the common practice of recreating Reinhardt's recorded solos: it originates with an improvisation on chord changes taken from the early jazz classic "Tiger Rag," first recorded by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band in 1917.<sup>59</sup> Reinhardt's sole documented performance of "Django's Tiger" dates from a January 31, 1946, London recording session that reunited him with Grappelli for the first time since the outbreak of World War II in 1939.<sup>60</sup> The two of them were accompanied by local musicians who had been hired when the expected French sidemen failed to obtain visas, and "Django's Tiger" was the only new original title out of eight that they recorded during two days in the studio (Delaunay 1961, 130–32; Williams 1998, 77–78; Dregni 2004, 197–98). The track opens with a two-chorus solo by Reinhardt, transcribed in Example 1.<sup>61</sup>

$\text{♩} = 228$  A  
 3  
 6 E7  
 Half-step displacement  
 9 E7  
 12  
 15 A A  
 18  
 21 A7 D

**Example 1:** Django Reinhardt's improvisation on "Django's Tiger" (1/31/46; mx. OED 26-1).

Django's Tiger. By Django Reinhardt and Stéphane Grappelli. Copyright © 1963 (Renewed) by Publications Francis Day S.A. This arrangement Copyright © 2015 by Publications Francis Day S.A. All Rights in the U.S.A. and Canada Controlled by Jewel Music Publishing Co., Inc. International Copyright Secured. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission. Reprinted by Permission of Hal Leonard Corporation.

# Current Musicology

24 D D<sup>#dim</sup>

27 A F<sup>#7</sup> B7

30 E7 A E7

33 A ----- Top of the second chorus, paraphrased by Moignard in 2010 -----

36

39 E7 E7

42 ----- Phrase ornamenting an E7 harmony -----

45 A

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a guitar solo in the key of D major. It consists of seven staves of music. The first staff (measures 24-26) features a melodic line with a D chord above measures 25-26 and a D<sup>#dim</sup> chord above measure 26. The second staff (measures 27-29) has an A chord above measure 27, an F<sup>#7</sup> chord above measure 28, and a B7 chord above measure 29. The third staff (measures 30-32) has an E7 chord above measure 30, an A chord above measure 31, and an E7 chord above measure 32. The fourth staff (measures 33-35) is annotated with 'A' above measure 33 and a dashed line indicating a paraphrase of the second chorus. The fifth staff (measures 36-38) has an E7 chord above measure 39. The sixth staff (measures 39-41) has an E7 chord above measure 39 and another E7 chord above measure 41. The seventh staff (measures 42-45) has a dashed line above measures 42-44 indicating a phrase ornamenting an E7 harmony, and an A chord above measure 45. The score includes various musical notations such as eighth notes, triplets, and slurs.

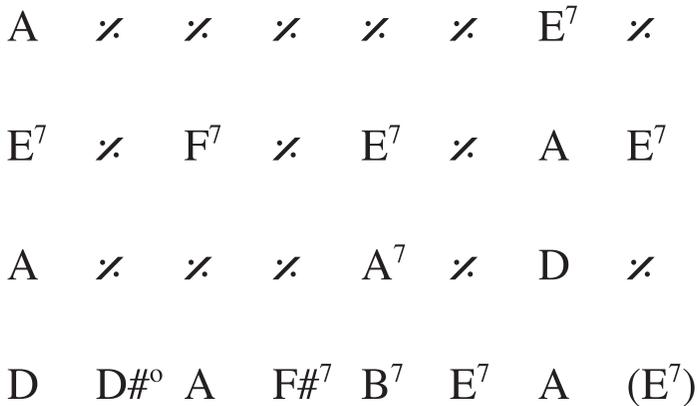
## Example 1: Continued.

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**Example 1:** Continued.

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Today's musicians typically treat the first chorus of Reinhardt's 1946 improvisation as a head melody—a fixed theme. A professional jazz manouche musician based in Europe told me that he first learned the tune by ear from a 2002 recording by the guitarist Jimmy Rosenberg who, after a four-bar introduction, begins by closely replicating Reinhardt's recorded solo, paraphrases the original second chorus somewhat more loosely, and thereafter improvises anew.<sup>62</sup> Contemporary renditions of "Django's Tiger" uniformly differ from the original, however, in one subtle musical respect: they always contain a F7 (bVI) harmony in the tune's eleventh and twelfth



**Figure 1:** Current jazz manouche chord changes for “Django’s Tiger.”

bars—Figure 1 reproduces a chord chart that appears on a popular website devoted to jazz manouche.<sup>63</sup> On the 1946 recording, however, an E7 (V7) harmony appears at the corresponding point in each chorus, just as in the standard “Tiger Rag” progression.

This harmonic discrepancy evidently emerged in conjunction with present-day replications of Reinhardt’s 1946 solo. In measures 9–12 of his first chorus, Reinhardt first played a rising and falling arpeggiation of the underlying E7 harmony’s third, fifth, seventh, and ninth, and then he immediately transposed this melodic structure a semitone upward, implying the corresponding chord tones of an F7 harmony. At some point in the last few decades, jazz manouche musicians evidently began adding a consonant chord to support Reinhardt’s dissonant half-step displacement, and today this alteration has become widely adopted. This reharmonization reflects broader aesthetic tendencies among today’s players. With the emergence of formal instruction in tandem with routinized musical principles, jazz manouche pedagogy has begun to be influenced by theoretical concepts that are well established in jazz performance teaching, such as chord-scale theory (Ake 2002, 120–27). At one of the Django Camp workshops, I saw students being taught the same sorts of principles of melodic-harmonic relationships that often appear in present-day jazz theory textbooks—functional harmonic substitutions, chord-scale relationships, and so forth. These theories tend to promote the notion of consonant melody-chord relationships as normative. Reinhardt, whose own

substantial theoretical knowledge appears to have instead been more tacit and embodied than declarative, was un beholden to any such consistent chord-scale harmonic orthodoxies.<sup>64</sup>

My interlocutors suggested further reasons why current jazz manouche players may have incorporated the new F7 harmony in “Django’s Tiger.” One noted that this is not the only tune from Reinhardt’s repertoire that current jazz manouche musicians customarily play with new, more complex reharmonizations. Another observed that the “Django’s Tiger” reharmonization is consistent with Reinhardt and Grappelli’s own practice, pointing out that their 1938 recording of the popular song “Them There Eyes” (Reinhardt 1938) includes a half-step harmonic displacement (in its third and fourth bars) that does not appear in other swing-era renditions of the same tune, such as Billie Holiday’s (1939). The same interviewee also proposed that today’s players may have found the added F7 chord appealing

because it’s harder. It makes the tune more harmonically juicy. [Jazz manouche] has become more of a progressive music than a swing music. Jazz guitarists—maybe they just got a little bored and they wanted more to blow through. To make things more intricate, they added that [chord] as a staple in the tune. It’s like John Coltrane reharmonizing [George Gershwin’s] “But Not for Me.” I would hate to suggest that that was solely for the reason of making the tune more difficult, but I do think that, to an extent, artists that are constantly trying to further their playing and constantly practicing—they get bored and need to create a new platform for expression. That’s what it is. If you’re playing “Django’s Tiger” for forty years—I mean, Django died before he could play it for forty years, so he probably never got bored of it—but if you’re [Manouche guitarist] Fapy Lafertin and you’ve been playing “Django’s Tiger” for forty years, you’re going to add the half step because it’s going to make *your* life better. And nobody else is going to notice!<sup>65</sup>

Jazz manouche is here described as a “progressive” music that, like certain strains of post-bebop jazz, grows increasingly harmonically complex as players seek new technical and intellectual challenges, and expressive possibilities. Although this modernist evolutionary characterization seems incongruent with the prevalent notion of jazz manouche as a “folk music,” both views—modernist or folk-rooted—nevertheless treat the genre as collectively evolving in the hands of its living players, a practice that can potentially conflict with musicians’ enduring emulation of Reinhardt’s own playing, as documented on recordings.<sup>66</sup> To put it another way, today’s musicians cannot treat jazz manouche as a mutable living idiom while also

# Current Musicology

The image shows a musical score for a solo on "Django's Tiger." It consists of four staves of music in 4/4 time, with a tempo marking of quarter note = 310. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The first staff starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of two sharps. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Above the staff, there is a chord symbol 'A' and a fermata over a note. The second staff continues the melodic line. The third staff has a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of two sharps. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Above the staff, there are chord symbols 'E7' and 'E7'. The fourth staff has a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of two sharps. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Above the staff, there is a chord symbol 'F7'. The score is a Schenkerian reduction, showing the underlying structure of the solo.

**Example 2:** Excerpt from Adrien Moignard’s improvisation on “Django’s Tiger.”  
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The image shows a Schenkerian reduction of the solo on "Django's Tiger" for measures 41-45. It consists of two staves of music in 4/4 time, with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The first staff starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of two sharps. It features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. Above the staff, there is a chord symbol 'E7'. The second staff continues the melodic line. The score is a Schenkerian reduction, showing the underlying structure of the solo.

**Figure 2:** Schenkerian reduction of mm. 41–45 of Reinhardt’s solo on “Django’s Tiger.”

concurrently recreating the music of its founding figure without occasionally reaching impasses. Epistemological contradictions are inevitable. Stasis and change will sometimes turn out to be incompatible.

Adrien Moignard's momentary pause, midway through his solo on "Django's Tiger," is an unusually clear, audible manifestation of this tension.<sup>67</sup> A minute or so beforehand, Moignard had begun the performance by replicating Reinhardt's original opening chorus and then extemporizing a second chorus. His insistently reiterated B-naturals (mm. 1–8 in Example 2), which arrive at the top of his third chorus, clearly paraphrase the melodic passage that Reinhardt improvised at the start of his own second chorus in 1946 (mm. 32–40 in Example 1). Reinhardt next played a string of eighth notes that ornaments the underlying E7 harmony's seventh (D), ninth (F#), and fifth (B); Figure 2 displays a Schenkerian reduction. But measures 43–44 of Reinhardt's solo, which were straightforwardly compatible with the underlying dominant (E7) chord in 1946, are markedly dissonant with the F7 chord that is in use today, and that Giniaux plays as he accompanies Moignard. The latter's brief moment of apparent indecision and hesitation at precisely this moment in his otherwise authoritative performance marks the point where today's harmonies temporarily conflict with Reinhardt's improvisation. Moignard is torn between the past and the present—between imitating Reinhardt and playing jazz manouche.

The issue raised by Moignard's recreation of the second 1946 chorus over today's altered chord changes is not simply a problem of melodic-harmonic dissonance. After all, Reinhardt himself regularly made use of dissonant harmonic superimpositions, such as the half-step arpeggiated displacement in his original opening chorus, as well as the F-minor arpeggios over an A-major harmony in measures 47–48. The real dilemma that would arise from continuing to replicate this passage from the 1946 solo is that it would problematize some ubiquitous contemporary jazz manouche practices: namely the recreation of Reinhardt's solos and the systematization of melodic-harmonic relationships. The resultant dissonances, far more glaring and harmonically incoherent than Reinhardt's characteristic chromaticism, would cast a shadow of uncertainty over the recreated solo. Did Reinhardt falter in 1946? Is today's performer at fault? Or is the contemporary standardization of melodic-harmonic relationships at odds with Reinhardt's own, less systematic musical language? Though the immediate explanation is that today's jazz manouche community has modified the original chord changes, the altered version is so firmly engrained within present-day collective practice that, when I pointed out the discrepancy to the one of my informants, he said that the Quintet of the Hot Club of France's 1946 version "sounds wrong, in a way. It sounds like they missed

the chord.”<sup>68</sup> Paradoxically, in this particular instance even Reinhardt himself, jazz manouche’s iconic figurehead, is viewed in the same way as the putative “Gypsy players [who] play a lot of wrong chords,” according to a Django Camp instructor. Where current practice is at variance with the real facts of the history it claims for itself, then the objective evidence is called into question. Belief trumps truth.

Occasional conceptual stumbling blocks may not matter much to musicians, even if they cause minor glitches such as Moignard’s. They may even yield productive creative tensions. They do bespeak deeper uncertainties, though, about how we understand Django Reinhardt, jazz, jazz manouche, and the interrelationships between all three. Ultimately, these boil down to questions of genre. Genres, the literature scholar John Frow notes, “create effects of reality and truth, authority and plausibility” (2015, 2). Any given genre exhibits—among other things—a set of stylistic conventions that will, with exposure, influence its audience’s normative, default expectations of art works and performances—how they understand them, and what they value in them (Holt 2007; Fellezs 2011, 15; Drott 2013, 9–10). Genre classifications also determine how “music is produced, marketed, and programmed,” as Christopher Washburne has observed (2012, 93). Clearly, jazz manouche has evolved from an imitative practice inspired by a single jazz musician into an independent genre with its own distinctive social context and stylistic norms.

Django Reinhardt currently lies at the nexus of two genres. In his time, he played jazz, an African American music with vernacular and popular origins, today widely regarded in the public arena as an art form placing an aesthetic premium on individuality (Baraka 1963, 156, 184; Ellison 2001, 36; Lopes 2002; Monson 2007, 304). By contrast, the present-day jazz manouche idiom is more akin to what sociologist Jennifer C. Lena calls a “scene-based” genre (2012, 33–40), codified by an internet-linked, non-commercially-oriented community. In some respects it also resembles a “traditionalist” genre (2012, 46–52), legitimized by scholarship, supported by festivals and associations, and emphasizing conformist notions of authenticity rather than individual innovation. Although both jazz manouche and jazz (each of which are, naturally, far from monolithic) share certain basic idiomatic features, such as improvisation, swing rhythms, and repertoire, their differences remain considerable. We therefore cannot fully make sense of Moignard’s 2010 rendition of “Django’s Tiger” without taking into account its dual generic contexts (cf. Drott 2013, 41), as well as jazz manouche’s own inherent internal aesthetic contradictions (contradictions that are, indeed, paralleled by Reinhardt’s dual identity as both French and Manouche, an issue that Lie [2012] has discussed).<sup>69</sup> By the same token, a

great deal depends on whether we apprehend Reinhardt's music in general, as well as that of his followers, from a historical perspective—as jazz—or a presentist one—as jazz manouche.<sup>70</sup>

A style that was, for Reinhardt himself, a personal musical idiolect within an African American genre, has become a collective idiom, chiefly associated with Western Europe. Many of the improvisations that the guitarist conceived spontaneously are, for today's jazz manouche players, essentially fixed compositions that can be re-performed. The two-fingered left-hand technique that Reinhardt devised because of a physical handicap is now an optional gimmick. More crucially, Reinhardt's jazz-oriented impetus toward individual expression has been subordinated, in jazz manouche, to principles of imitation and adherence to an invented tradition. That is why Reinhardt "ceases to be a unique creator," as Williams puts it, when he is viewed from the standpoint of the new idiom's generic norms. The presentist, jazz-manouche-centered perspective instead re-envisioned him as the ultimate conformist to routinized practices.<sup>71</sup> Certain contemporary musicians, such as Brady, thus object to Reinhardt's being classified as a jazz manouche musician because it "misrepresent[s] . . . Django's ability as a jazz improviser. . . . Django understood harmony and voice leading in a manner that coincided with his contemporaries in bebop, and was a very skilled, patient jazz improviser who knew how to craft a solo that told a story" (2010). Conversely, of course, jazz manouche will also be misrepresented if it is evaluated according to jazz-oriented generic criteria. Brady adds that Reinhardt's "kind of climactic improvising . . . is often lacking in 'gypsy jazz,'" and, more pejoratively, jazz critic Ben Ratliff has described the new genre as "jazz in overdrive," and "a bit like watching a bunch of talented actors standing around in fedoras and doing Bogey for an hour" (2000). Such characterizations simply evaluate negatively jazz manouche's affirmative stylistic principles—they fault it for not exhibiting individual creativity and melodic coherence, whereas it instead prizes virtuosic speed, conformism, and imitative fidelity.

The emergence of jazz manouche has had further ramifications besides assigning Reinhardt's music an additional generic label. Just as genres provide a context for understanding music and its performers, individual musicians and their music also affect our conceptions of genres: today's musicians have, for example, influenced the prevalent, communally constructed conception of jazz manouche (genres, as Drott notes, arise from "acts of assemblage . . . performed by specific agents in specific social and institutional settings" [2013, 10]).<sup>72</sup> Likewise, Reinhardt's music of the past has had a role in shaping received conceptions of jazz. That is, the guitarist has not simply been historically categorized under a pre-existing, abstract

received notion of the jazz genre—he has also played a part in constituting the genre itself, as have all the various other musical performances and individual styles that are widely regarded as belonging to the idiom.

The more that musicians and critics identify Reinhardt as a jazz manouche musician, the more he begins to be “hived off” (Lena 2012, 52–55) from the jazz genre as widely conceived.<sup>73</sup> (We are inclined to conceptualize genres in opposition to one another, which causes us to habitually categorize individual musical works, performances, and musicians according to one single genre—even though such categorizations will, naturally, be observer- and context-dependent and ambiguous cases will always be plentiful.)<sup>74</sup> And as the guitarist’s ties to jazz become attenuated, our ever-evolving collective conception of jazz thereby grows narrower. Not only Reinhardt, but other musicians in his circle who once were unequivocally considered jazz players—such as *gadjo* violinist Grappelli—are now instead beginning to be swept under the new generic category of jazz manouche (Kliphuis 2008 and 2013). What remains is inevitably a concept of jazz that is ever so slightly less European and more American. While Reinhardt certainly still retains a niche in the jazz world in the view of many musicians, listeners, and writers, that niche is today rather less secure than it once was.<sup>75</sup>

Coincidentally or not, Reinhardt’s retrospective redesignation as a practitioner of jazz manouche—a genre distinguished from jazz by virtue of both its independent aesthetic principles and its separate invented history and cultural associations—has been, if anything, reinforced in recent years by an increasingly prominent U.S.-centric narrative of jazz history in mainstream discourse (a discursive trend that, to be sure, has been questioned by a number of academic scholars [e.g. Atkins 2003; and McKay 2005, 1–44]). Heavily influenced by the writings of Ralph Ellison, and further cemented by director Ken Burns’s high-profile 2000 television documentary, *Jazz*, this mainstream historical narrative depicts the idiom as an intrinsically American art form and accordingly downplays the contributions of non-U.S. musicians (Lipsitz 2004, 11). The book accompanying Burns’s film, for instance, relegates discussion of Reinhardt to a paratextual side-bar, entitled “The Gypsy,” that exoticizes his biography by calling him “the illegitimate son of a circus clown,” claiming he “insist[ed] that restaurateurs serve him gypsy fare like hedgehog,” erroneously asserting that he was “illiterate” (Ward 2000, 299),<sup>76</sup> and making no mention of his influence on other jazz musicians, including many prominent Americans (Givan 2010, 5). The more that Reinhardt’s music becomes marginalized by Americanist jazz narratives, the more it becomes receptive to new historical interpretations, and jazz manouche has offered it, in effect, a compelling, custom-fitted new generic home.

“A poet,” the literary critic Harold Bloom has written in an oft-quoted passage, “is not so much a man speaking to men as a man rebelling against being spoken to by a dead man . . . outrageously more alive than himself” (1975, 19).<sup>77</sup> Moignard’s tiny moment of hesitation while playing “Django’s Tiger” signifies a similarly fraught historical consciousness that pervades the entire genre of jazz manouche—a conflict between the creative practices and beliefs of a twenty-first-century musical community and those of Django Reinhardt, an inescapable iconic presence, long dead yet still “outrageously alive.” The living guitarist’s fleeting pause—a flash of doubt—where today’s harmonies grate against a melodic phrase that his forerunner improvised decades ago, signals a minute fissure in the feedback loop that sees the past continually being reimagined by a perpetually changing present. For an instant, current beliefs are shaken. Reality intervenes. It is no news that musical genres, by definition, have distinct stylistic profiles and social contexts that may lead to misunderstandings whenever idioms diverge or intersect; nor is it uncommon for different musicians within a single genre to hold disparate views (Washburne 2012, 98). What is noteworthy, in this case, is that irreconcilable beliefs about a current idiom’s relationship to its own historic origins are so plainly manifested in real-time performance—in the very act of music-making itself.

#### Notes

I owe many thanks to Patrick Caissy, Denis Chang, Julien Clément, Andrew Lawrence, Siv Lie, and Giacomo Smith.

1. For a discussion of Reinhardt as the first major European jazz artist, see Giddins and DeVeaux 2009, 256.
2. Of the three hundred and ninety nine recordings that Reinhardt made between 1934–39, a hundred and forty six are with the Quintet of the Hot Club of France. The figure of one hundred and forty six includes discs listed under other ensemble names, such as “Stéphane Grappelly [*sic*] and his Hot Four,” as well as tracks where the Quintet is joined by guest artists. It also counts all alternate takes. It does not include discs featuring subsets of the Quintet’s personnel, such as violin–guitar duets, guitar solos, and so forth (there may be a few dozen of these, or so). See Vernon 2003, 20–148.
3. Lawrence Gushee observes that, among the generation of early New Orleans jazz musicians born around 1880 who were interviewed for the William Ransom Hogan jazz archives at Tulane University, “the oldest interviewees quite frequently first played in or were impressed by three- or four-piece string bands—such as violin, guitar, and string bass, or mandolin, guitar, and bass—with or without one wind instrument. Accordingly their first instrument was often mandolin or guitar” (1994, 15). Also see Gushee 2005, 61–72. On Lang and Venuti’s influence on Reinhardt and Grappelli, see Delaunay 1961, 47; Sudhalter 1999, 534; and Givan 2010, 18.
4. On Reinhardt’s late music, which was heavily influenced by bebop, see Fargeton 2005.

5. Armstrong recalled that “I met Django Reinhardt during that first time in Paris, when I first went over there [in 1934], you know. He knocked me out! Oh, boy, that cat sure could play” (recorded interview in the documentary film *Django Reinhardt: Three Fingered Lightning/Trois Doigts de Génie* [Cascio 2011]). Ellington wrote that Reinhardt was “a very dear friend of mine, and one whom I regard as among the few great inimitables of our music” (1973, 141). Andrew Berish argues that, elsewhere in Ellington’s memoir, a more ambiguous view of the guitarist’s place in the jazz tradition emerges: the American conjures an imaginary “City of Jazz” and omits Reinhardt’s name from a list of its residents (2009, 263).

6. Some years after Reinhardt’s death, his brother Joseph (1912–82), a longtime rhythm guitarist with the Quintet of the Hot Club of France, was asked by an interviewer whether he played traditional gypsy (“tsigane”) music or jazz; Joseph unambiguously stated that he played jazz. (Interviewer: “Qu’est-ce que vous jouez comme genre de musique, la musique traditionnelle tsigane ou du jazz?” Joseph: “Le jazz.” [Interviewer: “What kind of music do you play, traditional gypsy music or jazz?” Joseph: “Jazz.”]). The date of this interview is not certain, but it appears to have been filmed around the late 1960s or early 1970s (Reinhardt 2014).

7. In a 1938 *Down Beat* magazine transcription column featuring Reinhardt’s 1935 improvisation on “Some of These Days,” Gwynn Ray wrote that “the sensational Django Reinhardt of the French Hot Quintette [*sic*] needs no introduction to American guitarists—his amazing technique and fine ideas are internationally known” (1938, 21); Reinhardt 1935. Also see MacDougald 1938, 12; reprinted in Cruickshank 1994, 106. Some 1939 reviews of Reinhardt’s recordings with the Quintet of the Hot Club of France, published in the periodical *Jazz Information*, are listed in Vernon 2003, 151, 156. Numerous 1940s–era English–language magazine and newspaper articles about Reinhardt are reproduced in Cherrett 1997, 4–22.

8. In a study of texts published in either French or English, the musicologist Laurent Cugny has found that some mid–twentieth–century writers—in particular Barry Ulanov, Robert Goffin, and Rudi Blesh—seemed to be scarcely aware of Reinhardt’s existence while others, such as Bill Simon, were dubious about his music’s quality; French critics Hugues Panassié and André Hodeir were among the earliest to rank the guitarist on a par with the most esteemed American players (Cugny 2013, 171–73). Though Cugny correctly notes that Reinhardt is overlooked in Ulanov 1952, a year later Ulanov published an obituary of the guitarist (1953, 14).

9. An interesting, albeit crude, measure of the usage of the term “jazz manouche” in printed media is Google’s automated Ngram Viewer, which calculates the frequency that words and phrases appear in a large corpus of literature published during the last two centuries. According to Ngram Viewer, the term “jazz manouche” first appears in print, with extremely low frequency, in the late 1970s, and rises rapidly from the mid–1980s onward. See [https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=jazz+manouche&year\\_start=1800&year\\_end=2008&corpus=19&smoothing=3&share=&direct\\_url=t1%3B%2Cjazz%20manouche%3B%20](https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=jazz+manouche&year_start=1800&year_end=2008&corpus=19&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cjazz%20manouche%3B%20).

10. “La création d’un seul . . . devenir l’emblème de tous.”

11. According to Reinhardt’s son Babik, “Before [Django], there were other musics, with Gypsy, Russian, and Spanish roots. . . . Depending on the origins and places, the music resembled that of the host country, mixed with our stuff” [“Avant, il y avait d’autres musiques, avec des racines tsiganes, russes, espagnoles. . . . Suivant les origines, les lieux, la musique ressemblait à celle du pays d’implantation, avec nos trucs à nous”] (Lefort 1993, 49).

12. On *bals-musette*, see Dregni 2008, 32–51; and Blake 1999, 106–7. Examples of *musette* music can be heard on Reinhardt's earliest recordings, dating from 1928, which feature him as a banjo-guitarist in a solely accompanimental role (discussed in Antonietto and Billard 2004, 42–46; and Givan 2010, 12–13, 21). (The banjo-guitar is constructed like a banjo, with steel strings and a round resonating drum, but is strung and tuned like a six-string guitar.)

13. “Django ne joue *pas* style gitan. Il joue un style qui lui est propre. La musique de Django commence avec lui-même. Il joue certes de la guitare, instrument traditionnel, mais il a fait lui-même son école de guitare. Il a créé un style. Cette école part de lui.” Quoted in Antonietto 1987, 51; and in Jost 1997, 16. Also see Williams 2000, 411.

14. “Celle-ci n'est pas le patrimoine d'une communauté mais bien l'invention d'un individu ou d'un groupe d'individus.” Williams dates the origins of this way of playing to the late 1920s; although Reinhardt began playing jazz around the late 1920s or 1930s, I re-date the origins to the early 1930s, when the Quintet of the Hot Club of France debuted, because the Quintet's string instrumentation has become an especially defining influence on today's jazz manouche.

15. Schnuckenack Reinhardt had met Django Reinhardt's brother, Joseph, during the mid-1960s. The music promoter Siegfried Maeker played a key role in organizing the *Musik Deutscher Zigeuner* recordings and in encouraging the participating musicians to recreate the Quintet of the Hot Club of France's 1930s style. See Lefort 1997, 18–25; and Litterst 1997, 106–10.

16. Among the most high-profile musicians to begin recreating the pre-war Quintet's music during this era was the Alsatian Romani guitarist Biréli Lagrène (b. 1966), whose debut album (Lagrène 1980) has been credited with having “helped spark an international revival of interest in Gypsy jazz” (McCarty 2003, 77). Also see Giddins 2000, 139–46.

17. *Gadjé* is a Romanes term.

18. On jazz manouche performances at European festivals, see Lie 2013b.

19. “Notre époque a tendance à se prendre d'engouement pour tout ce qui présente un caractère ethnique.”

20. See, for example, Nelson 1999 (discussed in Hentoff 2004, 213–17); Carter 2000 (discussed in Bivort 2001, 36–37); Gatlif 2002; Christopher 2008; and Nelson and Haggard 2015. Paul Brady cites the film *Sweet and Lowdown* (Allen 2000) as a catalyst for the surge in interest in Reinhardt's music around 2000 (2012, 18).

21. A major online repository of videos and information on jazz manouche is Patrick Caissy's website [patrus53.com](http://patrus53.com). Caissy receives more online visitors to his associated YouTube channel, which has been in operation since 2010 and contains over 700 filmed performances and interviews (email communication, August 4, 2015).

22. Ted Panken likewise notes that present-day Manouche musicians “regard Reinhardt's style as a vernacular folk form” (2004, 44).

23. “La disparition du héros: comme il est partout, il cesse d'être un créateur unique.”

24. The situation with Reinhardt can be thought of as an extreme case of what inevitably happens to influential artists whose innovations are taken up by imitators and absorbed into a communal style—the originators are, in Ralph Ellison's famous phrase, “devoured alive by their imitators” (2001, 36).

25. Hodeir's recordings with Joseph Reinhardt are Reinhardt 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, and 1943d. Hodeir appeared under the name “Claude Laurence.”

26. “Jazz tzigane ne signifie pas intégration au jazz de la musique dite ‘tzigane.’”
27. “Aussi bien Django est-il à ce moment moins l’extraordinaire guitariste ‘gitan’ que le musicien de jazz par excellence.”
28. “Le Quintette du H.C.F. est bien en prise direct sur le jazz de son temps.”
29. “Par jazz tzigane, nous entendrons la musique de jazz créée par des musiciens de race tzigane.”
30. Michael Simmons cites the prevalence of essentialist views, writing that, “contrary to what many people believe, you do not need Gypsy blood to play authentic jazz *manouche*” (1996, 46).
31. Also see Williams 1998, 188–223; and Tuzet 2010, 38–42. According to Reinhardt’s biographer Alain Antonietto, “Babik and David Reinhardt, they’ll say, ‘For me, I don’t play jazz manouche. I’m a jazzman, I try to play jazz.’ Of course they speak of Django Reinhardt, but while listening to other guitarists—Wes Montgomery, Kenny Burrell, René Thomas, Jimmy Raney—but it’s not duplication. As David says, ‘one isn’t a parrot’” (2010a). Also see Lefort 1993, 50; and Schaaser 2013, 102.
32. For instance, we read of the “inconsolable Romani sadness in [Reinhardt’s] heart” (Dregni 2008, 14); his music’s “secret soul” (15), and its “vagabond” chords (58, 154). We are also told, with no historical verification, that Reinhardt “had to hustle and steal” in his youth (15); that his son Babik’s minor criminal record as a youth was “part of Django’s legacy in parenting” (111); that the guitarist had “Gypsy fortune-tellers” (103); and that, contrary to fact, he “never truly learned to read or write” (71). Groups of Romani men are described as “a gang” (96) or “gangsters” (160), Manouches are said to “love their knives” (139), and we are informed that “gypsies often have little concern for the *gadje’s* [i.e., non-Romani] laws” (129).
33. Dregni’s “Family Tree” may have been inspired by a similar generational listing of “The Gypsy Musicians of France, Belgium, Holland and Germany” in Cruickshank 1994, 130. For more discussion of the generational model of jazz manouche’s history, see Schaaser 2013, 29–32.
34. Dregni writes that “this music was not christened ‘Gypsy jazz’ until some two decades after Django’s death in 1953” (2008, 12). Also see *ibid.*, 199.
35. Also see Dregni, Antonietto, and Legrand 2006, 185–90.
36. The ideological essentialist linkage of musical style with human culture has a long history (Mundy 2014).
37. According to Siv Lie, who has conducted extensive fieldwork among Western European Romani communities, some Manouche musicians regard jazz as a universal subaltern cultural expression, rather than a specifically African American one (email communication, July 27, 2015).
38. “C’est un peu de la fierté de notre peuple. Il n’y avait pas de docteurs, de juges, . . . Django, c’est l’image même de notre fierté. Parce qu’il était un génie. Et nous, à travers à Django, on est fier, on porte sa musique . . . parce que c’est quelqu’un qui a marqué son époque” (quoted in Schaaser 2013, 100).
39. Among the most comprehensive and active websites dedicated to jazz manouche are <http://guitarejazzmanouche.com/> and <http://www.djangobooks.com/>.

40. Some pedagogical manuals are listed at <http://www.djangobooks.com/Category/books>; a bibliography of transcriptions appears at [http://www.djangomontreal.com/Django\\_Montreal/Instructions.html](http://www.djangomontreal.com/Django_Montreal/Instructions.html); and play-along tracks can be heard at <http://www.youtube.com/user/GBQuartet>.
41. Excerpts from Chang's videos can be viewed at <http://www.dc-musicschool.com/catalogue/>. Email communication, August 4, 2015.
42. See, for example, a studio recording of "Django's Tiger" by Adrien Moignard and Gonzalo Bergara at <http://www.soundslice.com/tabs/4811/gonzalo-bergara-adrien-moignard-djangos-tiger-clasico-tab/>.
43. For a list of some other jazz manouche festivals, as of 2010, see Tuzet 2010, 121–25.
44. Reinhardt's biographer Alain Antonietto discusses the origins of the Samois Festival in a videotaped interview (Antonietto 2010b).
45. The concert series was first held in 2003. See Maguire 2014 and [http://www.djangoinjune.com/For\\_musicians/index.htm](http://www.djangoinjune.com/For_musicians/index.htm).
46. As is typical in the second decade of the twenty-first century, these face-to-face interactions were suffused with electronic reproduction technologies: students made audio and video recordings of the lessons, instructors played illustrative recordings, and so forth. Recent studies that address the role of digital technology in the diffusion of "folk" music forms include Keegan-Phipps 2013 and Risk 2013.
47. An informant, active in the European jazz manouche scene, told me that one of the most prominent Manouche guitarists currently playing jazz manouche, Fapy Lafertin (b. 1950), has expressed some mild envy of today's younger generation of players who are able to learn from a wide variety of sources, whereas Lafertin himself, during the 1970s, relied exclusively on Reinhardt's recordings (interview, September 13, 2013).
48. Carol Silverman (2015) has recently argued that essentialism can, under certain conditions, provide a politically efficacious strategy for combatting discrimination against Romani communities (cf. Gilroy 1993, 32).
49. An analogous situation has arisen in contemporary jazz pedagogy (Prouty 2012; Wilf 2014).
50. Of course, as the instructor's student implied, "some of the Gypsy players" could just as easily be said to prefer a different, and perhaps less rigidly systematic, approach (as, no doubt, do some *gadjé* musicians).
51. By "idealized persona," I mean Reinhardt's legend in the popular imagination rather than Reinhardt the actual historical, once living, individual; this essentially corresponds to what Seth Monahan—paralleling Michel Foucault's author-concept—calls a "fictional composer" (2013, 329–32).
52. The pseudo-religious aura enveloping a number of major figures in the jazz world is discussed in Leonard 1987, 35–45.
53. On the recreation of improvisations in current jazz pedagogy, see Wilf 2014, 115–17 and 130–34. The relatively infrequent cases where jazz or rock musicians replicate others' recorded improvisations in public performance include rock "cover" or "tribute" bands, vocalese jazz singing, and exceptionally famous recorded solos such as Illinois Jacquet's 1942 improvisation on "Flying Home" with the Lionel Hampton Orchestra. For a recent study of rock cover bands, see Meyers 2015.
54. Reinhardt 1946b; and Schmitt and Kliphuis 2014.

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55. Reinhardt 1936.
56. See, for example, Lartilleux 2008 and Lartilleux 2013.
57. “Ce qui m’intéresse, c’est de me rapprocher le plus possible du son (intonation, effets) original de Django, et d’essayer de comprendre la logique des positions sur le manche” (email communication, July 20, 2014).
58. For critiques of jazz manouche’s emphasis on virtuosity, see, for example, Ratliff 2000 and Apczynski 2009, 22.
59. For more on the origins and legacy of “Tiger Rag,” see Caporaletti 2011 and Schiff 2012, 63–67.
60. Reinhardt 1946a.
61. For more extensive remarks on this solo, see Givan 2010, 99–109.
62. Interview, September 13, 2013. See Rosenberg 2002.
63. “Django’s Tiger: Django Reinhardt—1946,” <http://guitarejazzmanouche.com/print/grilles/134/>. One might reasonably ask, as did one of this article’s anonymous reviewers, whether the word “always” is too strong here. Literally, of course, it is, since one could never conclusively prove that “Django’s Tiger” is never played without the F7 chord in question. Nevertheless, an arbitrary sample of twenty performances of the piece on YouTube yielded no exceptions, and I have yet to encounter any in live performance.
64. On Reinhardt’s lack of formal training in music theory, see Antonietto and Billard 2004, 284; and “C’est Django Reinhardt, le Roi du Swing” (1943). On “declarative” (verbally articulated) versus “productive” (implicit) musical knowledge, see Temperley 2006, 283.
65. Interview, September 13, 2013.
66. Schaaser sees present-day jazz manouche players as falling into two basic camps: conservative—heavily focused on recreating Reinhardt’s music of the 1930s—and innovative—more influenced by modern jazz and other genres, and having a wider repertoire (2013, 88–90).
67. Moignard could not be reached for an interview.
68. Interview, September 13, 2013.
69. For more on the interdependent relationship between musical genres and social identity formation, see Born 2011, 384.
70. For more on music that can be classified within more than one genre, see Brackett 2005, 76; and Drott 2013, 40–41. For a broader philosophical perspective, see Danto 1981.
71. The posthumous reconceptualization of Reinhardt as a stylistic exemplar, rather than as a unique creative individual, is in many ways analogous to the way in which J.S. Bach, according to Theodor W. Adorno, became misunderstood in the twentieth century as a “neutralized cultural monument” exemplifying ubiquitous principles of craftsmanship rather than as a “romantic . . . genius of meditation” (1981, 136, 138).
72. See also Piekut 2011, 19.
73. For an extreme case of Reinhardt and Grappelli’s music being anachronistically reclassified as jazz manouche, see Pick 2005.
74. Frow writes that “genres are not positive classes, but are defined in relational terms. We can identify a genre because we are at some level aware of other genres that it is not” (2015, 135). In the same vein, DeVaux remarks that, in many instances, jazz has often been

“define[d] through exclusion. . . . [W]hat jazz is *not* is far more vivid rhetorically than what it is” (1998, 486; discussed in Porter 2012, 17). For additional perspectives, see Frith 1996, 75–95; and Pond 2005, 51–81.

75. A recent jazz history textbook only mentions Reinhardt perfunctorily; although a photo of the guitarist is reprinted in the book’s introduction, he and other non-American musicians receive no substantive coverage (Bierman 2016).

76. Though Reinhardt’s spelling was idiosyncratic, he was able to read and write. See Bessières and Dregni 2012, 162–63.

77. An early publication quoting this sentence is Said 1975, 270.

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