

**Performing Calonness – how Brazilian Calon Gypsies make themselves out of the gadje
[Cosmology and livelihood among Calon Gypsies]**

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This paper will explore two study cases of my fieldwork among Calon Gypsies in São Paulo, Brazil. In my research I have been trying to describe how Calon conceptualise their relations with the gadjes. Marriages with gadjes are not only frequent among them, but also seem to be in the centre of the system. I shall argue through these cases that Calonness, as opposed to gadjeness, is not something inherited, but something to be performed, enacted in the present. I describe everyday practices and discourse to show how the processes of differentiation take place as based on a cosmological notion of “shame” [ladze]. The discussion also raises questions about the notion of relational identity to deal with Gypsies, and the implications of it when Gypsies’ others (“brasileiros”) conceive themselves through a category of mixed identity (“mestiçagem”, miscegenation).